



**PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS' RESPONSES TO THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE
POLICY AND DIRECTIVES IN ESWATINI**

By

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DECLARATION

I, Nomvuyo Phangisile Nhlengethwa (214584116), declare that,


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 Date: 14 July 2022

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my daughter, Nontobeko Thusi, who has been an inspiration. The support you have given me did not go unnoticed, my Angel. Your understanding that sometimes we had to forgo treats; and the constant enquiries about mommy's research was so thoughtful of you. You are one of a kind, my Baby. As you have started your undergraduate studies, know that the sky is the limit. Be inspired by this milestone.

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ABSTRACT

The study is located in a country that has a monarch as its ruler and he governs in his own right. At any given moment, without forewarning, a policy can be changed or a directive can be announced with the expectation that the policy and directives will be implemented. This inquiry explored principals and teachers' responses to the promulgation of the official language policy and subsequent directives.

Studies suggest that there is need to regulate the use of languages in schools and support mother-tongue education. However, there is no study which has explored the responses of the implementers of the language policy and directives in Eswatini. Teachers under the supervision of principals are expected to implement the language policy and directives without question, the same way they do not interrogate their formulation, modification and subsequent publishing.

The purpose of the study was to document the principals and teachers' responses to the state's language policy and directives. The participants teach in five primary schools in the Hhohho region (government, mission, private, community and company school). The schools were purposively sampled on the basis of their location. A qualitative approach (a case study design) was used. Data was gathered through semi-structured interviews with each participant, and focus group discussions – one with teachers and another with principals. Data was analyzed using a thematic analysis approach. The findings, informed by Althusser's theory of ideology, revealed who knew about the official language policy and directives but both principals and teachers were non-compliant and did not implement the language policy and directives. Various reasons, aligned to, for example, globalization, pedagogical logic and dilemmas faced were proffered by the participants. Additionally, their non-responsiveness to the language policy and directives, which promoted cultural homogeneity, localization and isolation, was compounded by indecision and the lack of support to implement the changes to the language curriculum. Participants also expressed concerns about the lack of consultation during the language policy making process and the timing of pronouncing the directives. In essence, the study found that non-compliance was a form of quiet resistance to the state ideology.

Abstract in isiZulu (IQOQA)

Lolu cwaningo lwenziwe Eswatini, izwe elinenkosi ebusayo emalungelweni ayo. Nganoma yisiphi isikhathi, ngaphandle kwesecwayiso, inqubomgomo ingashintshwa noma isiqondiso singamenyezelwa kulindeleke ukuthi leyo nqubomgomo noma isiqondiso senziwe njengoba sinjalo. Lolucwaningo lubukeze ukuthi othishanhloko nothisa bathini ngenqubomgomo eyamenyezelwa neziqondiso ezalandela.

Izicwaningo ziphakamisa ukuthi kunesidingo sokulawula ukusetshenjiswa kweyilimi eyikoleni ukusekela imfundo yolimi lwebele. Nokho, alukho ucwaningo osoluhlolile imibono yabaqalisi benqubomgomo neziqondiso Eswatini. Othisha ezweni balindeke ukusebenzisa lenqubomgomo neziqondiso ngaphandle kombuzo.

Inhloso yalololucwaningo kwaba ukubhala izimpendulo zothishanhloko abahlanu nothisa kanjalo abahlanu kunqubomgomo yolimi kanyeneziqondiso Eswatini. Ababambiqhaza bafundisa izikole ezinhlanu zamabanga aphantsi esifundeni sakwaHhohho (sikhulumeni, semishini, esizimele, somphakathi kanye nesikole senkapani). Izikole zathathwa ngamasampula ngokwezindawo zazo. I-qualitative (ye-case study), yasetshenjiswa ukukhulumisana nothisanhloko kanye nothisa. Idata yaqoqwa ngokusebenzisa inhlokokhono enesakhiwo esincane nomhlanganyeli ngamunye kanye nezingxoxo zamaqembu – enye yothisha, enye yothishanhloko. Idata ihlaziye kusetshenziswa indlela yokuhlaziya itimu. Okutholakele, ngokwaziswa inkolelombono ka-Althusser, kwembula ukuthi othisha kanye nothisanhloko bebengathobeli futhi bengasebenzisi inqubomgomo yolimi esemthethweni kanye neziqondiso. Izizathu ezahlukahlukene, eziqondaniswe, ngokwesibonelo, ukuhwebelana kwembulunga yonke, ukuqonda kwezemfundo kanye nezingqinamba okubhekenwe nazo zavezwa. Nangaphezu kwaloko, ukungaphenduli kwabo neziqondiso zolimi, okukhuthaze ukufana kwamasiko, ukwenziwa kwasendaweni kanye nokuzihlukanisa, kwahlanganiswa nokungabi nasinqumo kanye nokuzihlukanisa, kwahlanganiswa nokungabi nasiqumo kanye nokuntuleka kokusekelwa ukuze kusetshenziswe ushintsho kuhlelo lokufunda nolimi. Ababambiqhaza baphinde bazwakalisa ukukhathazeka ngokungabi bikho kokubonisana ngesikhathi sokwenziwa kwenqubomgomo yolimi kanye nesikhathi seziyalezo. Empeleni, lolucwaningo luthole ukuthi ukungalandeli umthetho kwakuyindlela yokumelana nemibono yezwe.

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ACRONYMS

COLA	Cost of Living Adjustment
ECCD	Early Childhood Care and Development
ECD	Early Child Development
EDSECP	Education Sector Policy
EI	Emotional Intelligence
FDG	Focus Group Discussion
FPE	Free Primary Education
ISAs	Ideological State Apparatuses
LP	Language Policy
LPP	Language Policy and Planning
LoTL	Language of Teaching and Learning
MoE	Minister of Education
MoET	Ministry of Education & Training
MoI	Medium of Instruction
PD	Professional Development
PM	Prime Minister

PS	Principal Secretary
REO	Regional Education Officer
RSA	Repressive State Function
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SSI	Semi-Structured Interview
SNAT	Swaziland National Association of Teachers
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This study focuses on exploring the responses of principals and teachers of five primary schools (both rural and urban) in the Hhohho region of Eswatini (formerly Swaziland) regarding the country's language policy and directives of March, 2017 and December, 2019 respectively.

The Kingdom of Eswatini (Umbuso wemaSwati) is a small independent state in southern Africa (See Figure 1) comprising 17 400 square kilometres (Vilakati, 2008). It is landlocked mostly by South African territory except its northeastern border which it shares with Mozambique. It has a population of 1,093,238 (UNFPA, 2017).

When the country attained its independence from the British rule in 1968, it was divided into four geographic regions; Manzini, Lubombo, Shiselweni and Hhohho, which vary from four hundred to one thousand eight hundred metres above sea level. Each region has its town which serves as an administrative centre (Vilakati, 2008). Otherwise, the state has two major towns: Mbabane and Manzini. Mbabane is the capital town which is in the Hhohho region. Manzini, the country's main industrial and commercial centre is located in the Manzini region.

Eswatini being a landlocked country mostly depends on South Africa for a number of things which include institutions of higher learning, imports and exports (Domson-Lindsay, 2014). A considerable number of Swazi students attain tertiary education in South African universities which offer internationally recognized qualifications. Consequently, the Swazi curriculum is aligned to the South African programs of study (Nxumalo, 2016). As a result, this study focuses on the principals and teachers' responses to the current language policy and the directives that have been published to support the official language policy.



Figure 1: Geographical location of Eswatini
(Source: Online resources)

The Kingdom of Eswatini (Umbuso wemaSwati) is a small independent state in southern Africa

1.1.1 The Hhohho region

As I have already mentioned, Eswatini has four regions, Hhohho being one of them is located in the north-western part of the country. This area is mountainous; to the west it comprises rivers, waterfalls and gorges. It has a temperate climate of warm, wet summers and dry winters. While the area is less drought-prone than the other three regions, sugar is successfully grown commercially on a wider scale under irrigation. Cattle farming is also extensively practiced (Vilakati, 2008). Besides these projects, mining adventures have characterized the region, those being gold, asbestos and iron-ore. These factors have assisted in the growth of the region, such that its infrastructure including schools is better than in the other regions. Hhohho region may

have fewer schools than Manzini (See Table 1 below) but they are better resourced. Presently three schools in the Hhohho region offer the Advanced Subsidiary Level (AS) (www.gov.sz). Pupils from other regions who are interested in the programmes travel to one of the schools; St. Mark’s High School has a boarding facility for the pupils who are in need of accommodation.

Table1. Shows the categorization of schools per region as of 2020

Region	Primary	Secondary	High	Total
Hhohho	162	11	59	232
Lubombo	127	9	51	186
Manzini	168	6	61	235
Shiselweni	139	7	52	198
Total	596	33	223	852

Since a number of schools in the region are better resourced, the region has performed quite well in external examinations over the years as compared to the other three regions. The Lubombo region is always last in all external examinations (Nxumalo, 2016) since it is poverty-stricken (Stewart, 2012).

Different from the other regions too, most families are functional in the Hhohho region since that is where most people flock to for employment since all government offices have their headquarters there. Some of the people are employed by the private sector operating the different business adventures, are mentioned in this section. It is in the light of the above that this study explored the principals and teachers’ responses to the official language policy and directives.

1.2 Governing through directives

Administratively, the state is an absolute monarchy headed by a king. The king’s power is unrestricted since all powers are vested in and through him. Not even the constitution (Act No. 2 of 2005) takes precedence, he has power over everything. An example of his supreme authority is the unilateral declaration that Swaziland would henceforth be renamed the Kingdom of Eswatini at the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the country’s independence and the King’s birthday. Such directives are not unusual in the country and are applied to all facets of life.

This also occurs in the education sector and will be examined more closely in this section of the thesis. Some examples of the draconian and binding directives and their effects follow. In 2011, under the purview of the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, a directive that regulates the conduct of the judiciary and its officers was issued by the then Chief Justice, Michael Ramodibedi, in 2011. This came as a surprise to stakeholders in the department, the lawyers in particular, who staged a protest against the Chief Justice. They marched to parliament to deliver a petition demanding the removal of the Chief Justice but they were blocked from entering the premises (International Commission of Juries, 2016).

In another government department, in the Ministry of Public Service, the Principal Secretary (PS) once issued a directive that in-service training of civil servants is to be regulated by the ministry. Henceforth, all training initiatives needed to be approved by the ministry before it could be undertaken. Yet the In-Service Training Policy of 2000 states that every public servant employed on a permanent basis is eligible for training. It does not mention seeking permission from any senior officer. This is another instance of how the state indulges in issuing directives. Contradictions seem not to matter. In this instance, the need to improve and empower the civil servants (Khumalo, 2015) is controlled by the whim of the ministry through the PS and its senior officers.

The Ministry of Education's stakeholders (especially teachers) too, often receive these instructions in the form of directives. What prompted me to embark in this research were the directives of March and November 2017 (which will be introduced in this chapter), on the languages of teaching and learning in schools, issued by the Prime Minister (See Figure 2). The directives sparked debates in the country as some nationals including teachers took to social media to voice their sentiments and some were in disbelief since the release of the directives caught them by surprise. From their comments, I gathered that some were not even privy to the language policy of 2011 that the directives echoed. As a teacher expected to implement the language policy and the directives, I was intrigued by the thought of the intricacies of implementation in schools, outside and within classrooms.

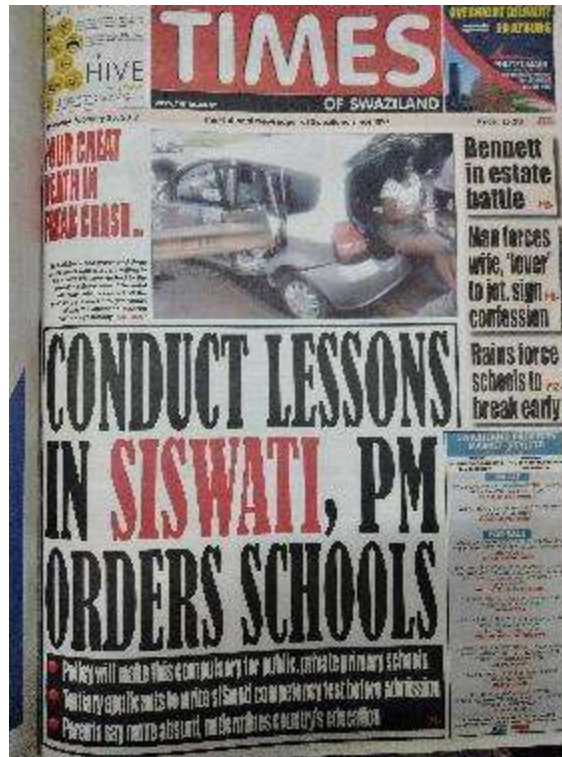


Figure 2: A newspapers clip which published the directive on the LoTL

1.3 Operational concepts

In this research, I frequently used certain terms and will be described below because of their conceptual broadness. The terms have been defined relevant and limited to the scope of the study. There are four concepts that I will discuss below and they are: policy, directive, responses and practices.

Policy: Aminu, Tella & Mbaya (2012) clarify that a policy is a deliberate structure of guiding principles to influence decision making and attain national results, promulgated in writing. The general nature of policy application is description that Signe (2017) also adopted as he expounded the notion that policies are normally embraced by a governing body within a country or an organization. In this study, I am focusing specifically on the language policy which seeks to ascertain which language or languages should be utilized as languages of teaching and

learning at the different levels of primary school education in the Kingdom of Eswatini. In the country the language policy is embedded in the Education Sector Policy of 2011 and 2018.

Directive: In this study a directive is a verbal, authoritative instruction issued by a high-level official or group of people (Sarla, 2020). Sarla (2020) further highlights the fact that leaders who use directives are autocratic. They make all decisions and direct the group or nation by command. A directive will also state its purpose, how it is to be implemented, when and by whom. The leaders always look forward to absolute compliance from subordinates (Sarla, 2020). In this study, the subordinates (principals and teachers) are expected to implement the directives after government has pronounced them. Johnson and Pratt (2014) contend that policies can be developed at the top by the governing body and communicate it downward to the implementers. Directives are formulated in the same way and are communicated verbally without consulting any of the stakeholders (teachers, parents and pupils). The process depicts the top-down approach format as explained by Johnson and Pratt (2014). It is for that reason that principals (custodians of the language policy and directives in the school) and teachers (the implementers in the classroom) were participants in this study.

Responses: These are participants' reactions which may be sought through observation, focus group discussion, one-on-one interview or questionnaire (Fincham, 2008). Responses according to Carpenter (1980) assist the researcher to obtain a full picture of what is happening and why. The participants' responses provide information regarding perceptions, reactions, feelings, thoughts and attitudes, in this case about the official language policy and directives. Consequently, the participants in this research may raise whichever issues pertaining to the official language policy and directives at any stage. These matters could be those that touch upon policy formulation, implementation or modification. Therefore, in this research responses are concerned with the participants' opinions on the phenomenon.

Practices: In this study practices denote the actual noticeable routines which at the end influence the policy itself. These dealings will incorporate visible actions and choices that individuals actually make and eventually present. These are consistent and predictable even though the people may not want to acknowledge it.

1.4 An overview of languages of Eswatini

Eswatini belongs to the Anglophone community as it was colonized by Britain and English was adopted as one of its official languages. So, both English and SiSwati are official languages in the country (Kamwangamalu & Moyo, 2011). However, English is accorded higher status since it is used in all the arms of government and plays a major role as it is used in all official documents in the country (Nxumalo, 2016). It is expected that English is also used in the education sector as the medium of teaching and learning from Grade Five up to tertiary level (EDSEC, 2011& 2018). Some schools nonetheless, mostly private and urban schools, use English as a medium of instruction from Grade One. These schools therefore do not adhere to the official language policy which states that SiSwati should be the LoTL from Grade One. A number of schools are enforcing the use of English within the school premises; they even punish pupils for communicating in SiSwati. The practice contradicts the EDSEC Policy which states that the pupils should not be punished for using SiSwati which is the mother language for more than ninety-five percent of the people living in Eswatini (UNFPA, 2017). This means that some pupils only speak English at school where they are forced to do so. Otherwise they may not have any reason to converse in English because almost everybody in the country is conversant in SiSwati. For some, their parents are illiterate, so, at home, the only language spoken is SiSwati. Some educated parents speak to their children in SiSwati because they know at school they communicate in English. If they communicate in English even at home, these parents are afraid the children might lose their mother tongue and culture thus SiSwati is used even in houses of educated people (UNFPA, 2017).

Nevertheless, in schools English is used more than SiSwati as English is associated with prestige and superiority, rendering the mother tongue, the language of the less educated. Also, some teachers will resort to the mother tongue since the pupils might have problems in grasping some concepts when explained in English (Dludlu, 2016). However the elevated status of English in schools is sustained by the fact that schools have made English a subject which determines if a pupil can progress to the next class or not. If they fail English they are made to repeat a class. In response to this government then pronounced a directive in 2019 that English will no longer be a failing subject just like SiSwati. This represented an effort by government to balance the status of the two languages. However, a credit pass (60% and above) in English is still a requirement for

admission into tertiary institutions. Simelane (2013) indicates that a credit pass in English is also a requirement with the scholarship selection board. This is despite the fact the pupils are learning English as a second language and are being taught by teachers who are second language speakers of English themselves (Nxumalo, 2016).

At tertiary level, the use of English is even more complex, compounded by the fact that SiSwati courses are tutored in English. At school level, English is a compulsory subject (EGCSE English language Syllabus, 2021). The rationale for teaching English is that:

- It is an international language, which allows the pupils to contest and contribute in the global arena technologically, economically, commercially, socially, politically and culturally. English is also used as the leading language in entertainment and in sports, worldwide.
- English is the language of teaching in schools in the country at both junior and senior secondary school level. Most teaching and learning materials are written in English. Therefore, proficiency in English certainly enables pupils to perform better even in all other subjects that are taught in English.
- It provides the English language skills that are vital for employment and in life, in general.
- It also affords a language foundation for pupils who may want to continue with their education at tertiary level within the country, in the SADC region and globally (EGCSE English language Syllabus, 2021).

All along English has been a failing subject. That has since changed through a directive that was published in December 2019. Surprisingly, the directive is implemented in all the other grades except in Form Five (the last class of school). In Form Five, passing English with at least sixty percent is expected since universities and colleges admission require English with Grade C or better (Simelane, 2013). It could be the reason why principals and teachers continue to ignore the official language policy directive on English. Even parents who cannot afford the fees, take their children to schools where English is the medium of instruction from Grade One. Consequently, the use of English in the education system of Eswatini has caused a situation that Powell (2016) has termed as ‘unbalanced bilingualism’. Instead of the two official languages being equally

used, English has assumed a prominent status in education, as it is associated with superiority over non-English speakers and prestige.

1.5 History of SiSwati

Mbatha (2022) reveals that SiSwati is part of the Southern Bantu language group of the Nguni family which comprises the four main language clusters found in South Africa. These language groups are Venda, Tsonga, Nguni and Sotho. Languages in the Nguni family are spoken in a zone, which stretches from the Cape, in the south of Africa extending to a region around north of the equator. These Bantu languages according to Mbatha (2021) are categorized according to geographical regions. Within these zones, the languages are further split into groups, sub-groups, dialect groups and dialects (Mbatha, (2021). The four main languages are also grouped into nine languages: isiZulu, SiSwati, South-Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Southern-Sotho, isiXhosa, Venda, Tsonga and Tswana.

Malambe and Harford (2021) contend that SiSwati is one of the eleven official languages of South Africa. They maintain that many schools offer it as an optional or as a compulsory subject. Moreover, SiSwati has some parallels to isiZulu isiNdebele and isiXhosa thus they are frequently confused by people who are not first language speakers of any of the four languages.

There are two major forms of the SiSwati language. One strain of the language is spoken mostly in the south and north-west of South Africa. The other is used far into the deep south of the Eswatini and is mainly influenced by isiZulu (Malambe & Harford, 2021).

Dlamini (2022) reveals that sometimes though a language does not have all the words needed for it to capture and refer to all its experiences. At such times it borrows words and phrases from other languages that the people might have come into contact with it. The loaned items assist in improving, growing and advancing the language. Swazis too have gone through that phase for instance when the country was hit by the HIV pandemic and also during the COVID-19 era which has produced neologisms and expressions that have since entered into the Swazi vocabulary. Dating back to the colonial period words and phrases were borrowed which are nowadays used yet they are not original SiSwati words (Malambe & Harford, 2021).

1.6 Language policy and directives in Eswatini

The language policy has always been complemented by directives which have come through the Prime Minister, a politician, and not the Minister of Education and Training or an official in the Ministry of Education. The directives pertinent to this study were published in February and November of 2017, respectively. Principals and teachers (the implementers) learnt about the directives from the media since most of them were not at the SiSwati Conference where the directives were issued. At the function, some teachers of SiSwati, from both primary and high schools, were in attendance. There were some pupils too (some to render entertainment to the guests and some to receive gifts for their excellent performance in SiSwati in the previous year's external examinations in Grade Seven, and Forms Three and Five). These are final examinations that pupils write countrywide. In attendance, there were also high-ranking officials from government departments. So, teachers who teach other subjects other than SiSwati were not at the function. The directives, however, were dictated not only to teachers of SiSwati but to all teachers.

The Prime Minister also ordained that tertiary institutions applicants would write a SiSwati competency test before admission into an institution of higher learning in the country. This was explained as one measure that would ensure that everyone who seeks admission into a Swazi tertiary institution has a certain level of competency in SiSwati. This too, as the Prime Minister explained, would safeguard the language from extinction. One newspaper in the country, "*The Times of Swaziland*," dated February 23, 2017, covered the event and wrote an article under the headline: "CONDUCT LESSONS IN SISWATI, PM ORDERS SCHOOLS" (See Figure 2).

Additionally, the Prime Minister introduced a SiSwati Board and instructed them to see to it that the February, 22, 2017 directives were carried out as mandated. So, directives are communicated in a number of ways in the country including conferences, radio broadcasts, through news items and by means of the print media.

In the field of education, the language policy and directives have caused much debate with some stakeholders supporting both endeavors as beneficial methods to increase the number of English speakers in Eswatini and to simultaneously, maintain the number of competent SiSwati speakers. Others, however, view it negatively, believing English is an ineffectual medium of instruction for early education and will subsequently decrease the quality of the education in Eswatini if

teachers insist on its use in the early primary school years (Dlamini & Kamwendo, 2018). Dlodlu (2016) on the other hand, believes that English in Eswatini has the most prominent status in the education sector and is accorded high rank in society, so it might as well be used depending on the location of the school. All these views cannot be overlooked when discussing issues of language policy in the country and in exploring these issues I have depended on my discussions with the people who can articulate this well. These are the persons who are actually involved in the implementation of the policy and directives, that is, the principals and teachers.

Another directive of December 2019 (as I have touched upon it briefly under the previous heading) was pronounced by the Minister of Education and Training, Lady Howard Mabuza, another politician. She announced that English was no longer a failing subject. Surprisingly, tertiary institutions like the University of Eswatini and teacher training colleges expect that someone should have passed English before they could gain admission. Dlamini (2022) shares that such a directive could increase inequalities in Eswatini thus exacerbating the existing problem of getting Swazis into the job market. Principals and teachers too have responded with astonishment to such a directive but the expectation is they are to implement the directive.

1.7 Problem statement

Ever since the first Education Sector Policy was published in 2011, it has been noted that not all schools follow what is stipulated in the document regarding the medium or language of teaching and learning (LoTL). In 2015, 773 out of 23 066 Grade Seven pupils sat for the French examination instead of SiSwati and this is after the publication of the Education Sector Policy (Examination Council of Swaziland Report, 2015). There are also directives that are published which principals and teachers do not implement uniformly across the sector (Dlodlu, 2016). To a certain extent the language policy and the directives have ushered in, what could be regarded as anarchy, as stakeholders question the logic and applicability thereof. However, some individuals praise the language policy and directives. These debates have spilled into schools resulting in some principals and teachers deciding not to adhere to the language policy embedded in the education sector policy document (Mthethwa & Dlamini, 2017). Principals and teachers are faced with the issue of books being written in English and having to teach in SiSwati in the first four grades. The result is that a great deal of translation of texts has to be done, and if

translations are not available, it means there is a lot of code-mixing in classrooms which the language policy does not account for. So, when it comes to the implementation, the aims of the policies and directives, it seems, have not been fully achieved and as a country we are not aware of the principals and teachers' responses which may account for their behaviour.

This year (2023) is the thirteenth anniversary of the first Education Sector Policy document that was published in 2011. Unfortunately, without proper direction being given to teachers regarding the suitable terminology that should be used during teaching and learning, the outcomes are unsatisfactory. It makes it difficult for teachers to teach in SiSwati considering that Eswatini, a developing country, is totally dependent on South Africa her neighbour. Her pupils, who are a product of the Swazi education system, are expected to fit into the tertiary education and professional systems of South Africa, the Southern African Development Community region and the international community. As English is the leading medium of international communication in sports, science and technology, politics and business, it places English prominently in language rankings internationally. While English has over centuries developed a large corpus of sophisticated concepts, SiSwati still has to develop and approve new lexicon to name concepts. This then creates a dilemma for the teacher who has to employ SiSwati as the LoTL.

Since there is a directive that English is no longer a failing subject in any grade, even at the end of the primary school cycle (Year 7) pupils who fail English will not repeat a year. Similarly, at the end of the junior secondary level (Year 9), pupils write an examination which does not place emphasis on English but which ushers them into the senior secondary level. Paradoxically, at the end of Form 5 (Year 12) pupils are expected to pass English. The dilemma for primary school teachers is the choice between preparing the pupils for life after primary school and beyond or to prepare them just for the primary school requirements and therefore, pay no attention to future needs.

1.8 Focus of the study

As a thriving field of study in the last epochs, language policy has been researched in many different settings. Within the versions advanced by Kloss (1969) and Cooper (1989), language policy is about the category of languageges and incorporates corpus planning, status planning, and language acquisition. Later, Spolsky (2008) later refers to it as language education policy or

language-in-education policy. Within this context, education is so tactical in implementing a state's language policy. Furthermore, Menken & Garcia (2010) share that it is premeditated to announce top-down language policies. Lwately, principals and teachers have also been known as policy makers, ordaining bottom-up language policies. This in part clarifies the interest in studying language policies in education.

While it is true that there is need for persistent enthusiasm in understanding language policy in education, there have been very few studies conducted in early childhood education settings for primary school going children. This is the research gap that I attempt to address in this study. Primary school going children are at crucial stage of development, more specifically in language. It is therefore in the best interest of children, families, schools and societies to have a better understanding of language policy processes taking place in collective settings such as primary schools.

1.9 Rationale

When the Eswatini government published the Education Sector Policy in 2011, it created a new area of study in the country regarding language policy. It is the teachers who are tasked with implementing the Education Sector Policy. Teachers' perceptions, perspectives, feelings and what teachers actually do and the outcomes thereof, are important areas of inquiry to establish their responses to the official language policy and directives. The principals too, who are tasked with the supervision of the all that takes place in a school which touches upon the official language policy and directives, their responses take precedence in this study.

Governments over the world are influenced by UNESCO conventions such as the 1953 ruling on mother tongue instruction in the early years. So, exploring what the principals and teachers have to say about the language policy and directives in Eswatini which are aligned to UNESCO's language declaration is another interesting dimension to examine more deeply. Also, the existence of private and government schools in urban areas as they normally conduct their lessons in English. On the other hand there is the country's language policy and directives which emphasize on mother tongue education then the principals and teachers' responses are necessary to explore. Another problem linked to this one is the principals and teachers confidence in the non-adherence to government's proclamation. The study sought to unearth their thoughts, feelings, attitudes regarding the official language policy and directives.

The carrying out of this research is also aroused by the awareness that most studies of language policy in the country whether its formulation, implementation or modification are inclined to focus on the pupils' views. As the policy and directives were pronounced in Eswatini, I was interested in examining the responses of principals and teachers. This research is not a deliberate intention to marginalize other stakeholders in the field of language policy. Instead, it merely explores the principals and teachers' responses to the language policy and directives in Eswatini. It could stimulate a broad-minded approach for researchers who will be interested in this phenomenon, specifically in Eswatini where there is a lack of knowledge in this research area.

1.9 Location of the study

The context of this study is a group of five primary schools located in the Hhohho region of Eswatini where the capital city, Mbabane, is located (pseudonyms have been used to refer to these schools as per ethical considerations). These five primary schools were selected as research sites as they represent the five types of schools found in Eswatini. These schools whether government, company, private, mission or community-based and their communication operations are guided by the country's official language policy and directives. A brief description of each school follows.

Daffodil Primary School is a semi-urban company established institution. Even though it is a company school the teachers are employed by the state. The company houses the teacher and takes care of other operational costs like maintenance and teachers' incentives.

Daisy Primary School is an urban, government school. It represents the type of school where most of the Swazi population sends their children to as they believe it will lead to better employment opportunities. Close to Daisy is Tulip Primary, a privately-owned school, also in an urban setting. There are two more schools, Lilly, a community-based school and Rose Primary a mission school. Both schools are found in rural settings.

1.10 Critical questions to be answered in this research

1. What are the principals' and teachers' responses to the official language policy in Eswatini?

This research question seeks to ascertain the principals and teachers' views with regards to the official language policy in Eswatini.

2. What are the principals and teachers' responses to the directives in Eswatini?

This research question seeks to establish the principals' and teachers' opinions of the directives in Eswatini.

3. What is the nature of the principals and teachers' responses to the official language policy and directives?

This research question will reveal the characteristics of the principals and teachers' responses to the language policy and directives.

1.11 Objectives of the study

1. To ascertain the principals and teachers' responses to the official language policy and directives in Eswatini.
2. To explore the principals and teachers' opinions of the directives in Eswatini.
3. To determine the nature of the principals and teachers' responses to the official language policy and directives in Eswatini.

1.12 Limitations of the study

Notwithstanding the fact that I attempted to perform all what is necessary for this challenging undertaking, there were matters beyond my control which resulted in a number of limitations.

I assumed I would have a challenge of gaining access into the research sites. In order to deal with this trial, I requested written consent from the Ministry of Education and Training to get into the schools. Also, I anticipated a problem of participants who might not be free to share truthful

information therefore I guaranteed them confidentiality during the whole research as well as obscurity by use of pseudonyms. I also had to assure that the participants' specific contextual fine points will be altered so as to conceal their identity.

The additional setback that I was faced with was that of the period I was left with before finalizing my research. To abate this challenge, when my allocated time for my study elapsed, with the assistance of my supervisors, I requested an extension by a semester (six months) so I could finish my study. The dearth of literature on language policy in Eswatini was another problem that was liable to disturb the study. To alleviate this hitch, I had to review literature on language policy on other African countries and beyond to gain intuitions on principals and teachers' responses to the official language policy and directives. The biggest challenge was that the literature I reviewed had an unfamiliar sociolinguistic, political and economic background different from that of Eswatini. To mitigate this, perceptions acquired from the literature were examined and construed in the Eswatini context.

Since I wanted to generate new ideas on the responses of Eswatini principals and teachers through discussions with them, I decided to do a case study which shall be explained in detail in the Methodology section. I was motivated by two factors. The first was a case study would allow me to obtain so much information in detail by just looking into the principals' and teachers' responses to the official language policy and directives.

The study was limited to five primary schools in Eswatini. It also focused on five principals and five teachers of all the teachers and principals in country. This implies that the results relate to the schools under study. Consequently, they cannot be generalized to schools countrywide since the settings from which data were gathered are not the same.

Moreover, I gathered data from principals and teachers only. The study aimed to solicit principals and teachers' views on the language policy and directives hence other stakeholders such as parents, or even inspectors, were not identified as participants from whom data could be gathered.

Since I was the only data generator and analyst in this study, I was cognizant of the biases that could have prejudiced data gathering and analysis equally. Considering that I am teacher, I may have unconsciously undertaken the study with some predetermined opinions. In addition, I had to consider the fact that I work in the same region where the five schools are found. This, in my opinion, is the chief limitation in my study. These two aspects could have steered my participants

toward providing data to please me. I consciously attempted to alleviate my preconceptions by giving and explaining the objectives of the study, especially the use of pseudonyms for schools and participants. I also used different data generation production methods to evade some of the preconceptions and made-up responses during the fieldwork stage.

1.13 Organization of chapters

This study consists of seven chapters that are structured in the following manner:

Chapter 1 handles an overview of languages of Eswatini, history of SiSwati, language policy and directives in Eswatini. The problem statement is stated, the location of the study, limitations of the study, and the objectives of the study are indicated. The significance of the study is explained. Finally, the thesis outline is tackled before the conclusion of the chapter.

Chapter 2 explains the theoretical framework underlining and sustaining the study.

Chapter 3 reviews literature linked to the study and concentrates on the language policy and the recent directives in Eswatini. The review critically considers the significance of the official language policy and directives and, their relation to educational change. Specifically, the review takes account of the role of the stakeholders in language planning and policy implementation, principals and teachers' responses to the official language policy and directives, and the status of native languages in Africa and the status of SiSwati in Eswatini.

Chapter 4 gives the methodology employed in this research. It explains the context of the study, the research paradigm, the research approach and design, the sampling technique, the sample, pilot study and how the data was generated and analyzed. Trustworthiness, credibility, dependability, transferability and conformability were employed.

Chapter 5 contains the findings, how they were classified. The chapter also contains the discussion of the findings grounded in the themes, research questions, theoretical framework and literature review.

Chapter 6 attends to the third objective that theorizes the study which relates to the nature of the principals and teachers; responses.

Chapter 7 offers the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

1.14 Chapter summary

In summary, this chapter introduces the study and briefly sheds light on the set-up of the country as a kingdom, landlocked by countries that operate differently (politically, socially, culturally and economically) to Eswatini. The overview of the language used in Eswatini, in the next section, does not only name the official languages in the country but also mentions how the country developed into a bilingual state and how its people perceive the language of teaching and learning (LoTL). This is followed by a section that highlights the part played by two languages in the education system, especially at primary school level, which is the specific focus of this study. SiSwati as a language of instruction is dealt with, next. This section highlights the consequences in schools where siSwati is expected to be used as the medium of instruction and is aimed at creating an understanding of the different scenarios that are produced in the tiny country which relies on its neighbours for its existence.

Language policy and directives in Eswatini schools are introduced in this part in order to clarify how policy is published and communicated; and how directives are issued and implemented in the education sector. This is followed by the problem statement, the rationale as well as the location of the study. I then moved on to report on policy, practice and educational context of the study. The critical questions to be answered in the study are spelt out and the limitations are stated in this chapter. This is followed by the organization of the rest of the thesis and the conclusion highlights what has already been presented in the chapter.

This chapter covered the overview of the study, and consisted of the introduction, a description of the background, problem statement, rationale, objectives, research questions, limitations and delimitations of the study the thesis outline and the conclusion. The subsequent chapter will address the theoretical framework that supports the study.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter I introduced my study by referring to languages utilized in Eswatini and their use in the country in general and in the education sector, the role of each of the official languages of Eswatini, and the rationale of the study among other items. Since the language policy and directives are implemented by principals and teachers their responses as implementers are relevant to this study. In addition, the opinion of implementers in Eswatini of the official language policy is important so are the responses to the directives. The pronouncement of directives occurs each time government feels there is a need to address certain language related issues in schools and in the country at large.

In this chapter I focus my attention on the theoretical foundations underpinning this study. A theoretical framework is of paramount importance in any study since it acts as a lens through which one interprets the results (Sorensen, 2004). Simon and Goes (2013) share the same sentiments in highlighting the fact that the theoretical framework presents a well-supported validation for a study and helps the reader understand the researcher's perspective. This implies that there is no meaningful study that can be done without referring to a certain theoretical framework, which then acts as the backbone of the study. This emanates from the fact that the theoretical framework offers a valuable insight for any research. Sitko (2013) attests that a theoretical framework informs the research that is currently done such that it even talks to the findings of a study. Therefore, in addition to availing the researcher an informed lens through which to scrutinize reality; it goes further. The theoretical framework also underlies the formulation of the research focus, crafting of the research objectives and research questions, the choice of research methods and data gathering tools, the choice of analytic tools, interpretation of data, as well as the treatment of the overall empirical findings. Undoubtedly, the theoretical framework serves as the thread that holds together the different aspects of any given research.

2.2 Theoretical framework

This section presents the three theories that informed this study which are made up of two of Cobarrubias' (1983) language planning ideologies vernacularization and internationalization,

Althusser's theory of ideology, making use of three of his concepts those being the state ideology, power relations and experience; and globalization.

Vernacularization, one of Cobarrubias (1983) four ideologies, explains how an African language, SiSwati, has been elevated in the Eswatini classroom where it is used for teaching and learning at primary school level. Internationalization will help explain how an international language, English in the case of Eswatini primary schools, is used. Kamwendo and Dlamini (2016) explain that the use of English is in order to enable learners and educational institutions to connect with the international community. Therefore, these two ideologies will also expound on the education policy that currently controls teaching and learning in Eswatini schools and also give a better understanding of the country's language ecology. The other two ideologies coined by Cobarrubias are linguistic pluralism and linguistic assimilation which will not be utilized in this study. The second theory underpinning the study is Althusser's ideology, where I will utilize three concepts. These will enlighten how the values of the state are transmitted through education, specifically through the language policy and directives. Also how experience and power relations influence policy formulation subsequently its implementation.

Globalization will help clarify why it is important to be connected to the rest of the world through English, the most globally taught language nowadays (Nxumalo, 2016).

2.2.1 Althusser's theory of ideology

Louis Althusser was a French philosopher who first published his dogma in 1970. In his work titled, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" he explores how the dominant structures impose their rule by delicately molding the citizens through ideology. Ideology has been defined by Engels (1974) as "false consciousness" which is used to refer to the ways and means in which domination is justified, naturalized and prolonged in society, and to the hidden ways in which the cultural procedures seek to safeguard the enduring control of the ruling class. Althusser's writings highlight the need to prepare for a transformation that is concerned with emancipating the working class (Althusser, 1970). He held that ideology is the dominant force behind the control of hegemonic establishments. Unlike Engels, Althusser describes ideology as an imagined relation to the actual affairs of existence. He suggests that the concepts of representations that concoct ideology, do not have a spiritual presence, instead, it is a physical existence (Althusser, 1969). The physical existence, as Althusser explains, it is dualistic in

nature. The interpretations that comprise ideology are grounded in the material domain. Such depictions exist in entities and structures that support certain ideologies, their joint concepts and belief structures. Furthermore, ideologies subsist in apparatuses and their practices that also have material actualities (Althusser, 1970). Dowling (1984) claims that Althusser's conception of ideology is located within an altered Marxist model. Dowling's assertion is based on Althusser's (1969) belief that ideology is an influential array of practices in which everyone regardless of gender, age, or class contribute. Simelane (1995) avers that in Eswatini the dominance by the monarchy is exercised by consent and coercion. The power that the state has is then used to manipulate Eswatini politics and to consolidate traditional and patriarchal institutions. This has resulted in the uninterrupted domination and control of the Swazi people by the state through the use of various Ideological and Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs) (Davies, 1985). In the case of this study, the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) will be mostly referred to, which include the education which is given to the people by the Ministry of Education and Training, a government wing which pronounces the language policy and directives; media through which the language policy and directives are publicized and the law which stipulates the official languages and the LoTL in the different levels of education in Eswatini.

Althusser (1970) also argues that the state has two components, a repressive state apparatus (RSA) which includes the army, the police, and the law courts which enforce class domination directly. The other constituent is the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs), which maintain complicity and identification with a certain class in society. Althusser (1970) describes ISAs as the institutions such as education, churches, family, media, trade unions, and law which were formerly outside state control but which serve to transmit the values of the state to the people who attached to these institutions. For instance, in Eswatini, the media has been employed by government to consolidate the power and ideology of the ruling class thus the state is able to control the people through publication in the media more especially the print media (Simelane, 1995). This continues to be the case as the most recent directives in Eswatini were published in the daily newspapers, the Swazi Observer and the Times of Swaziland of 2018.

In Althusser's view, the ideological apparatuses can properly be described as belonging to the state. ISAs are not permanent or even stable; their ability to produce ideological practices is

always limited and threatened by a basic contradiction of the class struggle (Martin, 2013). Althusser (1976) insists that his entire theory depends on the primacy of class struggle. In fact, there would be no need for IRAs if resistance and struggle were not always present and in need of pacification (Althusser, 1970). Therefore, as mentioned previously, I have used three of his concepts: state ideology, experiences, and power relations.

Althusser (1971) emphasizes that individuals, from any given society, have beliefs that have been shaped by the state ideologies. In the case of this study, principals and teachers are individuals, with their own ideologies that have been influenced by a number of elements existing in the society they live and work in. The principals and teachers, with their different ideologies and cultural capitals, interact with each other, also with the pupils, so there is social influence since the principals and teachers in Eswatini originate from diverse socio-political and economic settings. Also, experiences and the power relations that exist do influence the principals and teachers (individuals) in the school (society). Althusser claims that the power relations are as a result of the state policies which make the individuals to meet and exchange ideas about the policies that govern them. His proclamation illustrates that the concepts are interlinked but they will be discussed separately although they overlap in some aspects.

2.2.1.1 State ideology, language policy and directives

Althusser (1971) explains that the concept of ISA explains the dominant ideology of a country. The dominant ideology of a state serves to reassure its members of their place within the structure of society according to the goals and desires of the state (Therborn, 1982). Therborn posits that all the individuals in the society are exposed to the country's dominant ideology with the expectation of certain kinds of behaviour from all its citizens. In the case of language policy and the directives which are pronounced by government and then implemented in schools in Eswatini, the policy formulators and principals become the agents of the state's ideology. This is so because Althusser's approach to ideology concentrates on how capitalists replicate themselves by putting special emphasis on crucial political and economic aspects (Althusser, 1971). Matsebula (1975) shares that for Swazis, the conservation of values, customs and norms comprises the love of the country and king; and condemnation of opposing views is a sign of preserving and supporting Swazi traditions. Due to the belief, *Inkhosi, yinkhosi ngebantfu*, (the

king is a king through his people) he is regarded as a symbol of unity, constantly fighting to preserve the legacy of the state (Matsebula, 1975). This idea resonates with Therborn's (1982) notion of ideological supremacy, in that; the king is customarily viewed as the rightful ruler of the Swazi people. In view of the king's unassailable position and status, he has the right to command undivided loyalty from the Swazis and to relish absolute power (Levin, 1992). As per Swazi custom, the belief is that Swazis are a humble group of people; they resort to negotiation as opposed to violent altercations (Matsebula, 1975). Anyone who does not advocate for such standards is regarded as an outcast by the citizens (Matsebula, 1975). Therefore state ideology functions in causing individuals to approve of exploitation (Therborn, 1982). Nevertheless in the Swazi political set-up, such consent is not deliberately granted. The major component of the state ideology is that personnel should do their duty toward both their employer and their country (Therborn, 1982). Althusser argues that in the state's quest to improve the country, through education, the dominant ideology is used. It is through the policies that are formulated that the state will enforce its ideology. The power that the agents exert helps in convincing the individuals targeted to obey the authority vested in them. Althusser postulates that individuals are forced through policy to comply with the wishes of those in power. However, compliance is not an automatic response by all individuals as it can result in resistance to policy implementation (and directives in the case of Eswatini). Consequently, principals are expected to supervise the teachers who implement the language policy and directives in the classroom. The state is of the view that the language policy and directives will assist the pupils to do well at school and at the same time be global citizens. Therefore, through them (language policy and directives) the ideology of the state is conveyed, whether through consent or coercion. Ivanon and Sautkin (2008) are of the view that ISAs are practiced even within the family a base structure to maintain the status quo. The family, together with the principals and teachers, purportedly, want the pupils to do well at school, perhaps blindly so, as they are unconscious of their complicity in furthering the state's ideology. The language policy for schools in that sense shapes its citizens to become Swazi subjects, fluent in the language the state propagates. Citizenship, language and culture are the vehicles to promote the state's ideology.

2.2.1.2 Power relations

Considering what Althusser (1971) has explained about the state ideology function, it is apparent that power relations are embedded in every individual who has a position of authority at home, school and in government. Power, according to Fairclough (1989) can be classified in different forms, such as state power, social power, ideological power and economic power. Such instances of power, he believes give way to hegemony. Fairclough (1992) asserts that hegemony is governance and domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of society. Simply put, social power results from hegemony in a society which portrays ideas and issues such as gender as a natural status quo and to which people subscribe to without knowing it or questioning it. Using the notion of social power to discuss social relations, this study also focuses on traditional power which is located in the Swazi way of life since independence (Dent, 2017).

Ladkin (2017) believes that institutions such as schools, with their procedures and practices, play a part in making an individual comply with the ideology of the state. Dent (2009) continues that using the same policies helps in homogenizing knowledge, and making the same knowledge available to pupils. In the case of Eswatini, all pupils at primary school level are expected to: (i) be taught in SiSwati from Grade One to Four; be taught in English medium in Grade Five as per the policy; teach every pupil SiSwati as a subject as per the directive of 2017. The teachers are expected to implement the language policy and directives as they are the ones who have direct contact with the pupils in schools. With the power and control that they have in the classrooms it becomes an individual choice to implement what the state expects from them. The same can be said of the state considering the power and control it has over the principals and teachers, the language policy and directives are simply proclaimed for the individuals to adhere to.

Therefore, Tollefson's (2006) assertion that not all individuals in the social groupings exhibit the same amount of power fits in with the Eswatini situation. Given that the traditional power that is applied in the country accords policy makers with authority to formulate and proclaim policies and directives which unfortunately do not have much influence in the classroom where the teachers work. It is evident that principals and teachers are not even keen to provide responses to the language policy and directives formulation and evaluation because they are not involved in those stages of a policy. Their responses focus on implementation, where they exercise their power.

Foucault (1978) though informs that where there is power and control, the individuals are bound to resist. Hence, McWhorter (2010) clarifies that challenging the system shows that opposing domination starts with self-resistance by recognizing the situation one is in, in that situation. McWhorter's assertion demonstrates that principals and teachers too have the ability to show resistance. They may go to class but do what is contrary to the official language policy and directives.

Even though Foucault (1978) defends resistance as a worthwhile option, he maintains that it can be controlled. Since power relations are intrinsic to all domains of an individual starting from the family unit, to school up to the way they are governed, there has to be a way to deal with the individual's differences for the pupils' benefit. If people are governed in a way that they are allowed to make choices and decisions with support from the state according to their preferences they tend to abide and adhere to new policies (Foucault, 1978).

2.2.1.3 Experience and policy implementation

Althusser (1971) believes that ideology has a deep relationship with individual experience. Subsequently, a teacher's previous experience is integrated with the present so as to easily interpret and integrate new experiences that are prevalent in any new policy. Gadamer (1975) highlights that experiences are circular in that an individual has to review his or her steps to link past experiences with new experiences if connected well, they foster a sense of continuity in an individual. There is never a point where experience is closed or ended, according to (Gadamer, 1975). Dewey (1997) justifies that the present, past and future experiences present continuity as they are often integrated and revised to use at any given moment. Therefore, the teachers' experiences impact on language policy in the sense that the teachers tend to rely on the previous experiences when it comes to policy implementation, the policy stage that involves them in Eswatini. Their responses therefore, are inclined to their experiences.

Kant (1992) opines that experiences are multifaceted and multidimensional, that is why implementers may feel frustrated and anxious for various reasons such as not having enough teaching and learning materials, or lack of understanding of the policy that has been introduced. Dewey (1997) therefore stresses the need for interaction among the implementers since

experiences can be educative. Sharing of experiences can lead to a collective sense of responsibility which can be facilitated by the debates on the policy. The prior experiences through interaction with other implementers, executing the teachers' duties, shape how they respond to policies (Debe, 2013). The significance of having experience in order to respond to policies is major and it plays a crucial role in how implementers interpret and adhere to policy.

It should be noted though that neither the state nor governing bodies in schools do attempt to accord the teachers any opportunity of engaging at any level with colleagues so as to share experiences (Safuna, 2017). The pupils on the other hand are less likely to be exposed to the good intentions that the policy could be having, even though it seems appropriate since the teachers depend on their past experiences which are in one way or the other associated with traditional practices (Sithetho, 2018).

Althusser's ideological state apparatus, I would argue, applies to language policy and directives in the case of Eswatini. The state, through the principals and teachers, controls the people by instilling in the pupils a set of ideas which are embedded in the official language policy and directives. The contents of the language policy and directives are beliefs of the ruling class which have been foisted on the citizens. These sets of ideas assist the state in keeping the people unaware of their mistreatment thus easy to control. When pronouncing the directive that teaching and learning in all schools including private schools will be conducted in SiSwati and that all pupils have to learn SiSwati; the Prime Minister explained that the directive was based on UNESCO principles regarding the medium of instruction. The Swazi people had no alternative but to accept what had been pronounced. As per the Swazi custom, the belief is that Swazis are humble (Matsebula, 1975), a dogma which is utilized even to this day. It does assist the ruling class to sustain its dominance. The relationship between the state and its citizens is supported through state ideology and its apparatus. It is through the manipulation that the pupils are prepared unaware to accept what is brought to them. Considering that there is a directive of December 2019, stating that English is no longer a passing or failing subject yet a credit pass is a requirement for admission in tertiary institution (Dlamini, 2020), the stakeholders rejoiced at the announcement that the pupils would not have to repeat a class any more if they failed English. However, real life consequences manifest when students seek admission at tertiary institutions.

There is very little that the principals and teachers can do but to secure the ruling class hegemony through the service that they provide, which is education. While the structure and function of ideology is fixed and exists throughout history (Althusser, 1971) it is perpetuated by school principals and teachers who normalize Eswatini's hierarchical society. Ostensibly, their responsibility is to ensure that what has been proclaimed by the state is carried out.

2.2.3 Cobarrubias' language planning ideologies

I have already stated that I will use two of Cobarrubias' (1983) four language planning ideologies, those being vernacularization and internationalization.

Vernacularization denotes a state whereby a native language is elevated and is used for official business (Cobarrubias, 1983). An illustration of vernacularization in Africa is in Tanzania where the use of KiSwahili as the LoTL in primary schools is emphasized (Babaci-Wilhite & Geo-Jaja, 2014). Mutembei (2014) asserts that KiSwahili is one language in Africa which continues to pave way for a reasonable education system with an eventual development of Africans. After Swaziland had gained independence in 1968, SiSwati was introduced as an official language and as a LoTL (Mordaunt, 1990). Even today, SiSwati is used as a medium of communication since it is the only indigenous language in the country. Still at school, the official language policy encourages the use of SiSwati and the pupils are not supposed to be punished for using their mother tongue (EDSEC, 2018). Since the official language policy encourages the use of SiSwati within the school premises, a formal setting, Eswatini backs Cobarrubias' vernacularization.

In this study the ideology helps to account for the stance of Eswatini in relation to the use of the native language, SiSwati in the school setting and what the principals and teachers' responses are towards its inclusion in the language policy and its stipulated use. It also explains the choices that teachers make in their space, the classroom where they implement the official language policy and directives. This is specifically in respect of the directive that English is no longer a failing subject in schools; and the one that relates that SiSwati has to be learnt by every pupil.

Cobarrubias (1983) defines internationalization as using a non-indigenous language, either as an official language or as a LoTL at school. As stated in the introductory chapter, in Eswatini, English was granted an official status in 1968 when the country attained independence thus it is used as a language of wider communication and as a LoTL. Further than that, Tollefsen (2014)

adds that the great impact of internationalization in higher education is on the language of research and scholarship, which increasingly favours English since it has the largest readership. Consequently, countries have opted to teach in English and teach English at an advanced level so as to prepare the pupils to cope with academic writing that is in English. Consequently, the learning of English has been shifted to the early stages or beginning of primary school education (Tollefsen, 2014). Considering Tollefsen's assertion, English therefore has become an essential skill that has to be grasped. Subsequently, the educational accomplishment for anyone with limited access to excellent English education will be constrained. Furthermore, Tollefsen adds that with the increased mobility around the world, with the surfacing of various centers of economic and political power, coupled with the increasingly permeable boundaries of all forms, one needs not to be competent in English only. Comprehension of a third or even a fourth language; will shortly be a basic requirement globally (Tollefsen, 2014). Tollefsen's contention emphasizes the importance of being competent in English, at least, for an individual to survive in the ever-changing and competitive world.

Cobarrubias adds that internationalization is common in multi-linguistic contexts since an international language gets used to unite the people. Even though Eswatini in a monolingual state, English is used as it helps to connect the state with the rest of the world. Also, some families communicate in English even though locally there is only one indigenous language, SiSwati as stated earlier. Nonetheless, English is used mostly in official domains such as school, government sector, the judiciary and media (Dludlu, 2016).

With the language policy in Eswatini emphasizing on the teaching of English from Grade One which is not taught in SiSwati and then the teaching of all the subjects in English in Grade Five, embraces internationalization. On the other hand, private schools and some urban schools use English as a LoTL as early as Grade One. They are concerned just like Tollefsen has emphasized on the high-quality teaching in English which is intended to add English competence to pupils' linguistic collection. Such a practice is vital for educational parity in Eswatini as much as it is in South Africa, United States, United Kingdom and much of Europe (Tollefsen, 2014). The practice ensures that all pupils have the opportunity to gain the full benefits of educational provisions. It is for that reason that I feel internationalization is relevant in this study. It demonstrates that Eswatini is not myopic; the country is determined to produce pupils who will

be helpful not only locally but in the international community as well. The pupils' exposure to English will broaden firm networks from domestic to international markets and offer them opportunities to tap into many different networks; also, the increased international awareness of deeper engagement with global issues by the pupils.

Vernacularization and internationalization in this study will help to account for the stance of Eswatini regarding its language policy specifically the principals and teachers views regarding Cobarrubias' two language planning ideologies. It also explains the choices that teachers make in their space, the classroom where they implement the official language policy and directives; specifically, the directive that English is no longer a failing subject in schools; and the one related to the fact that SiSwati has to be learnt by every pupil in all the grades.

Kamwangamalu (2010) asserts that in Africa, there is an effort by some countries which involve replacing economically influential ex-colonial languages like French, Portuguese and English with demographically majority ethnic languages as media of teaching and learning. He also shares that a number of the African elite openly profess the advancement of native languages as media of instruction at the same time sending their own children to schools where the LoTL is a former colonial language. Nonetheless, in this study vernacularization will help unpack Eswatini's policy makers' idea of having SiSwati as a medium of instruction from Grade One to Four but saying nothing about the LoTL at pre-school, emphasizing the LoTL through the March 2017 directive that SiSwati is compulsory subject for every pupil and further proclaiming that English is no longer a passing or failing subject through the December 2019 directive.

2.2.4 Globalization and communication

Giddens (1990) defines globalization as the escalation of worldwide social relations connecting distant places in such a way that local happenings are influenced by events occurring a thousand of miles away and vice versa. It is with that understanding that Abdalgane (2020) highlights that globalization affords human nature a number of new prospects to share and exchange experience, ideas, knowledge, findings with any person from any part of the world. He believes that against a background of quick technological change and the fact that globalization results in cross-cultural dealings, therefore it has radically impacted on communication. Not only has

globalization affected communication, Hamid, Bisschoff and Botha (2014) highlight that the Eswatini education sector has developed in size and shape with regards to the current teacher work profile which consists of local and international teachers. The scenario has resulted in an atmosphere of diversity. This kind of diversity according to Hamid, Bisschoff and Botha is as a result of globalization, national and international skill demand, and labour migration. Apparently, the country cannot evade globalization and its effects including the LoTL in schools where foreign and local teachers work and are joined by their children in these schools.

Blommaert (2010) communicates that sociolinguistic settings are being speedily altered by globalization processes. Even though the spread of English is not at all the only language phenomenon associated with in such changes (Duchene & Heller, 2012), it is possibly the most noticeable and debatably one of the most critical. English negotiates transnational movements of economic and cultural resources, knowledge and countries regularly see improving English proficiency among their people as essential for integration into increasingly globalized economic and political institutions, networks and markets (Block, Gray, & Holborow, 2012). On this account, English is normally described, time and again as the ‘global language’. Nonetheless, as Park and Wee (2012) show that the spread of English is not only a pertinent demonstration of how our world has become ever more interrelated. It is also a major example of the dilemmas and problems that globalization provokes or aggravates. These challenges include growing inequalities in income, wealth, equity of opportunity between the citizens and the state (Blommaert, 2010).

Tollefsen (2014) adds that restrictions on access to high-quality education must be understood within the context of three major social changes associated with globalization that specifically affect language policies in education. He lists these social changes as the migration of labor, urbanization, and the increase in demand for workers with secondary or higher education and with specific skills in language and literacy.

Nguyen (2016) explains that people can no longer afford to merely communicate within their own homogenous ethnicities. Instead, they have to understand the dynamics of long-distance association, the influence of culture on behaviours of communication, how people can use technology to connect with others anywhere in the globe (Nguyen, 2016). Given that

globalization has presented us with virtual communication and cooperation as a major part of workplace changes so it is crucial to appreciate the challenges of virtual connections which are conducted through language (Abdalgane, 2020).

Claassen (1995) posits that living in an age of globalization, means that time and space is compressed, resulting in a single global village. In this research, therefore, globalization and communication will give a clear perspective on the role it plays in education specifically in Eswatini's official language policy and directives. In a country where the language policy specifies that English is the medium of instruction in Grade Five, globalization as a theoretical framework will put in a nutshell the gist of the research which is to determine the principals and teachers' responses to the language policy and directives. Therefore, I aim to use the framework as a lens through which to understand the findings relating to language policy and directives; and more especially their crafting and implementation. Todorova and Todorova (2018) attest that languages are a lifeline of globalization, to be devoid of language globalization would not be possible. So, the theoretical framework will account for the principals and teachers' responses regarding the two official languages embedded in the country's language policy and directives. Even though Poggense (2016) highlights that globalization is also held responsible for steering some languages to extinction, the theoretical framework will delve into that possible assertion in the case of Eswatini.

In this study, globalization will highlight how principals and teachers' responses portray how they think it (globalization) can help everyone to live a modest life and handle different challenges that the people of the world face nowadays. Globalization will also explain whether principals and teachers in Eswatini support teaching in English to all Swazi pupils or they emphasize on the integration of issues of cultural diversification into all aspects of learning.

From a global perspective, challenges include the pressures of globalization and increased volumes of information in English via the internet. In addition, there are many hurdles encountered in promoting bilingual and multilingual education and literacy, which include increasing the number of multicultural teachers, developing appropriate teaching materials and providing safe learning school environments for the intermixed nature of the population. There is

also a need to develop programmes that are compatible with bilingualism and multilingualism, and in essence are relatively expensive. This however, entails changing existing language policies in an effort to accommodate the indigenous languages. Generally, indigenous languages in Africa have failed to occupy a high-status position even where they are officially recognised in the statutes. They have remained languages of informal business yet they are the languages of the majority (Makanda 2011). Most African countries will find it difficult to come up with an official language policy document because any language policy will mean embracing the English language. The official acceptance of English as an ideal language for communication across peoples of multiple linguistic backgrounds in most African countries seems to be perceived as re-colonization by Europe.

2.5 Chapter summary

The chapter reviewed the three theories that were employed in this research, their relevance and how they underpinned the principals and teachers focus when they responded to the research questions. The study is framed within Althusser's theory of ideology, Cobarrubias' vernacularization and internationalization; and globalization.

The subsequent chapter deals with the literature linked to the study concentrating on the language policy, its history and its significance in schools.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter I explained the theoretical framework underlining and sustaining the study. In trying to bring into a clear perspective on what other scholars' views are on issues of language policy and why it is important to have one, in this chapter, I have covered a number of topics tackling language policy how it was enacted, its importance in a country and in the education sector. Literature on language policy implementation both locally and abroad is reviewed. Similarly, language policy in education will be considered together with language policy and power will be covered in this chapter. These issues that will be dealt with in this chapter are linked to language planning and policy (LPP), implementation of the language policy, ultimately practice in primary schools in Eswatini.

3.2 Background of language policy and planning

LPP is one of the speedily emerging sub-disciplines of applied linguistics (Lin, 2015). The LPP domain was founded in the early 1960s by language academics who were entranced in solving language setbacks and problems of all nations (Hult & Johnson, 2015). Cooper (1989) highlights that in the field of LPP; the term language planning was introduced by Haugen in 1959. He described language planning as the occupation of organizing normative orthography, syntax and the vocabulary for the regulation of speakers and writers in a heterogeneous speech community. Haugen's work was then classified as corpus planning, status planning and acquisition planning (Cooper, 1989).

3.3 The advent of language policy and planning

As mentioned earlier, LPP is a relatively new area of study that is rapidly growing; nonetheless scholars have traced LPP formations from the period of World War II. Cooper (1989) locates the development of LPP research in three stages with their corresponding epistemological, socio political and strategic undertakings. Cooper (1989) argues that the period 1950s–1960s, was that of state formation and decolonization whereby research in LPP was conducted under a well-defined paradigm that was adapted towards problem solving.

3.3.1 The 1950s–1960s era

During this era LPP came into existence and many linguists emerged to provide solutions of LPP-oriented issues in light of the colonial ruling globally (Ricento, 2000). Johnson (2004) explores that during this period a number of scholars were enlisted to help develop the grammar, writing systems, wordlists and dictionaries for native languages. Out of this, Johnson contention grew interest on how best to improve the structure of languages, known as corpus planning. Lin (2015) reveals that the advancement of LPP in the 1950s, and 1960s responded mainly to the desires of the newly founded states that had recently attained independence. She also shares that early scholars in the field of LPP were methodological in their approach.

Those researchers realized that their task involved planning, regulating, standardizing, managing linguistic range for national development programs. Furthermore, Hornberger and Johnson (2007) assert that whilst early research presented several macro-level frameworks which assisted in accounting for and guiding national language planning, the modern critical methodologies on LLP concentrate on the hegemony of language policies thus delineating the minority languages. Ultimately, Johnson (2004) clarifies why most of the earlier studies in language planning have had undesirable feedback since it was done by the state and the studies were dominated by positivistic or structuralist epistemology. Also, the frameworks that were used, according to those early scholars, overlooked the socio-political setting in which language planning occurs (Ricento, 2000).

3.3 2 The 1970s – 1980s era

Throughout the 1970s–1980s, LP was considered as a non-political, non-ideological, pragmatic paradigm (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007). Its apparent reason was to get to the bottom of urgent language issues of the developing post-colonial African, Asian and those states form the Middle East. Moreover, the status of languages was of concern at this time. The focus therefore was on establishing a stable language context in which majority languages, usually, English and French, ex-colonial languages were fostered as languages of wider communication (Ricento, 2000).

In contrast, Johnson (2004) argues that during this period, a number of academicians were questioning the usefulness of former prototypes of language planning thus their interest was beyond corpus or status peculiarity. He clarifies further that it was during this era that structuralist concepts and positivistic linguistics paradigms were more and more being opposed.

The analytical linguistics and sociolinguistics scrutinized previous methodologies that endeavored to separate linguistic data from the sociocultural setting in which it was generated. Consequently, these two correlated, yet varied, areas of research have expedited influencing the LPP discipline. Therefore, Hymes (1964) recommends that what needs to be accounted for in any acceptable theory of language is a speaker's communicative competence, which considers not only the linguistic proficiency as explained by Chomsky but the sociolinguistic acquaintance too so as to relate to specific sociocultural settings.

3.3.3 The 1990s to modern contexts

Contemporary developments in LPP further concentrate on the action of local social actors in the policy implementation spaces (Johnson, 2004). These theoretical advancements carry diverse methodological and epistemological bearings. Johnson continues to reason that the critical change in linguistics and sociolinguistics eventually manipulated the discipline of language planning and openly amalgamated into critical language policy in the 1990s, but prior to that, there were at least three crucial developments:

- (a) The interest moved away from language planning being recognized exclusively as something binding by governing groups to a wider focus in several settings and levels of LPP.
- (b) An intensifying interest in language planning for schools which included the ushering of acquisition planning by Cooper (1989).
- (c) The concentration was more on the sociopolitical and ideological quality of LPP.

3.4 Types of language planning

Kummer and Gramely (2008) assert that there are two types of language planning which are status planning, corpus planning and Wright (2004) informs of an additional type, that being acquisition planning.

3.4.1 Status planning

Status planning is concerned with allocating a language social and political rank. Government officers are involved in this kind of planning. The planning incorporates two stages and those

being the selection and implementation. The selection of a language and making it an official medium of instruction amongst other languages changes the status of that language. In Quebec, Canada, politicians ordered that French be given more prominence which then elevated the status of French (King, 2018).

3.4.2. Corpus planning

This type of planning involves the standardization of certain elements of a language which may include the phonemes and morpho-phonemes (Kummer & Gramely, 2008). Sociolinguists and linguists, in general, are in charge of corpus planning. Kummer and Gramely contend that there are two steps that are involved in this type of corpus planning. These phases are codification and elaboration. Examples of corpus planning include pronunciation, orthography, and change in the lexicon, deciding on the type of vocabulary to be used, changes in syntax, register and style. Therefore, corpus planning centers on the advancement of the forms of a language, the lexicon and style manuals.

3.4.3 Acquisition planning

Wright (2004) asserts that acquisition planning aims at explaining the phenomena relating to how learners learn the languages that are assigned as medium of instruction, official or national. Government officials and private organizations that regulate textbooks and dictionaries particularly use this kind of planning. Acquisition planning also centers on how much language is needed and acquired (Wright, 2004). An exemplar of acquisition planning is: Irish officials ordered that teachers teach the Irish Gaelic language at least for one hour in school every day (Ceallaigh & Dhonnabhain, 2015).

From the three types of language planning, it transpires that language planning is supposed to solve communication problems since it warrants the standardization and codification of existing languages.

It is through language planning that a language policy is formulated which then addresses the implementation of the language that have been assigned as national, official or medium of instruction (Kaplan, 2013).

3.5 The importance of language policy

Language policy is a topic apparently that has been given a lot of attention, not just in Africa but globally and is the interest of UNESCO, governments, researchers concerned about the sociology of language, linguists, educators, anthropologists and sociologists (Wright, 2004). Kadenge (2013) outlines that language policy is an official pronouncement made by government concerning the use and advancement of language(s). He asserts that language policies are essentially transitional tools that enable the change of old language functions that need to be cast-off to give way to new language purposes.

Hao (2018) asserts that a good language policy consequently is one that recognizes the cultural multiplicity of the population and further targets to encompass all the languages and cultures at different levels thus endorses a sense of self-determination, self-esteem, whereby all the cultures and minority groups are represented instead of being left out or made to feel any less important. Actually, it should encourage the elevation of aboriginal life skills for continued existence (Batibo, 2015). This assumes that all traditions and cultures of the marginalized group are maintained and safeguarded as important life skills. As a result, every state has a language policy. This policy, nonetheless, varies with how the authorities of the country communicate it (Hao, 2018). Other states have implicit language policies while others have them in official documents.

Goundar (2017) asserts that language policy influences the development of the field by disseminating high quality reports to help put together comprehensive theoretical knowledge of the discipline. It offers papers that address a wide range of situations, cases and regions. Numerous countries have developed a language policy that encourages or deters the use of a specific language or languages (Wright, 2004). She continues that even though nations generally have utilized language policies most often to promote one official language at the expense of others, many countries now have policies designed to protect and promote regional and indigenous languages whose sustainability is threatened. Goundar (2017) contends that government authorities are also aware that affording language rights to all interest groups may in the long-term work as a means of achieving the nationals' trust in government. Therefore, it is important that there is a balance between indigenous and exoglossic languages to avoid the situation that is articulated by Wright (2004) that exoglossic languages have a habit of lending

themselves the worth and prominence that comes with superior social standing much to the detriment of native languages. Such a situation might work against learners who speak the native languages at home and at school (Dludlu, 2016)

3.6 Language policy in Eswatini

When it comes to the language policy, Eswatini does not operate differently from other African countries in the sense that the country's language policy exhibits features of the languages of their former colonial master in their language policy (Bamgbose, 2000). Dludlu (2016) shares that the country's language policy has a constitutional bearing. She continues that both SiSwati and English are disclosed in the National Education and Training Sector Policy of 2018, which controls the education sector when it comes to the languages of teaching and learning at all the levels of education (Grade One to tertiary level). Furthermore, Eswatini has been functioning under the Education Sector Policy of 2011 before revising it in 2018 (Dludlu, 2016).

The official language policy states that English is another official language together with SiSwati, the native language. The policy document states that SiSwati is to be used as the language of teaching and learning from Grade One to Four and then from Grade Five up until tertiary level, English shall become the medium of instruction (NEDSEC, 2018). The official language policy is to be implemented by all stakeholders in the education sector, whether in public or private sector. Mordaunt (1990) highlights that in spite of the nagging problems; English is entrenched in the language policy in Eswatini as the language of teaching and learning. The biggest problem is the one that touches upon the different levels of acquisition and performance of English by different Swazi pupils. When they get into class, their levels of competency are never the same thus putting those with a lower level of competency at a disadvantage (Mordaunt, 1990).

Another problem he highlights is that it does not seem that SiSwati would automatically become the medium of instruction, at least in the foreseeable future. This he explains it is because that English is unmistakable in the media, teaching and learning materials and even in cultural activities. Dludlu (2016) highlights that Swazi pupils recognize the value of English in education and in other domains. To the same pupils though, English contributes highly to the high number of pupils who fail at the end of the year. Even with that reality, the pupils still understand English

to be more significant than SiSwati because of the label that English has been accorded globally. They may not be satisfactorily competent in English but they still think it is crucial for them to strive for improved skills because lacking these skills impede their academic achievement (Dludlu, 2016).

The pupils also view English as a gatekeeper subject in different areas. Dludlu (2016) explains that a gatekeeper subject is one that a pupil needs to pass in order to proceed to the next level of school. If not passed, a gatekeeper subject may be a deterrent to the pupil's academic achievement. The pupils therefore understand that they should have adequate mastery of the English language otherwise they will have a challenge since after Grade Four they will be receiving instruction in English (NEDSEC, 2018). The practice in most Eswatini schools has always been any learner who has failed English would not proceed to the next class. Definitely, those pupils who would fail English in the last class of senior secondary school are not admitted into institutions of higher learning (Dludlu, 2016). The reason being that, those learners who failed English are also recorded as failures hence they do not qualify to go to university or college (Dludlu, 2016). Nxumalo (2016) adds that the English language curriculum does not only determine the pupil's entry into university or college but also regulates whether the pupil is eligible for the award of a government scholarship or not. Therefore, the subject establishes whether the pupil has a future academically or not (Nxumalo, 2016).

Pierson (2015) reveals that there are numerous aspects that impact negatively on the pupils' ability to gain satisfactory English language skills, such as poverty, social and academic background to name a few. Many Swazi pupils come from underprivileged families who cannot provide their children with more than the basic needs in life. As a result, it is a challenge for those pupils to get exposed to English language only inside of the classroom environment. Nxumalo (2016) addresses the issue of a need to have a language policy that will take into account the interests and proficiencies of both rural and urban pupils so they may all have equal chances during the course of their study.

3.7 Language policy and power

A language policy entails official effort to control language use within a society (Kaplan, 2016). Therefore a language policy includes a diversity of pronouncements that people formulate about language. The option of making English the official language of a country gives one example of language policy where a language has been given power. Also, the use of one language in place of another in a state confirms and endorses the high rank of that language and its speakers, placing others lower in the pecking order, thus backing the loss or preservation of a language. Heugh (2013) highlights that language policy is directly linked to communal domination over others utilizing language as a medium to do so. Even though the loss of a language from the world's linguistic context is accepted as natural, usually it is a plain outcome of choices that the people in authority have made. The belief is that language policies are collaborative, politically motivated efforts to sustain power of one group of people over another (Van-Rooy, 2016). Moreover, history offers several illustrations of the use of language policies to uphold power and dominance, most obviously by governments in their efforts to build and force national identity. Aroromi (2018) posits that appreciating the status of a language gives several rewards for the people who make use of it. Among others, the benefits may include easier admission into school, securing more lucrative occupations.

At the same time, language has played a leading function in defeating colonization, and the establishing nations, as speakers of different languages are brought together even though they have been involved in power struggles, usually resulting in language diffusion (Garcia, 2010). Zecca-Naples (2015) clarifies that the spread of Latin in the 17th century at the time of the Roman Empire, there were cases of Arabic which was used to endorse their economic, political and religious missions. The contention supports the belief that language has been to boost goals of colonial control, time and again. This led to English being elevated in Russia, East Africa, Bangladesh, in the former Soviet Union to name a few. According to Lazaretnaya (2012), these countries have included English in their language policy to help bring national identity.

The colonization of African countries gives many illustrations of the power that a language policy yields by advancing social control. In West Africa where most countries were colonized by the French, Africans were characterized by attempts to be assimilated into the French way of life in order to prove that the French language was superior to the native languages (Lazaretnaya,

2012). She continues that the exclusive use of French was sanctioned. In the Brazzaville, during the Conference of 1994, a scheme was framed where communication in local language at school was not allowed. Thus, several local languages were extinct, as they were not used officially. Johnson and Johnson (2014) highlight that the dominance of the language policy as a tool for social dominations is drawn from the detail that language policy often operates as a gatekeeper.

In domains such as civic participation, economic mobility and education is where the control of these languages is experienced. In civic communications, language choices can be used to limit the ability of the people who do not speak the dominant language(s) to take part in elections and political discussion. In some countries, nationality is only permitted to speakers of the main language (Stilz, 2009). In the United States of America, English literacy testing has offered a lawful way of setting apart citizenship, civic participation and residency (Hung & Huang, 2019). Although it has been outlawed since 1870 to prohibit male citizens over the age of twenty-one from casting votes, states in the southern part have approved and implemented English literacy tests as a way of blocking non-citizens from participation. This practice has been going on up until 1965 when the enactment of the Voting Rights Act was sanctioned.

Singh, Zhang and Besmel (2012) express that even though nations generally use language policies to recommend one language to disadvantage others, several countries have drawn up policies to elevate and safeguard regional and indigenous languages. South Africa has upgraded nine local languages to official rank in its new constitution (Heugh, 2009). That is government's involvement in preserving the ethnic languages. The South African example suggests that language policies can be adopted just because they uphold minority languages and present probabilities to the people who communicate in them. Similarly, post-apartheid South Africa reveals, linguistic assortment, can as another possibility be considered as a national resource (Heugh, 2009). Likewise, more progressive language policies can apportion and encourage civic participation and can influence equalizing economic and educational opportunities for everyone involved (Stilz, 2009). That being the case, language policy research lately has mostly supported the implementation of language policies that form prospects which are comprehensive and include almost everyone.

3.8 Impact of language in education

Heugh (2007) posits that language is at the heart of learning in a school. Language becomes a hurdle to learning rather than a conduit for education if it cannot be used for the aim of learning; it becomes a barrier to learning rather than a channel for education. Consequently, a language can be an impediment to learning if a pupil cannot understand a tutorial or maybe the teacher is not competent enough in the medium of instruction (Alidou & Brock-Utne, 2006). An illustration would be that of rural KwaZulu-Natal and some underprivileged places in South Africa and beyond where pupils often have low competence and appreciation of English as the language of teaching and learning (Heugh, 2007). Maswanganye (2010) adds that, teachers are often less confident in English which also becomes an impediment to learning. The connotation of what Heugh and Maswanganye have submitted is that both teachers and pupils have a difficulty in utilizing English as a medium of instruction. The delivery and reception of the subject matter is therefore lowered thus having an effect on the quality of education. As a consequence, the pupils often do little or no talking, writing and reading in English because of the lack of proficiency in English (Alidou & Brock-Utne, 2006).

In harmony with language policies, teaching, learning and assessing of a number of pupils takes place through a foreign language. This situation does not only cause the pupils to be in a handicap, it also steers them to linguistic hitches which cause learning obstacles. Cummins (2000) underscores that pupils who learn in a foreign language are often subjected to low prospects and acumen. While the teachers lack satisfactory training, and resources they often encounter difficulties in developing proper support systems to assist the pupils whose mother tongue is not the LoTL.

Makoe (2007) submits that communication is vital for learning and advancement in both formal and casual contexts. Thus, the disadvantaged schools experience huge barriers to learning and development due to limited access to the medium of instruction. So, the pupils from these schools find themselves excluded from learning. Hence, the lack of exposure to the medium of instruction worsens the language barriers such that the pupils continue to struggle until they get to tertiary level. Cummins (2000) maintains that this situation leads to poor performance at school since pupils from disadvantaged families receive education in second language which is a greater barrier than children from rich families are not exposed to since they attend the most

expensive schools with all the resources. These children are adequately prepared for education in the second language. Then children from poor families experience early school dropout and they become the statistics of poverty, unemployment and low personal advancement (Makoe, 2007).

Even beyond Africa, language has continued to impact on education. To ascertain how much language acquaintance is needed to trigger teaching and learning, Gerena and Ramirez-Verdugo (2014) state that they developed a play-based method which they effected in four public infant-education schools in Spain. Based on the infant brain and language development, the approach underscores social interaction, play, and high quality of language competency from the teachers. The researchers gathered that the pupils who received the targeted technique showed speedy increases in English comprehension, and considerably outclassed their peers who were not part of syllabus, at all ages, in all English tests (Gerena & Ramirez-Verdugo, 2014). The result according to them had big implications for how stakeholders think about second language learning.

Lloyd, Kolodziej and Brashears (2016) remark that learning another language through the play-based approach can enrich the structure and vocabulary of that language, as well as assist the pupils score significantly higher marks in Mathematics and the other subjects. Amy Pace, the Director of Child Language Research Laboratory at the University of Washington, assistant professor and co-author of the study, says that a lot of other studies focus on Mathematics, Science and Literacy without bearing in mind that language could be playing a significant role. She observes that language comes out as a strong prognosticator across all subject areas. She adds that the reason why pupils succeed in Mathematics, for example, could be attributed partly to their strong Mathematics vocabulary in the LoTL.

Nonetheless, regardless of these gains, there are stark differences between Europe and the United States. As most European pupils are learning a second language in school, Americans are trailing behind (Pew Research Center, 2018). They mention that 90% of European pupils are learning a second language at school. Nevertheless, less than 20% of pupils in the United States are enrolled in second language lessons. The implication in this assertion is that exposure to another language and culture can have meaningful developmental benefits for the pupils.

3.9 Language and education in Africa

Researchers in the discipline of language and education in Africa have showed an improved interest in the use of languages in education in the African continent more especially the native languages. Kamwangamalu (2000) decries the fact that any attempt to nurture the use of African languages in education is deterred by lack of genuine support and prolonged negative attitudes afforded to African languages. The matters raised by academics in language and education in Africa cover linguistic pedagogical, institutional, sociopolitical and policy related issues. UNESCO and other international education organizations address strongly the educational aspect of using the pupil's own language as the LoTL, at least in the first few years of formal schooling (UNESCO, 2003). Summits and meetings of researchers, educational specialists and government ministers continue to reevaluate arguments and evidence on mother tongue education. What has become evident is that politically, pedagogically and socially, multilingual education has a great deal to endorse it; nevertheless, the hindrances to its approval and execution in African societies are massive (Kamwangamalu, 2000).

Multilingual education (MLE) relieves the pupils who are taught in their mother tongue since all the words uttered make sense to them. Such teaching and learning considerably increases the pupil's chances of accomplishment in school (Kaschula & Kretzer, 2019). This assertion has been proven many times, in several African countries and globally (Chumbow, 2013). Among the advocates of mother tongue education, the belief is that successful MLE pedagogy is in actual fact multilingual. Consequently, the curriculum is molded around a multilingual classroom setting, with objectives that are intended to suit that situation. The teachers too are specifically educated for multilingual teaching. The languages used and studied at school are valued and recognized for their impact on the pupils' learning (Chumbow, 2013). Kaschula and Kretzer (2019) clarify that the use of a familiar language during teaching and learning results in a strong positive impact which becomes very useful when teaching the reading skill which is a reliable indicator of learning that has been successful. Generally, grasping the reading skill is fundamental for long-term school achievement. Therefore, the MLE classroom ensures that all the other skills are fully understood (Kaschula & Kretzer, 2019). Cenoz (2009) contends that MLE makes considerable sense from a linguistic stand point since it affords pupils in a multilingual setting with an opportunity to begin school in the language they are acquainted with.

Therefore, the development of the other three language skills (reading writing and listening) in the pupil's native language allows faster and less difficulties of the same skills in the foreign languages (Ollerhead & Taylor-Leech, 2019). The submission suggests that the use of the pupils' first language in school facilitates a smooth transition between home and school. This assertion then, according to Cenoz & Gorter (2017), creates emotional stability which turns into cognitive stability. The pupils therefore learn better and faster, and also remember what has been taught for an extended time. That is how multilingual education produces better learning outcomes (Cenoz, 2009).

It is imperative, therefore, that the selection of the languages to be incorporated in multilingual education takes into account both the socioeconomic and educational aspects (Cenoz, 2009). The only worry is that there are languages that are not appropriate for certain purposes, in the education sector (Paulsrud, Zilliacus & Ekberg, 2020). Unfortunately, their assertion is not based on any research. The truth of the matter is that all languages have the aptitude to develop in order to serve any purpose allocated to them (Wen, Biedron & Skehan, 2017).

The results of MLE for policy and practice are significant. For most African states, successful commencement of MLE proposes a range of modifications to the national education policy and its implementation (Odugu & Lemieux, 2019). Heugh (2009) posits that at the initiation stage, the language policy has to be accommodating. While at the same time embracing a variety of practical means that will promote language learning, whereby two or more languages are used as the languages of teaching and learning. Moreover, there is a need for gaining sufficient reading material which will supplement the language arts (Heugh, 2009). The materials needed suggest that for the course to be successful, there are financial implications which Heugh (2013) highlights. She remarks that there is need for an operational MLE schedule that must include the development of the several minority languages including, the enhancement of teaching and learning resources for those languages. The training of teachers and other personnel who are to help execute and oversee the actual implementation of the MLE policy in schools is another necessary element for the success of such a programme. This also comes with extensive financial implication. However, the advantages of such strides outweigh the costs when introducing the programme. Having enough resources also inspires the implementers and supervisors alike

(Hornberger, 2009). A motivated human resource facilitates the implementation of the MLE programme which Africa needs (Kamwangamalu, 2000).

From the sociopolitical viewpoint, scholars of MLE face several significant concerns from stakeholders (Phakeng, 2018). These uncertainties form the base of most opposition to MLE approaches. The concerns involved include: panic over the negative influence on learning and composure in the international language; worry that risking using the mother-tongue in education will have unwelcome educational and political results; and the understanding that nowadays African languages have little significance, some even reveal. These concerns keep resisting research and position that validate their shortcoming (Phakeng, 2018).

Linguistic diversity does not prompt discord as others might believe (McIlwraith, 2013). Where such opposition exists, languages mainly communicate the disharmony. Likewise, antagonism that is caused by social, political and other issues occurs quite without restrictions of language. He also elucidates that it has become evident that a nation cannot have any development if there is restraint of a small group of people, who always rely on other influences outside their own values for backing and appropriateness even in the age of globalization (Van-Rooy, 2016). He continues that languages should not restrain Africa from contributing in the globalized sphere; instead, self-effacing views are by far the greater threat to advancement and admission into the world in the 21st century. Therefore, using African languages as a LoTL bears encouraging academic and rational outcomes for pupils, as well as positive social and cultural results for multilingual citizens (McIlwraith, 2013). Nonetheless, the lack of interest in African languages in education continues to cause serious educational challenges for the African society. Heugh (2008) admits that there is no other continent in the world that has the entire populace that tries to make any progress whether informational or technological through the medium of somebody else's language. There is a need to make critical commitment so as to integrate the languages of African pupils into their learning setting, by way of multilingual education (Heugh, 2008). If not, substantial African intellectual capital and improvement will always be robbed of Africa itself, and the rest of the world.

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With all the research that has been done in the field of language education on the use of African languages in education, the fact remains that English is without doubt, the vehicle for most international communication (Yallew, Langa & Nkhoma, 2021). Consequently, a number of African countries use English as a LoTL (Wright, 2004).

3.10 Language and national identity

I have revealed in 2.4 that language is of great importance with respect to power and its position with ideology (Fairclough, 2001). When coupled with the idea that language divides people into

clusters making it a suitable way of classifying as well as of discriminating on (Bamgbose, 2000), it transpires that the field of language and ideology are crucial.

Present-day sociolinguists agree that ideology is directly associated with economic interests; people and institutions with economic or political power will endeavor to use ideology to support their privileged situation at all costs (Lull, 2000). Bourdieu's (1991) observation that a language signifies a form of treasure or capital that is of symbolic authority which spreads a justification of the concrete, complex ways in which linguistic procedures and products are held, and shaped by, the essentials of power and imbalance which are general features of the populace (Thompson, 1991). Bourdieu's slightly militant style to language was developed as a reaction to what Evans (2011) terms the Saussurian and structuralist methods to language analysis.

These two practices of examination of language, owing to their preoccupation with the core structural components of writings, according to Evans (2011) have failed to recognize wide-ranging concerns such as the historical and social settings of the invention and receiving of texts, which Bourdieu perceived as central concerns when exploring language and power in society. Detaching language from context brought about failure to take into consideration the actual social and historical aspects which influenced the establishment of a set of linguistic practices as overriding and others as minors (Bourdieu, 1991). In dealing with the challenge, Bourdieu proposes a model of language analysis which "is a systematic analogy of the discipline of economics" (Deumert, Mesthrie, R., Swann, Leap, 2001). His model linguistic remarks are always shaped in certain contexts, mentioning that the possessions of these markets provide linguistic commodities with a particular price (Thompson, 1991).

Within this linguistic arcade and communicative wealth, as in ordinary economic situations, some products (that is languages) are more valued than others. It is inescapable that some speakers have acquired more or less linguistic wealth than others. Linguistic wealth here refers to a speaker's competence to produce articulations which are highly valued in the linguistic market. In his study, Bourdieu's theory of linguistic capital is delineated in terms of the professed commercial and values attached to all the eleven official languages of South Africa centering that on the sample populace. With his sample population the theory that some languages are favoured as linguistic capital, with the majority of study participants displaying that they believe that

English is a language with a great commercial value. In the theory, the intricacies of the linguistic market merge and generate a situation in which the reasonable competence can operate as linguistic capital, generating a profit of worth on the instance of each social interchange (Bourdieu, 1991). This is mostly relevant to settings where there is an unlimited level of conventional variation, implying that some languages are more prominent than others due to the exceptional functions they present business, education and many other domains. Therefore, speakers with additional linguistic capital can influence the variety to their advantage and realize a profit of note.

3.11 Language and colonization

The fact that a large number of African countries were once colonized can educate about the place of language in the region. Ngugi (1993) notes that for the duration of the colonial period, the colonists introduced several languages which were aimed at dominating the African people. Mhinda (2017) reveals that establishments known as Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) were founded by the colonial regimes with the only intention being to allow the total suppression of African culture and languages. As a result, the gun made the mining of gold viable through the political incarceration of the Africans who owned the mineral through the use of language. The minds, values and cultures were manipulated (Ngugi, 1993).

In the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire) and Ivory Coast, countries that were colonized by France, French became the official language. Kelly (1982) indicates that even though the French endorsed the use of indigenous languages particularly at school for the first few years surprisingly, principals agreed to use French throughout primary school. They were certain that it was the right thing to do. Through the use of French the school administrators were able to strengthen their authority so as to nurture the minds of the subsequent generations. Consequently, the use of French both as the official language and as the LoTL signified that the colonists utilized language to influence the minds of Africans they had colonized. In addition, the Africans considered French as a uniting power for the colonial field which was nothing but an extension of France (Kelly, 1982).

With British protectorates like Tanzania, Malawi, Kenya and Zimbabwe, to name just a few, English was imposed as the official language and medium of instruction in all schools (Roy-Campbell, 2001). Phillipson (1992) emphasizes that, the British urged the African people to use their native languages in the early years of primary school, which was different from what the French believed. This legacy still continues since Makoni, Smitherman, Ball and Spears (2003) justify that for almost half a century after the UNESCO (1953) declaration on mother tongue instruction. Therefore, in countries like Zambia and Malawi Benson (2004) notes that their being hesitant to consent to mother tongue education has intensified the use of English at primary school and as early as in the first grade (Phillipson, 1992). The existence of this scenario might be attributed to the long periods of colonization in these countries. The colonial encounter also resulted in linguistic imperialism (Phillipson (1992) which he highlights has had ineradicable results on how African native languages are perceived in the post-colonial era. Hence, the bequest of colonialism exists even now well after the countries gained political independence.

Mozambique, a country which was colonized by the Portuguese whereby the colonists also used language to control the local peoples' minds, culture and values using their policy of assimilation. The colonists first stifled the local languages then introduced their language (Ngugi, 1993). The use of local languages was abolished in all Portuguese colonies in an endeavor to make the people unsuccessful in having their own reflections which they may possibly use to view themselves and their colonial bosses (Ngugi, 1993). The suppression of the local languages ensured simultaneously with the elevation of Portuguese as the language of communication in all spheres. Pupils were chastised for communicating in their mother tongue, at school since the intention of the colonizers was to separate the minds of native people from the rest of the world as well as the history borne by their languages (Ngugi, 1993). Subsequently total political and economic authority of the colonized was made certain.

Awoniyi (1982) asserts that those who studied African languages were not guaranteed better paying jobs in Ghana; yet those who had a qualification in the colonial language were sure that they would gain access to good jobs and other prominent positions in the political sector as well as in business and trade. To Africans, their languages were depicted as primitive thus could not be useful in scientific analysis and education in general. This practice still endures since

according to Awoniyi (1982) several Africans still confer a tag of inferiority on native languages. A lot of Africans still believe that African languages are incapable of expressing scientific terms and still think highly of foreign languages. Dawe (2014) though contests that the knowledge of the English language has always been associated with better education; or even national and international competitiveness and improved employment prospects.

Thondlana (2002) observes that in Zimbabwe, English is up to now a condition for getting any employment. Therefore, the colonial hint of making ethnic elites by imposing the former colonial master's languages is still in existence in numerous African states. These elites formed by the former colonial masters took on leadership at the liberation of most of the African countries and have devised policy declarations which have helped them maintain the political, social, and economic distance between them and their fellow country people (Thondlana, 2002).

3.12 English as a LoTL in Africa

Even though scholars have suggested that the use of the learners' native languages for teaching and learning more especially in the first few grades, English continues to be used as a LoTL in a number of African classrooms (Cummins, 2009; Collier & Thomas, 1999). The reason being that in any multi-lingual state, there are certain insinuations on the status of English which makes it preferred (Hadebe, 2001). The predicament results in English, being used as the LoTL. Using a foreign language as a language of teaching results in vaguely written policy statements as observed by Bamgbose (2000) who states that language policies in African states are faced by any of these challenges: vagueness, avoidance, fluctuation, arbitrariness and pronouncement without implementation.

Makoni, Dube and Mashiri (2008) assert that when Zimbabwe gained independence from Britain, class divisions were linked to race. The whites who had colonized the state belonged to the higher class and blacks (the local people) to the lower class. The former colonial master's language, English relished supremacy over the local languages Ndebele and Shona (Makoni, Dube & Mashiri, 2008). The whites' children were educated in government and private schools that were well-resourced and meant for the prominent whites. On the contrary, black children went to schools of abject status. English was used as a LoTL grade one upwards at the prestigious schools (Makona, Dube & Mashiri, 2008). Nonetheless, the majority of

Zimbabweans went to poorly equipped rural and urban schools that were not proficient in the LoTL.

Even after independence English was maintained as the LoTL from primary school up to tertiary level whilst indigenous languages, Ndebele and Shona were taught as subjects (Makona, Dube & Mashiri, 2008. Makoni (2012) proclaims that internationalization has made African countries to maintain English as the LoTL. Chua (2011) observes that introducing English early as the LoTL may not be appropriate to prepare learners who do not speak English at home. The Zimbabwe case, seemingly, is applicable to all African countries that were colonized either by England, France or Portugal (Wright, 2004).

The setback for early introduction of English more especially at primary school level in Africa was also observed by a number of scholars; Kyeyune (2010), Nguen, Sen, Nguen, Nguen, Ming, Hardjojo & Tam, 2011), Vu and Burns (2014). They note that the problem of introducing English, when they get to higher education level they are disadvantaged academically since English was introduced to them before they could master the mother tongue. Learners who are taught in the second language early at primary school before they have mastered their mother language may have challenges in mastering the second language thus using it will be greatly compromised (Ngara, 1982). Ngara further comments that these learners usually are not fluent in the mother tongue and, they lack self-assurance and depth in expressing their ideas even in the second language.

In another instance, Ngara also notes that in their group discussions, learners tend to use their mother language since there is a relationship between intellectual performance and language expertise. Hence, Kamwendo (2014) asserts that the early introduction of English as the LoTL affects the implementation of a language policy since the teachers have to decide how best they can facilitate the teaching and learning process if the learners have not mastered the language of instruction.

The literature that I read on English as a LoTL in African countries has exposed that with English as an international language, none of the African countries is eager to scrap English as a

LoTL at primary school level. Instead, the schools embrace English as the LoTL which is not catered for in any country's language policy.

3.13 Status of native languages in Africa

Talking of the status of African languages and their use in African classrooms, Bamgbose, (2011) avows that these languages seem to exhibit low status. He catalogues some of the causes of the low status of African languages as; colonial legacy, language development status, negative discernment of multilingualism, globalization, national integration, economic development and modernization. He contends that colonial legacy resulted to African languages remaining inferior since the language of the colonial master had been continuously utilized as the language of education, commerce and administration. The connotation is that the colonial language has become an official language in the states which were colonized. The indigenous languages then were left with a low status and remained in that situation even after the states became independent. Addressing the issue of negative perception of multilingualism, Bamgbose (2011) orates that the numerous African languages spoken in Africa resulted in a state where one language had to be selected as an official language to evade costs that would come with, interpretation, translation and publication of documents in a number of languages.

In situations like this, the language that was selected as an official language was a foreign language since none of the indigenous languages were chosen (Bamgbose, 2011). On the same matter Mlwela and Spencer (2013) contend that contemporary languages embedded in language policies of African states have proved that policies need to be examined to ascertain if they are really serving the interests of the learners. Mlwela and Spencer believe that teachers should make use of multilingualism to facilitate the learners' understanding the subject content during teaching and learning in schools. They assert prioritizing African languages as an issue that needs immediate attention. They suggest that the changes be done to endorse the use of African languages as languages of teaching and learning is a bid to stop foreign languages from overshadowing the ethnic languages well after independence. They contend that Africans still despise their local languages yet they have liberty to structure their language policies to suit their needs as they are independent from colonial supremacy

Bamgbose (2011) observes that these indigenous languages are embraced by the language policies; some as the LoTL in certain levels at primary school, others as official languages along with the colonial languages, however it is still arduous to implement those policies. The practice is that the colonial languages continue to dominate over the African languages. One example is that of Zambia, who has maintained English as a LoTL in their schools. Zambia's justification for having English, as a LoTL is that the language creates unity for the nation. The presence of political and social disparities is what prevents unity (Mlwela & Spencer, 2013). They believe these political and social inequities should be done away with for all Zambians to have equal chances. Also, they share that using English, as a LoTL refuses Zambians their linguistic human rights.

They further deliberate that subjects at secondary school, apart from the local language are imparted in the colonial language. Furthermore, if the learners have not advanced their competences in the colonial language, they might have challenges at school. Mlwela and Spencer (2013) claim that this situation is brought about by the fact that the LoTL is foreign, to both the learners and the teachers who are supposed to explain various topics to the learners. Therefore, using only the colonial language as the LoTL, has a harmful influence on learners' intellectual growth.

Bamgbose (2011) contends that language development status one way or the other contributed to the low status of African indigenous languages as a majority of them were not well-developed to be used in fields where official languages are utilized. It is Bamgbose's opinion that national integration likewise impacted the low prestige of indigenous African languages. National integration entailed the idea that the colonial languages were assumed to be the right kits to use when uniting Africans of different traditional groups who talked different languages. Nonetheless, the assertion was not true as it yielded positive fruits a few Africans who were proficient in the imported official languages. Another factor that contributed to such low status for African languages was the belief that modernization can be attained through use of globally recognized language in science and technology.

Bamgbose (2011) believes therefore that globalization is another factor that has resulted in foreign languages becoming dominant over indigenous African languages. Communicating in a widely spoken language between countries and regions was much easier than using an

indigenous language, which the rest of the world did not comprehend. Bamgbose (2011) also highlights that defective language planning and negative attitudes have had a hand in the low status of African languages. He contends that speakers of indigenous African languages have a negative mindset with regards to their languages. They regard them inferior to foreign languages, which are believed to be the languages of the influential nations. It is for that reason that groups of people regarded as low class, struggle as they ensure that their children are taught in foreign languages. Addressing the issue of defective language planning, Bamgbose (2011) declares that language planning in a majority of African countries is not properly done causing a state where languages are not accorded distinct status or specific roles in their countries' language policies. It is for that reason that indigenous African languages have remained inferior even after they have been integrated into their countries' language policies.

3.14 Status of SiSwati in eSwatini

As stated previously in Eswatini, SiSwati is the only local language spoken in the country. Along with English, SiSwati has been designated as an official language. A situation that Bamgbose (2011) clarifies exists in a majority of Africans that were colonized whereby the language of the former colonial masters is adopted as an official language together with a local one. Recently, the government has been actively involved in restoring the status of SiSwati by proclaiming new directives related to SiSwati. During the celebration of the International Mother Language Day, on the 22nd February 2017, the country's Prime Minister during that time, Dr. Barnabas S. Dlamini, declared that all schools in the country, whether private or public were to adopt SiSwati as a LoLT from Grade one to four. He further articulated that all schools were also supposed to offer SiSwati as a subject (Times of Eswatini, 23rd February, 2017). He also mentioned that there would be a SiSwati competency test that anyone wishing to enroll into a local tertiary institution needed to take before being admitted. The critics on this one were of the view that foreign students would not make the grade thus barring them enrolling in local tertiary institutions.

The directives triggered mixed reactions of uncertainty over the (LoTL) that the Prime Minister had emphasized on. Some stakeholders believed that the declarations were just a campaign designed to crush the country's education. This uproar compelled the then Minister of

Education, Dr. Phineas Magagula, to justify the PM's declarations, as a result he clarified that the adjustments would not materialize instantly but they would be properly planned and their implementation would be spearheaded by SiSwati board, (Times of Eswatini, 23rd February, 2017).

The SiSwati National Language Board (SNLB) was instituted in April 2017 by the former Prime Minister Dr. Barnabas Dlamini at the celebration of the International Mother Tongue day occasion (Eswatini Observer, 11 April, 2017). The board was made up of seven members and its fundamental mandate was to revive SiSwati as a language and encourage its use to such a degree that it develops into the major language in schools (Eswatini Observer, 11 April, 2017). The PM explained that this was in no way meant to moderate the significance of English. Nonetheless, it was meant to encourage the implementation of the country's language policy which emphasizes on the use of SiSwati as the LoTL in Grade one up to Grade 4. Clearly this endeavor is government's way of bringing the two official languages into parity.

3.15 Conclusion

It has emerged that most African countries have always included the language of their former colonizers in their language policies, which is used at higher primary school level onwards. For the first few years the language of instruction is the mother tongue which unfortunately most countries do not follow. The issue of English being a language of prestige has been raised which has made policy implementers use and promote it at the expense of the native language which may lead to the extinction of the native language. The subsequent chapter deals with the methodology that was employed in this study.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter a discussion of the background of the study specifying justification for the choice of schools as samples for research locations will be dealt with. Also, the research paradigm utilized in this study will be discussed. The qualitative case study research is discoursed and motives for the choice of this research design are offered. It is explained in this chapter that the case study research design allows an in-depth exploration of the phenomena that interests the researcher. This could involve an individual, group or event (Yin, 2009). With qualitative enquiry, I will be able to mirror on and define the phenomena, not only using one regard but through numerous considerations which permit several sides of the phenomenon to be revealed and comprehended (Thomas, 2010). Nevertheless, rather than theorizing the knowledge pertaining to the official language policy and directives; it is explained in this section that a case study research design entails an empirical examination of a certain contemporary phenomenon in its real-life natural setting using several sources of evidence (Yin, 2014). Likewise, this chapter addresses the nature of data the study seeks to generate. It also deals with the research instruments utilized in the study. The justification for choosing the research methods and how the data was analyzed is also dealt with here. Research validity and reliability are discussed too including the methods used to sample the participants in the study. Since purposive sampling was used as I was targeting a certain group of participants, namely the five principals and five teachers at primary school level in Eswatini. This is a small sample therefore it guaranteed that the study produces rich and valid data. Issues of trustworthiness and ethics are also discussed in this chapter. Singh (2014) notes that the important function of ethical research scheduling is to safeguard the well-being and the civil liberties of the research participants. I have also ensured that ethics and the confidentiality of research participants have not been compromised in any way. Lastly, the summary of the chapter is provided.

4.2 The context of the study

This study attempts to investigate the epistemological core of Eswatini's official language policy and recent directives. It explores the principals and teachers' responses towards both sets of rules

(official language policy and recent directives). It is through an examination of those responses that one will appreciate the repercussions of the official language policy and directives set for the education sector in Eswatini. In order to excavate this fully, it is necessary to understand the social world which then needs to be examined in the context of this study.

The context of this study is five primary schools located in the Hhohho region of Eswatini where the capital city is found. One of the five schools that provided the context of the study is Daffodil Primary School, a semi-urban school. Besides Daffodil Primary School there is Daisy Primary School, an urban school, another social world for the study. It is one of the various schools found in the capital city. In the capital city it is where all the headquarters of the government ministries are located and that is where a sizeable number of the Swazi population lives for better employment opportunities. It is for this reason that there are government schools in the neighbourhood. A private school, Tulip Primary School, is another social setting, and it is an urban school. There are two more schools, Lilly and Rose Primary and these are semi-rural and rural schools respectively.

These five primary schools were selected as research sites since they represent the five types of schools found in Eswatini. These are either government (Daisy School), company (Daffodil School), private (Tulip School), mission (Rose) or community schools (Lily School) are supposed to adhere to the country's official language policy and directives which are published by the government.

4.3 Research paradigm

The study adopted an interpretivist paradigm and qualitative research methods. Therefore, it seeks to reveal the understanding and insights of individuals so as to unearth the reality as opposed to relying on statistics (Thanh & Thanh, 2015). The study sought to reveal the understanding of principals and teachers of the language policy and recent directives. Their responses will not only bring an understanding but will also inform the discussion in the study (Schwartz, 2012).

The participants (principals and teachers) presented their interpretations of the official language policy and recent directives. It is through the data that I gathered that I constructed and interpreted my understanding of the country's language policy and recent directives as presented by the participants. This is based on the fact that the interpretivist methodology supports

researchers in terms of exploring the phenomenon, through the understanding of the participants in their own settings such that the nature of the data is individually constructed (Schwartz-Shea & Yanaw, 2011).

Even though a good number of researchers have utilized paradigms like positivism, post-positivist, critical, post-modern, multi-paradigmatic paradigms, it appears that the interpretive paradigm is not a dominant model of research since it is relatively new, but it is gaining considerable influence because it can accommodate multiple perspectives and versions of thoughts (Taylor & Medina, 2011). Interpretivists believe an understanding of the context in which any form of research is conducted is necessary to the interpretation of data gathered.

According to Schwartz-Shea and Yanow (2011), interpretivism generally pursues an understanding of a certain framework, and the fundamental belief of the interpretivist paradigm is that reality is socially erected. Kivunja & Kuyini's (2017) account is in line with the choice of construal for education researchers, whose purpose is to explore a phenomenon within the understanding of a cluster of teachers or pupils in a particular school; in the process the interpretivist mode is seeking and accepting various perspectives, accepting change, working with iterative methods and developing data gathering methods.

In order to explore views of participants, an interpretive methodology is ideal as it offered a background that allowed me to scrutinize what the participants in my study had to say about their understanding of the official language policy and recent directives and in so doing; I assessed their responses to these. This section will commence with an explanation of what the research approach is.

4.4 The research approach

In this section, I will focus on the research approach that the study followed. The section expounds on why I used the qualitative research method and goes on to put into clear perspective the kind of case study this research is finally crystalized in.

4.4.1 The qualitative approach

The study assumed a qualitative research style. Qualitative research is discovery that leads to new insights as it involves a comprehensive methodology that critically looks at significant facts

in order to appreciate them (Wilcox, 2012). Denzin and Lincoln (2009) add that qualitative research seeks to appreciate entities in their normal setting, trying to make sense or understand the phenomena with regards to the meaning individuals bring to them.

Creswell (2013) supposes that scholars in qualitative research prefer gathering data in the site where the participants practice the problem being studied or case. Kurebwa & Nyaruwata (2013) observes that, the goal of qualitative investigation is to appreciate human experience and behaviour better from the participants' viewpoint. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) also affirm that, people are able to create their own understanding of circumstances. This is in agreement with Kurebwa and Nyaruwata (2013) who declares that social research ought to study circumstances from the participants' perspective in order to understand viewpoints of their domain and in connection with life. As stated by Kurebwa and Nyaruwata (2013) these opinions include actions, thoughts, feelings and ideas.

From the above definitions qualitative research is:

- A real-life investigation
- Uses non-interventionist data production strategies to ascertain normal pattern of events (for instance focus group discussion, non-participant observation and semi-structured interview).
- Explains and analyses individualistic and group social behaviour, perceptions, beliefs and feelings (as observed or heard).

Contrary to quantitative researchers, qualitative scholars do not take participants to the laboratory. Also, they do not dispatch instruments to participants in order for them to fill in. Otherwise, qualitative researchers come up to the actual site, have a talk with the individuals who are involved, and even observe them as they execute their duties within their common setting (Creswell, 2013). Qualitative researchers also participate in face-to-face discussions with participants over a particular period of time (Creswell, 2013). The researchers in such studies are the key means for data generation. This they do by interviewing participants and observing actions. The researchers gather their data using instruments they have developed themselves.

According to Tuli (2010), in qualitative research, the researcher is not supposed to bring with him or herself pre-determined ideas of the situation, however concentrate on the connotation that the participants share about the issue being discussed. The design comes out in the process of the investigation, in qualitative research (Creswell, 2013). This suggests that the plan of study may

not be strongly specified, but all phases of the process may shift or change once the researcher steps into the field for the data generation process. The questions may change, people studied and the locations visited may be adjusted. The utmost importance of qualitative research then, is to unearth the case from participants' perspective. Therefore, this study attempts to understand reality from the participants' point of view because reality is socially structured. I wanted to elicit principals and teachers' perspectives, which would enlighten on the internal dynamics of their responses to the official language policy and directives, how they are affected by their crafting, implementation and reviewing and state reasons why they believe it happens the way it does.

Scholars have agreed that studies and research papers employing qualitative methods deal with fewer participants as compared to quantitative ones. I engaged ten participants (five principals and five teachers) which also qualifies it as a qualitative study. So, the type of data gathered for this research touches upon the principals and teachers' responses. These are obviously human experiences which qualitative research deals with. Through the different data generating methods that I employed, the principals and teachers were heard in detail as they were probed. Wilcox (2012) attests that qualitative research offers facts relating to behaviour of humans, their emotions and personality, something that quantitative studies cannot bring out. Through the three data collection methods that I have employed in this research, I was able to gather information relating to responses of the principals and teachers' to the official language policy and directives in the Hhohho region of Eswatini.

Wilcox (2012) contends that fewer participants minimize the cost of carrying out the research and less time factor that is involved if there are more. It is true that I would have spent quite a considerable amount of time and money had the number been too big. Sticking to these fewer participants, also allowed me to produce rich and detailed data. It is through the use of these two research methods that I have been able to adhere to objectivity, validity and reliability (Rahman, 2017).

4.4.2 Research design

The case strategy was preferred as a research plan as the study was concerned with the exploration from the viewpoint of the individual by focusing on a particular issue (Yin, 2009). In

this research the individuals are principals and teachers at primary school level in Eswatini. Moreover, since it deals with the critical reflection of participants' involvements, the case study research design is apposite. Quite often, a case study research design opts for a small geographical area or a smaller number of participants or subjects of study. Case studies, in their core, investigate and explore present-day real-life phenomena through comprehensive contextual scrutiny of a limited number of events or conditions, and how they relate to each other.

Furthermore, I am certain that this design will similarly provide an appreciation of the principals and teachers' responses to the language policy and recent directives in Eswatini. Through the case study design the participants could give their responses pertaining to the formulation, implementation or modification of the phenomenon under study. Wahyuni (2012) enlightens that in a case study there are three circumstances that guide the research, those being answering the research questions: how, why and what. The study therefore, mitigates against manipulation since the experiences that are examined must be current events and not ones that date back in time. Language policy and recent policy directives that are studied in this research are quite contemporary issues in Eswatini. The Education Sector Policy document of 2018 was launched not very long ago and it reiterates some of the language issues that were raised in the 2011 document. In 2017, policy directives were communicated. I can positively mention that the phenomenon which was studied, conformed to these requirements, hence it was acceptable to use the case study as a research strategy.

I chose to apply a multiple case study, since according to Wahyuni (2012) it necessitated the involvement of multiple locations. The five primary schools were scattered in different places within the Hhohho region in Eswatini. Also, multiple methods to collect and analyze data were used, which is different from what happens with single case investigations whereby just a single site is utilized. The justification for the selection of several case studies above a single one was to allow me to appreciate the revealed responses of the teachers and principals so as to understand why they react the way they do towards the official language policy and directives (Wahyuni, 2012).

Flick (2014) also discusses the benefits of utilizing a qualitative case study. In deliberating on the advantages of this strategy it is worth mentioning that it can utilize numerous sources and methods in data generation thus making it possible for even the feeble and voiceless to be heard

(Flick, 2014). Given that this investigation is guided by research questions when it comes to the principals and teachers' responses to the official language policy and directives in primary schools in Eswatini it does not involve theory testing.

Further benefits of employing this chosen strategy are that it fosters a comprehension of multifaceted topics under the same phenomenon. This supports the observations of (Elman, Gerring and Mahoney (2016), who highlight that issues concerned with language planning, policy and directives are elaborate. So, this research method was proper in handling the phenomenon even though it has not been researched intensely in my context. This study highlights the principals and teachers' awareness and appreciation of the country's language policy and directives and how they respond to them. So, the dimension on issues of language policy and directives from the point of view of principals and teachers at primary school level will be added into the area of research in Eswatini.

4.5 Sample and sampling technique

The schools were chosen using purposive sampling since I only targeted principals and teachers who have been teaching for not less than five years. I had to make sure that the participants qualify to engage on the phenomenon since not every teacher could have been a participant. Those with more than five years teaching experience would have more to say because of their teaching experience. According to McMillan and Schumacher (2010), purposive sampling is the careful selecting of data-rich issues appropriate for a specific study. They further highlight that purposive sampling needs the researcher to decide on a sentient choice on who exactly do they want to involve in the study, whether individuals and organizations. The choice is grounded on the data the chosen participants can offer. Through this procedure, I was able to manipulatively detect several demographic sites to embrace in the sample. It also allowed me to determine the effect of the implementation of the language policy and directives in the schools based in these different locations.

Five schools located in the Hhohho region of Eswatini were purposively selected. A school was carefully chosen from the five different types of schools that Eswatini has: mission, government, private, community and company-aided school. For the purposes of ethical considerations, the schools are referred to as Daffodil, Lilly, Rose, Daisy and Tulip primary school. These are not the real names of the schools but pseudonyms to protect their identity and that of the principals

and teachers. Even for the principals and teachers, codes were used. Apart from the different types of schools that they represent, they were situated in different areas within the region, were selected because they contrasted one another. For instance, the kind of learners, parents of the learners who attend these schools and their socio-economic settings vary considerably.

Lilly Primary School was chosen since it was a large rural missionary school, found in the northern part of the Hhohho region. It served learners from low economic backgrounds. Daisy Primary School was a very large government-aided school, situated in the capital city of Eswatini, Mbabane. It served learners mostly from the urban settlement closer to town and some from the outskirts of the town who have means of travelling into town on a daily basis. The socio-economic background of these learners was high. Tulip Primary School was located approximately two kilometers outside town. This being a private school had a fee structure that was very different from all the other four schools. The fees were high. The socio-economic status of the learners attending this school was very high. Rose Primary School was a rural community school also located in the northern Hhohho. The people living around the school played a very big role in its construction, either through monetary contributions or by being part of the construction team. Daffodil Primary School is found five kilometres away from one of the small towns in the Hhohho region, Pigg's Peak.

Before engaging any of the participants, I wrote a letter to the Director of Education in Eswatini seeking permission to conduct my research in the selected five primary schools in the Hhohho region. Permission was granted.

I then wrote to gatekeepers in the schools, for their approval to conduct the study in their schools. The principals of each of the partaking schools were asked to be part of study, and then I asked the teacher if they were willing to be participants. The selected teachers had to be an educator for not less than five years. Such experience, I believed would have made the teacher knowledgeable when it comes to issues of language policy and directives in the country. It is for that reason that I used purposive sampling.

4.6 Pilot study

I conducted a pilot study in October 2019, before the gathering of the actual data. I did this in order to check if I was ready for the actual data-gathering process, if the procedures and whether

the questions themselves were appropriate (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). In actual fact, I conducted pilot testing to find out if the questions would be appropriate and relevant during the actual data-gathering process by first trying out the questions on a few people who were not participants in the study. As my participants were teachers, I had to find teachers to take part in the pilot study which helped me to determine if the responses were forth-coming and if they really addressed the critical questions asked in the study. Also, the test offered the means of judging the duration and strength of the actual data-gathering process well beforehand.

One advantage of doing a pilot study is that it prepares the researcher for occasions where the real research could fail, where research procedures may not have been adhered to or whether the planned methods or instruments are in any way unsuitable (Cocks & Torgerson, 2013). Specifically, the pilot study helped me more especially with understanding that the issue of language policy and directives that are published by government are some of the elements that the teachers wanted to discuss. One teacher during the pilot was very emotional as she did not understand why government had to operate the way it did. This prepared me for a situation that I had not anticipated that of handling teachers' emotions.

The pilot test was done with two teachers (a principal and a teacher) from different schools in the Hhohho region of Eswatini during the teachers' spare time, and for the principal, it was conducted during the lunch break, in his office; and the other was done after school in the teacher's car. This was done in order to lessen disturbances.

The pilot study was successful. Through the pilot study, I was able to get a picture of the possible responses. Even though I did not adjust the questions that much, I got to understand that they do not necessarily have to be posed in the same sequence they followed with the first participant. During the pilot study some of the questions were modified so that they may be clearer and easier to understand. These made it easier for the teachers to respond. It was also during the pilot study that I confirmed that the thirty to forty minutes duration of the interview was neither too long nor too short for each interview session. I was also able to rehearse creating a good rapport with the teachers by introducing myself and mentioning what the exercise is all about and for both occasions I was appropriately dressed and wore light perfume lest I offended any of them with the scent. This was vital since the participants had to be unrestricted in their responses related to their real-life experiences not what they thought I wanted to hear. Besides, I was eager

that the teachers felt that the study was meaningful. It was imperative to establish all the elements mentioned above so as to address any elements that seemed to work against achieving the appropriate data for this study before the actual data-gathering process. Therefore, the pilot study was a success since it enabled me to have a preliminary idea of possible data that might emerge.

4.7 Data generation

In this study, data was generated through focus group discussions (FDGs), semi-structured interviews (SSIs) and document analysis. Based on Yin (2014) these three research instruments are suitable for qualitative research. This writer presents that qualitative data are time and again generated in the form of words, pictures, or both. Therefore, they allowed collection of rich data on the phenomena being studied (Berg, 2007). First, I had a semi-structured interview session with each of the participants then a focus group discussion for teachers and a separate one for principals. Document analysis is not detached from the participants as those that were explored relate to the language policy and directives where the principals and the teachers are major players. Using these methods to generate data was crucial in enabling me to get an understanding of the principals and teachers' responses through the use of semi-structured interviews they are better placed to discuss issues pertaining to the official language policy and policy directives (Alshenqeeti, 2014). Using FDGs as a data generating tool too, was of paramount importance since there is need to triangulate the generated data. Anney (2014) describes the technique of triangulation as employing "various and different methods, sources, investigators, and theory to achieve corroborating data". Using these several methods to generate data in this study is in line with other researchers' explanation such as Anney (2014) and Alshenqeeti (2014).

4.7.1 Interview method

Jamshed (2014) puts forward that allowing participants to voice their views and understanding of the phenomenon under study is a major condition for an interview. Interviews accommodate a variety of modes, with each type being informed by the kind of discussion (Edwards & Holland, 2013). SSIs were utilized in this study, first of all because this was a qualitative study, and secondly because they harmonized with my approach. As Alshenqeeti (2014) indicates that through SSIs, the participants' social life is revealed. Semi-structured interviews allowed me to

discuss the subject matter at length with the participants, and elaboration was made possible by the type of interview conducted. It allowed probing and clarity seeking from the participants, thus detailed data was generated with them.

4.7.1.1. Semi-structured interviews

Before anything I gathered the data, I made appointments with each of the participants. It was then that they were asked to be part of semi-structured interview something they did not object to since the nature of it was explained to them verbally when they were first asked to participate in the study. Also, in the consent letters that they signed, it explicitly placed details of all aspects of the research before them. Berg (2007) explains that semi-structured interviews could be classified as unstructured and structured interviews. The benefit of making use of semi-structured interrogations was that they permitted me to probe the interviewees. Based on Blandford (2013), semi-structured interviews were used within the context of an interview guide which incorporated the themes and sub-themes under which the phenomenon was being studied. The themes upon which the interviews were developed were based on the reviewed literature and channeled by the three research questions for the study. There had to be an interview guide, which was drawn to suit the two sets of participants that are involved in the study, those being teachers who were experienced in the field of teaching and language policy, and the principals of five primary schools in Eswatini. A greater volume of the questions as a result needed to centre upon their responses with the country's language policy and directives with regards to their discharge. The participants who were interviewed in this study were the principals of Daffodil, Daisy, Tulip, Lily and Rose primary school; and five teachers, one from each of these primary schools.

These semi-structured interview questions paid attention to the responses and the circumstances the participants find themselves in in the field of language policy and directives, as purported by Jamshed (2014). The sessions were conducted in English. They were audio-recorded. As the participants gave their responses, I took notes and noted their gestures as they responded.

4.7.1.2 Focus group discussion

Another data generating method that was used in this study is the focus group discussions (FGDs). There were two sets of FGDs, one for principals and the other was for teachers who

have been part and parcel of the country's language policy and recent policy directives. I was interested in ensuring consistency with the number of years the principal or teacher had been in the teaching profession and in administration. So, I had to make sure that each of the participants was already in the teaching field by 2011 when the first language policy was published, as it was embedded in the Education Sector Policy of 2011 and 2018. I had specified the requirement when I first went to each of the five participating schools.

According to Nyumba, Wilson, Derrick and Nibedita (2018), focus group discussions engage interviewees who are converged in the same place to voice their views and ideas on an array of enquiries that are put forward by an interviewer. Having the principals and teachers in different focus groups, helped me to gather quite a substantial amount of data from them considering that they are custodians of the language policy in schools. As members of a professional body in the teaching fraternity the responses to the language policy and recent directives would be very meaningful. It, therefore, made it feasible for the participants either to back or to disagree with each other as they acted in response to the questions raised. That improved and brought an even clearer dimension to the research. Also, it assisted in triangulating the findings from the SSIs.

English was the language of communication during the focus group discussions, as the teachers and principals were asked questions. Their responses too were in English. I asked a question then permitted the participants to respond, taking turns. Quite frequently they would contest and I would further probe, both with the principals and the teachers. All the teachers and principals, even though in different groups, unreservedly articulated their opinions and exhibited ardent attentiveness. The principals and teachers' responses were audio-recorded and I took notes of the reactions from the principals and teachers. The audio-recorded retorts were written out (transcribed) and the notes were integrated.

4.7.2 Document analysis

Documents examination is a non- reactive procedure where the data given in any document is not liable to a possible falsification due to the interaction between the participant and the researcher (Corbetta, 2003). Ritchie and Lewis (2003), share that document analysis is very helpful where the chronicle of events or understandings has certain significance in the study. Yin (2014) further reveals that in case study research, what is of paramount importance is the use of

documents to substantiate and enhance evidence from other sources. Examples of documents that may be analyzed include proposals, newspapers articles, announcements, diaries and more.

Document analysis is frequently used together with other qualitative research methods as a means of triangulation (Denzin, 1970). The qualitative researcher is supposed to make use of various (at least two) research methods; that is, to seek corroboration and convergence through the use of different data collection methods and sources. Besides documents, such sources comprise of interviews, participant or non-participant observation, and physical artifacts (Yin, 1994). By triangulating data, the researcher tries to provide a confluence of verification that produces credibility (Eisner, 1991). By examining data gathered through diverse methods, the researcher would be able to corroborate findings across the data and therefore lessen the effect of impending biases that can be in a single study. Patton (1990) attests that triangulation assists the researcher guard against the indictment that a study's findings are merely an artifact of a single source, single method, or a single researcher's bias.

In this study I analyzed newspaper articles and the Education Sector Policy (EDSEC) of 2011 and 2018 in which the official language policy is embedded. When I embarked on this study in 2017, the 2011 EDSEC policy was in use, however, as the research was still in progress, the EDSEC was reviewed and published in 2018. Also, three directives were published in the country's two major daily newspapers in 2017 and 2019 respectively which then necessitated that I reviewed them in detail since they dealt more with the phenomenon under study. In this research, information was sourced from the two Education Sector Policy documents and the two daily newspapers to allow me to make inferences, and verify information from the other sources (Yin, 2014). In spite of this, not all documents contain absolute truths therefore it is important to confirm the data obtained from documents.

4.8 Data analysis

Generally, data analysis denotes “working with the data, organizing them, breaking them into manageable units, coding them, synthesizing them, and searching for patterns” (Patton, 2015, p. 268). The analysis of the findings from a case study research design in most cases is complex and tricky since it encompasses a considerable amount of data gathered from structured

interview notes, drawings, tape recordings and some other narratives (Gray, 2014). That, to a certain extent is accredited to the fact that this type of data does not essentially fall into neat groupings. There is a substantial amount of work that is put in before creating the categories. As an interpretive researcher, I descended my data through direct interface with the issue being studied (responses to the official language policy and directives), and then I thematically analyzed the data as per the advice of Gray (2014) and Brandford & Cullen (2012).

4.8.1 Procedure for analysis

Since semi-structured interviews (SSI), FGDs and document analysis provided the qualitative data for this study, different procedures were used to analyse the data.

4.8.1.1 Analysing data from semi-structured interviews

Rocks, Carson and Gilmore (2007) share that with qualitative research it is at the data gathering stage itself when the analysis begins. To help my analysis, I summarized separately thoughts and observations I had during and after each SSI. For example, each time I talked to a second or third participant whether a principal or teacher from the five schools, either participants would mention or I could examine whether information exchange had taken place. This offered additional data to my interview questions. I personally transcribed all ten interviews to certify that all nuances of the SSIs were captured. The overall analytical approach I embraced for analyzing the interview transcripts was template analysis. I produced a template that represents themes identified in the data (King, 2004). I created an initial template (Table 3) to summarize themes identified from a preliminary reading of the interview transcripts. Common terminologies and comparable descriptions were identified. I then categorized the data into themes (Voss, Nikos, & Mark, 2002). I also analyzed the data using a coding technique. Rocks et. al. (2007) submit that by coding, the data can be linked with the theoretical concepts and it is the first step in categorizing the data which is then coded. The codes are retrieval and categorising devices that allowed me to spot swifly, pull out then group all the fragments relating to the research questions (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Dey (1993) attests though that, codes must be meaningful, not only in terms of the data but also with regard to other categories. By means of template analysis, I sorted the transcriptions into broad themes guided by my research objectives and interview questions. I read through the data to code themes that were expected to be relevant to

the analysis. Broad themes in the template included successively narrower, more specific ones. I then coded the interview transcripts and extracted significant elements. To do this, I read the transcripts over and over again and highlighted the content and gave it headings.

4.8.1.2 Analysing data from focus group discussions

I made use of Brandford & Cullen's (2012) basic steps for coding. The first step was to transcribe the FDGs word for word. I separated the data into workable units. During the transcription of the data, I ensured that the principals and teachers' dialogues were differentiated. I commented on questions so as to make sense of what the participants volunteered. I had hoped to write out each of these the same day they were conducted but because of their length I could not finish any of the recordings on the same day. Each focus group discussion ended up taking at least two days. The transcription started from the electronic (audio recorder), and was transcribed through writing it out on the computer. I created codes considering words or phrases that seem to stand out. After transcribing the FDGs, I further interrogated and analyzed the data systematically, using inductive methodology. It helped me to find patterns in the data and to produce related concepts that were noteworthy among the principals and teachers. The discovered elements were then grouped according to similarities (Cohen, Loeb, Miller & Wyckoff, 2019). This is what Guest, MacQueen & Namey (2012) call "data reduction" whose purpose was to classify the information by themes so that the data is not detached from its background. I then revised the themes further and shortened them, meaning that the divisions of the data were condensed and what was left was fundamental to the study. Lastly, I scrutinized the clusters to decide on the possible topics in order to reduce the data until no new themes could come out. This was in line to what Cohen et al. (2019, p. 601) term "data saturation" in which no new information could emerge at all. The themes identified were then paralleled with all the transcriptions for any inaccuracy and omissions noted and incorporated where required.

In this research, data analysis was organized through sieving the most significant data. I was then able to identify common patterns. From these patterns I then came up with themes and sub-themes. The themes that emerged from the principals and teachers' responses to the official language policy and directives in Eswatini depicted implementation and non-implementation of the official language policy and directives. There were two main themes that I developed were

based on the SSIs and FGDs. The two were: non-adherence and adherence to the official language policy and directives by both knowledgeable and not so well-informed participants about the official language policy more especially. From the data gathered, I could also group ten sub-themes which depicted why principals and teachers do not adhere to the official language policy and directives. There were two more themes, supporting the implementation of the directives. All the twelve sub-themes emanated from both the FGDs and SSIs. Since there were no glaring differences between responses given by teachers and principals the data gathered were analyzed and merged at the same time to avoid repetition of responses.

The participants were then given the transcripts of the semi-structured interviews and FDGs to establish if there was any incorrectness or discrepancies or misconception regarding what they had said during the interviews and discussions; and to make rectifications.

4.8.1.3 Document analysis

When analyzing data from the documents, I identified pertinent material then separated it from that which is not relevant (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The themes that had emerged when analyzing data from FGDs and SSIs assisted since I already had some form of pattern recognition. The process involved a careful and more focused re-reading and review of data. I took a closer look at the selected data and performed coding and category construction, based on the data's characteristics, to uncover themes pertinent to language policy and directives. I utilized predefined codes from the SSIs and FGDs data analysis since document analysis is supplementary to the two data gathering methods. The codes that I had come up with during SSIs and FGDs were applied when sorting the contents of the documents.

4.9 Trustworthiness

I am cognizant of the deliberations related to the validity, (external and internal) objectivity and reliability to safeguard trustworthiness of the findings in quantitative research. This is different from what happens with findings of a qualitative study.

Matters related to conformability, transferability, dependability and credibility need to be considered in order to determine trustworthiness in qualitative research (Creswell, 2013). Also,

Lincoln and Guba (1985) have done quite a considerable amount of work regarding the usage of these strategies. These respond to questions that seek answers on whether the finding truly represent participants and the research setting and if those responses can be applicable to other participants in a different setting. They also assist in ascertaining if the same findings could come out with the similar participants and setting. The four strategies above also go a long way in determining the extent to which they represent participants and research settings rather than the researcher's foregone conclusions, interests and perceptions. Therefore, Lincoln and Guba's (1985) effort has been acknowledged within the community of qualitative research. The criterion mentioned is predominantly utilized when testing for quality of findings in qualitative research since it has turned out to be prominent (Loh, 2013).

4.9.1 Credibility

Creswell (2013) believes that in qualitative research, credibility is realized by utilizing stratagems like triangulation, peer review, member checks. I generated data using semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with ten participants, which assisted me as I verified the findings of the study. During the data generation process, I encouraged participants to be truthful and frank when responding to questions. I also assured them that there is no wrong or right answer to my questions; what was important was for them to share their responses to the official language policy and directives which would include their experiences, views, thoughts and feelings. Another measure I used linked to confidentiality issues was to assure them constantly that all they submitted would remain between us while I emphasized the elements of no wrong or right answer to any of the questions once again. Thus, I communicated the fact that they not try to search for what they thought I wanted to hear as a response, but they should just communicate their experiences and thoughts after having been in the teaching profession for five years or more and having used a certain language for teaching and learning, whether it was stipulated in the official language policy and directives or not. The intention of using two data generating methods was to rely on not just one method and so as to confirm that the data tied up (Lapan, Quararoli & Riemer, 2012). I also employed member checking to enhance the study's credibility by sharing the transcripts of the findings with the participants.

4.9.2 Dependability

The dependability measure is utilized in qualitative research in the place of reliability which is used in quantitative research (Yin, 2011). Reliability is associated with repeating the study with unchanged participants, under unaffected locations and situations still producing the same findings. In qualitative research, this is not likely. Nonetheless, as the phenomenon linked with the study is not fixed neither can the findings be similarly fixed (Denzin & Lincoln, 2009). Dependability puts emphasis on the importance of the researcher describing and accounting for the changing settings and circumstances that are central to the consistency of the outcome of a study. Therefore, dependability needs the researcher to take into account all the changes that come about within a given setting and the scope to which those changes influence the way research is conducted. In this study, dependability was improved by giving a detailed and step-by-step account of the research design, its execution and how data was generated. One technique that I used to improve dependability is that I piloted the instruments before they were administered to the participants, as explained in 4.6. I also probed the different contextual issues in terms of the semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions where issues were probed to seek further clarity where it was required. Through this approach to the study, I was able to generate rich data and also to appraise the data on the phenomenon that was studied. I did to improve dependability by depicting the context of the study in Section 4.2 of this chapter.

4.9.3 Transferability

Anney (2014) defines the transferability in qualitative research, saying it is closely linked to the level where its findings can be passed on to another setting with different participant Houghton, Casey, Shaw and Murphy (2013) clarify that the findings will be considered to be transferable only if they suitable even in new contexts outside the one of the study. So transferability is parallel to the scope to which findings can be generalized. Yin (2017) expresses that generalizability denotes the extent to which one can outspread the account of a particular population or situations to other people, periods or location, other than those studied at a given moment. Seidman (2019) asserts that the same results of a qualitative study are specific to a small number of certain settings and participants, and it is not possible to prove that the findings and conclusions are applicable to other people and settings. Moreover, Creswell and Poth (2017) suggest that transferability is achieved by providing a rich and detailed description of the setting

examined so as to offer the reader adequate data in order to assess how applicable the findings are to other settings. Lincoln and Guba (1985) are of the conviction that a thick and rich description of research sites and characteristics of case groups should be stated to enhance transferability. With regards to this, case studies are a jewel through which the world can be explored. It does not mean though that its findings can be generalized but they can be used to appreciate and understand the incidents and experiences in other settings with similar characteristics.

4.9.4 Conformability

Creswell (2013) asserts that after a study has been conducted, its results should be confirmed and validated by other scholars. This he says is done to safeguard conformability by maintaining a distinct audit trail which then presents perceptible proof exhibiting all the stages involved in the finished product. In short, conformability aims to ensure that what the researcher regards as findings are not his/her imagination or misinterpretations or distortion. Conformability aims to ensure that what has been found is indeed confirmed by the participants themselves. To enhance conformability, I used a variety of techniques such as member-checking during interviews. Member-checking allows the participants to check whether what they have said is a true. The other technique I utilized was when each participant was requested to confirm the accuracy of the content of our conversations. For instance, after I had completed transcription, I gave each participant a copy of the transcript to check the accuracy of the content. It allowed them the opportunity to change anything they deemed to be incorrectly portrayed; in an effort to assure the reader that the study is credible and thus trustworthy. I did not receive timely feedback from all but it helped.

4.10 Ethical issues

In research, ethical consideration is an essential part of the research process (Maree, 2007). I considered ethical issues in this study in order to recognize the rights of the principals and teachers. The results were not divulged to anyone and the identity of the principals and teachers was protected through the use of pseudonym for the schools and the participants themselves as this is important too. Creswell (2013) highlights that the participants be made aware of the

reason for conducting the study and why they were the ones taking part not the pupils or the parents. Also, assessment of risk and informed consent were taken into consideration.

I applied for ethical clearance from the University of KwaZulu-Natal Ethics committee and it was accorded. Each participant was given a consent form to sign and these were also obtained from all the participants. The participants were also notified that if they wanted to withdraw, they were allowed to do so.

4.11 Summary

The chapter opened with an introduction. The context of the study and the research paradigm was clarified and matters of methodology, epistemology and ontology were outlined. An explanation on the methodology by means of the qualitative approach was given. I then moved on to explain why I opted to implement a case study design. I then presented methods of data gathering that comprised semi-structured and focus group interviews. Further, sampling, participants and piloting were discussed. I gave a comprehensive account on data analysis, trustworthiness, and ethical issues ending with a summary of the chapter. In the following chapter I present and discuss the principals and teachers' responses to the official language policy and directives.

CHAPTER 5

RESPONSES TO THE LANGUAGE POLICY AND DIRECTIVES

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the data is presented and analysed. In the preceding chapter I discussed the methodology employed in this research. The data that was generated will be presented based on themes resulting from the coding and sorting of data generated with five teachers and five principals from five primary schools in the Hhohho region of Eswatini. For the purposes of ethical considerations, the schools are referred to as Daffodil, Lilly, Rose, Daisy and Tulip primary school. These are not the real names of the schools but pseudonyms to protect their identity and that of the principals and teachers. Even for the principals and teachers, codes were used, as stated in 4.5. The data were generated through document analysis, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions, as presented in Chapter 3. Also, in this chapter I present the themes which were derived from patterns that came out from raw data. Each time the principals and teachers' verbatim responses are supplied, they are italicized. I will present the data having in mind the first two critical questions of the study which are:

1. What are the principals and teachers' responses to the official language policy in Eswatini?
2. What are the principals and teachers' responses to directives in Eswatini?

The third research question:

3. What is the nature of the principals and teachers' responses to the official language policy and directives? I will look into the classification of the principals and teachers' responses.

Therefore, the data presented in this chapter does not answer this research question.

The data was presented thematically from the context of how principals and teachers responded to the official language policy and directives. Their responses addressed mostly why they do not adhere to the official language policy and directives even though a few expressed their willingness to implement the two.

5.2 Documents that were reviewed

The Education and Training Sector Policy (EDSEC) of 2011 and 2018, the Constitution of the Kingdom of Eswatini and newspapers (The Times of Eswatini and The Eswatini Observer) were

reviewed. It was important that I read these documents since they provide background for data generation and give clarity on the phenomenon under study.

5.2.1 The constitution of Eswatini

The constitution in the country was proclaimed in 2005 and it addresses language matters in Chapter 1 3(2) where it states that SiSwati and English are official languages in the country. It does not state how these two languages are supposed to be used. The EDSEC policy therefore, addresses that. Since in Eswatini the people belong to one ethnic group, SiSwati is the only mother tongue. Hence it is spoken by a majority of the Swazi community. Malambe and Harford (2021) reveal that the government framework and national attitude and philosophy of the country are based in the traditional culture of Swazis and their language, SiSwati. Thus, it unifies the people of Eswatini. Only five percent Swazis according Khumalo (2013) are English speakers a language which is a means in realizing global presence. Thus, both languages enshrined in the country's constitution are of significant importance.

5.2.2 The education and training sector policy (2011 and 2018)

Since 2011 until 2018 there has been one policy document addressing the language of teaching and learning. So when I embarked on the PhD in 2017, the 2011 sector was in place thus my reference to it. Nonetheless, during the course of my study, the 2011 document was reviewed and the 2018 policy document came into effect. Nxumalo (2016) contends that the EDSEC policy of 2011 was the first detail in Eswatini to pave way for development in the education sector by providing strategic focus on matters involving education. Although when it comes to the language policy, both documents relay the same idea that: English and SiSwati are both considered as official languages in the Constitution of Eswatini (as mentioned in the earlier sections), which offers the needed guidance for EDSEC policy. Although this infers that either language may be used as a medium of instruction, the policy mentions that the mother tongue SiSwati shall be used officially as a medium of instruction from Grade One to Four, after which English shall be the medium of instruction.

5.2.3 The daily newspapers (The Times of Eswatini and Eswatini Observer)

With regards to the directives, which are not documented anywhere but published by the media and one that is easily accessible to the public is the print media. In the case of Eswatini the two daily newspapers (The Times of Eswatini and Eswatini Observer) published the directives since their journalists cover the functions where the government officials normally proclaim the directives. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the directives of February 2017, November 2017 and December 2019 were all published in the print media which the two daily newspapers in Eswatini. Since they publish the same content they will not be treated as separate newspapers.

All three directives relate to both the official languages on how they are to be used at school, whether as a LoTL or as a subject as mentioned in the earlier sections. The journalists who cover the events where the directives are published are usually allowed to pose a few questions to the government officials proclaiming the directive. It is from the same newspapers and social media that as a nation we got to understand that these directives were not embraced by some sectors of society such as parents and teachers who responded as individuals and through their trade union, SNAT.

Reviewing data from the documents mentioned above helped me to refer to multiple sources instead of one or two. Therefore, I was able to combine the document review with the focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews which helped to produce rich descriptions of the phenomenon (Yin, 2017).

5.3 Data from semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions

When I embarked on the study, I hoped that the participants would provide data whereby they respond to policy formulation, implementation and its review. It turned out though that the participants based their responses on the implementation of both the language policy and directives. Therefore, the analysis of data focuses on adherence and non-adherence to policy and directives which was mostly addressed by the participants. Therefore figure 3 provides a landscape of the factors which will be discussed in detail.

Figure 3: Illustration of the principals and teachers' reluctance on implementing the official language policy and directives



The diagram represents the data after it has been analyzed. As mentioned above, the data can be classified under two main sects, those being adherence and non-adherence to the official language policy and directives.

I had anticipated drawing a distinction between the principals and the teachers' responses. Even though principals, just like teachers had their own focus group discussion, after a semi-structured interview for each one of them, the principals' responses did not differ much from those of the teachers'. Thus their responses are discussed concurrently so as to avoid repetition. Also, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the data showed that the principals and teachers perceived the official language policy and directives, related to the language of teaching and learning in the same way. The discussion is based upon the knowledge obtained from the literature review mostly as a mirror for understanding the themes that emerged.

5.3.1 Shifting the language of instruction in Early Childhood Development

Teachers and principals were of the view that taking a child to pre-school where the language of teaching and learning is English, then when they get to school, teach them in SiSwati is not the best thing to do. Caleb, a teacher from Daisy School, during the semi-structured interview session submitted that in Eswatini there has been an influx of English medium pre-schools where the children start learning in English as early as three years old, building the concepts in the children's minds in English then we change back to SiSwati when they get to Grade One. This teacher's knowledge of the language policy does not make him to implement it just because he knows it so well. He considers that the pupils have been to pre-school where the language of teaching and learning is English. It does not make sense to him that during the first four years of school the medium of instruction should be SiSwati, a language that is totally different from the one the pupils were exposed to at primary school. According to him such a scenario is confusing to the pupil as there will be a change again, back to English in the fifth year. The bilingual environment in Eswatini is one that makes it conducive for language shifting to take place but Caleb does not seem to favour that. When language shifting unfolds as per the language policy the identity of the individual pupils is compromised as Caleb suggests that English medium is preferred yet mother tongue has a close connection with identity (Gigashvili & Gostiridze, 2014).

In the same vein, Caleb is not concerned about that eminent identity loss, he is only particular about the pupils' understanding of concepts which he believes may not be easy since they have to learn a concept in one language (SiSwati) and then shift as they have to deal with the same concept in another language (English). What the language policy says, he submits, may confuse the pupils considering that they will have been taught in English at pre-school level. Furthermore, as a teacher, he is in constant contact with parents and therefore knows about their desires for their children, as well as the LoTL they prefer for their children. He submitted:

Caleb: The reality on the ground is there are very few families now in Swaziland which you will have their children speak in SiSwati. That is where the whole confusion comes in, it might have been a good concept when it was conceived but the situation on the ground tells us something else.

The government, in contrast, is far removed from the everyday lives of its citizens and their preferences. Given that government is unmindful about the needs of the people, the government's beliefs about the citizen tend to be inaccurate thus the citizen's preferences are a constraint on government's ability to deliver (Liaqat, 2020).

The assertion raised by Caleb, is critiqued by Kamwangamalu (2000); he explains that any effort to have the mother tongue as a language of teaching and learning in the context of a dominant international language like English, as is in this case, should not be supported. Kamwangamalu believes that African pupils understand concepts easily when taught in the mother tongue. Powell (2016) terms Caleb's submission as unbalanced bilingualism because the pupils will be proficient in English than in SiSwati. Despite the disadvantage to mother tongue proficiency, Caleb is sure that the shift in the language of teaching and learning will not work well for the pupils nor satisfy the desires of their parents. On the other hand, Boeteng (2019) enlightens that the sudden change from mother tongue to second language instruction does not allow pupils to acquire adequate academic and cognitive skills in their mother tongue prior to the shift.

Openjuru (2007) observes that all over Africa a foreign language, (e.g. English, Portuguese, German, and French) in former colonial states, is the language of instruction. Community members, parents, and the pupils believe that there are long-term advantages of using an internationally recognized language especially English (Trudell, 2015). She believes English as a

global language facilitates communication between people of different cultures since it disassembles communication barriers and offers individuals a gateway to understanding one another's cultures.

Another participant who was of the view that teaching should be done in English is Amy, a teacher from Daffodil School. She commented that English should be a LoTL as it gets used at pre-school level thus there is need for continuation. She commented:

Amy: I teach in a town school where the children have been to pre-school. These are not just any pre-schools but English-medium pre-schools. Then why do I have to change from the language they already understand so well? It is true they are Swazis but that does not mean I should erase they have been exposed to at pre-school. I teach them in English, my dear, in Grade one.

Also, a principal Chase even declared that she would take her child to a private school that will maintain the English that the child would have learnt from pre-school. Chase being a principal has a position of power not just at school but even home as she has revealed that she would make sure that her child is taught in no any other language but English because she believes in continuation in the medium of instruction. If pre-schools have given the pupils a base in English then schools should maintain that and not make the pre-school years a waste of time and resources. Chase's choice of a private school over a public school is in order for her child to have an uninterrupted education in English which suggests that private schools in Eswatini conduct their business outside the official language policy and directives. Rodriguez (2013) believes that institutions such as schools play a part in making an individual comply with the ideology of the state. As per the country's constitution, both SiSwati and English are official languages and the EDSEC (2018) states that SiSwati is the LoTL in the first four grades of primary school. Chase is sure that private schools have challenged the system which is supported by other parents who take their children to private schools. They oppose the domination by the state after realizing the situation their children will be in if exposed to a school that adheres to the Education Sector Policy.

Consequently, Chase prefers the approach that ignores the official language policy and the directives. With such an opinion, one may infer that her stance as a school leader would

indirectly support teachers' choices to subvert the language policy and directives. Doyle, Diepold and DeSchryver (2004) posit that teachers are more likely than any member of the public to send their children to private schools. Likewise, the same is happening in Eswatini if one considers Chase's submission. The insinuation from her too is that private schools do not adhere to the official language policy and directives. These pupils whose mother tongue is SiSwati whose teachers, parents and principals want them to be taught in English, a foreign language, subscribe to what Dlamini (2008) posits that from monolingualism to bilingualism lastly to multilingualism is a journey that countless African pupils have toured, not by choice but are driven by their pursuit to acquire access to social goods. The phrase social goods according to Gee (2000) refers to anything that comprises source of power for instance qualifications, social status, money and more. Ninety-five percent EmaSwati pupils are born monolingual, communicating only in their mother tongue. They are then introduced to a second language, the medium of instruction which is normally a foreign language, lastly to a language or jargon of the different professions (Dlamini, 2008). Through their professions they sustain their livelihoods.

Abner, another participant even wonders if the pre-schools are a necessity because according to him, the pupil might forget the language he was taught in at pre-school if they are made to change into the mother tongue when they get to Grade One. He believes that the change in the language of instruction from English to SiSwati is not so good for the pupils. It will leave the pupil not a happy child at school. After the child has been taught in a second language then he has to change into another language and that might leave him bewildered, troubled and upset over what could be happening to him at school. He submitted:

Abner: If a child learns in English at preschool and then in Grade One she learns in SiSwati, she is still a young child, she forgets a lot of things. From Grade One to Grade Four, the period will be longer now learning in SiSwati than it was when she learnt in English at pre-school. So by the time she gets to Grade Five to be taught in English again, that child will have forgotten everything that she might have learnt at pre-school, so, the teachers will really have a tough time with those students.

Dora is another participant who did not mention anything about pre-school during the semi-structured interview session could not hold herself during the focus group discussion. She interjected just to emphasize what Amy had said. She was also worried about the state of

confusion the pupils might be in if we are going to stick to what the language policy dictates. While Abdalgane (2020) asserts that the main reason for acquiring and learning a language is to foster communication, Trudell (2015) further argues that the globalization of English shows that languages have other purposes too. For instance, in Eswatini, English is greatly used in the news, advertisement, and other social gatherings such as sporting events and people have realized that social media platforms are dominated by English. Therefore, teachers and parents want their children to be competent in the language which exposes them to opportunities which their mother tongue may not. This situation echoes Johnson and Johnson's (2014) contention that policy decisions can be discussed among various stakeholders since a language policy implementer has more power than others on how policy is interpreted. Based on the data, it is the teachers and principals who wield the power to do so. All other decisions that may follow, rest with the implementers as they endorse languages that are highlighted in the official language policy.

Rowe (2018) shares that, differences in pupils' language production and comprehension are most likely to relate to the socio-economic standing (SES) of their families. Whilst parents and close relatives from high SES families, according to Weizman and Snow (2001), have a tendency to talk more, utilize a broader vocabulary and more complicated syntax than parents and close relatives from low SES families normally talk less about abstract ideas with their children. Nonetheless, substantial range exists within SES families in terms of the quality and quantity of parents' contribution, which impacts many aspects of child language development (Papura, 2019). At the same time, language appears to play a significant part in conveying SES-related hindrances (Stumm, von Rimfeld, Dale & Plomin, 2020). To recompense for these drawbacks, socialization outside the family setting is important and recompensing language growth becomes the main aim of early childhood teaching. Consequently, teachers not just in Eswatini prefer exposing the pupils to a language that will not disadvantage them as they progress at school and in life in general.

In Germany, Volodina, Weinert and Mursin (2020) reveal that on average twenty-eight percent of the pupils attending preschools and nurseries are dual language learners who first come into contact with German in elementary schooling and care establishments. They raise that there is a crucial need to advance language skills at this level particularly in the register of academic

language. It then becomes advantageous for those pupils whose families provide less motivating language contribution to groom them for formal education, which begins at six years old because they get exposed to the LoTL very early well before formal education begins. Khumalo (2013) shares that in Eswatini at six years old pupils begin formal education too, some will have been to pre-school and others might have not had an opportunity to attend pre-school. Therefore, the pupils' preparedness for school is never the same which then compromises adherence to the official language policy if in a class, some pupils have been to pre-school and there are some pupils who will have not been. However, in Germany, the pupils are taught in German (even those who are bilingual whose first language is not German) well before Grade One such that when they begin school they can comprehend the LoTL. Therefore, teaching pupils in the language that they will be taught in even later in their schooling years is preferred in first world countries. Supporting such a move in Africa specifically in Eswatini is not a welcome move since the language that is used later in the school life and at tertiary is foreign. The indigenous languages are preferred by language policies of the African states in the first few grades of primary school.

In the teachers' focus group discussion it also came up that the preferred language of teaching and learning is English. Caleb stated:

Caleb: I will go back to what I said before that I see no point teaching the child from Grade One to Four then change when actually at pre-school they were taught they were taught in a different language too. Why don't they start practicing the language at an earlier stage, teaching the children in the second language because it is going to be of use to them even when they proceed to university or college?

The teacher reiterated his stance that if pre-schools have laid the foundation, so, schools should pick it from there because that is the language that the pupils will be taught in even at tertiary level. In addition, it was such a spectacle as other teachers reacted. Amy, during the focus group Discussion, (FDG) stated:

Amy: I still stand by my words, what I said during the one-on-one interview, that teaching in English should start as early as possible. Like it is happening in private schools, they start teaching in the English. Even at pre-school the student is taught in English then in Grade 1 that child has to be taught in SiSwati. It looks like we are disturbing the child; we're actually confusing the child. We are just disorganizing the child, frustrating the child. That's my feeling.

The change in the language of instruction from English to SiSwati is not so good for the pupils. It will leave the pupil not a happy child at school. After the child has been taught in the second language then he has to change into another language and that might leave him bewildered, troubled and upset over what could be happening to him at school.

Another participant who did not mention anything about pre-school during the semi-structured interview session could not hold herself during the focus group discussion. Dora interjected just to emphasize what Amy had said. She was also worried about the state of confusion the pupils might be in if teachers were going to stick to what the language policy dictates.

Based on the data, it is the teachers and principals who wield the power to do so. All other decisions that may follow, rest with the implementers as they endorse languages that are highlighted in the official language policy.

5.3.2 Language policy and directives impractical

The analysis of data reveals that participants have other reasons for not adhering to the official language policy and directives besides the language of instruction used at pre-school. This next theme suggests that language policy and directives are often not based on rational thought or practicability.

As principals and teachers execute their duties, they consider what is happening in the environment where they work and live together with the pupils before they can implement the language policy and directives. The pupils' lifestyle contributes when some teachers have to decide if they will adhere to the language policy or not. Caleb who portrayed great knowledge about the language policy, his submission reveals that teachers' knowledge of the language the pupils speak at home influences their decision to adhere to the language policy or to not comply.

He stated explicitly how impractical the language policy is as the authorities are assuming that the pupils speak SiSwati at home. Caleb expressed that he knows of pupils who come from families where they do not even speak SiSwati at home. In this situation, a dilemma is confronted by Caleb because on the one hand, he is obliged to adhere to state policy yet it will frustrate those pupils who do not use SiSwati at home. Unexpectedly, the state policy contradicts the realities he knows. Following the state's proclamation, it would mean abandoning his professional and experiential knowledge (working from the known to the unknown).

The teacher is confronted with a problem if he has to teach pupils who converse in the English language at home. How then does he teach pupils in a language that is more like a second language to them if he has to teach in SiSwati even though these children are Swazis? During their training, teachers are encouraged to move from the known to the unknown during the teaching and learning and quite a number have realized how useful such an approach is, as it makes teaching and learning quite friendly. Therefore, they will want to teach in the language that is known by the pupils in their class. For this teacher, the language that is friendly to the pupils is English. In that way, implementing the language policy becomes impractical for this teacher.

Since Caleb is based in an urban school, his responses reflect the realities of urban dwellers and teachers. Teachers in urban schools are confronted with a problem that they have to teach in SiSwati yet the pupils converse in the English language at home. To these pupils, SiSwati has become more like a second language, perhaps even a foreign language or an unknown language. Implementing the language policy in such a school, even though the pupils are Swazis, is therefore complicated. Brown (2010) indicates that children are slowly drifting away from their mother tongue and their culture. For a country which is totally dependent on neighbouring South Africa for its survival, it may not be possible to stick to SiSwati. The principals and teachers are conscious that the pupils have to compete for resources not just among themselves in the country, but even with neighbours in the SADC region and beyond so they might have seen the need to provide the pupils with linguistic capital. Bourdieu (1991) explains that it (linguistic capital) is important because it helps predetermine the pupils' place in society as entrusted by different institutions.

Sharing the same sentiments with Caleb was Elliot, during the SSI, who also portrayed great knowledge of the language policy and revealed that policy-makers need to pronounce policies which will go with what is practical. Elliot believes that policy makers need to consult with the principals, teachers and other stakeholders so they may know what kind of a policy everyone thinks is suitable or one favoured by the majority, especially the implementers of the policy. Caleb believes that there is a contradiction between the policy and the practice in schools. Even with the contradiction teachers are determined do everything possible to help the pupils do well at school. As far as this participant is concerned, flouting the policy will help the pupils since the current one is not easy to implement. Elliot shared:

Elliot: Policy makers have got to be practical so we teachers can do what is practical. What is practical on the ground may not be necessarily exactly what is written in the policy. All we're interested in is to have the learners grasp the content. The language policy that we have does not go hand-in-hand with what we practice in the classroom but to a certain extent I think it helps even though we do not strictly use the mother tongue in class.

Elliot wavers between a one language only practice and the usefulness, at times, of the mother tongue. By practical, in this instance, he means when the decision is left to teachers about how and when to use one or two languages. He suggests that there is a gap between what the government understands as implementable and what the teachers are experiencing in reality. The gap between policy intention and implementation implies that the lines of communication between these stakeholders are absent. Whilst government is driven by issues of culture and identity, teachers are driven by pupils' abilities to learn based on prior experience and grasp of content and their ability to teach. In that sense, the teachers too are revealing a narrow interest and focus on content mastery. Another gap that is revealed by the participant is between the government's treatment of all schools as sharing common characteristics whilst teachers are aware of differences and particularities. Contextual realities of schools, it seems, are unknown or ignored by the government. The incompatible situation between the policy makers and the policy implementers is characteristic of the incommensurable theses (Kuhn, 1989; Feyerabend, 1993). The worldviews regarding the LoTL are too divergent and too divisive to be breached. Kuhn

(1989) upholds that the opinion on a theory takes a different implication depending on the implementer, epoch and the area in which the theory is applied. Moreover, the theory is used to underscore the existence of a set of beliefs and interpretations that edifice the diversity of the policy statement which helps to comprehend the dynamics of policy change. Feyerand on the other hand, maintains that policy or even theory implementation is effectively understood as calling for the justification of intellectual and cultural establishments in informed debate, rather than the significant embrace of existing beliefs.

Another participant shares the same sentiments with Elliot that teachers practice what is applicable in their school but most of the practices are influenced by what the neighboring school does. Bella revealed that teachers also copy what their colleagues in neighboring schools are doing regarding policy implementation. They do not want to be alone in whatever they are doing more especially if it works for that school they have copied it from. Therefore, when they are questioned for not adhering to the official language policy, they know they will not be alone. Nevertheless, schools will continue doing what works for them even as individual institutions because of the impractical policy, so they will try to find what is workable in their setting.

Bella reasons that this policy is not practical because it is open to interpretation. The teachers in schools that she knows of are interpreting policy differently. Yanow (1997) asserts the point that policy interpretation is done all the time, though not always intentionally with a subversive intention. Sometimes the implementers could be law-abiding and patriotic but other factors deter their efforts to implement the language policy.

Elliot and Bella emphasized that policy makers have to come up with policy and directives that are practical since leaders always look forward to absolute compliance from subordinates (Sarla, 2020). Sarla also shares that compliance can be achieved, if the policy is shown to be implementable. Thompson (1991) who has conducted research in ninety-four countries, one hundred and twenty-eight education union leaders, posits that teachers are overburdened enough. Under those circumstances, they are trying to decode an abstract, obtuse policy which can be frustrating and that may more likely make them ignore the policy. Bella added that as implementers, they know and want to follow the choices of the neighbouring school, more especially if it doing well in external examinations. They do not want to be the only ones to take an unpopular, resistant decision. There may, in some instance, be a trend that a cluster of schools follow, which may contradict the official language policy and directives. Nevertheless, schools,

it seems continue doing what works for them whether as a group or as individual institutions. Vareckova and Pavelkova (2018) argue that there are many resolutions agreed upon in many national and international forums to promote indigenous languages but there is still continued use of the foreign languages even as early as in the lower primary school level, the world over. The participants have revealed that which is happening where they work, even when the language policy and directives promote the use of SiSwati. The teachers experiences in Eswatini impact on the language policy implementation as they rely on their previous experiences thus Althusser's (1971) belief that ideology has a deep relationship with individual experience. So, it fits in this instance as it is amplified by Elliot and Bella.

In Botswana, all children in particular girls, through the four Education For All (EFA) goals namely; intensifying early childhood care and education, encouraging learning and lifelong abilities, finishing free and compulsory education and focusing on the pupils' basic needs thus a big number of pupils was able to enroll at school. Through these goals, indeed, school enrolment increased by ninety-five to hundred percent in others which unfortunately made it impractical to implement the language policy since the numbers were too high to manage (Mokibelo, 2016). Some of the marginalized groups such as BaZezuru and San lagged behind as a result of the language barrier and diverse lifestyle which were not considered during the implementation process. Therefore, Eswatini being faced with the language policy and directives being impractical is not a challenge exclusive to the country but to others in the SADC region like Botswana even though the challenges may not be necessarily the same but in each case, there are factors that have resulted in the official language policy being impractical. Thus Bella submitted:

Bella: I cannot just do it in my school while she is not doing it at her school. Government must play her part make sure that this thing is practical. She must do all the necessary preparations before introducing such policies. Same with directives. We cannot just because we have never been called somewhere to come and discuss these policies; we're never involved in their crafting, that's why there is so much confusion which we are facing alone now. Worse with directives which we hear about over the radio.

5.3.3 Implementation of the official language policy and directives unsupervised

Principals and teachers alike prefer that there be other people, outside the school set-up who supervise their implementation of the official language policy and directives. The fact that there is no form of inspection in schools then is another reason which they attributed to their non-implementation of the language policy and directives. They strongly feel that personnel from the Ministry of Education should be monitoring if the official language policy and directives are being implemented in schools. The participants spoke widely under this theme.

Bella was of the view that the monitoring that schools should be getting from inspectors, they do not get as inspectors check other things when they get to schools and not the implementation of the language policy. They never mention anything that is associated with the language of teaching and learning. This is a sign that it might not be implemented long as inspectors do not show any interest about it in particular its implementation.

Elliot, a teacher, is surprised that after a policy announcement and a directive proclamation, the state does not oversee its implementation which in Eswatini is done by the visit of the Ministry of Education officials, the inspectors. Elliot shared:

Elliot: I've been teaching in this school for eleven now and we always make it to the top performing schools in the country and I've never seen an inspector in our school.

The inspectors also, do not visit schools to discuss policy with the leadership, especially principals, who are the caretakers of the curriculum. It is also clear then that the ministry is not in sync with the realities faced by school personnel and pupils – and this explains why policy and directives do not meet the expectations and aspirations of those for who the policy and directives are intended.

Karinga (2016) posits that lack of administrative support is another reason why teachers do not implement the language policy successfully. Administrative here, refers to orientating teachers to new policies, and the running of staff development workshops, by the Ministry of Education and Training. If there are no such workshops the teachers tend to do in class what they believe will help the pupils. Kamwangamalu (2000) emphasizes that any effort to promote the use of an African language in education is deterred by lack of genuine support which the inspectors should

provide. Some principals and teachers mentioned that they have never had an inspector visit their schools. It may not be anything closer to a workshop but it does provide administrative support through the discussions that are held between the government officials and the teachers.

Dora, a teacher raises another aspect that there was no surveillance, assessment, nor consultation to ascertain whether the language policy is worthy or not.

Dora: Ours is another story altogether. We were given the policy in 2011, it was reviewed in 2018 but no one has ever been to my school or even the neighboring school to inspect its implementation. There are other issues of concern but no government official ever sets foot near that place.

Even though the implementation of the language policy has not been supervised, assessed or the teachers consulted, nonetheless government has taken the decision to revise the language policy. That again as revealed in the previous theme, shows how impractical implementation is, and the none-consultative of the language policy, makes the teachers unvalued.

Principals too, did have a concern about the non-visitation of schools by inspectors but it also transpired that principals too are expecting officers from outside the school to inspect the implementation of the official language policy and directives yet they are an extension of the office the inspectorate, they should be doing the inspection. This could mean the principals are not empowered on what is expected of them or they just abdicate the responsibility. Consequently, schools are left on their own to interpret and implement the language policy and directives because there is nobody observing. In a way, it implies that people will follow guidelines when they are policed. Prabowo (2019) shares that there is a very strong link between policy implementation and supervision; and that case demonstrate the converse, that there is little compliance when supervision is absent.

Welch (2012) highlights the point that the prominence of a foreign language in the curriculum of Third World countries has been a subject for debate for a number of years. Language is a nodal point where ideologies clash, especially between those who want to preserve and foster local languages and those who support a global or colonial language. The participant seems not to be aware of the ideological agenda at play. They are driven by pragmatic concerns. As a result, the

participating principals and teachers in this study prefer to use English as the LoTL. On the contrary, UNESCO advocates the use of the pupil's own language as the LoTL, at least in the early years of formal schooling (UNESCO, 2003). Besides, Eswatini's language policy and directives are in line with the UNESCO stance. The data though reveals that the participants believe that to implement the official language policy and directives, they need supervision, and its absence spells doom for the language policy and directives that the state pursues. The participants, according to Extra and Maartens (1998) are willingly coerced and submit to use the language of the influential group of people, being the English language in this case. From the data, it transpires that the principals are not involved in the supervision of the implementation of language policy and directives, as expected by the employer. Everybody eagerly awaits the arrival of inspectors.

Drake, the principal of Daisy School shows understanding of the teachers' predicament, who are always on alert in case an inspector arrives.

Drake: I pity the teachers who actually teach because they keep looking through the window for a government car full of inspectors luckily we get to the end of each year without them visiting.

Drake reveals, too, the psychological stress language policy and directives have on teachers who choose not to implement them. Drake is in full support of teachers not teaching in SiSwati, an occurrence which Kamwangamalu (2000) deprecates since he advocates for teaching and learning in the mother-tongue in the first few years of primary school. From the data it is apparent that policymakers have ignored the importance of surveillance, supporting and tracking policy implementation.

Remarkably, some participants are relieved that there is lack of supervision in implementing the official language policy. During the SSI, Caleb commented that he is excited that nobody has ever taken him to task for not using the prescribed medium of instruction, thus he does as he pleases. Hence the participant takes advantage of neither the fact that his immediate supervisor is not concerned nor the inspectors. He is relieved by the lack of inspection.

For those participants who happen to be visited by inspectors they conform just to keep the peace. During the SSI, Elliot confessed that once the inspectors have left, the participant reverts to his normal practice. This he successfully carries out even though the principal is there to supervise on behalf of the inspectors. This suggests that the principal allows the teachers to practice what they feel will help the pupils or what will make them comfortable. As the inspectors do not frequently visit the school, the teachers then do not adhere to the official language policy.

During the FGD, Amy submitted that the lack of human resource in the field of inspection is another let-down as they cannot cover all the schools even if they want to. As shown in Table one that in the Hhohho region there are one hundred and sixty-two primary school, with one subject inspector in the region, since there is one subject inspector per region, it becomes a challenge for that one inspector to visit all the schools. Some schools will not be visited not even once in a year. Then those teachers who only implement policies when the inspectors are in the vicinity will not even bother about the official language policy, more especially if they do not believe in it.

During the same FGD, Elliot would not wait for Amy to finish as he interjected saying that his school which has been doing exceptionally well in the external examination has never been visited by inspectors for the past eleven years. A long time indeed! Such a school then operates the way it wants as they know that as long as they do well in external examinations no one will ever visit them for inspection. In Elliot's school, the past experience that of not being visited by inspectors for quite some time, that experience therefore does impact on the language policy implementation.

Another participant who also shared that her school has never been inspected is Dora, during the FGD. She mentioned that inspectors have never been to her school or even to neighboring ones even though there are matters that need their (inspectors') attention besides the issue on the medium of instruction. As a result, teachers are left to do what they think and believe will help the pupils when it comes to choosing the LoTL even when it is stipulated. It is in such cases that principals and teachers exercise the power that they have to manipulate the language policy and directives through lack of inspection.

Elliot, during the FGD, could only agree with what the other participants have said in the focus group discussion. He remarked that even if inspectors could have come to address challenges affecting the school at a certain point, they never enquired about the language of teaching and learning in the school, its implementation or anything to do with it. What the participant shared proves that in some schools that language policy implementation is not supervised the way the implementers would have anticipated.

One principal as a participant also had something to say in supporting the claim that language policy implementation is not supervised, which then poses a challenge when it comes to a hundred percent adherence. During the SSI, Chase submitted that the inspectors are overwhelmed by their job. This observation supports that the ratio of inspectors to schools will always work against any kind of supervision they might want to carry out since there are fewer inspectors as compared to the schools. The inspectors cannot help the situation but they also cannot do anything to help the situation since the duty of employing more inspectors does not lie with.

Even during the focus group discussion for principals, the issue agreed that the lack of inspection is one challenge that has led to the failure of the implementation of the language policy. Out of the five principals who were participants, three exchanged ideas in as far as the lack of inspection is concerned. Best, during the FGD, submitted that, the language policy has been there for nine years then it was reviewed in 2018 but still in this participant's school, it is not adhered to. The government is blamed by this principal for not doing anything and in this case, it would be the inspectors. For over nine years the school has not been adhering to the language policy. This could mean there has never been an inspector setting foot in this institution and if they came they were not there to find out about the language policy implementation.

In support of the lack of inspection in school, Drake, the principal at Lily School, during the FGD, submitted that he sympathizes with teachers since they are expected to implement the language policy. The principal feels that there is nothing much they can do as administrators to enforce the implementation of the language policy since there are other things that different schools consider and it is not just the principal's decision. He submitted that he felt pity for teachers who actually teach because they keep looking through the window for a government car full of inspectors which might come. They get relieved at the end of each year when it becomes

clear that no inspectors will come by even that particular year. The principal is with the teachers but he cannot state it because his duty is to supervise the teachers, he is a gatekeeper in the school, an extension of the employer. Therefore, the employer expects principals to perform the inspection duties on behalf of inspectors. It is clear that the principal in this school sides with the teachers, not with government. The motive could be he has been a teacher so he knows what is good for the pupils and that he gets frequent reports from the teachers in the school on what is working well for the pupils and teachers. Hence, he cannot demand that which the teachers find it difficult to implement.

From the analysis it is apprehensible that the principals and teachers' understanding that supervision is one important ingredient in language policy and directives implementation (in the case of Eswatini). Therefore, it is imperative to provide support to all the implementers and gatekeepers. It is through supervision that the principals and teachers believe that supervision can provide and promote accountability for their practice in their workplace which is the school and classroom.

Kangira (2016) discloses that the lack of strict supervision of the implementation of the policies in the education sector, presents a major test. In Zimbabwe for instance, most schools favour the use of English from the onset to guarantee the pupils' proficiency in English, which is believed to be the language of supremacy and economic welfare, ignoring the official language policy that English should be introduced in Grade Four. English is often perceived as crucial in unlocking doors to opportunities, thus the effort to foster English as a main mode of communication then occurs soon, thus contravening the policy (Wright, 2004). In both these countries there is no monitoring of the implementation of the language policy (according to Karinga and Wright's submission) thus the implementers take advantage and modify the policy to suit the needs of the stakeholders. Eswatini is also faced with the same situation as portrayed by the participants in Karinga's study whereby there is lack of supervision of the language policy and directives' implementation.

It is apparent that the policy makers have ignored the importance of surveilling, supporting and tracking policy implementation.

5.3.4 Lack of teaching and learning resources to implement the language policy and directives

One of the findings of the study on the principals and teachers' responses is that seven out of the ten participants are concerned about the lack of teaching and learning resources. Kant (1992) opines that during implementation, some implementers may feel frustrated and anxious if they do not have enough teaching and learning materials. From the principals and teachers' submissions, the frustration and anxiety is discerned.

During the SSI, Caleb submitted on the issue of lack of books that are written in SiSwati which he says makes it very difficult to implement the official language policy.

Caleb: It will be difficult for a Swazi teacher, armed with a book written in English to teach that particular subject in SiSwati, to teach Science in siSwati as we all know that the SiSwati language has limited vocabulary so concepts will not be given to the pupils in the right way, there might be a distortion of the concepts.

It means the teacher has to do a lot of translation before he goes to class besides doing the lesson preparation. The participant also thinks in particular of Science which has got a lot of concepts which have not been localized, then teaching that subject in SiSwati will be a challenge for the teachers. This perspective reveals Caleb's theory of teaching: that teaching Science concepts is only possible in English and, by converse, a home language is not useful or practical to clarify conceptual meanings. Thus, from the participants' perspectives, policymakers are mistaken in their beliefs that imposing SiSwati as the Lot will develop and extend the SiSwati corpus. This is unlikely to happen without the cooperation of teachers especially in light of Caleb's beliefs.

Openjuri (2007) notes that all over Africa, the medium of instruction in schools is an international language: English, French, Spanish or, Portuguese. In this study Caleb submitted that to minimize the frustration of trying to come up with the appropriate SiSwati words, he prefers to use English. If the concepts' meanings are distorted the chances are high that his pupils might not do well in the subject. It is for that reason that the teachers use English, since any form of evaluation is in English too. Schroeder (2004) adds that in the Kenyan context, parents believe that their children would not be committed to school if the teaching and learning process were to

be conducted in the mother tongue. He is implying that even the pupils know that education is valuable only when it is offered in English. It is an indictment on the language policy and directives that teaching resources are not provided to ensure policy compliance. It could also mean that policies and directives are political maneuvers – the project of education in the country serves political ideology, not the development of children in their formative years.

Whatever the political motives, teachers expect to be provided with the appropriate teaching and learning resources. Unfortunately, the shortage of resources renders the implementation of the language policy impractical. However, there is no doubt that the teachers are concerned about how best to teach the pupils without confusing them, considering that they use textbooks written in English which are not to be translated into SiSwati during the teaching and learning (Education Sector Policy, 2018).

The only subject that has books written in SiSwati is the subject SiSwati. The teachers who actually implement the language policy have expressed a concern that even some of the concepts that they have to introduce to the pupils have no equivalence in SiSwati which makes it difficult for them to teach in the mother language throughout the lesson. So, the teaching process becomes a challenge because the pupils' books too are in English. It is not surprising, therefore that the teachers resort to using the language that the books are written in to make things easier for both the pupils and teachers themselves.

Karinga (2016) reveals that in the majority of African countries that are still developing the unavailability of resources including human resources, funding, facilities, materials and books are another major constraint on the implementation of the language policy. With many different indigenous languages in most of the countries studied, it is a big challenge to fund all those languages supposing they are to be elevated to national and official languages. The problem is aggravated by the unavailability of a clear policy on indigenous languages and reexamination by government officials. These agencies advocating for the development of indigenous languages do not have the required funds as compared to social undertakings like soccer tournaments, horse races and others (Karinga, 2016). Therefore, in this study, the participants could have raised the issue of teaching and learning materials as the only challenge of implementation of the language policy, nonetheless in other parts of Africa Karinga raises that there are more impediments.

Another participant raised her concerns regarding the lack of teaching materials. Elliot, during the SSI, remarked:

Elliot: So, it's more cumbersome on the teacher as the resources are not there yet we have a good concept but the situation on the ground just doesn't allow us to adhere to the language policy. And ours being a private school and we have all nationals who don't even understand a single SiSwati word then we say even those should learn SiSwati as a subject because the directives says it is compulsory. Not unless the teacher wants to be frustrated the whole time.

When asked to clarify what he means by “...resources that are not there...” he elaborated:

We have the books but they are not in the language that the official language policy says we should teach in. So, it is as good as the resources are not there.

Elliot shares the same sentiments with the other who laments about the lack of books written in the medium of instruction. Two more participants also raised their concerns over the lack of books. Dora and Amy proved not to be content with the lack of books written in SiSwati which could make it easy for teachers to teach all the subjects in the mother language.

Principals too had something to say in that regard. Best, Chase and Eve were also not comfortable with the issue of lack of books that are written in the mother language thus failing to have the language policy adhered to in their schools. Also, they are having a difficulty in coming up with a plan on how the language policy could be implemented since the books are not in the language of teaching and learning. It is clear that in this participant's school they teach all the subjects in English and it works well for them because the books are written in English.

5.3.5 Language policy and directives formulated without consultation

Another issue that the participant principals and teachers raised was that the use of the top-down approach when formulating language policy and directives. Amy, during the SSI session, revealed her perspectives regarding the consultation process during the formulation of the language policy. She expressed that she would have appreciated if teachers were involved in the formulation of the language policy or even the directives. She is of the view that teachers would

be gladly adhering to the language policy and directives if they were involved when they were policies were crafted. Also, assuming that the teachers are aware of the language policy is another issue that worries the participant.

Another issue that the participant principals and teachers raised was that the use of the top-down approach when formulating language policy and directives. Amy, during the SSI session, revealed her perspectives regarding the consultation process during the formulation of the language policy.

Amy is making a point about the absence of workshops, support and consultation. Therefore, there is a strong motivation not to follow the language policy and directives. She gives a very sharp critique of the state and how it proclaims the language policy and directives.

Johnson and Pritt (2014) claim that policies can be developed at the top by authorities and then imposed on the implementers who are lower down the hierarchy. Nevertheless, participant principals and teachers expressed disdain that they are at the receiving end as they are not consulted regarding the formulation and the declaration of the language policy and directives. However, Burner (2018) contends that language policy is externally instigated, a sentiment not shared by the participants though. They have revealed that they learn about the language policy and directives from the media or colleagues, not from the policy formulators. During the formulation process, they were not involved in any way.

Therefore, their non-adherence to the language policy could be attributed to the lack of consultation at both the formulation and implementation stages. Thornburg and Mungai (2011) argue that teachers resist implementing policy when their sentiments, experiences and practices are not considered or even appreciated. This situation depicts Fairclough's (1989) explanation of coercive power whereby someone is forced to do something. In this case the implementers are expected to adhere to the language policy and directives.

Caleb draws our attention to the fact that there are people who cannot be challenged because of their status and the powers vested in hierarchies, especially those who also control language policy making and directives. When they declare the policy and directives, it means that whatever the agenda, or motivation or reasons provided, it has to be accepted as genuine gestures by honest persons. Therefore, compliance is assured. In a country ruled by an absolute monarch, principals and teachers have been molded into accepting the authority of the king, and to those

he delegates authority to. Therefore, what they say is the law and it has to be accepted as the truth.

This submission is in sharp contrast to what Caleb has said previously that he does not see the rationale of implementing the official language policy and directives. So, the safest thing for the principals and teachers to do are to keep quiet and to continue with their own practices in their schools. In the Ethiopian context, Siyum and Gebremedhi (2015) submit that teachers are required to join the Ethiopian People's Revolution Democratic Front, the ruling party. Even with such structured use of party dogma that has seriously challenged academic freedom and value of education in the country and instilled a hostile environment characterized by fear in the education system, the teachers join the ruling party because they want to earn a living. Siyum and Gebremedhi are of the impression that the situation the teachers are faced with will lead to a situation where the education system will deteriorate further leading to worse political and social crisis. The teachers are confined and made to think and implement what they are given; they are not consulted.

Drake shares that there is a professional body of teachers known as SNAT which attends to all issues that pertain to teachers. It seems though they are either ignorant of the language policy too. They are also silent about it, as they did not inform teachers about any developments pertaining to it, since they inform the teachers about other matters like salary negotiations and cost of living adjustment. What the principals and teachers bring to the fore echoes Karinga's (2016) findings that the lack of collaboration with the authorities leads to teachers retreating and avoiding conflict.

Bella too asserts that the teachers are not consulted. After all, teachers are the persons who can relate their experiences and make government aware about what works and what cannot be implemented. This scenario suggests that policy is driven by other interests. Unilateral actions of the state suggest that teachers are not viewed as professionals and experts. They are, in a sense, de-professionalized and thereby marginalized.

Bella: The fact that the policy and directives come from above, from the top, it's really difficult to own such and try to work with it. It's really difficult.

Bella, quoted above does not welcome what happens when a policy or directives have to be devised since is no contribution from teachers, people who implement them in the classroom.

People who do not work in the classroom may not understand the dynamics that are involved in this working in such an environment. Thus, the policy is likely to omit vital features or include elements that may not be applicable in every situation thus the difficulty.

Althusser's (1971) concept of power relations states that every individual in the position of authority, in this case government, will always make subordinates comply with the ideology of the state. Foucault's (1978) insights on power, suggests that those individuals who are controlled are bound to resist, as power is not static, it circulates. If the participant principals and teachers have such misgivings about the lack of consultation when formulating the official language policy and directives, then the implementation is evidently challenged, although not overtly. It is a subtle form of resistance that is exercised in the classroom. Like Bella, he notes that nobody ever addresses them when the changes are made. So, the lack of consultation from the policy initiators has evoked negative responses which, unfortunately, in a country like Eswatini, cannot be voiced anywhere else.

Kamwangamalu (2000), a strong advocate for the use of local African languages asserts that any effort to foster the use of African languages in education is hindered by lack of support and by the continued negative attitudes accorded to African languages. The implementers could be viewed as portraying a negative attitude yet they could be reacting to concerns that are not addressed by the authorities, in this case, the lack of consultation.

Other participants like Caleb, Elliot and Dora may have not used the same words as the others whose ideas have been relayed but they are also concerned about what generally happens. Caleb proved not to be motivated by what is happening whereby there will be people who will among other things craft policies for teachers knowing very well that they will not be questioned. He advocates for a platform where teachers will be heard on issues of policy and directives formulation. He is also critical of the socialization which he feels has made things even more difficult since teachers do not question anything they are given just like the language policy. Dora proves to be critical of the culture of not involving teachers when crafting policies yet they

are the ones who will end up implementing them. She is aware that in other places people's views are considered which he believes makes it conducive for the implementers to do what they are expected to do. The unfortunate part is that this does not happen in Eswatini. From the submission teachers seem to be a frustrated group which may be one reason why they do not adhere to the language policy. They are bitter.

Elliot had to explain what actually happens when a policy is crafted, which may be another reason why the principals and teachers are not implementing the language policy and directives.

Elliot, during the SSI, commented:

Elliot: The style of consultation in our country is something else. They call it consultation when they are making the stakeholders rubber stamps of what they have already drafted and then they would just call some kind of an occasion where the stakeholders would also be in attendance, then there would be those talks in that occasion and then boom! You will see a policy being published, then there in the policy document there will be a page where they write names of all those who were in attendance in that meeting. If you're to be consulted, first you're given an opportunity to look at what is it that you will be talking about and you give your input in that issue but in this case, they come with a finished product then you rubber stamp. Then you will hear that these people were consulted. I will have a challenge because if the process was as transparent as one would have wished, I wouldn't be having doubts, I would be telling you exactly that this is the road map and this is the ultimate goal but in this case I am not sure of the ultimate goal.

Elliot highlights what he knows happens when teachers are consulted and he says that is not real consultation as he explains what he perceives consultation to be. He is sure that what is done in the education sector is not consultation as he calls it rubber stamping. He so much desires that proper consultations could be held so that everyone could understand and appreciate the change that the policy or directive would be ushering.

Principals too could not be left out in expressing their views on how lack of consultation has resulted in the principals and teachers' non-adherence to language policy and directives. Abner

echoes the sentiments of the teacher who spoke strongly about the need of inviting teachers for consultations. Elliot and Caleb so much believe in proper consultation of the teachers and the same applies with this participant. He also believes that for any innovation to be implemented teachers have to be involved from the start. If they have been involved, they will own whatever is to be introduced even if it is a policy.

Only one principal, Chase, during the SSI, believes there could have been some form of consultation as she mentioned that:

Chase: To some extent some stakeholders were involved, you know but that was on a representative manner, they fail to get the information down to the rest of the people. I can say because I am part of an association of school administrators in the country, yes we were involved but I'm not sure really if that information got down to the staffroom, the school where the actual teaching and learning takes place.

Chase quoted above mentions the very same thing Elliot mentioned that a few people would be invited to a function and it would be said they were consulted. Elliot even referred to what happens in such gathering as “rubber stamping” since there is nothing that the participants can change. Chase though is not sure if every teacher was notified about the language policy but he she was one of the people who took part in the consultation that was done.

Again, in the principals’ focus group discussion, the issue of non-adherence to the language policy was brought up and two participants who could not even wait for the other to finish. Amelia emphasized what happens if teachers and principals could be part of the policy making process from the start, something which the other participant kept nodding at. Another principal who did not say much about the issue lack of consultation as a cause for non-adherence by principals and teachers during the semi-structured interview, Drake, during the FGD, but in the focus group discussion he revealed that there is a group of teachers that represents the rest of the teachers in a number of talks who could have alerted the teachers if they knew anything about the language policy or even the directives that were in the pipeline. That is the reason why then she is sure that teachers were not consulted during the formulation of the official language policy and directives.

Those participants who were vocal about the issue of lack of consultation are really not pleased and do not welcome what happens when a policy or directives have to be devised since there is no contribution from teachers, people who implement them in the classroom. The people who do not work in the classroom may not understand the dynamics that are involved in working in such an environment. Thus, the policy is likely to omit vital features or include elements that may not be applicable in every situation thus the difficulty. They advocate for a platform where teachers will be heard on issues of language policy and directives. They are also critical of their socialization as Swazis which they feel has made things even more difficult since teachers do not question anything they are given, just like the language policy.

Consultation in policy making allows leadership to tap the roughest source of information conceivable which enhances the quality of the decision accomplished. It forewarns policy makers to any issues and concerns not settled on through prevailing evidence or research. Balla and Xie (2020) contend that it helps to supervise existing policy and consent if changes are required. Considering that the Eswatini is an absolute monarchy, headed by the king whose power is unrestricted even issues of governance are his prerogative including the contents of the policy and directives. With such a scenario, the envisaged reforms by the participants, is most unlikely to happen. Consultation is practiced mostly in states that subscribe to the principles of democracy. Balla and Xie (2020) conducted a study on policy making novelty and they were assessing government openness and public input in two government departments in China (Ministry of Commerce (MOC) and the United States of America specifically the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). They discovered that transparency and involvement are generally inferior at the MOC than in EPA which suggests the differences in the Chinese and U.S. political structures, rather than matters of administrative aptitude, which suggest restrictions in discussions during policy formulation in modern China.

The lack of consultation on matters involving principals and teachers more especially on the official language policy and directives that they are expected to implement is one issue that is troubling the implementers. They do want to be involved but from their submissions, they are never invited to any gathering where these are deliberated upon. The teachers and principals then

distance themselves from the implementation of the language policy and directives since they do not own them.

5.3.6 Language policy and directives uninformed by research

The principals and teachers also give lack of research as another reason why it is difficult for them to implement the official language policy and directives.

Abner wonders if Eswatini did research about the official language policy which teachers are expected to implement now. He even posed a question even though he did not expect a response since he knew it already. He is not happy about the way things are done because it does not represent the education sector well as people who are known for research. This may be one cause for the non-adherence to the official language policy and directives since teachers and principals are aware that the route they know and use in the education sector that of researching widely before any change is introduced has not been followed.

Abner provides a very strong critique of how the language policy is crafted. What he and other teachers cannot see is how the language policy works and how the pupils will benefit from it. It may imply that this policy is not written up in a way that gives directions and dimensions. It does not show the rationale for the teachers to teach in SiSwati, it has no clear links to teaching and learning especially to pedagogy. It also does not show links to the various subjects that have to be taught, and how it affects conceptual understanding. It also does not direct teachers to the support mechanisms, if any are available. Thus, Abner feels the official language policy is uninformed by research. Research is informative about what to do, how to do it, its benefits, pitfalls, limitations, resources required, assessment and teaching approaches. The policy is bereft of all these details.

Sharifian (2017) notes that governing bodies do not accord the teachers any opportunity of engaging at any level with colleagues so as to share experiences. If there are no such engagements, the participant is of the idea that research would cater for this shortcoming by government. The participant teachers therefore challenge the system by going to class but doing what is contrary to the official language policy and directives. McWhorter (2010) suggests that by challenging the system, it shows that opposing domination starts with self-resistance by

recognizing the situation one is in, in the organization, which the participants including Bella have mentioned.

Sharing the same sentiments with Abner, Bella, during the SSI, came up with a suggestion which she thinks could be pursued by the authorities. Bella is highlighting that not doing proper intensive research is a habitual practice when it comes to language policy and directives proclamation. Mahlalela (2017) advances that one hurdle associated with the implementation of the Free Primary Education (FPE) programme is the lack of the buy in by teachers and principals. She mentions that these stakeholders were not involved when the FPE Act and its implementation procedures were crafted. Another exemplar would be the religious ban of teaching all other religions except Christianity in Eswatini schools in 2017. The Christian community welcomed the directive but other people criticized the initiative by government. So, the issue of language policy and directives being uninformed by research since getting the principals and teachers' views would be another form of research.

Bella wishes that if there was any change, it could be interrogated by professionals in the field of education. The teachers need to be adequately prepared for the implementation of the language policy and directives even through engaging experts whose recommendations would be beneficial. The same belief is shared by Cummins (2001) who addresses the issue of African pupils who are adequately prepared for education in the second language. He explains that those pupils do very well at school because of the dedication that is accorded in the exercise. Bella is of the idea that the same approach would assist in having them understand then implement the language policy and directives since available research would assist in preparing them for the implementation process. Ultimately, Bella's statement betrays teacher thinking about who the experts are. Like government, she believes that practicing language teachers are not the experts.

During the SSI, Caleb too criticizes the lack of research in educational changes. He even gave the example of an instance where he thinks extensive research was never done yet it is very vital. The way things are done in the education sector does not please the participant. He feels there is something good about the official language policy but before it was published it needed

interrogation among the stakeholders, the teachers in particular who are a link between the pupils and the parents.

What is coming through is how the principals and teachers, through Caleb's view value knowledge and they attach importance to informed knowledge. They do not want policy that is preferred by some person in government, somebody who has the power to just pronounce. He is also pointing out at the process on how these proclamations are made, in the press, in parliament and not through the education process. It is a fact that policy has to be approved in parliament but behind the scenes before it is proclaimed, there is a whole range of stakeholders that are involved during the crafting. Therefore, what Caleb is saying is that stakeholder input is absent. That is what upset the participant teachers. Even if the policy is a good one and it makes sense but because of the procedure and the way in which it has been formulated, it would make the principals and teachers resistant.

Principals too had something to say with regards to the lack of research which then affects their implementation of the language policy and directives. The principals addressed the directives mainly. Drake, Eve and Chase, during the SSI, pointed out that what happens when a directive is formulated. They felt that as stakeholders they are left out only to be given the language policy and directives to implement. Ivanov and Sautkin (2008) share that ISAs same as practicing teachers want the pupils to do well, even at primary school level. That according to the participant is reason enough for teachers not to implement. The participant teachers and principals view the language policy and directives as the ideas of powerful individuals; thus they distance themselves from them.

Jordan and Adelle (2012) disclose that policy depicts a set of beliefs and plans employed to help make decisions. Consequently, research ought to be a much-sought-after backing for policy-making, as scholars provide evidence on which to base decisions on. They emphasize that policy decisions might have an ideology, but nonetheless must be informed by verifiable, repeatable and objective research. Whether the phenomenon is education, social policy, health care, criminal justice, economic development, transport or national security it is the responsibility of policy makers to involve society and to demonstrate that policy is supported by objective research. If policymakers and those that assist them are to make the accurate choices and get the

most out of the public's investment in doing research, they should have effective access to the significant scientific awareness and understanding of evolving science issues.

If the participants in this study are aware of how consultation works during policy making yet they have never heard of it in Eswatini they are bound to highlight how it is being overlooked by local policymakers. They want their voice to be heard but because of the culture and the way the country is governed, the people are overlooked.

Drake shared that:

Drake: Let us assume then they conducted a study before coming with the directive. But if the study was there, as teachers we would know since now there is uproar. One wonders then, were teachers involved initially? Your guess is as good as mine. As long as we don't conduct research we are yet to mourn.

This principal is clear that there was no study that was conducted even before coming up with the directives since as teachers they would know and they would have addressed any concerns as teachers not what is happening since teachers are equally surprised about the contents of the directives. That according to the participant is reason enough for teachers not to implement because they know nothing about, they also have questions just like everybody thus the commotion that has accompanied the pronouncement of the directives. Like the other participants, Eve, during the SSI, gave her view on how the lack of research is affecting the implementation of directive by teachers. She explained:

Eve: They will implement the directive then explain to their partners later? This is a big sign there was no research conducted here and where does that leave us stakeholders.

According to Eve, the order of doing things is reversed since the directives are pronounced before any kind of explanation is given to the teachers. There should be some research first which is done, where teachers and other stakeholders will understand what the government intends doing. The research that the participant feels is lacking is what would have informed the authorities on what stakeholders think and wish to have regarding the language of teaching and learning.

Still trying to find out what the principals and teachers' responses regarding the directives that are pronounced for them to implement, some participants addressed the issue of political intrusion which leads to anxiety as they execute their duties.

5.3.7 Language policy and directives marred by anxiety

The principals and teachers mentioned that as they go about their duties in the school and inside the classroom somehow, they feel threatened since they do not adhere to the official language policy and directives. They become anxious as they know that they are not doing what is expected of them.

Amy has it in her mind that not implementing what has been pronounced by the employer could invite trouble for her but she does not seem to be bothered because her main aim is to help the pupils. This participant is also aware that by not adhering to the official language policy and the directives she could result in job loss but that does not make her compromise what she believes in even though her job is at stake. She gives a clear idea as to why teachers do not take up their discontent about how the language policy and directives are formulated - it is because they are afraid about losing their jobs. They practice what they believe is good for the pupils but that means placing their jobs on the line. If discovered, they know they will be fired. Fear of job loss also fuels their anxiety. Nonetheless, that does not make her compromise what she believes in, even though her job is at stake. Her conviction contradicts Kaschula and Kretzer (2019) who believe that there is a strong, positive influence in the pupils' learning process which is as a result of using a familiar language during teaching and learning. In this instance the pupils are familiar with English. By choosing English, Amy chooses risk, too.

Other teachers shared the same sentiments with Amy, like Bella, from Tulip School who submitted: that they could lose their jobs if the government officials were vigilant enough. She is of the view that teachers take advantage over the laxity of inspectors and other government officials, otherwise they are aware that they could lose their jobs for not doing what the employer expects them to do as it is an act of insubordination.

Also, during the SSI, Caleb shared what makes him anxious as he executes his duties. He suggests that an element of being vindictive on the employer's part. As he does not adhere to the

laid down language policy and directives, he mentions that there is a threat of losing one's job, something that has been highlighted by two other participants. Even with that uncertainty which surrounds the teachers' employment, teachers still want to do what they think is good for the learners. Sarla (2020) found that leaders who use directives are likely to be autocratic in nature. They make all decisions; direct the group or nation by command. The leaders demand absolute compliance from subordinates (Sarla, 2020). Caleb draws attention to the punitive nature of autocratic leaders. Even with the uncertainty which surrounds employment, they still wanted to do what they think is beneficial for the pupils and take the risk to not implement the official language policy and directives.

Also during the FDGs, consequences for not following the official language policy and directives were discussed and teachers still maintained that by not following them anything could happen to them but maintained that they will continue to do what is best for the pupils.

Even principals addressed their being anxious in their working space. Principals Best, Chase and Eve shared the same sentiments with the teachers that they work under a threatening environment which does not change their resolve. They want the best for the Swazi pupil. The participant principals touched upon the issue of being coerced to follow the language policy and directives which they mentioned that it does not change their beliefs about what helps the pupils to cope in life even after having finished school. Fairclough (1989) explains that authorities will use coercive power to compel somebody to do something. The approach used by the authorities, though, does not change the resolute nature of the implementers. Instead, it makes them critical of the authorities.

Amy is one principal who was very vocal about the threatening environment that they work under. Amy finds safety in knowing that she can practice doing the opposite of what the government expects her to. There is no one to take the message back to government officials because the officials probably send their own children to private schools or out of the country.

According to Foucault (1978), if the people are governed in a way that they are allowed to make choices and decisions with support from the state according to their preferences, they tend to abide and adhere to new policies. In this case, autocratic governance principles underpin the state's political ideologies. Although Althusser (1971) declares that the individuals who form

any given society have ideologies that have been shaped by the state's ideologies, it seems that the shaping is more fluid and more amenable to change.

The democratic dispensation that the participants hear about from the two countries that surround Eswatini and from the global style of governance has influenced the people of Eswatini, the participants in particular to think democratic principle can also govern them under the autocratic rule they live under. Even then they will not hear of anything that contradicts the democratic principles. To them being coerced to implement the official language and policy even though it does not address the pupils' needs is a problem on its own since they believe that the ideas that they have would have made things much better in schools and in the country as a whole.

5.3.8 Language policy and directives tarnished by political intrusion

The participants also mentioned that they felt there was political interference in the way the language policy and directives are formulated.

During the SSI, Amy explained how she thinks political interference has had a hand in teachers' non-adherence to the directives that are pronounced. She highlighted that teachers want an expert who is knowledgeable in the field of education to be in charge in their line ministry. They do not like when the head of government keeps telling them of the developments in their field yet he does not possess a qualification in the field of education. He could be head of government but the participant feels that he is somebody who is knowledgeable in political matters not matters related to what happens inside the classroom.

Amy intimates that the politicians who are proclaiming policy are just ordinary people who do not have sufficient knowledge about education to make these kinds of announcements. It is obvious to teachers that initiatives are uninformed and unreliable. There is an undertone of disparagement for politicians. Amy is drawing a separation between education and politics and does not seem to be aware of the intertwining of the two. She misses the point, that schools and policies are the prerogative of the state. Education does not exist outside the law and politics is an integral component of education and vice versa.

This utterance was made during the SSI and it was not brought up during the FGD session. The teachers are pushed away from adherence to the directives because of the head of government, a political figure being the person issuing out the directives. The head of government just issues the directives without any input from the teachers (as mentioned in 5.2.5) thus the teachers do not implement what he has proclaimed. As professionals, they believe the education of the Swazi child should be left to them. The implementers are obliged to adhere which makes them not free in their work space (Clement, 2014). They ignore what is forced on them, modify the policy to suit the pupils' needs and emphasize that which is useful to pupils. That is how they exercise their political right in different ways. It is for that reason that when it comes to the official language policy, none of the participants mentioned that they implemented it. Althusser (1971) postulates that individuals are forced through policy to comply with the wishes of those in power and this can cause resistance among the individuals who are expected to implement the policy (and directives in case of Eswatini).

Bella shared the same sentiments with Amy as she views the involvement of the head of government as interference. The teachers also highlight that as teachers they know what is best for the pupils which unfortunately is contrary to what is given to them by government to implement. This could be viewed by other people as insubordination, yet as teachers they are doing what is best for the child and they are convinced that they understand it better. Hence, anyone outside the teaching profession who gives orders in the form of directives is not taken lightly by Bella, Amy and four other principals raised the same argument during the SSI session and FGD. Bella is of the idea that teachers focus on children's development and government focuses on exercising power. This picture portrayed by Bella can be linked to Eswatini being an absolute monarchy, a country which politically, does not operate as a democracy.

There is a feeling among the participants that if they implement the official language policy and directives the pupils will not achieve what the government authorities have achieved. Bella who confessed that she does not implement the official language policy and the directives; to her they all will not equip the pupils with the skills that are portrayed by the government authorities. Bella also reveals a contradiction at state level: those who want SiSwati as the LoTL do not communicate in SiSwati. The policy and the directives are proclaimed in English.

Bella also reveals a contradiction at state level: those who want SiSwati as the LoTL do not communicate in SiSwati. The policy and the directives are proclaimed in English. She is of the idea that teachers focus on children's development and government focus on exercising power. This picture portrayed by Bella can be linked to Eswatini being an absolute monarchy, a country which politically, does not operate as a democracy. Teachers like Bella on the other hand keep pushing for democracy and they want government to treat them in a democratic way. So, the data reveals the existence of a huge gap between what the country is like, its character that it is a monarchy, it operates in the absence of democracy. The county functions by proclamation, on the word of the monarchy through the government officials. The teachers, through Bella's view, somehow are deluded in believing that in a country like this, there would be democratic processes.

Best believes that the people in power are unreasonable; generally, as they would pronounce the directives anytime of the year which might not be good timing in as far as this participant is concerned. To her, the country's authorities keep reminding the teachers that they are in power through the way they handle matters even in the education sector.

Best submits that the government officials are reactionary, implying that they are opposed to progressive reforms. The political authorities who make these announcements, it seems, had not thought about the timing of the implementation or how adjustments would be made in the midst of a programme prepared for teaching in English. There is no consideration of the inconvenience to teachers or for learners who would suddenly be exposed to teaching in SiSwati. Confusion could result but due to the status of and power wielded by politicians in Eswatini, the chances of openly questioning the directive are nil. The participant echoes Johnson and Pratt's (2014) sentiment that coercive power is exercised by authorities through the formulation and proclamation processes that do not include stakeholder interests and inputs.

In the same vein Eve submits that the government is refusing to acknowledge teachers as professionals and intellectuals which is a way of de-intellectualizing and de-professionalizing teachers. Thapar (2002) explains that when education is de-intellectualized, both the democratic culture and the legitimacy of the education system are eroded. Such a scenario, according to Eve, is a feature in Eswatini, since the principals and teachers are treated as if they do not know what to do. Instead, they are told how they should carry out their duties.

According to Van-Rooy (2016), a nation cannot have any progress in education if it is under the control of a small group of people who do everything with the backing of culture. Thus, we can infer that language policy and the directives are handmaidens of culture and cultural identity.

Teaching, from the perspectives of those who wield power is that schools must produce subjects who are cultural beings rather than educated citizens. Under these conditions, schools become the molding factories of cultural reproduction and preservation. However, the implementers might not openly oppose what has been pronounced, but once they are left alone in the school or in a class, the language agenda is subverted.

Chase is another participant who also raised the issue of political interference as a reason why teachers and principals find it difficult to implement the directive, in the individual interview was Chase, during the SSI, where she said:

Chase: The Prime Minister made it clear that government is saying English will no longer be a failing subject. That is a directive. Then it means he expects us to follow what government has proclaimed whether we like it or not. Eish! (An exclamation of disbelief) But why? Why?

Chase's submission is a clear indication that the principals and teachers are very critical of the way the directives are pronounced by the head of government as he does not leave the teachers and principals with any choice but to do as they are told. Clearly, the participant disapproves of the way the head of government communicates with the teachers. The fact that it is the head of government relaying the information to teachers it renders the announcement political.

In the FDG for principals, the issue of directives being political rather than being educational came up. Even though two principals were vocal, the others kept nodding their heads in agreement. When I analyzed their actions, it occurred to me that the principals were still supporting the view that involving the head of government in the issue of directives pertaining to the language of teaching and learning was political. All the five principals showed signs that they did not like how the head of government was doing things.

During the FGD for principals Drake, started the talk when I raised the topic on directives. He raised his concern about the way government is treating teachers, doing whatever they want especially regarding a directive that had just been published. From the submission, teachers' views and feelings regarding a change that is ushered in are not considered as the teacher implies that implementation is the only thing expected from them. This is another reason from the analysis of data that I deduced to be instrumental in having teachers not to implement the directives. They do not take kindly to being pushed to do something in their work space, the classroom.

It was at this point that Eve interjected:

Eve: Just imposing! The government just doesn't listen, doesn't consult. Everything is from the top down to the people. Stakeholders are never consulted. We all know what happens if something is forced on you as if you don't have a brain.

The other principals just nodded and revealed that the Eve is adamant that teachers and principals are not accorded the respect that they deserve. As professionals they would have appreciated being recognized as stakeholders which unfortunately doesn't happen as government does as they want. Even though it was the Prime Minister who issued the directive as head of government, Eve believes she represents the government thus she refers to his instruction to the teachers as that from the country itself. Therefore, she is bitter about the way government is handling changes in the education sector, in the classroom in particular. Teachers are in a way mandated to implement the changes brought by the directive Eve was referring to. Through this government's action, treating an educational matter as though it were a political matter, led to teachers becoming rebellious and not adhering to the directive.

Another reason that I deduced from the analysis of the data I gathered was that principals and teachers felt they that they were forced by globalization not to implement the directives that are given to them to implement.

Igboanusi and Putz (2008) communicate that on the thirtieth of January, 2016, at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, the late president, General Sanni Abacha, pronounced, in a

speech presented by the Minister of Education, that French would be introduced as a second language. He mentioned that it was to be a compulsory subject in all levels of education. The directive according to the minister was to make Nigeria a bilingual state. Soon after that proclamation, the Nigerian people were expected to accept and adhere to declaration and preparations were commanded for the allocation of funds to enable the smooth implementation (Igboanusi & Putz, 2008). Prominent French intellectuals from Nigerian universities were brought together and instructed to write the curriculum for all the subjects starting from primary school to tertiary level. Unfortunately, immediately after Abacha's downfall, the directive was completely deserted (Igboanusi & Putz, 2008). That was a clear sign that the implementers only adhered to the policy to save their jobs since the directive was proclaimed by a politician who did not consult any of the Nigerian stakeholders in the field of education.

5.3.9 Language policy and directives as anti-globalization

Out of concern for the pupils, globalization becomes a factor affecting the implementation of the official language policy and directives. During the SSI session, Amy, a teacher at Daffodil School remarked that teachers are placing the pupils first and policy second since they view the official language policy as an anti-globalization stance.

The fact that Eswatini is a landlocked country (Vilakati, 2008), and relies heavily on South Africa for her livelihood, implies that there is a need to prepare the pupils for the life that they will live not just within their country but with neighbouring states within the SADC region and beyond. In the field of language education, Amy highlights that there is need to put more emphasis on a language that will be well understood by citizens of the global world. Classen (1995) advances the opinion that living in the age of globalization means that time and space is compressed, resulting in a single global village. Language is a means of connecting in a global space and it will have to be a language that is well-known. In the global sphere, SiSwati does not feature as a language of global importance. Globalization thus becomes a factor affecting the implementation of the official language policy and directives.

Amy believes that teachers are concerned about having the Swazi pupil live and work anywhere in the world. Giddens (1990) asserts that there are escalating worldwide social relations that influence what is happening locally and vice versa. Apparently, the participants did not want to

overlook Giddens' assertion. It is through the medium of English that the participant principals and teachers felt there was a need for the pupils to be afforded with prospects that will help them to be proficient in English so they can share and exchange experience, ideas, knowledge, findings with any person from any part of the world (Abdalgane, 2020).

Other participants including Dora and Elliot shared the similar views. Dora believes firmly in marginalizing the local language, SiSwati. She prefers to teach the pupils in English, a language that would be of assistance to the pupils as they deal with the dynamics of long-distance associations (Nguyen, 2016). Her understanding of the fact that a school should produce global citizens cannot be over emphasized as she expressed that the pupils should not be confined in the country. Even though globalization has substantial effects on minority languages and is held responsible for steering other language into extinction (Poggensee, 2016), that does not seem to bother her. Abdalgane (2020) highlights that introducing English earlier in the curriculum and adopting it as a medium of instruction are both reactions to discourses of English as a global language. Elliot's submission portrays him as somebody who sees a bigger perspective than the narrow prescripts of policymakers. He may also be portrayed as somebody who is too progressive and anti-culture.

Four participant principals shared the same opinions as the teachers that the pupils need to have competency in all the four language skills in English. The participant principals too are of the conviction that the pupils need to be prepared for a global encounter if they wish to further their studies and even live outside the country, at regional and global level. The four principals are Abner, Best, Chase and Drake. Abner was one of them and he shared that:

Abner: English is the medium of communication in most of the country's schools, even regionally, internationally, and actually globally. So how am I expected to deviate from the worldwide norm?

Abner has shared that quite a number of schools use English as the medium of instruction so he feels he is justified to use English during teaching and learning. All he wants is for pupils from his school to compete everywhere they go since they would have studied in the language that would be used as a medium of instruction in their schools as early as in Grade One.

Abner also would not implement the language policy and the directives because they are not pro-English. Snyder (2017) intimates that if teachers do not comprehend and appreciate the language policy, or are emotionally upset because of the way it has been proclaimed, they are likely to oppose putting it into effect. He contended that they would simply apply it in a different way from that anticipated by the designers of the policy. Therefore, Abner's attitude towards the directives showed that he was not willing to implement the directives.

The other three principals, too, raised their concerns regarding the influence of globalization on the non-implementation of the official language policy and directives in schools. They emphasized the importance of having to expose the pupils to a medium of instruction that would be of great use to them when they eventually graduate from school.

When the PM proclaimed the directive that every pupil had to learn SiSwati, he mentioned that it was a way of preserving the native language, SiSwati. Since it was verbally communicated both the electronic and print media covered the event where it was declared but the participants mentioned that it was not always that they were exposed to those forums. Then the vision that the directive formulators had, was not shared with the implementers and according to Lazdowski (2015) who believes that if the policy is brought by government (from the top down to the implementers), it stirs up concerns among the stakeholders, in this case principals and teachers.

Even during the focus group discussion, the principals raised globalization as a factor that had contributed to their non-implementation of the language policy and directives. Still, they emphasized the use of English in the school, in all the grades.

Chase then implies that the state is short-sighted and ignoring Eswatini's dependence on surrounding states. To him, it does not make much sense to put much emphasis on the mother tongue since Eswatini is totally dependent on South Africa for her livelihood. There is need, therefore, to expose the pupils to a language that will be of benefit to them as they interact with different nationals from the neighbouring states and beyond. Considering what Giddens (1990) raises that events in a state are influenced by what is happening in the region and globally which suggests that Eswatini cannot be an island because events taking place outside Eswatini will influence those taking place within the country even in the education sector. With every teacher

interested in seeing every pupil furthering their studies or becoming successful business people, there is need for eloquence in an international language and not only in SiSwati. Abdalgane (2020) declares that multinational companies call for certain English proficiency from prospective employees, thus the wish by participant principals and teachers to have the pupils competent in the global language.

Not only in Eswatini has globalization influenced the implementation of the language policy Makanda (2011) highlights that from a global outlook, challenges involve the demands from globalization and augmented information in English via the internet. To add, there are many difficulties encountered in supporting bilingual and multilingual education, which include hiring more multicultural teachers, utilizing suitable teaching materials and offering safe and conducive learning school conditions for the mixed nature of the people (Karinga, 2016). Also, there is a need to advance programmes that are well-matched with bilingualism and multilingualism. This though involves altering current language policies so as to accommodate the ethnic languages. Generally, native languages in Africa have unsuccessfully occupied a high-status attitude even where they are officially recognized in the statutes (Makanda, 2011). In addition, there are many hurdles encountered in promoting bilingual and multilingual education and literacy, which include increasing the number of multicultural teachers, developing appropriate teaching materials and providing safe learning school environments for the intermixed nature of the population. Ngcobo (2013) emphasizes that it is necessary to develop programmes that are attuned to bilingualism and multilingualism. However, this requires changing existing language policies in an attempt to accommodate the native languages. In general, these native languages more especially in Africa have failed to seize a high-status position even where they are officially recognized. They have continued to be languages of informal trade in spite of that fact they are the languages of the majority of the people (Makanda, 2011).

5.3.10 The unwelcome language policy revision

Out of the ten participants, two voiced that they wanted to continue using the language policy that their teachers when they were at school had adhered to. They expressed that it really worked for them and they were hopeful that it would also be of assistance to the pupils that they teach. One principal, Eve, did not even know about the SiSwati medium of instruction policy as she

revealed that in her school, they do everything in English and that they only teach in SiSwati during SiSwati time. She mentioned that she preferred the old policy not the new one introduced in 2011.

Eve confessed that she knew nothing about the official language policy which I had hoped would begin our discussion with, I felt I should briefly explain it to her. She then gave her response to the official language policy, and it was during the SSI, she commented:

Eve: To be honest, we do everything in English, we only teach in SiSwati during SiSwati time but every other subject is taught in English. And if you explain that it is a relatively new policy as it was introduced in 2011 then I would say that I prefer the old policy whereby everything in the school was done using English.

From her submission, I could deduce that there was no way, in her school or even she could adhere to the official language policy since she is not even aware it exists. Even when it has been explained to her, she maintains that she would rather stick to the old policy whereby English was the language of teaching and learning. She does not mention that she would like to try the new policy out as she has been made aware of. There is some resentment towards the official language policy.

The data reveals that Eve is resistant to change and how she wants to remain in the comfort zone. Being a school principal and unaware that the policy even exists implies that it was not implemented. Even when it had been explained to her, she maintained that she would rather continue with the old policy. According to Hornberger (2009) it requires motivation to facilitate the implementation of a multilingual education (MLE), which is much needed in Africa. This study may not be on MLE but its ground motives are not different from the motives of the language policy and directives in Eswatini. However, for teachers, motivation is linked to the purposes of education, the ease of teaching and pedagogic sense. Eve's apathy can be linked to sentiments shared by participants: their purposes are for the benefit of the pupil, not culture, resources to teach in SiSwati are not available and changing the LoTL did not make pedagogical sense. It may have been prudent, to use bilingual approaches, that is, to use both SiSwati and English. The data reveals that Eve is resistant to change and how she wants to remain in the

comfort zone. Being a school principal and unaware that the policy even exists, implies that it was not implemented. Even when it had been explained to her, she maintained that she would rather continue with the old policy. According to Hornberger (2009) it requires motivation to facilitate the implementation of a multilingual education (MLE), which is much needed in Africa. This study may not be on MLE but its ground motives are not different from the motives of the language policy and directives in Eswatini. However, for teachers, motivation is linked to the purposes of education, the ease of teaching and pedagogic sense. Eve's apathy can be linked to sentiments shared by participants: their purposes are for the benefit of the pupil, not culture, resources to teach in SiSwati are not available and changing the LoTL did not make pedagogical sense. It may have been prudent, to use bilingual approaches, that is, to use both SiSwati and English.

Bella also showed preference of the old language policy. She talked at length and mentioned how well the old policy worked when she was young. She was sure that the high-ranking officials who work in government offices are products of the old policy. Channa, Memon and Bughio (2016) point out that the opinion that English open doors nationally and internationally in higher education, to economic prospects, technology might have a substantial influence on the pupils, teachers and parents in choosing the medium of instruction. The principals and teachers in this study share the same sentiments as they have also mentioned that they are concerned about the pupils' welfare when they have finish school. They want the pupils to study, work and live anywhere in the world as mentioned earlier in 5.2.1.

Eve is not the only one who showed preference of the old policy. Bella, a teacher from Tulip School, during the SSI showed some preference of the old language policy. She mentioned that by not adhering to the official language policy as teachers they are trying to help the pupils to do better and become good citizens just like the people in government who are doing very well in life just because they were taught in English thus, they communicate very well.

Dora remembers how well the old policy had worked for them thus she wishes that that very same policy could be utilized to shape the pupils at her school so they may fit anywhere they might want to go. She wants pupils she has taught to be the best just like the people in government.

The participants who feel the official language policy and directives should be implemented may be few but their submissions show that not all the principals and teachers think the official language policy and directives should not be implemented. Two teachers out of the five shared different sentiments even though they could not repeat themselves during the FGD. Even Dora who did, she was somehow ignored by the other participants during the FDG. They pretended they have not heard what she had said. Even when I drew their attention to her submission, in unison they said, they would not implement such as they advanced an array of reasons why it is not workable.

In Zimbabwe, parents resist mother tongue instruction at school, as they maintain that their children should be taught in the English medium in order to have a good command of English (Nhongo, 2016). Even in Zimbabwe, the proficient use of English in both speech and writing has been linked with success and upward progress in the social ladder. Also, English has created opportunities for employment across the globe and parents cannot be condemned for demanding that their children should be taught in English from the first grade up to tertiary level (Shizha, 2012).

Some Zimbabwean parents even give their children names that promote foreign language, English. For instance, from both the Shona and Ndebele (the main languages) speaking people the following names are common: *Evidence, Loveness, Sunshne, Lovemore, Witness, Talkmore, Memory, Godknows*, and more. These English names do have their equivalence in Shona but the parents would not go for those since they associated more with success as opposed to the indigenous names. The current language policy that from the first four grades of primary school Shona and Ndebele should be the language of teaching and learning depending on the population of each of the people speaking each of the languages. The parents totally disregard the policy since they consider the opportunities that English may create for their children (Sibanda, 2019).

5.3.11 The necessity of the implementation of the language policy and directives

On the contrary, there are participants who feel the official language policy and directives should be implemented. They may be few but their submissions show that not all the principals and teachers think the official language policy and directives should not be implemented. Two

teachers out of the five shared different sentiments even though they could not repeat them during the FGD. Even Dora who did, she was somehow ignored by the other participants during the FDG. They pretended they had not heard what she had said. Even when I drew their attention to her submission, in unison they said, they would not implement such as they advanced an array of reasons why it is not workable. Bella is of the idea that teachers focus on children's development and government focus on exercising power.

Dora is of the idea that teachers focus on children's development and government focus on exercising power. This picture portrayed by Bella can be linked to Eswatini being an absolute monarchy, a country which politically, does not operate as a democracy. Teachers like Bella on the other hand keep pushing for democracy and they want government to treat them in a democratic way. So, the data reveals the existence of a huge gap between what the country is like, its character that it is a monarchy, it operates in the absence of democracy. The county functions by proclamation, on the word of the monarchy through the government officials. The teachers, through Bella's view, somehow are deluded in believing that in a country like this, there would be democratic processes.

There is a feeling among the participants that if they implement the official language policy and directives the pupils will not achieve what the government authorities have achieved. Bella who confessed that she does not implement the official language policy and the directives; to her they all will not equip the pupils with the skills that are portrayed by the government authorities. She also reveals a contradiction at state level: those who want SiSwati as the LoTL, do not communicate in SiSwati. The policy and the directives are proclaimed in English.

Dora is another participant who was bold enough to give her contradictory statement. She reminded the teachers about their role of being implementers of policy and not to waste each other's time but go to schools and adhere to the official language policy and directives. She might have not portrayed a great knowledge of the language policy but she was bold enough to take the other participants on since she felt it was their duty as teachers to implement the language policy and directives. The participant is convinced that compliance is the way to go for everyone. UNESCO (2003) and other international education agencies speak strongly of pedagogical imperatives of using the pupil's native language as a LoTL, at least in the first few years of school and Dora seems to understand this assertion.

Francis (2020) submits that experienced teachers resist a new language policy more than novice teachers. Therefore, it may not be surprising that Dora was the only one who embraced the need to implement the language policy and directives. However, her motives for saying what she did may be linked to knowing that trying to raise any form of opposition would be a waste of time. In other words resistance in a country where absolute governance functions, may come to naught. Eswatini authorities do not entertain protest, contestation and non-compliance. Her opinion reflects the reality of not only the education space it also speaks to the political ideology of the country.

Przeworski and Lomomgi (1993) reveal that certain autocratic regimes, in actual fact, have yielded good rates of progress and formulated policies that advance authentic long-term gains. They believe it is vital to take a closer examination at those achievement data. Shaykhutdinov (2010) shares that developing countries worldwide have a combination of both autocratic and democratic regimes. Therefore, that raises the issue: which one style of governance is preferred for development? Przeworski and Limongi (1993) highlight that if we reflect on Asia; we may discover that they have had incredible rates of growth, mainly in China, with an autocratic government. China singlehandedly rescued millions of people from poverty, which is a laudable stride. Thus, that basically makes us ponder whether autocrats are literally by far better for development. Then in fact, in literature, there is evidence that there is an impression that autocrats are notable in development, therefore, it contends that an autocrat is required to enhance development and once it has been attained democracy is likely.

Subsequently, some scholars believe that autocratic regimes have a much longer time horizon and therefore can institute policies, which have long-term benefits. Democratic regimes, on the other hand, therefore, it means their policies might be limited since they might not have a long lifespan since they be changed as long as the people who are governed have a right to influence policies therefore they can change if the people who are governed wish. If the people like the policy, again they may be implemented for even a longer period of time. Therefore, if the people understand that there is nothing that they can do to influence policy, they may decide that they might as well implement that policy because there is nothing much that they can do to modify or remove it. If they do not adhere to the policy, they might be inviting trouble for themselves.

5.3.12 Language policy and directives culturally driven

Besides agreeing with the other participants regarding the official language policy, Dora brought another dimension which portrayed contrast in responses with the other participants when she addressed the issue of directives. As the participants deliberated upon the directive that every pupil is to learn SiSwati as a subject, Dora differed with them as she wondered if the teachers were not bothered about SiSwati being extinct if young Swazis are not exposed to it. She suggested SiSwati should be taught to every learner and SiSwati as a LoTL be implemented because at school that is the only place that they have an opportunity to be exposed to their mother tongue.

Dora is of the view that most homes nowadays have television sets and children spend most of their time watching television where English is the predominant language. She urges teachers to play their part in preserving the language through the rhetoric: What are we doing as teachers? She is so much concerned about the pupils losing their roots because there is no forum where they are seriously exposed to their mother tongue anymore. Her motive is to challenge the other teachers and also remind them about the role of a teacher. She poses a very substantial question, with regards to where should teachers position themselves? Should they listen to their conscience or follow with what is given to them? So, the role of a teacher is brought up. Even though there is nothing the participant says about her practice specifically even though she encourages others to consider the mother language as cultural heritage. Dora would like to see that directive being implemented thus she gives such a response in the presence of the other teachers even though she is the only one who has such an idea.

Elliot is one participant who shared his excitement over the directive that English should not be a failing subject anymore. This was during the SSI which he did not repeat during the FGD though even when Dora had taken her own stand concerning the language policy. Elliot supports that pupils need to be taught in a language whose culture makes sense to them. A language that the pupils use at home is an ideal language to use for teaching and learning as far as he is concerned. So teaching in SiSwati and not making the pupils to proceed to the next class if they have passed English is something that Elliot does not support. The directive has really brought some excitement to him. It must have been something frustrating to pupils he has taught in his teaching career. Now that the directive has been announced the pupils will be worried about proceeding to

the next class just because they have passed English. This subject does not promote their culture but the English culture which is foreign to a Swazi pupil.

Elliot: Even as a student, we were taught using our mother tongue, SiSwati, for better understanding of the content, even though the things came in English but for a better understand, our teachers resorted to use of our mother tongue, SiSwati. Then we would get to understand and grasp these principles even better, though they may be in English but they were made simpler as they were presented in SiSwati. I believe the use of siSwati in teaching a Swazi child is best. Like it is happening in the developed countries, the first world, they use basically their languages. Who knows may be even the better performance in their teaching is due to the use of their indigenous language. So, YES, I call myself a proponent for mother tongue education. I support the use of our mother tongue during the process of teaching and learning.

Findings from the data revealed that most principals and teachers have reservations about the official language policy and directives. These resulted in the implementers not adhering to both the language policy and the directives. Only a few consider the implementation of the two, as they submit that it is necessary to do so since the official language policy and directives are culturally driven.

Schiffman (1996) posits that language policy is mainly a social concept, and as such, leans chiefly on other conceptual elements like values, belief systems, myths, prejudices, attitudes and more, the entire complex known as linguistic culture. It also identifies the function of language as the major channel for the building, duplication, and communication of culture itself. Sharifian (2017) believes that language itself is a cultural concept but it does not suggest that it can be changed, deconstructed, or radically reformed by the usage of particular political exploration of all types. This is so because language means various things to different individuals thus policy-making is often ill-defined and ambiguous (Sharifian, 2017). Then when considering how language is spread culturally as it is acquired. In a lower degree, language is taught more especially when parents, for instance, deliberately urge their children to express themselves and respond to what is being said to them in that language then correct their mistakes in the process their vocabulary will increase (Sharifian, 2017). Throughout this progression the children will

get confident in the language and that is where the urge to be patriotic is cemented. The very same will then see the need to protect the language from extinction just like the teachers who emphasize on the need to teach pupils their language not just as a subject but also as a LoTL.

5.4 Summary

In this chapter, the principals and teachers' responses were shared on the official language policy and directives that the government formulated without involving the teachers who strongly expressed their displeasure at the way the authorities work. The participants highlighted that the official language policy and directives are crafted could have good intentions but as implementers they felt it was not easy to implement. They cited eleven reasons (sub-themes) why the official language policy and directives were not so easy to implement and two supporting their implementation. The analysis further revealed that there is fear amongst the participants to talk about sensitive issues relating to the formulation and crafting of the language policy and directives. During the SSI they express themselves but when it comes to the FGD they are very careful about what to say.

One of the key points emerging from the data is that school principals may not necessarily be the extension of the employer that they are expected to be; they are more inclined to think like and support the teachers they have authority over. The teachers portrayed immense interest in the pupils' education. They did not just believe that the pupils move from one class to the next but were engrossed in what the pupils would become in the post high-school phase. The data analysis raised a number of questions which include: Are teachers too vested in their teaching? Are they rejecting or ignoring the language policy and directives because they cannot see beyond their teaching? Another question concerns principals and teachers dismissal of policy - does it then make them blind to the realities and demands of the Swazi culture and efforts to keep an indigenous language alive. With the state promoting the use of SiSwati, why does the government not insist on the use of SiSwati on national television? In the next chapter I will present the nature of the principals and teachers' responses, which addresses objective three, with regards to the dilemmas that that emanated from the data analysis.

CHAPTER 6

DILEMMAS AND CONTRADICTIONS

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter delineated the data collected through semi-structured interviews and focus group discussion as guided by the first two research questions. It discharged the data gathered for the study as detailed by the principals and teachers who were participants in this research. In the preceding chapter I also analyzed the data and in this chapter, I am taking it further, showing that the findings can be grouped into dilemmas and contradictions. Consequently, this chapter analyses the nature of the principals and teachers' responses to the official language policy and directives in Eswatini, using data that was presented in Chapter Five. That is, with the view to ultimately bring to the fore the nature of the principals and teachers' responses to the official language policy and directives in Eswatini. In this regard, I thus explored the notion of dilemmas and contradictions as teachers and principals implement the official language policy and directives in Eswatini. First, I will explain what a dilemma is and then organize the findings to show that each one of them is related to a dilemma. Consequently, this chapter shall unveil seven dilemmas that arise during implementation of the official language policy and directives.

6.2 Explaining a dilemma

Kelchtermans (2009) describes a dilemma as a clash where there are two possible options that can represent both advantages and drawbacks. Honig (1996) defines a dilemma as a circumstance in which two values, commitments or even obligations arise, and there appears to be no absolutely one right thing to do. Yet, Honig (1996) also clarifies that instead of considering a dilemma as a detached event or situation; instead a dilemma had better be viewed as standard feature in the lives of people regarding their experiences. Honig's (1996) explanation also implies that in a situation where there is a dilemma there may be no out-right way of taking action but only the possibility of acting for the best (Fransson & Grannas, 2012). Fransson and Grannas (2012) also declare that a dilemma is a social construction arising from structural circumstances and interpersonal aspects in daily practices. Therefore, people are expected to react to dilemmas such that there would be consequences.

Quyyimah (2015) submits that an educational context which is dynamic, complex and political has consequences for both the educational system and for teachers' daily practices. Fransson and Grammas (2012) add that changes that take place in schools have the probability to present principals and teachers with dilemmas as they do their best to meet the mounting expectations of the state, parents and pupils.

6.2.1 Examples of dilemmas in schools

Since teachers are tasked with taking care of the needs of the pupils in their care and are expected to sustain a duty of care and to always act in the best interest of the pupils, moral decision making turns out to be a daily requirement for them (Mahony, 2009). Given that teaching is a moral venture it involves being in a relationship with others. Nonetheless, having a rapport with other teachers, parents and pupils allows for the likelihood that tensions may rise in the teacher's course of duty (Shapiro & Gross, 2013). Some teachers may decide to work in isolation to avoid the tensions which might be detrimental to their work.

Motala & Dieltiens (2011) highlight that the migration of fee-paying pupils may result in a number of schools experiencing many problems. Pupils from affluent families move from one school to the next since they can afford. There is a hindrance with the movement of poor pupils from one school to another more especially if the pupil qualified for a government subsidy, which might be forfeited if the receiving school is not categorized as Q1, Q2 or Q3 (Motala & Dieltiens, 2011). Hall and Giese (2009) add that the movement by the pupils may result in the receiving school missing out financially. Such a practice may result in the quintile rating of a school no longer mirroring the socio-economic repute of the zone. To add, the government only sponsors those pupils who cannot afford to pay their fees at all. However, the subsidy from government is far less than the figure received from fee-paying pupils (Motala & Dieltiens, 2011). If a greater percentage of the pupils from fee-paying schools is big and they cannot pay school fees, the teachers may have to raise funds (Ramkelewan, 2020). Consequently, teachers at affluent schools receive fee-paying pupils and may not consider pupil migration as a dilemma. Yet, teachers who are obliged to find resourceful means to complement their school's revenue, while teaching at the same time, may have different sentiments. Such teachers are required to be responsible for the running of their school (Biesta, 2004), accumulating another seam to their dilemmas at school.

In post-apartheid South Africa, teachers may have wanted to take part in teaching that would modify the way people of different races were regarded, and in the process influence deep-rooted ways of thinking. People did not need to be seen as White, Indian, Black and Coloured, but as equal citizens of South Africa (Cappy, 2016). Matters that arose from the intricacies of racial integration in schools have become an existence as pupils are admitted into schools where they were previously not allowed to get an education from. The critical issue for teachers is whether they want to be viewed as racially accepting tolerant or prejudiced, and if they are facing circumstances involving issues of racial acceptance, how they decide to deal with them (Cappy, 2016).

Fransson and Granas (2012) observe that the changing and shifting educational setting compels teachers to consider diverse positions and options in order to select how best to navigate circumstances in a certain milieu, a given school and in a classroom. Scager, Akkerman, Pilot and Wubbels (2017) share that the approach will differ among teachers and will be influenced by different facets such that some aspects may be a dilemma for Teacher A which and may not be for Teacher B.

6.3 Dilemmas faced by principals and teachers in this study

From my research it has emanated that the state has a lot of influence which result in changes as a result of the language policy or directives that it proclaims. These adjustments have a potential of presenting the principals and teachers with dilemmas as they strive to meet the expectations of the state, parents and pupils. The dilemmas that I identified are related to Eswatini's official language policy and directives as products of autocracy, patriotism and professionalism, cultural socialization and professional socialization, following practice of policy, personal and political beliefs and the dilemma generated by the absence of a language policy for pre-school education. These dilemmas are discussed in turn below.

6.3.1 Eswatini's official language policy and directives: a product of autocracy

Participant principals and teachers were convinced that their non-implementation of the official language policy and directives was as a result of the autocratic principles that are used to govern

the country and, by extension, schools as both products of and a microcosm of the wider social milieu in which they operate and which they service.

Bjorn (2020) describes autocracy as a system of governance whereby one person influences all political, social, economic, and military supremacy. These attributes render an autocratic ruler as one with unlimited and absolute command such that he or she is not subjected to any legal or legislative restriction (Hall & Ambrosio, 2017). Bjorn (2020) adds that since the power of the autocrat is absolute, and it cannot be controlled by any external legal confines or democratic means of control except for the threat of removal by coup d'état or mass insurrection. Also, autocrats are repeatedly compelled to place the needs of a chosen supportive minority and not consider what the general public expects (Bjorn, 2020). Moreover, an autocratic leader makes nearly all decisions, leaving little or no room for opinion and comment. Consequently, the question is on the value that they bring to the state because they are not given tasks (Bjorn, 2020). The autocratic leader will also influence procedures, policies and decides on the goals to be achieved as he or she controls and directs all undertakings without any significant participation by the citizens or subordinates in the work space or community level (Hall & Ambrosio, 2017).

The participant principals and teachers then outlined how the autocracy in the country has influenced their non-implementation of the official language policy and directives.

6.3.1.1 To implement or not to implement the directives

In this study the dilemma is also created by the directives and rhetoric because the directives are just announcements. They have no basis in written curriculum statements, and both the directives and language policy are given to the principals and teachers to implement. The participant principals and teachers then wonder how they are expected to implement the language policy and directives because they have not been involved during their crafting as earlier explained. Thus, they do not own the language policy and directives. Therefore, the pronouncements and non-involvement of the stakeholders have evoked in the implementers of the language policy and directives the thought that there are undemocratic attitudes in government. The perception of unilateralism then influences the contestation whether to implement or not to implement the official language policy and directives.

According to Paglayan (2020), proclamations with no basis in written curriculum statements serve the goals of autocrats not the nation. In Eswatini, the directives are just declarations which are pronounced without the input of principals and teachers. This circumstance is contrary to the understanding that policy (and directives in the case of Eswatini) act as long-term plans which involve delineating, in broad terms, what a setting intends to do to promote pupils' learning and advancement (Paglayan, 2020). Thus, the principals and teachers are torn between implementation and non-implementation.

The policy and directives are supposed to represent the needs and interests of the pupils and promote democratic values like equality, liberty, justice, sharing of responsibility to name a few (Prabowo, 2019). Dunlop & Radaelli (2021) add that policy will identify the actual guiding principle and what to be done. Considering the participants' submissions, Prabowo's (2019) assertion may not be the case when analyzing the nature of the principals and teachers' responses and the obtaining scenario in Eswatini. The official language policy and directives are proclaimed by officials who represent the head of state (the king) who has unrestricted power over everything in the country.

The participants' views suggest that in Eswatini the language policy does not promote democratic principles since their opinions are never solicited when crafting the language policy and directives which they are expected to implement. They are always recipients thus they play no pivotal role in the shaping of policies that govern their execution of duties in schools. As mentioned earlier, policies represent the aspirations of the ruling class. The same can be said for Eswatini where all power is vested in the king. The king has repeatedly uttered that everything in the country belongs to him. For instance, recently during his address to the nation to mark the end of the celebration of the first fruit festival (Incwala ceremony); the king reminded the regiments that he owns everything in the country (Hlophe & Shabangu, 2022). In response the regiments in attendance whistled in jubilation as a sign that they acknowledged and endorsed his utterances. However, the participant principals and teachers' responses do not align with the regiments' sentiments towards the king's utterances and proclamation when it comes to the official language and policy. The participants would have preferred that their ideas be sought before formulating and declaring the official language policy and directives. They aspire to work in a democratic atmosphere when they live in an autocratic state, wherein those in power decide

for the citizens. Therefore, the power relations that Althusser (1971) elucidates in his theory of ideology that they (power relations) are embedded in everybody, comes into play in the formulation and implementation of the official language policy and directives. The individuals in power who represent the king exercise control over the principals and teachers as they are given the language policy and directives to implement, which also accentuates the dilemma. The implementers have questioned the top-down approach that the government always uses when formulating policies including the language policy under investigation in this study.

Althusser (1970) also believes that one Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) that transmits the values of the state is the school. As a result, the directives in Eswatini are pronounced by politicians, a sign that these statements are political by nature. They are then handed down to schools for the teachers to implement. In this study, the participants have revealed that their opinions are never sought. Therefore, they are expected to put into practice the politicians' aspirations. The politicians who have formulated and published the language policy and directives make sure that the state's aspirations are portrayed which according to the participant was not what they would have tabled. Nonetheless, the official language policy and directives which are proclaimed in Eswatini by the state are for principals and teachers to adhere to and not to question. This is to be expected in a country that does not subscribe to democratic principles. Whatever that is uttered is law. The data portrays that the principals and teachers are not ready to accept an utterance as law. One participant, Caleb, was so vocal about implementing utterances. He had this to say:

We have people that we call, “umlomo longacalimanga”, one who does not lie. Which means whatever they have said goes. We do not have that culture as Swazis of questioning even the language policy that we are to implement as teachers. Or even the directives. We just grumble among ourselves but end up putting all aside.

The Swazi saying “umlomo longacalimanga” literally meaning the mouth that tells no lie, is what the participant is critical of. That is, the proclamations from the state are accepted as true even when reason and logic point to other conclusions. Caleb is critical of the Swazi way of doing things that of not questioning things even when the teachers are given a directive to implement as it is proclaimed through word of mouth. Therefore, the participant principals and teachers are faced with a dilemma that of implementing what is pronounced by word of mouth

by the country's authorities who are doing it on behalf of the king. They consider that practicing what they believe in is the right thing to do and that it will benefit the pupils as the end users of the national education product.

Caleb's submission as mentioned above; reveals that the king's power is unrestricted. Not even the constitution takes precedence. That therefore qualifies Eswatini as an autocratic state since the king has absolute power over everything. His decisions are subject neither to external legal restraints nor to regularized mechanisms of popular control. Thus, the official language policy and directives are not to be questioned but implemented as issued. Consequently, such a leader is undemocratic, and so too are the language policy and directives which are proclaimed on his behalf. Rogenhofer & Panievsky (2020) posit that anti-democratic leaders learn from one another how to establish power and quell any dissenting view while avoiding consequences from international organizations. Therefore, with the absolute power that the king has established over the years it has become easy for the state to enforce whatever policy that the implementers could be opposing, hence the dilemma during practice.

Hendriks and Karstem (2013) emphasize that participative management which vigorously involves the general public requires that the leaders be democratic and often try to obtain, feedback and contribution from subordinates. These leaders are expected to encourage discussion and involvement in the decision-making process. This practice makes the people to own the decision and want to implement them at all costs because of the recognition that they get from the leaders. On the other, hand Krishnarajan (2022) believes that democracy time and again threatens nations with a dilemma, thus, they stand resolute on losing out on policy or acknowledge undemocratic actions. Literature reveals that citizens largely choose the second stance. Nonetheless there is another option. People can evade this difficult dilemma completely by justifying their perceptions of democracy (Krishnarajan, 2022). When a politician spreads undesired policies without breaking democratic norms and rules, citizens find ways to pick out the conduct as undemocratic. Once a politician operates undemocratically to stimulate desired policies, the people then come up with arguments for believing it is democratic thus the reservation on whether to implement or not to implement the official language policy and directives.

6.3.2 Patriotism and professionalism

Among the participants none relayed that they were implementing the official language policy. Nonetheless, Dora and Elliot showed a change of heart when it comes to the implementation of directives. Dora encouraged the other participants (teachers) to do what they are expected to do, to implement what the authorities had given to them to safeguard the home language so that it does not become extinct. She believed that the responsibilities lay with the teachers. She proved to be patriotic about the home language. Elliot also favoured the directive that English is no longer a failing/passing subject since it gave the two official languages equal treatment.

The other teachers did not portray the same patriotism as Dora, which may not necessarily suggest that they are not devoted to their country. Their submissions prove that they were mainly concerned about the professional aspect in the education sector. They were bothered about the pupils' progress at school, their career and how they could fit in the global world. So, the principals and teachers had to choose between being patriotic and exhibiting professionalism.

Since Althusser (1971) advances that, individuals are forced through policy to comply with the wishes of those in power, this can cause resistance among the individuals who are expected to implement. Through policy the authorities force patriotism from the nation. In this study the participants too were expected to adhere to the official language policy and directives. However, the analysis of the data shows that a majority resisted as professionalism took precedence.

With the two teachers who showed willingness to adhere to two directives and the reasons they advanced for expressing their desire to implement portrayed patriotism on their part. One reason given by Dora was that as teachers, that was what they were expected to do. It was for that reason that they decided that they might as well comply because the home language could become extinct if they did not do anything. Verbatim she said: *What are we doing as teachers?* She portrayed a belief that being compliant was the right to do. Therefore, Dora is embracing one of Cobarrubias' (1983) four language ideologies, vernacularization, which stresses the use of a home language in official dealings. One could argue that it is not patriotism; instead, it is driven by cultural imperatives. However, culture and patriotism are intertwined, especially when the state, as represented by the king, is the custodian of culture.

The dilemma brought forth portrayed that the two participants were willing to adhere to the directives but may not because, to start with the principal in her school is not as patriotic as the

two teachers about the mother language. Even though the principals are gatekeepers in the school, the successful implementation of the language policy and directives would not be possible if the principals do not exhibit the same patriotism as the teachers who are the actual implementers. By nature, principals are heads of schools so they are expected to convince the teachers to implement the policy or directives even if they do not believe in it and that can never be easy if their level of patriotism is suspect. Hadebe (2001) posits that implementers often adhere to policies which are consistent with their interests and values than those which are contrary to their own beliefs. The principals and teachers in this research were also implementing what was of interest to them. Dora for instance expressed sentiments that portray loyalty and patriotism towards the beliefs of the government that formulates and proclaims the official language policy and directives. There seem to be double elements at play. Teachers have to choose between the state directives and the school principal's position on it. It is more likely that the teachers will follow the leader that is in closer proximity. In some cases, they follow the principal because they are directly accountable to them since state officials rarely visit schools.

The beliefs that originate in the public sphere or among individuals within the office of a given institution can result in lack of cooperation and harmony at work (Okafor, 2019). He continues that people can detach their political views from their incapability to work together thus they allow differing beliefs get in the way of efficient workplace behaviour. All this can result in employees not working well together just because they hold dissenting political viewpoints. Detert and Burris (2007) disclose that discussions on political matters can sidetrack employees from the duties that they should be focusing on in their working space. There tends to be competitive edge within the workspace, and these differences in political views could simply lead to more challenges, especially in cases where teamwork is crucial. In the case of language policy and directives, they are proclaimed to be implemented as a collective not by certain individuals or groups. It is possible though for a worker, who is more patriotic to get distracted from their duties at work such that they pursue fruitless contentions with colleagues.

The predicament of political discussions in the work place could escalate into ongoing disparities between two factions- those who are simply patriotic and those who believe professionalism in the work place should override everything (Okafor, 2019). He elaborates that such occurrences can lead to disruptive clashes that can divide a workplace into two opposing cliques. It is

imperative for gatekeepers to monitor and then attend to any conflict before it could blow out of proportion. If disagreements prolong for a long while, the productivity can be compromised for everyone equally, regardless of their political positions (Okafor, 2019). There is need for everyone in the school tasked with the implementation of the language policy and directives to put the interest of the pupils first and disregard their personal interests. Having realized that there are elements of patriotism versus professionalism when it comes to the implementation of the official language policy and directives, attending to the disparities would be advantageous for all the stakeholders, more especially the pupils who are being ushered into the global society.

6.3.3 Cultural and professional socialization

From the data, it also transpired that the principals and teachers as Swazis are brought up in an environment which is different from the one they end up working in. As they learn about the culture they develop a sense of belonging to the Swati society. When they execute their duties, they are made to choose between cultural socialization and professional socialization. Kang and Kim (2012) reveal that at some stage there is an intersection and divergence as some principals and teachers prefer choosing professional socialization.

One role of socialization is that the people get to understand what is expected of them (Shepard, 2009). It is mostly through the family that people are taught how to relate with other family members as well as with people outside their family circle. As Dlamini (2008) observes, in Eswatini the people live in different communities where there is a chief who is a custodian of traditional law and custom and reports directly to the king. In addition, the Swazi people are socialized to pay unquestioning allegiance to the king, who has absolute power over everything in the country. Thus, he has control over everything. Subsequently, any proclamation by government remains law because it is published on behalf of the king who controls everything.

Similarly, the official language policy and directives are to be given the same treatment that other policies and directives are given in the country. Dora was one participant who believed that once the proclamations were made, the teachers had to implement them since that is what was expected of them. One reason for such a belief is none other than that, from birth, a person born in Eswatini is accustomed to taking orders and is not expected to oppose or express any political opinion on any declaration by the authorities, including parents in particular and adults in general, to whom minors indiscriminately defend (Dlamini, 2009). Presently, a number of

Swazis are incarcerated for expressing a dissenting political view as it is something that is customarily unexpected. It is viewed as disrespect towards the king and the entire institution of the monarchy. Swazis are expected to take what is given and utilize it without question. Even with that scenario, there are principals and teachers who are not deterred in their own beliefs. They have been professionally socialized thus they believe in the new skills such as how to teach and internalize new values. To them pupils should be taught in English from Grade One.

Althusser (1971) highlights that power relations are embedded in every individual who has a position of power who then uses institutions available, to make individuals comply with the ideology of the state. In this study, schools are used by the state to compel the nation to implement what the authorities believe is good for the pupils and the country at large. In the education sector, it becomes normal then for the government to make proclamations and expect principals and teachers to implement what has been announced; that is, even if it does not make educational or professional sense. Sometimes the directives are proclaimed in the middle of the year, in particular when the official language policy or directives contradict everything that has been said before. That, in itself results in a dilemma since the principals and teachers will want to weigh the policy or directive before they can even implement it; for instance, to ascertain if it conforms to the professional socialization.

Subsequently, the cultural socialization from home is greatly compromised since the implementers have been through another social setting, a school and tertiary institution which instills values, norms and theories which are totally at odd with what the Swazi home imparts. It is then that the dilemma arises as a result of the contradiction.

From the data analysis a majority of the participants had dropped the socialization from home since they were now questioning contents of the official language policy and directives, with the exception of Dora, who showed signs that the socialization from home was still embedded in her. She depicts Cobarrubias' (1983) language ideology which promotes the use of the mother tongue for official business. It was Dora's conviction that the implementation of directives promoting the use of SiSwati in schools could only be a success with the teachers taking the initiative. Regrettably the other participant teachers challenged the whole idea of autocratic leadership in educational matters where they believe that they are the main players so they should be consulted. The dilemma surfaces as the teachers themselves are not in agreement. In Dora's

school, it was even worse as there was a contradiction since the principal did not share her sentiments.

Even though Dora expressed her willingness to implement the directives, she did not say she was implementing. She just implored the teachers to consider adhering to what government had published since it is the right thing to do, reason being, the government has proclaimed so and that SiSwati will be preserved, it will not be extinct which the Prime Minister highlighted when he announced the directive in February 2017. The inconsistency is there and it makes the implementation of the official language policy and directives not easy for the participant principals and teachers to implement.

Therefore, what happens is that those who are uninformed about education; for instance, about when learning occurs, and/or when to use the state ideology to instill a certain kind of behavior, are in full control of the principals and teachers who have been trained thus, they understand educational matters better (Casto, 2019). Inopportunately, participant principals and teachers who want to adhere to certain educational standards which may not be catered for in the state ideology are then subjected to a dilemma of whether to implement or not implement the language policy and directives. Foucault (1978) advises that where there is power and control the individuals are bound to resist; which is what the participant principals and teachers were sharing regarding the implementation of the language policy and directives. As long as the language policy and directives are formulated and pronounced by government officials without the involvement of the implementers, the dilemmas and contradictions will be there.

In this study what the participant principals and teachers were experiencing is a contradiction. There was the clash of what works and what do not work with regard to what the government had proclaimed. That is what created the dilemma for the implementers. The implementers argued that it did not make sense to introduce a change in the LoTL in the middle of the year. In contrast, to government, neither the change nor its timing was an issue. Through the directives of February, 2017, the then Prime Minister, Barnabas Sibusiso Dlamini, ordered schools to conduct all lessons in SiSwati. Schools had opened and lessons were already in full swing. Then the pronouncement came. So, principals wanted logistics from the MoET, on how the directive would be implemented (Mtsetfwa & Dlamini, 2017). One would have thought that if the authorities wanted to introduce the change in the LoTL that would have at least been done at the

beginning of the year. Government did not consider that but was more interested in preserving the home language by having it used as a LoTL at primary school level that is, in the first four grades which Cobarrubias (1983) aptly describes vernacularization. The February 2017 directive was reinforcing what is in the official language policy which the participant principals and teachers were still not willing to implement. Thus; the contradiction in what government expects versus and the actual classroom practice.

The contradictions that the participant principals and teachers face as they execute their duties seem to have long-lasting and conclusive implications for teaching. Madide (2018) reveals that an honest concern for the pupils' well-being by teachers is one aspect. The participants who implemented and those who did not implement the official language policy and directives had the interest of the pupils at heart. Those who did not adhere to official language policy and directives argued that they were interested in producing individuals that would fit internationally and globally. So, exposing the pupils to the English language medium in Grade One was what they advocated for. In the same vein, those who were interested in the implementation of directives also wanted the pupils to succeed. Dora, for example, explained that she would like the mother tongue to be sustained by having it both as a LoTL and as a subject. That, she believed would help the pupils not to lose their roots at the same time be competent users of both the official languages. The participant teachers and principals could not agree on one thing to do, that is, whether to implement the official language policy and directives or not. Hence, creating a dilemma.

It is important therefore to appreciate that culture and education in which a profession is embedded in can co-exist, bearing in mind that Education is a fundamental human right and a responsibility. The introduction to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) insists that every individual and every organization should strive through education to foster respect for freedom and rights. Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights pledges cultural rights, which include the right for all to partake without restrictions in cultural life, to relish the arts, to share in systematic improvement and its gains. In essence, universal human rights promote, accommodate and recognise cultural rights; nonetheless, it may happen that as some human rights are observed it is probable that some of the other human rights may be violated (Mohiuddin, 1997). Considering the cultural socialization which propels some policy

implementers to not give up on policy that has been proclaimed versus professional, the case of violation of rights exists. In as much as some implementers want to consider what they believe is feasible for the pupils the same pupils could be deprived of their cultural right by being taught in their mother language. For these pupils it is highly likely that their comprehension of the mother tongue may be different from those who are taught in their native language.

6.3.4 Following practice or adhering to policy

In this study principals and teachers revealed that shifting the language of instruction in Early Childhood Development (ECD) made the implementation of the language policy impractical thus its implementation is compromised. What the official language states is not practiced in the participating schools. The participants explained that a majority of the pupils attend pre-school where the language of instruction is English. When they get to Grade One, the language policy stipulates that the teaching and learning has to be in SiSwati. The same pupils would then change to English in Grade Five. So according to the participants, shifting from English to SiSwati and then back to English creates numerous linguistic challenges for the pupils. They explained that if the pupils have spent two years at pre-school where they have been exposed to the English medium, then change to the SiSwati medium in Grade One, then back to English in Grade Five, unnecessarily complicated the tuition.

They clarified that they did not want to be part of the confusion. Ginsburg (2011) concurs that confusion is a powerful feeling and that it can turn to frustration; and no teacher wants to create such a state with pupils they are teaching. Besides confusing and frustrating the pupils implementing the official language policy and directives might cause the teachers undue stress. At the end of first four years at primary school, where the LoTL has been SiSwati, teachers might have some challenges when reverting to English as the medium of instruction (Boeteng, 2019). Some of the teachers might have to start from scratch as some of the pupils might have forgotten some of the English words and the laws of the language. It is for that reason that, the teachers ignore the official language policy and directives as they foresee a situation where they need to start all over where the pre-school teachers might have left of.

By overlooking the implementation of the official language policy and directives, by extension, the principals and teachers are ignoring vernacularization which the authorities are interested in. At the same time a contradiction is created. The official language policy and directives state

something that is incompatible with what is exactly happening in the classrooms. Since SiSwati has been accorded the status of an official language by the country's constitution, the official language policy and the February 2017 directive, SiSwati is supposed to be used at school as the LoTL and learnt as a subject. Yet that does not happen. Consequently, a contradiction emerges during the implementation.

Even with the justification that the directive was proclaimed to guard against the extinction of SiSwati, according to the Prime Minister at that time, the principals and teachers were not moved. They would just not implement the directive because it was not talking to their context and that of their pupils. On the other hand, participant principals and teachers did not believe, as government did, that SiSwati could become extinct if not utilized at school. They believe that a pupil should be able to compete for resources anywhere in the world if they decide to relocate. That, they explained, would only be possible if their competency in English is high. They would be confident, and thus, be in a position to overcome any challenge in the world that they would have decided to explore. Giddens's (1990) belief that the escalating worldwide social relations connecting places in such a way that local happenings are influenced by events occurring a thousand of miles away and vice versa, would be possible if an international language is emphasized upon at school and that is what a majority of participants expressed. Unfortunately, the use of the international language (English) is not catered for in the official language policy and directives the way the participant principals and teachers would have wanted it to be. Therefore, the contradiction is made even sharper.

The contradiction is further sharpened by the participants' belief that implementing the official language policy and directives can be time wasting for those pupils who do not speak SiSwati at home since there has to be a lot of translation that the teacher has to do. Even the teaching and learning materials are in English yet the medium of instruction is SiSwati (Education Sector Policy, 2018). The data proved that the participants would then decide against implementing what they had been directed to adhere to thus portraying a different ideology than that of the government. Althusser (1971) believes that an ideology has a deep relationship with an individual's experience. Dewey (1997) supposes that the present and past teachers' experiences are often integrated and revised to use at any given moment. This may not be the case in

Eswatini since from the data analysis, it transpired that the principals and teachers were never consulted thus their experience was ignored. That was another reason that the participants gave for not implementing the official language policy and directives. It also fosters the contradiction that arises as principals and teachers try to adhere to the official language policy and directives.

Imperial (2021) posits that policy implementation occurs from the top down therefore employees are more plausibly to adhere to the policy if they realize that their supervisors are constantly implementing policy. If that happens; the subordinates will appreciate that the policy was published for everyone, and that it is a good one since they always want to know the supervisor's responses towards policy. Having the supervisors adhere to policy might therefore reduce the contradictions that arise since there will be motivation to adhere to the policy.

Be that as it may, implementers should grasp that there are consequences of not implementing policy. Hudson, Hunter and Peckham (2019) therefore propose that there is need for any establishment to have a structure for discipline and corrective action. There is need to capacitate both the implementers and the supervisors to make sure that they are aware of what is expected of them. Both the implementers and the supervisors will appreciate each other's role in policy implementation. No one amongst the policy implementers will be wondering whether to follow practice or implement the policy since they will both be aware of the role that they are expected to play. Furthermore, there will be clarity on who has the power to act, also the idea whether what they are faced with is a policy or practice.

6.3.5 Personal and political beliefs

The dilemma for principals and teachers has to do with whether they go with political or personal belief. Varsty (2009) posits that a personal belief is amongst other things informed by training of any professional. The teachers are trained to prepare the pupils for the future thus they constantly think about the pupils' career choices. Therefore, the personal beliefs cause a dilemma because there are political beliefs too which may influence the principals and teachers' implementation of the policy and directives. Varsty (2009) also shares that personal beliefs come into contestation with political beliefs and are equally mediated by cultural beliefs thus fostering the dilemma of implementing the official language policy and directives.

The data analysis shows that government officials and politicians in Eswatini are the ones responsible for the formulation and pronouncement of the official language policy and directives. However, the authorities may not have first-hand information on what the needs of the Swazi pupil are regarding the medium of instruction at primary school level. Scholars have highlighted that it is the teachers who know best about the educational needs of a pupil. In the case of Eswatini, the participants shared that they were not involved in the crafting of both the language policy and directives. The government authorities and politicians tend to be concerned mostly about the cultural aspect when formulating the language policy and directives yet teachers will want to align the same with what is happening in the global education sphere.

A majority of the participant teachers raised the issue of political interference concerning the formulation of the official language policy and directives. Then the dilemma occurs as the teachers do not consider government officials as people who should be prescribing the LoTL and how it should be used in schools. The principals and teachers tend to ignore and not implement that policy or directive even before it gets to class, when they learn about it over the media. One participant even referred to the government officials as layman in the field of education.

Since the consultation does not happen, the teachers' implementation of the official language policy and directives is greatly compromised since the implementers feel looked down upon by the government authorities who may not have sufficient knowledge about education matters, by using their political muscle to dictate to the teachers through the proclamation of the language policy and directives. This analysis suggests that the teachers would prefer if politics and education were treated as separate entities by government authorities. Since in Eswatini the political agenda overrides the educational one, the implementers find themselves picking what to implement when it comes to the language policy and directives, yet there is no modification expected. In a way, the teachers are suggesting the bottom-up approach, which is a reaction to the top-down view of policy making. Noting that the participant teachers' aspirations are not considered the success of the language policy implementation is conditional, hence, the dilemma.

Another aspect that the participants were concerned about was the global trend which they felt was overlooked by the authorities as they formulated directives and reviewed the language policy. On the other hand, when the then Prime Minister announced the directive on teaching in SiSwati, he explained that, as government, they were only implementing UNESCO's declaration,

that of teaching in the language that the pupils understand best in the mother tongue. The participant teachers did not agree with the proclamation. They seemed to align more with Abdalgane (2020) who asserts that globalization affords people a lot of new prospects to share and exchange experience, ideas, knowledge, findings with any person from any part of the world. Therefore, teachers were interested in exposing the pupils that they teach to what they knew to be the trend world over. Also, the country is neighbours with democratic states, which they envy, considering what they have shared. Therefore, an autocratic state like Eswatini is challenged since, globally, there is dominance of English as a language of communication, which the participants believe emphasis should be put on. On the other hand, the government through the language policy and directives puts emphasis on the home language. The teachers then questioned the practice by politicians and government officials who send their children to get an education outside the country or to private schools locally which do not implement the language policy and directives that they prescribe to public school teachers. They even wondered that if it is a good policy, why the government officials and politicians avoided public schools where the language policy and directives were implemented, if this was a good policy.

As stated earlier, Althusser (1971) postulates that individuals are forced through policy to comply with the wishes of those in power and this can cause resistance among the individuals who are expected to implement the policy. The participants were of the view that Eswatini government and officials are forcing teachers to implement the language policy and directives in the sense that teachers were not consulted when the language policy and directives were formulated and published. One participant even revealed in passing that the consultation that Eswatini conducts generally, makes the stakeholders rubber stamps, which he would not refer to as consultation since it was not what they expected when proper consultation was conducted. The officials, according to this participant, were aware that there had to be consultations, but since they could not be challenged, they carried out the consultation in their own way which this particular participant did not approve of. The system of government which lacks proper consultation leads to a dilemma as the language policy and directives are shelved by the principals and teachers yet they are supported by the autocratic system of government.

The conduct of the participants is accounted for by Foucault (1978) who highlights that where there is power and control the individuals are bound to resist. If the principals and teachers are

governed in a way that they are allowed to make choices and decisions with support from the state, they tend to adhere to new policies (Foucault, 1978). In such a scenario there is to be no political interference as stakeholders are consulted, thus the language policy and directives are owned and recognized.

Little (2003) argues that teachers' beliefs, prior practice and dispositions all affect their aptitude to practice in ways endorsed by policy makers. For instance, in a study conducted by Walshaw and Anthony (2007) in Australia on policy implementation, integrating the personal and the social on how teachers attempt to enact the spirit of a national numeracy project; the study revealed that the teachers had an issue with how their deep-rooted knowledge of the subject matter and teaching experience measured up the proposals in the new policy. The study revealed that participants maintained their understanding of the main ideas and they compared the concepts with those from their previous practice. One participant talked in ways that resonated with the rhetoric of the key aspects of the numeracy reforms. Another whose understanding was located at the surface level and thus did not prompt her to make significant changes to her practice. Lau, Smith & Fiske (1991) argue that even though that the crucial role of interpretations lies in political persuasions, little is known about why and when a certain interpretation will be applicable, more especially if the political inclination of the implementers is not in line with that of the policy formulators. After conducting the study, they concluded that the functionality of different interpretations, considerably influenced by the political beliefs and principles of the implementers. Therefore, personal and political beliefs of teachers and principals who implement the policy are bound to give rise to contradictions.

6.3.6 The dilemma generated by the absence of a language policy for pre-school

Another dilemma that principals and teachers are faced with in Eswatini is created by having no language policy for the pre-school level. Consequently, most teachers then decide to use English as the LoTL at pre-school level even though a few will decide to use SiSwati or code-switch as they try to accommodate all the pupils; or whenever the teacher's competence in English is not good (Ahmad, 2009). When these pupils get to Grade One, most of the participant principals and teachers preferred English as a LoTL which they felt was a continuation of what was done at pre-school where there was no language policy. On the other hand, there is a belief that the teachers should implement the language policy regardless of the absence of language policy at

pre-school level because it is the right thing to do. Implementing the language policy will, it is believed; help to safeguard the existence of the mother-tongue, SiSwati. Also, teaching SiSwati as a compulsory subject will ensure that the language does not go extinct.

The Education Sector Policy (2018) stipulates that early investment in the pupil's developmental years gives the best rewards on human capital growth so it should be a priority. There is also acknowledgement that the policy does not address the complexities of Early Childhood Care, and Development (ECCD). There is also no mention of the medium of instruction to be used at this level of education of the Swazi child. Therefore, there is a vacuum created regarding the medium of instruction at ECCD, thus, teachers at the ECCD centres and pre-schools do not have anything guiding them on which language to use during teaching and learning. From the data analysis, teachers have confirmed that at pre-school level the LoTL is English. Also, from the data analysis it transpired that there are pupils who have never been to pre-school. The dilemma then is that at Grade One level, the teachers according to the official language policy; have to conduct lessons in SiSwati. The participants mentioned that in a class they would have both pupils who have been to pre-school and those who have never been there. So, they would have a mixed class. In the absence of an official language policy regulating pre-schools teachers' use any of the two official languages during teaching and learning, a dilemma is created when it comes to the implementation of the official language policy and directives.

Since teachers too have a position of power in the classrooms where they work, they (teachers) use their professional discretion authority to decide how to conduct their lesson, using which medium. Some of the participant teachers confessed that they used English as the medium of instruction in their schools from Grade One. The only time that SiSwati is utilized, it is during the SiSwati lessons, even around the school premises, the pupils are encouraged to converse in English. Other participants mentioned that they used the two official languages interchangeably. One participant teacher submitted that they used SiSwati as medium of instruction from Grade One to Seven. The analysis of the data reveals that none of the teachers adhered to the official language policy. The teachers used their own discretion which was informed by the level of the pupils' comprehension of each of the official languages. That then contradicts the official language policy. Dewey (1997) stresses the need for interaction among implementers since their different experiences are educative to each other. Sharing of experiences can lead to a collective sense of responsibility which will be facilitated by the debates on the policy that has to be

implemented. It is through the sharing of experiences too that the implementers could map a way forward on how to get their views through to the policy makers. Therefore, the significance of having experience in order to implement the official language policy and directive is major and it plays a very crucial role.

On the other hand Safuna, (2017) decries that schools do not accord the teachers any opportunity to engage at any level with colleagues so as to share these experiences. Any effort and the willingness by the implementers are then watered down thus cementing the dilemmas and the contradictions. This is so because some of the teachers are concerned with vernacularization since they use SiSwati as the LoTL from Grade One to Seven. Cobarrubias (1983) explains that the use of the home language as the medium of instruction is what a number of African states are advocating for. Research has shown that a pupil learns best during the formative years if the language that he knows best is used.

Others implementers use English throughout which also accounts for internationalization as explained by Cobarrubias (1983) that it entails using a non-indigenous language either as an official language or as a language of teaching and learning. Also, a bit of code-switching is witnessed during the implementation process. Myers-Scotton (2017) counsels that code-switching ensues when a speaker alternates between two or more languages during a single conversation or circumstance. Then it means the teachers make use of both English and SiSwati during a single lesson. Again, such a scenario is not catered for in the official language policy.

The data analysis does show that some implementers used SiSwati to clarify a concept that has not been clearly understood by the pupils. The participants clarified that they were confronted with these three situations which they had since adopted so they could do their job well because their interest was in educating the child.

Jaspers (2020) discusses how teachers deliberate on competing in established, pedagogical and ideological language necessities in multilingual classrooms. He shares that research on language policy time and again singles out teachers as stakeholders who oppose and alter monolingual policies, or even overlook the pupils' multilingual means. Such interpretations usefully underscore the prospect of change or the demand for intervention. Nonetheless, the risk to ignore the many occasions where teachers are uncertain about both modes of conduct to resolve

contrary opinions on language, teaching and learning. Jasper (2020) raises that teacher behaviour must be clarified in relation to these conflicting views as opposed to one of their component parts. The other component is required by those who take up linguistic power in congenial manner; or on those teachers who regard the pupils' linguistic ranges while setting out to develop their skills in certain language(s).

6.4 Summary

Dilemmas evidently are an integral part of the teaching profession and they surface when government officials impose policies. Those participants not willing to adhere to the language policy and directives spoke strongly about not being involved in their crafting. From the data analysis, it transpired that the participants' responses focused on why the teachers and principals are failing to adhere to the language policy and directives, with certain reference to their formulation and declaration. Both the devising and communication of the official language policy and directives always adopts the top-down approach which the participants were full of criticism of. They expressed their desire to be involved in every step as implementers. Hudson, Hunter and Peckham (2019) put across that often policies declared by governments contain vague and contradictory expressions, causing problems during implementation. In this study it transpired that some of the problems cause dilemmas and contradictions for the implementers of the official language policy and directives.

CHAPTER 7

BEYOND LANGUAGE POLICY AND DIRECTIVES

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I presented Eswatini principals and teachers' responses to the nation's official language policy and directives and the nature thereof. The nature of the responses (causing dilemmas and resulting in contradictions and complications in practice) were discussed in the context of existing literature. To answer the research questions, insights were drawn from three concepts from Althusser's theory of ideology (state ideology, power relations and experience); from globalization debates and, to two of Cobarrubias' language planning ideologies, namely, vernacularization and internationalization.

The chapter summarizes the major findings of the study, implications thereof and suggests directions for future studies. I begin with a brief explanation of the responses of the participants.

7.2 Responses to the research questions

1. What are the principals' and teachers' responses to the official language policy in Eswatini?

The study revealed that the majority of principals and teachers did not support the official language policy. The reasons that they gave for non-compliance was its impracticability and challenge to most pupils who attended pre-schools where the medium of instruction was only English. Changing to siSwati when they get to Grade One, seemed to the participants, to be inexplicable, as it defied pedagogical logic.

2. What are the principals' and teachers' responses to the directives in Eswatini?

The study revealed that the participants disapproved of the way in which the directives were communicated. There was neither consultation nor was it done at the beginning of the school year. Furthermore, they were not even involved or consulted about changes that are announced in public and published in newspapers. The major concern of participants was the denial of opportunities for the next generation to be global citizens.

3. What is the nature of the principals and teachers' responses to the official language policy and directives?

From the responses that the participants furnished, the implementation of the official language policy and directives is complicated by the dilemmas and contradictions that they experienced. These two (dilemmas and contradictions) are related to Eswatini's official language policy and directives as products of autocracy, patriotism, state ideology and cultural socialization which have to be mediated by professional socialization, personal, professional and political beliefs. Principals' and teachers' responses were alike – hierarchical and power differentials did not seem to influence their professional opinions about the language policy and directives. It seemed not to matter that the participants comprised two sets of school employees, principals and teachers. However, both principals and teachers implemented the official language policy and directives rather selectively. They were informed by what they considered to be both feasible and in the best interest of the pupils. Their responses proved to be critical and sometimes cynical. They reflected stern criticism of policymakers and doubted that education would be free of political interference. The responses signaled pessimism and acceptance of the status quo. They seemed not to be aware that ignoring both language policy and directives were acts of resistance, resilience and resignation. In essence, there was resistance, but a quiet type of resistance.

7.3 Aims and implications of the study

The major aim of the study was to explore primary school principals and teachers' responses to the official policy and directives, related to the languages of teaching and learning in Eswatini. The setting chosen for the study is a landlocked country, Eswatini. Headed by a monarch and governed by imperial authority, the voices of citizens regarding all aspects of education such as policies, curriculum and pedagogy are absent. Those appointed by the monarch to run the department of education have free rein to determine policies and practices. Eswatini is steeped in cultural traditions and its main concern is the preservation of the Eswatini way of life and its language, SiSwati (Malambe & Harford, 2021). In recent years the concern has grown about the status of SiSwati and increasingly, there is a push to establish it as the sole medium of teaching and learning (Shongwe, Bhebhe & Nxumalo, 2019). Establishing SiSwati as the medium of instruction is consistent with the idea of instilling patriotism, stymying migration and imposing a particular ideal of Eswatini culture. The latter is important because in Africa, as argued by

Ireland (2017), migration has always been a trend, and without tying down languages and cultures to spaces, there was freedom of movement by people across borders. However, from the perspective of higher education studies, new forms of nationalisms are on the rise in Africa (Lee, 2017) and culture and language services both ethnicity and nationalism. The setting has also been important in this study as it is quite unusual for directives announced suddenly by a politician or an education official to be treated as official policy. It is the combination of authoritarian rule and policy by declaration that has made this study an unusual case to explore primary school principals and teachers' views of the official language policy and directives. Ten were selected to participate. The participants' views were generated through the use of semi-structured interviews and Focus Group Discussions.

The data revealed insights of primary school principals and teachers' thinking about firstly, the crafting of the official language policy and directives; secondly, *ad hoc* policy proclamations; and thirdly, the implementation of official and *ad hoc* language policies and directives. In essence, the majority of participants were neither in favour nor supportive of the rationale for the language agendas of the state, as it contradicted pedagogical logic and future aspirations of the next generation. The next generation will probably live in a more complicated and diverse world, where a culturally driven language will not further their mobility and possibly hinder their higher education desires. The future will depend on multilingualism, especially English language competency and fluency (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017). The world is certainly more diverse. Modern communication and transport modes have increased human mobility, and increasingly, multiculturalism, multilingualism and multiracialism will need to be embraced. Simultaneously, tensions at present, for example, in Afghanistan, the state of antagonism between Israel and Palestine and the war between Ukraine and Russia, are all tied to lack of tolerance for diversity and lack of respect for the rights of citizens to choose their own preferences for cultural practices and languages of communication. This study is also an indication of intolerance which fortunately, has not led to conflict because the proclaimers of policy and directives are unaware of resistance by the implementers of the policy and directives in schools.

In terms of the choice of the theoretical framework, which is discussed in chapter three, it provides different explanations that the principals and teachers gave for implementing or not implementing the official language policy and directives. The study was framed within Althusser's theory of ideology, making use of three of his concepts (state ideology, power

relations and experience). Althusser (1971) asserts that the state apparatus has two components, a repressive one which includes the army, the police, and the courts that directly enforce class domination. The second component is the ideological state apparatus which recruits the complicity of citizens to identify with a predetermined set of social values. Those who are recruited are unaware that the social values are imposed (Amin, Samuel & Dhunpath, 2016). Ideological state apparatuses depend on compliance and commitment to the values of the state, the wielders of state power and authority. Even though institutions such as schools, churches, family, media, trade unions and law are outside the control of the state, Althusser maintains that they nevertheless serve to transmit the values of the state to interpellate those individuals. Thus, policies and directives prescribed by the authorities determine the language of communication in society and in schools. These wielders of power, from Althusser's perspective, represent the ruling class and in this instance, teachers and principals are outside the sphere of influence. Their professional knowledge is denied.

Althusser also asserts that power is utilized by all individuals in authority, from the policymakers to the classroom teachers who implement the policies. The participating teachers' professional experiences influenced the (non)-implementation process as it transpired in this study. There were two main streams of thought arising from the data. One set of participants chose not to implement the language policy and directives as they support globalization and internationalization. Another set, supports the policy in theory but not in practice. Their support is aligned to vernacularization, not nationalism. For the group opposed to siSwati as the sole medium of teaching and learning, non-implementation represents the possibility of quiet resistance, or of resistance without confrontation. For the group supporting vernacularization, the support is quiet too, invisible and not actioned. The outcome of both positions is that implementation did not take place. In effect it means that that policies and directives that did not make sense to the participants in the study were ignored. This may not be the case for the all teachers in the rest of the country. But it is an indication that resistance to policies and directives do exist.

One concern that all the participants addressed was their non-involvement in the formulation of the language policy and directives. This finding highlights the desires of the participants for a democratic and participatory approach to policymaking. It is improbable that overtures to include

citizens in decision-making by the state will be forthcoming as Eswatini is ruled by a monarch. However, literature indicates that policy implementers are very important as they are tasked with putting the policy into practice. In other words, the success of a policy can be measured in its application. In this case, it is evident that implementation did not take place. Furthermore, there was an absence of classroom surveillance. Importantly, principals, the curriculum leaders at school, took no steps to ensure language policy compliance, an indication that education professionals, both rank and file in this study, chose not to implement policies and directives of questionable merit. Literature reveals that like the incumbents in this study, teachers made their own decisions on whether to implement or not to implement an official policy (Hargreaves, 2005; Soko, 2016; Mowart, 2015; Khan, 2015; Bailey, 2000; Fullan, 2001). However, in this instance, it, perhaps, signals a safe form of resistance to the overarching powers of the state.

The review of literature further showed that principals, as gatekeepers in schools, also have a notable impact on the implementation of language policy and directives. In this instance, the implementation was a futile exercise and the language policy and directives remain as symbolic and abstract idealizations. It does not represent the wishes and professional opinion of teachers and school leaders who participated in this study. The non-support for the language policy by the participants in this study contradicts UNESCO's beliefs that the LoTL should be the pupils' first language. However, the contradiction should not be viewed in isolation. The belief that the second language should begin at pre-school level is a reaction to the perceived illogic of changing the language of teaching and learning in later grades in the context of Eswatini. Furthermore, it is an established finding that when a new policy or directive is crafted and proclaimed it leads to challenges during the implementation phase (Morris, 2015). Undoubtedly, teachers and principals' beliefs and what they regard to be best practices are key factors that influence implementation of the language policy and directives (Fullan, 2015; Soko, 2016). Even in an absolute monarchy, teachers and principals, it seems, hold onto their own beliefs, and can do so because of the absence of surveillance mechanisms in Eswatini. In other words, for policies and directives to be implemented, the state has to take responsibility not just for crafting them, they have to oversee implementation. Policy, this case demonstrates, can remain an abstract idea unless it is acted upon by both the makers and the implementers.

7.4 Limitations of the study

This research was limited by the design employed. It utilized a multiple case study approach. Through the case study I was able to explore the phenomenon comprehensively. The selection of a small group of five teachers and five principals means that the findings are not generalizable. The study focused on, the Hhohho region of Eswatini, even though the country has four administrative regions. Further studies that select a bigger sample and include all geographical areas may provide deeper insights about whether the findings in this study are emergent, unique or widespread.

7.5 Future research

There is a need to find out about the role that subject inspectors play in fostering the implementation of the language policy and directives and measures that could help government follow up on the implementation of the language policy and directives. Also, there is need to find out if there is a difference in learning outcomes by those pupils who have been taught through the medium of siSwati and those who have been taught in English.

7.6 Conclusion

My study aimed at investigating the responses of principals and teachers towards the country's official language policy and directives. My intention was to uncover what the implementers are thinking about the official language policy and directives, and what is actually happening in the schools, and in the classrooms where the implementation is taking place.

Since the introduction of an official language policy in 2011, and revised in 2018; coupled with the directives that are published time and again, from the participants' responses it is apparent that there are challenges. The challenges include, among others, that the official language policy and directives are impractical, unsupervised, are unsupported by appropriate teaching and learning resources, are uninformed by research, are tarnished by political intrusion, are anti-globalization and that the principals and teachers are not consulted and feel threatened.

The lack of ownership of the official language policy and directives by principals and teachers has worsened language teaching and threatened the sustainability of language policy and directives in the country.

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Appendix A - Ethical clearance



05 August 2019

Ms Nomvuyo Phangisile Nhlengethwa (214584116)
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Ms Nhlengethwa,

Protocol reference number: HSS/0530/019D

Project title: An exploration of principals' and teachers' responses to the official language policy and recent directives

Approval Notification – Expedited Application

In response to your application received on 29 May 2019, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 1 year from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully



.....
Dr Rosemary Sibanda (Chair)

/ms

Cc Supervisor: Dr Fathima Ahmed
.....

Appendix B – Turn-it-in report

PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS' RESPONSES TO THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE POLICY AND DIRECTIVES IN ESWATINI

ORIGINALITY REPORT

8% SIMILARITY INDEX	7% INTERNET SOURCES	1% PUBLICATIONS	4% STUDENT PAPERS
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PRIMARY SOURCES

1	researchspace.ukzn.ac.za Internet Source	2%
2	Submitted to University of KwaZulu-Natal Student Paper	2%
3	www.education.nairobi-unesco.org Internet Source	1%
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5	Sandagomi Coperahewa. "The language planning situation in Sri Lanka", Current Issues in Language Planning, 2009 Publication	<1%
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Appendix C – Language clearance certificate

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12 APRIL 2023

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

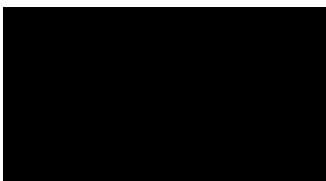
LANGUAGE CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

This serves to inform that I have read the revised version of the thesis titled:

**PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS' RESPONSES TO THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE
POLICY AND DIRECTIVES IN ESWATINI**, by Nomvuyo Phangisile Nhlengethwa, student
no. 214584116.

To the best of my knowledge, all the proposed amendments have been effected and the work is free of spelling and grammatical errors. I am of the view that the quality of language used meets generally accepted academic standards.

Yours faithfully



DR S. GOVENDER

B Paed. (Arts), B.A. (Hons), B Ed.

Cambridge Certificate for English Medium Teachers

MPA, D Admin.

Appendix D – Semi-structured interview guide for principals and teachers

TITLE: An exploration of principals and teachers’ responses to the official language policy and directives.

CRITICAL QUESTIONS:

1. What is your personal opinion about the official language policy in Swaziland?
2. What do you think are the consequences of adhering and not adhering to the official language policy?
3. What can you say about the policy directives in Swaziland?

PROPOSED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Interview question 1: What is your personal opinion about the official language policy in Swaziland?

Probing questions:

1. How practical or useful it is?

For principals: (i) Are schools benefitting from the official language policy?

If so, how are they benefitting?

If not, why do you think they are not benefitting?

2. **For teachers:** (i) Are the learners benefitting from the official language policy?

If so, how are they benefitting?

If not, why do you think they are not benefitting?

Interview question 2: What do you think are the consequences of adhering and not adhering to the official language policy?

Probing questions:

3. Why do you adhere to the official language policy if there are such consequences?
4. Why don't you adhere to the official language policy if there are such consequences?
5. Do you think the Ministry of Education and Training could find out that:

For principals: (i) As a school you are adhering or not adhering to the official language policy?

(ii) How?

For teachers: (i) As a teacher in your class you are adhering or not adhering to the official language policy?

Interview question 3: What can you say about the policy directives in Swaziland?

6. (i) **For teachers:** As a teacher, how do you accommodate them?

(ii) **For principals:** As an administrator, how do you accommodate them?

7. **For principals:** As a school, how do you benefit from the policy directives?

8. What will the policy directives change in your school with regards to language of instruction?

Appendix E – Focus group discussion guide

TITLE: An exploration of principals' and teachers' responses to the official language policy and recent policy directives.

Questions for Focus Group Discussion Guide

CRITICAL QUESTIONS:

1. What can you say about the official language policy in Swaziland?
2. Are there consequences of adhering and not adhering to the official language policy and what are they?
3. What can you say about the policy directives in Swaziland?

Focus group discussion question 1: What can you say about the official language policy in Swaziland?

Probing questions:

4. How practical or useful it is?

For principals: (i) Are schools benefitting from the official language policy?

If so, how are they benefitting?

If not, why do you think they are not benefitting?

5. **For teachers:** (i) Are the learners benefitting from the official language policy?

If so, how are they benefitting?

If not, why do you think they are not benefitting?

Focus group discussion question 2: What do you think are the consequences of adhering and not adhering to the official language policy?

Probing questions:

6. Why do you adhere to the official language policy if there are such consequences?
7. Why don't you adhere to the official language policy if there are such consequences
8. Do you think the Ministry of Education and Training could find out that:

For principals: (i) As a school you are adhering or not adhering to the official language policy?

(ii) How?

For teachers: (i) As a teacher in your class you are adhering or not adhering to the official language policy?

Focus group discussion question 3

Probing questions:

9. (i) **For teachers:** As a teacher, how do you accommodate them?

(ii) **For principals:** As an administrator, how do you accommodate them?

10. **For principals:** As a school, how do you benefit from the policy directives?

11. What will the policy directives change in your school with regards to language of instruction?

APPENDIX F – SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH TEACHER A - AMY

Me: Thank-you very much for the warm welcome, mam. And Thank-you very much for agreeing to do this interview with me.

As I have already been introduced, I am Nomvuyo Nhlengethwa, a PhD candidate, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, in South Africa but my campus is in Pinetown where I am doing my PhD like I have said. My topic, I believe, I you will have an input on the country's language policy and directives in the education system where you are also an employee. So I hope I have someone who will give quite substantial information regarding the language policy and directives that we get time and again in the country. So I'm really happy that you allowed me into your school and you also accorded me some time. But then I must also highlight that if you feel you cannot go on with the interview, you are free to tell me that the buck stops here. But I do hope we'll get to the end. So I hope we understand each other. Am I right to say to say we are both at the same level, we understand each other? Am I right to say we both understand what is going to be happening here?

Teacher A: I think so.

Me: Like I highlighted before that we will be talking about the country's language policy and the directives that are published time and again in the country. If I may ask you, do you know anything about the language policy in the country?

Teacher A: Yes, I do know something about the language policy in the country. What I know is learners at primary level are to be taught using their mother-tongue, which is siSwati, up to Grade 4. Which means all the subjects are to be taught in the siSwati language.

Me: So you basically know the language policy because it is just about that, there is nothing more and nothing less.

If I may ask, in your beautiful school, are following that language policy? If, yes, kindly explain why/ is it something that talks to you as a teacher? If not following again, I would like to know why are you not following a language policy that has been given to you?

Teacher A: As things are, and ever since I started teaching, we have not been following this language policy because we teach in siSwati during the siSwati period, then the other subjects

are taught in English which means we are not following the language policy. I don't know why we are not following this language policy, I really do not have an idea why we are not following the language policy per se but I think it would be difficult to teach every subject using the siSwati language because our books are written in English, they have not been interpreted into the siSwati language, so it will be difficult for the teachers who teach the other subjects besides siSwati, to follow that policy.

Me: So you are saying it will be difficult for a Swazi to teach in siSwati or you're talking on behalf of the non-Swazi teachers, who exactly will it be difficult for to teach in siSwati?

Teacher A: It will be difficult for a Swazi, armed with a book written in English to teach that particular subject in siSwati, to teach Science in siSwati as we all know that the siSwati language has a limited vocabulary so concept will not be given to the student in the right way, there might be a distortion of the concepts.

Me: I remember you said, you're not sure why you're not following the country's language policy, does it mean as a school you have your own language policy, as a school, how are you operating? How did you come to decide that you're not following that language policy?

Teacher A: As a school, we do have policies that we follow, like; All students are encouraged to communicate in English because English is a failing subject in the country. If they fail English, they will automatically fail and repeat that class at the end of the year.

Me: So you're saying in the school, the learners communicate in English, inside and outside class?

Teacher A: Yes, we encourage them to communicate in English, most of the times because English is a failing subject.

Me: Now, you want to tell me siSwati is not a failing subject?

Teacher A: Yes, siSwati is not a failing subject. Even if you get an F or G in siSwati, you do not repeat a class or fail marking the end of the month or term. Even at the end of primary school that is Grade 7, if you fail siSwati, you proceed to high school.

Me: So that is why you want your learners not to be perfect in siSwati by making them speak English at all times?

Teacher A: No, that's not the case. The fact that at home, the learners use both languages and most of them communicate mostly in English, so at school we feel we should encourage them to speak in English just for them to have a lot of time to practice and maybe master their English skills as this is a failing subject.

Me: Do you think siSwati will ever be a failing subject in the country instead of English?

Teacher A: Not anytime soon because even if you go into the higher institutions of higher learning in the country, the very same siSwati, the same African languages are taught in English, like when you do a siSwati course, the teaching and learning will be in siSwati, you will even answer the exam questions in English. There is never a time when you're given a paper written in siSwati or you are being given lectures in the siSwati language.

Me: So you feel you rather help them mostly with the English language?

Teacher A: Yes, we rather conduct our business mostly in English because we don't see how siSwati is going to be of help to them.

Me: If I may ask, the language policy you told me about, that of the country, do you know how it came about, do you know if the teachers were involved when it was crafted, as in were people in the education sector involved? How did it come about?

Teacher A: I don't think the teachers were involved because there was circular or invite from the Ministry of Education that we should attend a meeting or workshop where this was deliberated upon. Again, there was no circular from the same ministry that from that time the language policy was published we should teach in siSwati from Grade 1 to 4.

Me: But the policy is there just like law. No one is going to be sweet to you and say, ah sham, this one did not know about the policy. Just like law, once it is in place everyone is expected to comply, if one goes against the law, they are taken to task. So here are you not afraid that the law will take its course on you?

Teacher A: Afraid of what, nothing will happen to you. If you decide to teach in English, that is fine. And some teachers use both languages interchangeably; they practice what we call code switching. When they try to explain some concepts to the kids in a language that they do not understand quite well or if they are having a challenge in understanding a certain concept, they

will change to the other language and they are never taken to task for doing that since they are actually helping the kids to be comfortable with whatever concept that is being explained at that point in time. But again, the answering of questions will be in English except when they are answering question for the subject siSwati.

Me: If I may know, how do you think having the learners taught in siSwati helps the learners? Of what advantage is that to them if the exam ends up being in siSwati.

Teacher A: I don't think it will help them much because if our learners are taught in siSwati, they up direct translating from English into siSwati, something which is not allowed. So it becomes disadvantageous to them. And the fact that if you translate directly from English to siSwati, it may not be what you end up saying exactly, I short the information becomes distorted. So I feel teaching them in siSwati does not help them at all.

Me: If we can come to the directives, the policy that is not written down. Do you know directive that was pronounced in the country, in the education sector, directives given to the teachers to follow.

Teacher A: I only heard that in a siSwati conference that was held, the siSwati teachers present were complaining that Swazi kids fail siSwati dismally, to them the kids don't know siSwati, so they were complaining about that. So in that conference the teachers were saying, the policy should be followed but the teachers were complaining about what the Prime Minister said, that he did not communicate anything to the teachers. The senior inspector and other inspectors had agreed that siSwati will be a failing subject. Even if you're in Grade 7, you should not go to Form 1 if you fail siSwati but up to today, we have kids who fail siSwati but move on to the next class. Even exams council will say that child has passed even if they fail siSwati; they proceed to the next class.

Me: So you're saying, 2 years ago, it was said that if you fail siSwati, you shall not go to the next class but 2 years later, that directive is still not implemented? And it's the teachers who are supposed to implement?

Teacher A: Teachers are supposed to get a directive from the authorities to implement that but they didn't get that communication.

Me: If it came out in that conference that was attended by teachers, then who according to you was supposed to give that directive, and how was it supposed to be communicated for teachers to follow?

Teacher A: I think the stakeholders which are involved in the education system should have an input in that because they are ones who actually know what is good and what is bad. So if they feel the siSwati language is more important than the English language, that should be communicated and all the schools should be compelled to follow that policy and the document be given to each and every school at the right time, say at the beginning of that the year, the teachers are given that policy and they are monitored to make sure that the policy is followed.

Me: Around what time of the year was that conference you alluded to held?

Teacher A: It was around end of February, beginning of March, I guess, around that time. So it was said the authorities will enforce the speaking of siSwati in schools since the learners were not doing well in that subject.

Me: Lately, I have heard that the Prime Minister has said something else about the other language offered in schools. Did you hear anything to that effect?

Teacher A: What exactly did he say?

Me: Fine, it was not something that he said verbally but something he communicated through the government website. I think it was bullet 4, if I'm not mistaken, where he said, English will no longer be a failing subject. If you remember well, siSwati has never been a failing subject it has always been English and now he is saying, English will no longer be a failing subject. So now it means he is putting both the languages at par.

Teacher A: I think I remember now you have clarified. I remember the Prime Minister saying that but up to now English still remains a failing subject in the country.

Me: Then it means even if the Prime Minister is talking, teachers don't care, they just do what they want to do. Do you think teachers are people who do not listen to authority? Why are they not doing what they are told to do by head of government? What do you think is happening because the head of government has spoken?

Teacher A: I don't think teachers are law unto themselves that they don't listen to what the head of government is saying but they need something that is documented and something that is going to help the students because after they have finished their Form 5, we want our kids to further their education and go to tertiary institutions. Unfortunately, tertiary institutions do not uphold the policy that we are talking about. So it becomes difficult for teachers to enforce or embrace something that won't benefit the students at the end of the day.

Me: So with government saying and teachers not doing what government is saying, fine you're giving your reasons for not doing what government is saying, are you not afraid as teachers that government might take you to task for not doing what she is saying or you just don't care?

Teacher A: It's not that we don't care; we have the best interest of the student at heart. We want to see our students succeeding. We are doing what is going to help the students. If it means putting our jobs on the line, so be it. As long as we know that what we are doing is going to help our students our conscience will be very clear.

Me: Then if I may ask again, what is your feeling that the person who ends up giving the directive, is not in the education sector, has never been in the education sector but the person ends up giving these directives. What's your feeling about that? It is like you're fetching an accountant now to come and lecture to the professionals, teachers, who are trained to work with the child, what is your feeling?

Teacher A: I don't think that is supposed to be case that is why teachers do not take such directives seriously. It is just like a layman telling you to do something in your field of study, you will not take that person seriously because you're the architect in that particular field or subject, and you know what will be beneficiary to the students. You will not take everything that person says. That could be another reason teachers are not taking the head of government seriously because they know he is not a professional in their field.

Me: Then from your experience as a teacher, do you think there is anyone who is following the education sector policy or even the directives?

Teacher A: No, I don't think so, in the country, I don't think so. In fact the opposite is true, the opposite is true because there are students who don't even learn siSwati as a subject in their

schools but they proceed with their education, without any problem, in the very same country that we're talking about where this policy was published.

Me: So you want to tell me that there are learners who have never made it in life and they have never learnt siSwati actually they have never been taught in siSwati?

Teacher A: Yes, we do have a number of learners who make it in life but they have never been taught in siSwati and they never done siSwati as a subject; and government is very much aware of that. She might turn a blind eye on that but she is very much aware of that.

Me: Why do you think government is aware?

Teacher A: Government is the one that publishes the results, so government knows very well what is being taught in a particular school. So even if there are learners who do not learn siSwati and they are not taught in siSwati, they make it in life. They even have good grades, more than the learners who are taught in siSwati. They have excellent grades in fact.

Me: So from what you're saying I'm gathering an element that: Even without the policy we can live. Do you want us to keep the policy or with you it's just the same?

Teacher A: Ah...with me, it's just the same, whether it is there or not. But if we are to follow the policy to the latter, we should do the right thing.

Me: I'm just wondering, what is the right thing?

Teacher A: We should discuss this policy, involve all the stake holders, and see how our students are going to benefit if such a policy is in place. If that policy that the stakeholders will come up with does not benefit the students, we might as well throw it out the window.

Me: Is there anything else you would like to say regarding policy and directives in the country, anything that you think maybe we didn't touch on?

Teacher A: The only thing I can say is that, our government should publish policies that are beneficial to our kids because those kids are future of the country. So each time there is a policy that is made, they should think about the Swazi child as to how that policy is going to benefit the Swazi child, how it is going to benefit our children because with the present policy they thought of the Swazi child.

Me: Once again, thank you very much, mam, for your time. We have come to the end of the interview.

Teacher A: Thank-you too! I hope I have been of help to your study.

Me: Thank-you once again.

APPENDIX G – SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH TEACHER B – CALEB

Me: Thank-you very much, mam, for the warm welcome! Thank-you for according space in your nice place!

I hope we're going to have a very fruitful discussion and I believe they did show me to a welcoming person who is going to help me with the issues I want us to discuss here. As a teacher yourself, I want to believe that the issues will not be alien to you.

My name is Nomvuyo Nhlengethwa, a PhD candidate at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, in Durban, South-Africa. I am based at the Pinetown campus where I am doing my research on m PhD as I have already alluded. And here we will be talking basically about the language policy in Swaziland and then the directives that are published time and again here, as to do these actually get to the teachers, how do teachers welcome them and do they actually use them? And then we will be actually talking to, what you do as a teacher in this school then.

So for a start, I would like to know if you are aware of the language policy of the country.

Teacher B: Thank-you very much, Nomvuyo Nhlengethwa for the time! Actually, it was said but I forgot about it but it was there even though I'm not quite clear what is supposed to be happening, what are we supposed to be doing there and all the stuff.

Me: Are you suggesting that you're not even conversant about the dictates of the language policy? Do you know anything, any clause in the language policy, or something you could have heard or something you could have seen?

Teacher B: All I heard or seen on paper was that siSwati now will be used for teaching the students; and that English will no longer be a passing subject. So siSwati will be used as the medium of communication in the schools.

Me: Oh, I think you're talking about what I thought we would talk about at the end because I said we'll talk about policy then directives, I think that is a directive and it's the very latest directive that we have in the country, that English will no longer be a failing subject. That is a directive but it doesn't matter, we can start with that.

And then, what do you think about that statement, that directive? What do you feel as a teacher?

Teacher B: I can it is weakening the education system of the country because siSwati is only spoken in this country; and the books that the students or pupils use are written in English. So how do you expect one to teach in the native language yet the books are not in their native language? So that sounds or seems to be a contradiction.

Me: So I thought you were now talking about English not being a failing subject, I thought you were rejoicing about that, that we're going to have less failures now, if we talk to the latest directive that even if you get 10% in English, you will proceed to the next class unlike what has always been happening. I thought you were excited now. What do you feel, what do you think, as learners will not repeat?

Teacher B: Yes, they are not going to repeat but will they benefit at the end of the day? They will pass, but when it comes to their final stage, their final class, Form 5, universities or tertiary institutions are not going to accept them not unless it is clearly states that even at varsities and colleges they will accept students without a pass in English, actually credit pass.

Me: But come to think of it, you don't get a credit pass in English and you get accepted into a university or college, you seriously think it's going to work?

Teacher B: No, it's not going to work; I doubt any university would accept a person with such grades, no credit pass in English. Actually, I'm not for it, I'm against it. I feel English should remain a passing subject.

Me: And then how are you saying that helps a Swazi learner, making English a failing subject, how is it helping any learner in Swaziland to have English as a passing subject, or even the teachers, the schools or anyone who is a stakeholder in education, or even the country as a whole?

Teacher B: English is an international language, if I may put it that way. You go to any country, you can't speak their native language but you're able to speak English. If you can't speak English, that is going to be barrier for you. So knowing the language, passing it is going to be of great assistance to the child. Oh let me answer a question by another question: How is it going to benefit the child knowing siSwati? Just that language only, how is it going to benefit that child?

Me: The child is going to be with people who don't understand siSwati?

Teacher B: How many interpreters do we need here in the country? So that's the question, that's the biggest question. They can have siSwati being a passing subject but then I don't think it's going to benefit the child, they are going to remain right here in Swaziland; and Swaziland as it is right now, lack of employment. So where are they going to be employed if they can't employ them even right now? They won't go to other countries because there will be a language barrier.

Me: I thought you'd be happy if English is not a failing subject anymore because other people are saying we have siSwati, the mother tongue, which becomes a subject, people fail it but they go to the next class. And you have English, a foreign language taught as a subject, you fail the foreign language then you repeat, and other people are rejoicing that, yaah, these two languages are official and now they are both given equal treatment at school. So, what's the fuss? You fail siSwati you proceed, you fail English you proceed. So people are rejoicing and as a teacher you're saying, there is nothing to rejoice about. Not unless everything changes to siSwati, maybe then I can rejoice.

Me: Let me say everything changes; we have all the books written in siSwati the teaching done in siSwati. Then the learner will learn in siSwati, they will pass and then that, how does it help anyone?

Teacher B: Laughing...How does it help anyone? They will get a certificate, with As probably, which are not going to help I suppose but they going to get As Bs and those will not help them.

Me: Do you mean that they can only use those good grades here?

Teacher B: Yaah, that's what I mean. They are not going to use these anywhere else.

Me: But I have heard that in other countries like Germany, France or even China... (Teacher B interjects even before I could finish what I wanted to say)

Teacher B: Those are developed countries. I suppose the rate of unemployment is not as much as it is here, I suppose. And they have got all the resources you can think of. So for us who are still dependent on other countries for everything, I doubt it would work for us, I don't think it would be possible, I don't think so.

Me: Then, coming back to the language policy itself which you said, you're not well versed with, if I may put you on the picture, the language policy states that our learners are supposed to

be taught in siSwati from Grade 1 to Grade 4 then from Grade 5 to tertiary, we change to English but from Grade 1 to 4 is siSwati everything, everything has to be taught in siSwati, it's only English that is taught in English.

Teacher B: Mmmmm (with a frown on her face)

Me: So you want to tell me that you're not following the language policy because it's like you're hearing it for the first time?

Teacher B: Actually, I'm not following it, and I'm not following it. And I feel if we teach the pupils in siSwati from Grade 1 to Grade 4, why do we take our children to English-medium pre-schools? Why do we take our children there, what is it that we want there?

Me: By the way, it's parents who take their children to whatever pre-school they want to take them but now it's government saying school is supposed to operate like that. So whether you're from an English-medium pre-school or you've never been to pre-school because we know of cases like that but the policy say now, if you come to school, you will be taught in siSwati from Grade 1 to 4. Whether you took your child wherever, it's not government's baby. You have just alluded to the fact that you're not following what the government is saying, may I know, what exactly are doing, what is the policy that you're following?

Teacher B: We teach the students, the pupils in English. Sometimes we mix, change to siSwati if the feel a pupil or pupils do not understand.

Me: But predominantly the teaching is in English?

Teacher B: Yes.

Me: And when there is a policy, I hope you understand that policy is law, if you know that if you break the law you're as good as a criminal...

Teacher B: laughs lights.

Me: And you're telling me that you're not following the law that is guiding you in your profession. Don't you think there are consequences for doing that for not following the policy?

Teacher B: In fact, there are. If the government could be strict, follow up every teacher, every school and find out, if they could strictly follow that, follow what is happening, if they could investigate, there could be consequences. We might be laid off.

Me: Ah... (Very surprised)

Teacher B: Yaah, because we're not following law, we're not following government policy which is law.

Me: But you hadn't thought about that because in your school not just you, the whole teaching fraternity is not following the policy, in your school, you hadn't thought about that consequence.

Teacher B: No, we hadn't thought about it, it has come out now that we're talking about it that there might be consequences.

Me: But I hope you understand that consequence is not always a bad thing. I could have put it as results. Then even on the good side, could be results of following the policy even for the pupils not just the teachers, or even parents and even the school or the country itself?

Teacher B: For this one, what can I say? There could be results for not following the policy for the students because some of them are benefitting if the teacher is not following the policy. The benefit acquiring the English language faster than those whose teachers could be following. They also benefit knowledge. Quite a number of things. Also, other students are not benefitting, those who are weak, they don't benefit anything. Those who are not gifted, they might say probably we are not fair on them because they want the teachers to explain concept, break them into simpler units in their mother tongue, which a number of teachers are not prepared to do. They may say we are unfair on them because they could claim that they could be doing better if they were taught in their mother language because they understand concepts better.

Me: By not following the policy, meaning that you're restricting the learners of the exposure to their mother tongue because it means you're teaching in English and they are also supposed to be talking back to you in English. So this means the mother tongue usage is restricted in the school. Don't you think you are depriving the learners of a chance to perfect their mother tongue?

Teacher B: There is no perfection here, they know their mother tongue, and they dream in their mother tongue, they know their mother tongue. I always tell them and I guess I'm one person

who would be convicted for this, I always force them to speak in the English language. I tell each one that: You know siSwati, even if I can wake you up in the middle of the night, you will tell me everything in siSwati but when it comes to the other language, you have to think, ask yourself: What did she say?

So, getting back to the question that are we not denying the students a chance to perfect their mother tongue, which is an opportunity to do well in class, that is true, we are denying some of them but if the law could be enforced, strictly enforced maybe we could help those pupils who need to perfect their native language just to safeguard their jobs anyway.

Me: So from what I get is that, teaching in the mother tongue will not benefit the learners.

Teacher B: We're not so sure because we have not tried it, maybe it will work. But then this reminds me of a teacher who taught Accounts in siSwati. If I may quote he would say, in trying to make the students understand, he would say, "Uma ke lenkhomo yakho seyitele lelekutsiwa linkhonyane, lelinkhonyane ke ngulona ke lekutsiwa profit" meaning that: If you own a cow and that cow gives birth to a calf, that's what will be your profit. That teacher would get 100% credit pass. We kept wondering, why was he teaching in siSwati? He knew what he was doing. He just kept quiet and never bothered himself about us. He would talk about "emankhonyane" meaning profit. Well, I'm not good in that subject, I would explain it even better but he would do it his way and the students would understand him so well. I'm not a specialist in that subject but the students did pass.

Me: So it means you're contradicting yourself, now?

Teacher B: Laughing a bit. I'm aware I'm contradicting myself. I think I understand now why the language policy. Students would probably be doing better but again I don't know. If we teach in siSwati, allow them to converse in siSwati but the exam is in English, what will happen then? We have a scenario here, you're teaching them in siSwati but the exam is in English. I think we're both contradicting ourselves. I'm contradicting myself and the government is contradicting herself.

Me: You've just made an example with Accounting that you heard being taught in siSwati, and then if you think of other subjects maybe Science, do you think our siSwati has enough vocabulary?

Teacher B: No, our vocab is so limited. So it means if we are to teach in siSwati, it means we still have to sit down and work on the lexicon, the jargon that we're supposed to use. So for now it means the language policy will just be what? A white elephant. We still have to work on the jargon.

Me: With the neighbouring schools and other teachers that you interact with, how do they feel about what is happening in schools, like you ask the learners to speak in English as you say you're helping them to perfect the language. What are the other saying their learners are doing, how are they doing, in trying to help them communicate in English as you have said you're trying to help them to communicate, how is the performance?

Teacher B: Our kids do not want to speak the language. We try so hard, we force them but they do not want to speak the language especially now that they are aware that there are two official languages and can use anywhere they feel like. They tell us we cannot force them to speak any of the two languages and it becomes very difficult yet they are not doing well in both the languages. In siSwati they are not doing well, not to talk about their performance in English language. So this becomes a problem.

Me: So they never get to understand that maybe you're helping them by making them do this. So what do you think can be done so as to have everyone in the country do one and the same thing that will benefit everyone at the end of the day?

Teacher B: (Silence) Mhhhh, this is a big problem. Ours being a small country, it should be easy to follow what we have agreed on but it's not happening. So I really don't know what can be done. I just don't know. (Silence) It's difficult you know. The system of governance of this country is something else. It's really hard to work with and understand. Today it's this, the next day it's something else. The fact that the policy come from above, from the top, it really difficult to own such and try to work with it. It's really difficult.

Me: Who actually gives the directives; fine the policy is there, it was written a while ago. Then with the directives, who would pronounce the directives, is a person who is a professional in the teaching profession?

Teacher B: No it's the government, the Prime Minister. These officials. I cannot even say, the inspectors are not even involved. So it's just one person who will wake up in the morning and say, now let's do this and everything changes.

Me: But it doesn't mean that as teachers you're fighting that person. You've got no ill-feelings; you're not fighting that person.

Teacher B: We're not.

Me: What would you say you're doing in a nutshell if the head of government will come and tell you this is how you will work and back there in your schools you're not doing that? Are you not fighting the system as you said it is not workable?

Teacher B: We're not fighting; actually we're trying to help the kids. We want to help the students. It might look like we're fighting but in actual fact we're not, we're trying to help the children to do better, to be better citizens like them in government because they were also taught in English that is why they are able to communicate well in the language.

Me: You want to tell me they were educated here or they went somewhere else?

Teacher B: Others went to other countries especially those from royalty and those people who have got a lot of money and those of who have nothing here and then they want us to be taught in siSwati so that we remain here for the rest of our lives and be nothing, be unemployed. You go there for an interview, you are asked in English, you write in English but then they say we should teach the students in siSwati. Who is going to employ someone who can even speak in English? You know its confusion. It really is.

Me: That is how you want to explain it in one word, its confusion. But I do hope one day we'll have the confusion swept away. We should have the confusion sent back to the corner there or even bury the confusion, we don't need it. But then what I get is that the language policy could be there but in your school you don't follow it and you are pretty aware that there could be consequences, more especially for the teachers. And, do you think at some point government will listen to what government is saying?

Teacher B: I don't think so; I don't think it will ever be recognized not unless it is enforced like it is in schools.

Me: I wonder what sort of measures could be done to enforce because some of these institutions you will remember they are private. How do you control a private entity?

Teacher B: Government cannot control those. Okay, now tell me, Nomvuyo, if I may ask; the government policy state that we should teach the learners in siSwati probably for those first few grades and change to English language. It also enforces that we should let the student be free if they want to communicate in their native language. But look at what is happening, even the churches now have changed, the preaching is in English. What is happening in this country? Then as teachers, how are we expected to adhere to a policy that will exclude the learners even in church. In my school *nje* we have our own policy that is not the same as the government. We feel ours caters for the needs of the child as a learner also as a global.

Me: Now I should explain what is happening in the country. (Laughing a bit). I am also a citizen, equally surprised .I keep asking myself, what is going to happen to the language we pride ourselves in because half the people are not using the language.

Teacher B: That true, actually more than half the people. Children as young as three years old, they speak good English more especially those whose parents can afford, they are taken to the best English medium pre-school where English is taught to them. They then converse in English almost everywhere they go.

Me: Maybe we do not to sit in a round table and talk about what it is exactly that we want to do. Lie you said, the policies come from the top, yet it is supposed to come from the bottom there where the practioners will say how they want to do things or say that this is how we want to do things as professionals. But then like you said, there is confusion.

Teacher B: Here we're just told to jump and the best thing to do is to jump even higher and not ask any questions because that is what you're told to do.

Me: Thank-you very much! That is what I wanted to get from you. Thank-you very much for your time.

Teacher B: Thank-you!

**APPENDIX H – SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SESSION WITH TEACHER C -
DORA**

Me: Thank-you very much, sir, for your time. Thank- you very much for giving me this opportunity to talk to you about our language policy in Swaziland and the policy directives that are pronounced time and again.

Teacher C: It's my pleasure, madam.

Me: May I highlight to you that, if you do feel that you will not proceed with the interview you are free to tell me that I am asking personal questions you cannot continue with the interview. It is up to you. You're not forced to talk to things you're not comfortable with but issues that you feel you can talk about, you can talk as much as you want because that is what I want, your feelings, your perceptions about, first the language policy and then the directives. But it is up to you. You are also free to twist the order of the issues that we are going to talk about here because someone may want to start with the recent thing, something that has just happened like we have a directive now which is a hot cake so to speak, everyone is talking to it but then if I may just ask about the language policy, are you aware of the country's language policy? If you are aware, what exactly do you know about the language policy?

Teacher C: Well, I am aware of the country's language policy. I first looked at it when it was in the Education Sector Policy of 2011 and even when the policy was reviewed in 2018. So it's an issue we have discussed with my friends quite a number of times Yes, we do have different views on it but I also my own reservations and to some degree I can say I'm comfortable with it.

Me: Then maybe we start with your comfort zone with the language policy. Which part are you comfortable with, and why are you comfortable with that part?

Teacher C: The part that I'm comfortable with is that it seeks to address how learners form concepts in their minds in their own language. But at the same time we can't run away from the fact that as Swazis we have had this influx of pre-schools where the children started learning English as early as 3 years, building the concepts in the children's minds in English then we say in Grade 1 they must change to siSwati and when they get to Grade 4 they will change back to English. That is where you will be building or transforming those concepts into English. I was saying then the part that makes me comfortable is that we are starting from the known to the

unknown but the reality on the ground is, there are very few families now in Swaziland which you will have their children speak in siSwati. That is where the whole confusion comes in, it might have been a good concept when it was conceived but the situation on the ground tells us something else.

Me: You also said you have reservations about the language policy, what are your reservations?

Teacher C: The reservations stem from the fact that, if you look at Swazi society now, a simple family, they greet each other in English, early in the morning. I will make an example with this thing. If I have a brother and he has got his sons, our sons will not call each other cousins in siSwati as they are expected to call each other brothers. We have a situation now where they call each other cousins and you have to tell them, “No, no, no, *yewena ngubhuti wakho loya*, that is your brother not your cousin, cousin *ngumzala* (its cousin). So if you come with such a policy now when the nation has lost its identity in terms of language, you’re somehow compounding the confusion. Like I said, the concept could have been good but then the implementation says we implemented something even before we could do a study on it.

Me: Then what exactly do you think makes us to go like that, such that we note later that we should have done like this. What results from that or what do you think makes us to do things like that?

Teacher C: We have a number of reasons but the major one is that we are in a country whereby reading, studying, conducting a research, it’s not something that we usually contact. We have a situation whereby we will just generalize and then from the generalization we say things are like that. We have people that we call, “*Umlomo langacali manga.*” One who doesn’t lie. Which means whatever he has said will go. We do not have that culture as Swazis of questioning such that things like, is this the right move before implementing never come up. I will make an example with the orphaned and vulnerable children’s case. Government started rolling out that programme then somewhere I think around 5, 6 years into it, then they started saying : No, No we need to regulate this now it’s getting out of control. Whoever conceived the good idea, did not sit down to study it, research then make the proper recommendations. It just something that we felt, oh it’s good, let’s go ahead with it.

Me: So now, you being aware of the language policy, you also have your own reservations about it, you also have something which you feel is good about it. Then let me ask you, in your school, are you following the language policy?

Teacher C: E...the language policy, in my school, I wouldn't say we are following it correctly but are doing what has always been done, the code switching because for instance I teach in a rural school sometimes when you speak in English, the children do not bother to listen they know you will come back to siSwati and that is when they will listen. And at the same time you can't tell me that a scientific concept like photosynthesis will be taught in siSwati.

Me: Why not?

Teacher C: We have not technicalised siSwati as a country, so we have always had issues with terms like iphotosynthesis, so the language policy has not solved anything. In Accounts when you teach about the credit side. I had a problem conceptualizing credit, credit I know it's when you owe somebody; it's now a side in a book of accounts. Most of the things are not like we failed at high school because we couldn't come up with concept because it was difficult, it was in a language we were not used to.

Me: So you want to tell me that if you want to drum something into the children you simply switch to the mother language

Teacher C: In most cases when we try to get the answers in a test as we will have explained this thing in siSwati and the children are writing, they will write it in English, you have to sit and say, this is what he was trying to say.

Me: Now you're explaining during the test.

Teacher C: When you are marking, during the process of marking, so when they write these answers in English now when we have taught in siSwati.

Me: When does the interpretation happen anyway? How does the child know that this is what we were discussing in siSwati, when do they relate?

Teacher C: Some maybe will understand the concept, and some don't understand you try to get into siSwati maybe they will grasp the concept a little. I will make an example of this one day we were calculating the volume of an irregular object. We were using a measuring cylinder whereby

we just take the stone tie a rope around the stone and immerse it into the measuring cylinder then we measure then we measure the difference in the volumes. Now the children will write something like: You arrest the stone, you circle the stone. The child has understood these things because it was taught in siSwati but when the child gives the response in English it comes out as something else since that child is actually direct translating from siSwati and that word doesn't actually mean what the child is saying.

Me: That's the problem and in actual fact what we're trying to do, we're trying to say to the children English doesn't matter with the language policy, English doesn't matter, and you are Swazis. At the same time, we are teaching the children a lot of concepts that are global. When you get to practical arts for instance, they will have to define things like profit. Yes you may *inzuzo* (profit) in siSwati but most of the time they will have to explain these things in English. For instance a child will tell you that profit is the more you get after selling. So as a teacher now you have to think in siSwati to award marks for a global concept as siSwati is not technicalised anyway.

Me: So again it goes back to what you said earlier that there is some research that we need to do before we actually get to use these policies.

Teacher C: Yes, these policies need to be guided by proper research and recommendations from studies not that we'll wake up one morning and we're having tea with our friends and we say, NO, this is going to change. The latest being the scrapping of English as a passing subject. That was said by the Prime Minister in parliament without having consulted now they are running around negotiating with South African institutions of higher learning to say, would you accept our children? And these children will not have passed English and we seriously think South Africa will bulge. So it's something we implemented and we never looked at the situation on the ground and we never looked at the reparations because somebody just announced something, somewhere and then it was followed. Nobody wanted to question it, to say have you considered the deprecations of such a decision.

Me: According to you, who could have been consulted before that directive was pronounced?

Teacher C: We have specialists in every field, we even have the office of the senior inspector in Mbabane, we have regional inspectors, heads of departments in schools, and we have the teachers of the language in schools.

Me: Then why are you so sure that those people were not consulted before the directive was pronounced?

Teacher C: Ok, one teacher in my school is in the panel, when we asked them what informed such, he said, they were never informed. So it is just somebody who pronounced in parliament. There are still debates over this issue, even the Swaziland National Association of Teachers was surprised that such could have gone ahead without them being consulted as a teachers' union, a major stakeholder in the education sector.

Me: So you want to tell me that things just happen here like you said, someone has tea with their friends and just wake up to say: This is how we are going to do things now?

Teacher C: It's the same thing we had with Religious Education. With Religious Education when all other faiths were abolished and only Christianity was left, the Prime Minister was at a farewell function in some school and then just pronounced that from nowhere and everything changed.

Me: And the changes more especially with the directives, do they come at a conducive time, like there are 2 issues you have mentioned; the issue of English not being a failing/passing subject and the issue of RE where it was said Christianity would be the only religion taught in schools. Then are the people on the ground, the teachers, given enough time to internalize the change.

Teacher C: From my experience, with our education system and with most of the things that happen, the teachers are never involved; it just comes as a directive and most of the time the government is reacting to a certain situation on the ground. So then that is when you start realizing it is the government that is not driven by the will and wishes of the people. It will always be clashing with the people and trying to solve problems by doing something and you find that they are doing it the wrong way. I can make an example about the constitution of the country. It came about as a result of the call by the progressives formations of the country who mentioned that the country needs a constitution and the constitution was formed not in a way you would have expected, in a democratic dispensation. But when it came back, it came back with a

lot of controvencios so it's the same with the directives. With the directives you find that most of the time the teachers and the inspectorate are at loggerheads over a certain issue instead of listening to what the teachers are saying, the government will respond by saying: This is what will happen. Without actually sitting down with the teacher to discuss that, this is actually how it should be done. Most of the time the changes are never discussed with the teachers. Even this competency based education. Yes a lot of workshops were run and everybody raise their concerns but it always felt like whenever you were making suggesting during those workshops, somebody somewhere had already taken a stance that tis will go ahead. We are not saying it is bad. Competency based education is something good but the situation on the ground is not conducive for such. How am I able in siSwati the subject for example when I test them, it would require that I test them and this kid has a problem with proverbs but proverbs that relate to marriage not proverbs that deal with bad luck. So it's more cumbersome on the teacher and the resources are not enough yet we have a very good concept but the situation on the ground just doesn't allow us to. We should start with first things first before we implement these things. Our policies need to be informed by research or those studies that have been done, and maybe panel discussions with experts in those fields.

Me: Now, with directives you've touched upon, I think they are two, the one on competency based education, which I think is there in the new Education Sector Policy Document, yeah it's the there. The directives that you've touched upon, do you think teachers are following those directives?

Teacher C: I think with teachers, we need to understand that when it comes to the pedagogies evolving, you can't expect somebody who was last in a tertiary class in 1999 to grasp contemporary issues the same way that he did in 2001. So we do need what we call the in-service. Now, instead of having in-service each time there is something new, for instance when high schools changes from O'level to SGCSE, all that was ever done, it was just workshops where the teachers had to go to the Regional Education Offices or to whatever school hall for one day, and mind you some of these to get from Ntshanini to Nhlanguano you have to get there at around 10.30 am and the workshop would have started at 9 am and you have already missed something. The last bus leaves at 1 pm and the workshop ends at 3 pm. So the in-service part is very much lacking when we have these policies. Fine we can shot the policies down the throats

of the people, also make an effort to educate them on these policies, we can't rely on the workshops by the inspectorate and say, this is enough, for one day, to grasp a concept like special education. It's just too much and there is very little we are doing in saying to the teachers who have been in the field for quite some time, to say, let's teach you about this concept. I would expect a situation whereby you would say maybe in August for one week, maybe call them to the University of Swaziland and explain the concept to them. That is why you will have teachers not follow these directives. It is because somehow, they don't understand the directive. What I have always done, I have always beaten students for failing my test instead of the person responsible for education taking me for in-service on positive discipline.

Me: So you were talking about teachers, now I want to come back to you now because you also a teacher, are you going to follow this latest directive or are you following even the older ones?

Teacher C: I would say, most of the time it is not following them out of conviction, that I am convinced they are good, sometimes I follow them because I don't want to lose my job. The fact that they are pronounced by somebody very influential in government, so we just follow them lest we lose our jobs.

Me: So now you're just alluding to another element that I was going to talk about, that of consequences for not following the policy?

Teacher C: Yaaa, yes, there are consequences for not following the policy. Teachers will follow if because it is written in a policy down somewhere.

Me: So there are consequences for teachers, do you think there are consequences for the learners if their teachers do not follow the policy?

Teacher C: Yaaa, I would say there would be on the learners because here somebody who is supposed to give you some knowledge in a particular manner and the person is against the manner he should give you those concepts or he doesn't even understand the concepts himself. So we are bound to have a distortion of the policy somehow. A person in the Shiselweni region, their Regional Education Officer (REO) understands the concept better than the REOs of other regions yet when the REO speaks teachers tend to listen to everything said by the REO. So now with your child if you're transferred from Manzini maybe to the Lubombo region, your child will

now struggle to grasp a concept because of the differences in the application of the policies by the teachers.

Me: So we are yet to encounter problems. I'm thinking of this new directive where it has been said that even if the learners fail English at the end of the year, we are not supposed to do what we have been doing, making the learners repeat just because they have failed English. I'm thinking of, would there be any consequences for the learners which such a directive?

Teacher C: There would be. The only problem with our education system. If the mistake happens today it will start manifesting maybe after 10 years. If the child had a problem with the subject-verb agreement in the early stages of the acquisition of the English language then you start realizing in Form 4 that you have a serious problem. And with these directives now, it may not be immediate but after 10 years, that is when you will start seeing that you made a mistake way back then with those directives.

Me: What could be one example of a consequence with this latest directive in place?

Teacher C: With this one, we will start having a problem when they have to complete and they cannot use the concepts in English like in Form 4. In as much as you can understand when this person says you will have to arrest a stone, at Junior secondary a mark may be awarded for this but when one gets to Form 4, such will not be marked correct. So the consequence one would be they would grasp the concept in their own language but they will not be able to express them in English when they are required to present them in English because that is the difference between the syllabi because when you get to Form 4 that is where you precisely present a concept not generally present a concept like it would be well and good for a Grade 7 teacher to mark you correct when you have written circle or arrest a stone with a rope.

Me: Then this one of not failing a learner who has failed English like you proceed, like if it starts this year, even if you are in Form 4, you be made to repeat and I know most schools will make them to repeat so that they may get to correct a problem like you said, subject-verb agreement. But now, we have been told not to do that but do things as per the directive.

Teacher C: Let us suppose, the learner without English, you got F in English or even G then proceeds to tertiary, then I pity the teachers who will be teaching them Academic communication Skills.

Me: You think tertiary institutions will admit them with the Gs?

Teacher C: If the directive has been issued, they will. The local ones that is. With international ones, I doubt. With this directive we tend to say we are producing learners who will only be good for Swaziland but knowing very well the number of learners who qualify for tertiary institutions, they are never absorbed by our tertiary institutions; and now the scholarship policy has even changed, there are courses it no longer funds. Think of what will happen when a student gets to tertiary institution, gets accepted but not afford to pay tuition fees. Or let's say they afford to pay tuition fees, they come back and not get employed, what happens to the unemployment rate? It will shoot up like we have made religious Education a compulsory subject but we are hiring teachers qualified to teach Religious Education on contract basis as a country. So some of our policies are not informed by the situation on the ground. The government is too reactionary with its policies. May be as Swazis, we need to do something about it. Maybe your study will help enlighten some people somewhere.

Me: What exactly could this something be?

Teacher C: The spontaneous implementation of policy without proper research is killing us, the education sector. Maybe we will start the idea of debating an idea before it is implemented. The idea of discussing, dialoging is just not there for now. Just look at the nature of the policies and directives, policies and directives should be a result of proper consultation with the stakeholders. Yes, we can say our children have been failing because of English and now they will pass but at the end of the day what will happen to them? They will be stuck with them at home but they will have passed.

Me: I don't know if the institutions of higher learning are going to lower their standards.

Teacher C: They may not lower their standards but still what's the use of having passed very well over the years and they have not been accepted into institutions of higher learning. So I don't think our directive has looked far beyond that the children have to pass now; what problems are they likely to encounter?

I foresee a situation where will review the directive and when we review this directive, it will be to lower the standard even further; and we will be saying institutions of higher learning should start accepting them with Gs. And this person will not be able to even pass Academic

Communication Skills (ACS); and then we will say, let us do away with and we will have a high rate of dropouts for first years at tertiary.

Me: Let us hope it won't be as bad as you anticipate.

Teacher C: Maybe it's just my fear but let us hope something good comes up but I don't know how good it will be but knowing outcomes of a directive or policy whereby stakeholders, specialists in the field have not been involved; and then you come up with it, eish...I don't know.

Me: So you're not happy about this?

Teacher C: I'm not happy with it and there is nothing I can do for now but maybe we need to go back to our clusters because now we have clusters and we'll stop making them gatherings where we listen to instructions but gatherings where we start discussing issues. But let us just hope things will work out well. But maybe as you are doing this study with the recommendations, somebody somewhere will see them will drum sense to those two or three or four people. Even if you were to look at the Education Portfolio Committee in parliament, and look at those people and if you were to present to them whatever findings of your study, I doubt they will have the ability to grasp what is contained in the research. But maybe let's hope as you conduct such and whatever findings you come up with, try to involve them maybe they can start debating it in parliament, maybe they can come up with something positive for the country.

Me: Okay sir! I think we have covered basically all I would have wanted us to cover. True we may never exhaust issues we have in the education sector where we work on a daily basis, it's just so much, but for the purposes of my study I think we will just stop here. We have talked about policy and we have talked about directives. Thank you very much, sir.

Teacher C: I'm glad if I was of any assistance to you.

Me: You were, sir. Once again, Thank-you very much!

Teacher C: You're most welcome.

Appendix I – Semi-structured interview session with Teacher D, Elliot

Me: Thank-you very much, my dear for according me such an opportunity so we may talk about my study. And before I get into my study, may I briefly introduce myself. I am Nomvuyo Nhlengethwa, a PhD candidate at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, in Durban, South Africa based at the Pinetown Campus and I've already said that there is a study that I'm doing and mine touches on the language policy of the country and then the directives that are published time and again in the education sector, and as someone who is in the education sector, I hope I will get what need as data for my study.

May I clarify that you are not forced to go on with the interview even if you feel you cannot go on. If you feel I am not being fair and you cannot go on, just let me know, we will stop.

Before we move on may I just know from you if you are aware of the country's language policy, what it entail? Maybe tell me one thing that the policy highlights.

Teacher D: It's nice to meet you, Nomvuyo. Actually I'm a too at a primary school. I'm aware of the language policy of the country; and besides we have two official languages which are siSwati and English and English continues to be used as a lingua-franca in the country. But when it come to the medium of instruction, in my school we use English to teach the children most of the subjects except when we teach siSwati, we use our mother language, siSwati. The other subjects are taught in English.

Me: But I know of a section in the language policy which says from grade 1 to 4 we should teach in the mother language, siSwati then we change from Grade 5 then up to tertiary teach in English. In the first four grades, the policy says the teaching should be in siSwati. Having said that, I hope we are all the same starting point. And I also said we will get to the directives which are published time and again. These are policy which is verbalized. We also get them as teachers.

Teacher D: You mean like this one where English has been declared as not a failing subject anymore? Is that what you want us to talk about?

Me: Yes, we will also talk about that. We both know that we have been using English as a passing subject all along and now the directive abolishes that. I hope you got that.

Teacher D: Yes I did and I'm happy that has been said because English should be used as a communicating language and nothing more. It doesn't mean that if a child has not passed English then he cannot speak; he cannot write, read or even listen and understand what is being said in English. He or she can do that. What I am saying is, English should only be used as a communicating language not to have it as a subject which when you fail it you don't go to the next class. I am really if they say it is not a passing subject anymore. A learner should learn English but if he fails English he or she should base her career on the subject that he masters, yes that is what I believe.

Me: If now we have a directive because it means now we are starting with the directive, anyway I'm okay with it. You also agree with me that we now have a directive which says, if you have failed English you should go to the next class. And I want to believe that in each class at primary school there is certain aspect of the language you're teaching or you're directed by the syllabus to teach.

Teacher D: Yaa, the learner should just move to the next class more especially if he is passing subjects that he is to specialize in, in future. He should not be blocked by failing English. We can't deprive a learner a chance to pursue his career just because of one subject that he does not do well in, that is English. The child can still communicate. The child can still do anything which he is instructed to do in English. He should continue. If maybe he is doing very in a certain field of study, for instance Maths and Science. Let us not deprive the child, he should move on with his studies. It does not mean that the child does not understand English; he has the basics of English. He can write the jargon in his life of study, he can talk about concepts there. He should continue to the next class.

Me: So you're saying to me even tertiary institutions will be expected to admit the children without having passed English with a credit pass?

Teacher D: Ya, like I said before, we should be fluid about that. If we change at school let us change also in the tertiaries. Yes, we are making changes now and if we say English in no longer a passing or failing subject in the past it should be something that is happening across the board, even at tertiaries.

Me: So coming to your situation, even though schools are closed now, do you think there will be a forum where you will discuss what the school will do now? Since I know that most schools were treating English as a failing subject, anything less than 50% a child gets he is said to have failed then in your school, what do you think is going to happen?

Teacher D: I think I'm one of the teachers who is going to support the idea that English should not be taken as a failing or passing subject. If a child passes the other subjects let her continue to the other class. I will support it. Let us not deprive the child his career because of this language. It's just a language, a language of communication, the child will still communicate. If there will be a forum where we will sit and talk about the school policy once we open, discussing what we want to do as a school, what we want to adopt, I will be the one advocating for the directive to be followed as is. I will do exactly that. Even if it means canvassing for support from the teachers, I am ready to do that.

Me: So if teachers do not accept what you will be saying? I hope there will be no hard feeling because I know in a lot of quarters people are talking about this and not many of them are for this idea.

Teacher D: May I may ask, here in Southern Africa, which country is treating English as a passing subject except for us?

Me: I may not know but the few that I know is they have a certain mark that for us you need to get such a mark for you to pass English, at least get such a mark.

The child can progress but I'm wondering what will happen when they want to enroll in a tertiary institution.

Teacher D: This is a new thing, so I want to believe that if they adopt it, it will go up to the tertiary institutions in the country, that is why I am saying English should not prohibit the child, if a child passes the other subjects let her go to the next class. Yes, it is going to help the child. Otherwise government will be failing the child. I have never understood the idea of repeating a class just for one subject. It's just too much for a child.

Me: Just because we started with directives, I would like to ask: I don't know if you still remember the directive, I think it was pronounced in 2017 whereby it was said that every learner who is in the education system in the country will have to learn siSwati. Grade 1 up to tertiary.

Teacher D: Oh, I heard, ya, I heard.

Me: Then if I may ask, are our tertiary institutions teaching siSwati? No, not at all. Not unless you are doing languages but even then the lectures are in English and the answering of questions in also in English.

Teacher D: Oh then, even the siSwati at tertiary, it is done in English but then at school it should not fail the child, actually it won't fail the child. If you are doing languages, it's a different issue altogether. Yes, it's a different issue.

Me: I'm now thinking about that directive of 2020 but things have not changed even at tertiary but that directive is for 2017. Then, how long will it take us to implement this one for 2019 and of course the one for 2017? The change when is it going to happen, and how long does it take then to implement a directive?

Teacher D: Eish, I don't know. The way we do things in our country, we don't make a follow up. That is why sometimes I have fears that it might be a failure but my wish is that it doesn't fail, it gets implemented. English should not be a passing or failing subject because the child understands English. From primary school the child has been doing English up to 'level (Form 5), he can communicate but if his career choice is not based in English, let us not deprive him. Let the child follow his career path. Even if the child did not get a credit pass in English he can still a lot of things without the English. I am really not happy having English as a failing or passing subject because it is really killing our children. We should stop killing our learners; we want to see them succeed in life.

Me: Then this one which says every learner should do siSwati in the country, what's your take on that one?

Teacher D: Doing siSwati as a subject it's okay, actually they should do siSwati and English should also be there but it shouldn't be a failing subject, just like they do siSwati. Even if the fail

siSwati they continue to the next class and the same should apply to English. I think we should treat English like that, the same way we treat siSwati.

Me: What about those learners whose mother tongue is not siSwati, should they go through the torture of learning siSwati?

Teacher D: They should, anyway they learn it as a second language. It is much better doing it as a second language than as a second language.

Me: So how is it going to help those who are learning siSwati as a second language yet they are not Swazis?

Teacher D: It helps them because they are in Swaziland; most of the people in the country are communicating in siSwati. They should have a bit of it. I am fine with it as well as I am fine with English language but it should be treated the same way siSwati is treated. Teach people so as to communicate; we should continue to do that. Why do we treat our mother language differently? Is it of lesser importance as compared to English?

Me: I've heard from other quarters that there is a proposal that we will now teach everything from Grade 1 to O'level in siSwati. If it comes as a directive, what will be your take on that?

Teacher D: I wouldn't allow it to happen because siSwati is our local language and we are preparing our learners to face the world. If we teach them in siSwati but at tertiary they won't be able to master the world, they won't. We should teach in English more especially because all the books that we have in the other subject they are in English. How are they going to understand the questions if they are taught in siSwati because all the questions are written in English? Even though we are doing it at primary school whereby the books are in English but we continue to teach in siSwati, for those who can. Even though I don't believe in that. I think the learners should be introduced to English as early as possible because at an early age they are able to learn fast and easy. They have improved their problem solving skills at this age so they should take the two languages at soon as possible so as to grasp the second language. Teaching them in siSwati, yah, I don't agree with it.

Me: I know in China, the child is taught in Chinese, what would be wrong here?

Teacher D: Ah, well I can't talk about something that I don't know, what I know is, teaching them in siSwati will not help them but at the same time they should not be made to repeat if they have failed any of the two languages offered in the country, at any level of their education.

As for the other countries, I don't know how they do it but I think whatever they are doing it's working for them and they have exposed the children to whichever language at an early age.

Me: So we have touched upon the language policy itself, that the children should be taught in siSwati from Grade 1 to 4, and you're saying, what's your take on that?

Teacher D: I'm not happy with it. But then I'm a teacher in the country I should always follow the syllabus, language policy and other laws of the land. But the bottom line is I'm not happy with this – teaching the children in siSwati.

Me: So if you do not follow what you're given what's wrong, as I you do not follow the policy? Or what could be the consequence?

Teacher D: I don't see any. May be ee... one may say that the learner may have a problem with the other language. Like if we teach the child in English at an early age, it won't be easy for the child to learn her own language. The child might have a problem to grasp both languages at the same time. May be again it's not an issue, a child can easily learn, he can take both languages. We have only two languages, it not like we have a lot unlike in South Africa where they have 11.

Me: So if a teacher decides not to follow any of the directives or any part of the language policy, like schools are going to sit down and discuss if they want to allow someone who has failed English to progress, and others will say, NO. Would there be consequences for teachers for doing that?

Teacher D: No, because I don't think anyone will follow what will be happening in schools, whether it is being followed or not. Or it will depend on whether the principal wants the policy or directive to be followed. Yes, he part of the teachers who will make the decision in a meeting but as an individual he may not take it, even for the teachers, it works for you as an individual you can take that.

Me: So when coming up with the directives, since they are published by either the Prime Minister or the Minister of Education, do you think the stakeholders are involved when crafting the directive?

Teacher D: In Swaziland, No. You just get it in the morning that things are like that.

Me: Why are you so sure that stakeholders are not involved?

Teacher D: I have read from the social media where I understand that people are being shocked that: Oh, it's like this today! How is it going to be tomorrow? May be the people who are not on social media are okay with it or may be the people who are not learned are okay with it, otherwise I doubt that the learned are okay that they are overlooked. The uneducated keep on following, they do not know which step to take, and they think everything said by the people in power is okay. But mostly people on social media will just be lamenting about the directives themselves but they differ, there are those who are happy and those who are extremely disgusted but I am happy about the latest directive, not making English as a passing subject in the country because really, I have seen learners who have passed all the subjects and you may find that they have failed English then they would say the child should remain in the class. That doesn't make sense to me, it doesn't. The child should continue to the next class. Let us not let English deprive the child of her future career.

Me: But then you're saying the directives just come and the stake holders are never involved, the teachers, the parents.

Teacher D: I've never heard of a meeting calling teacher to a meeting to talk about this, I've never. I don't know if you heard?

Me: I know if there has been such, the teachers' union would have said something about that and voice you never miss as a teacher.

Teacher D: Exactly. Teachers don't know, they wake up in the morning and find things like this. But whatever the case I'm happy about English not being a failing or passing subject. I'm taking it, me as an individual. I know some are not happy about it, I have been reading some people's ideas about this some of the people are not happy. They think that it will jeopardize our education in the country but I as an individual I think it's okay. It won't jeopardize it, it won't.

People are just scared of something they don't know. Someone was even saying some child was returned from England because of the child's poor English. Ah, well, I'm not sure of it but I well, I wonder what we mean when we say someone's English is poor. If I can talk, if you understand what I mean, then it's okay. English is nothing but a language of communication. So it's okay if I make sense to the next person, it's okay.

Me: I get you and I just hope school will be able to maneuverer with all this. Adopt these changes and hopefully not have teachers raising all sorts of weapons assegais just over these directives because it would be bad. But anyway we're not even expected to talk or discuss how the will be effected, you're supposed to take them as they are.

Teacher D: Whatever they say to us, even if you feel it's not good for you; you just comply because it has been said by the powers that be in the land you have to comply. Yet in a proper world you're supposed to be asked how you really feel about it as you are the person who is dealing with it. You are the one who is going to stand in front of the learners and implement the policy and directives that are passed. I hope the transition will be smooth, every will be smooth.

Me: So coming back to the language policy itself which you said you're not so happy about, if you were asked, how would you craft the language policy?

Teacher D: I would say that, like we do have these two official languages, I would say should be treated the same way as siSwati is treated in the country, it shouldn't be a failing subject. Like siSwati, the child would fail siSwati and go to the next class. And when it comes to the teaching, we should teach in English because all the subjects are I English except for siSwati, when it comes to siSwati the subject, we should teach in siSwati.

Me: Then if we change the books into siSwati?

Teacher D: Oh my goodness, then we won't allow other people to be in the country if we have those books in siSwati suggesting that we will have to teach in siSwati.

Me: Why would they not come here?

Teacher D: siSwati is our language not theirs. We know there is a province in South Africa that uses siSwati but their books are not in siSwati and they don't even teach the other languages in

siSwati. So even in our country we can adopt that style, we don't teach in siSwati but use it. Let us just teach in English because the books are written in English.

Me: So according to your perception we should not change to teach in siSwati?

Teacher D: We should not change. We really need English as a lingua-franca. We need it. We need English.

Me: We have preschools in the country, almost everywhere and we know most pre-school if not all, teach in English. I've never heard of one anyway that teaches in siSwati. What's your take on that?

Teacher D: I think we are confusing the learner when we say from Grade 1 to 4 they should be taught in siSwati now. They know English already, so we are confusing them. We should make changes in that. Now the child has mastered English but then we drive the child back to siSwati, he has to start learning in siSwati yet he now understands English and some of them better than siSwati. We should just change that policy which requires that they be taught in siSwati.

Me: Not to change the language of teaching and learning at pre-school?

Teacher D: NO we cannot do that, a foreign language is always easy to learn, to grasp at a tender age. We need English in our lives.

Me: But I still don't get a response to that, maybe a teacher a teacher is caught, I don't know how, whether someone has told someone in power, an inspector or whosoever, that, that they are not following the policy or directive in this school. I still don't get answered that, what do you think could be the consequence of doing that, for the teacher who will not be doing that specifically?

Teacher D: It just that, that has never happened, so let us not talk about something that has never happened.

Me: But it happens with teachers who don't do their daily preparation. What happens to teachers who are caught not doing that?

Teacher D: No one has ever been caught doing that, which means there is no follow up on what actually happens in schools. Yes, the headteacher or the deputy headteacher they are supposed to

check the daily preparation books, scheme book but when it comes to what we have been talking about, the language policy, it will depend on the administration, because they are the ones who know what a teacher is doing and why they are doing that in a particular school. So I don't expect one teacher to be reprimanded for that instead the whole school should be held accountable because I think the teachers will sit down and talk about it that we are taking it this way now. They will agree as a school.

Me: But I've heard that quite a number of these cases are reported by parents or even the children themselves because there a toll free number that they are given to call if something is going wrong. They can always call to say teacher so and so is not following the language policy.

Teacher D: Okay, I think eh...since I'm teaching in rural areas, most of the parents are not learned so it is not easy to tell if the teacher is right or the teacher is wrong. So I doubt there could be any reporting from this part of Swaziland. So it won't be reported, maybe it can affect those who are in town where the parents are learned. Even the few who are learned, they might hardly know what is happening because it's not even easy to get a newspaper. It won't be easy for the parents to know about this, it will take a bit long but they will know it at some point.

Me: I think we have covered almost all I would have wanted us to talk about. So having said that, may I thank you for your precious time that you have given me, and I want to assure that what we have talked about, it will go a long way in shaping my study.

Teacher D: You're most welcome.

Me: Thank-you!

Appendix J – Semi-structured interview session with Teacher E, Eve

Me: Thank-you very much for your time! Thank-you for according me this opportunity to talk to you about my study which I will briefly talk to you about in a moment but let me briefly introduce myself to you even though I want to believe something has been said about me to you. My name is Nomvuyo Nhlengethwa. I am a PhD candidate at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, In Durban, South-Africa; based at the Pinetown Campus. I am doing a study where I am looking basically at the country's language policy and the directives that are pronounced time and again. And I was to believe that you as a person working in the education sector, a teacher, you are going to help me talk to the issue that I want us to discuss. I hope we are both at the same wavelength, we understand what we will talk about- language policy and directive in Swaziland.

Teacher E: I'm quite clear; I think we can go on.

Me: Then, I'd like from you, are you aware of the country's language policy and the directives that are pronounced? Are you aware of these two sets of law that we operate under?

Teacher E: Thanks for the opportunity to share my opinion! Even though I didn't have much time to look deep into this but I've heard of these two important sets of law as you have referred to them – the language policy and directives. We live through these directives as teachers.

Me: I'm glad that you know the starting point, someone who knows what we will be talking about. May then we should start with the latest because I know there is a latest directive. You said you're aware of directives and I want to believe you're aware of the latest one in the education sector in the country, talking to one of the languages, English, something being said about English. I hope you heard about that one.

Teacher E: Of course! And I was happy to hear that now; at least this is being implemented. The directive that now English will no longer be a passing subject as it used to be. It made me so happy because I believe the use of siSwati; we've been using siSwati even in teaching all the subjects. Even as a student, of course I've gone through my high school, we were being taught using our mother tongue, siSwati, for better understanding of the content, even though the things came in English but for a better understanding and simpler in our minds, our teachers resorted to use our mother tongue, siSwati. Then we would get to understand and grasp these principles even better, though they may be in English but they were made simpler as they were presented in

siSwati. I believe the use of siSwati in teaching a Swazi child is best. Like it is happening in the developed countries, the first world, they use basically their languages. Who knows may be even the better performance in their teaching is due to the use of their indigenous language. So, YES, I call myself a proponent for mother tongue education. I support the use of our mother tongue during the process of teaching and learning.

Me: So now it means (From what you're saying, you have reverted to the policy, you're now talking about the language of teaching and learning; and you're saying, you prefer that learners be taught in siSwati.

Teacher E: Yes! Actually this is what is happening, we may not want as practioners to openly state it but it is a fact, we use our mother tongue to simplify the content to our learners particularly at the tender ages.

Me: So it means teachers use both languages. I don't want to believe that teachers use siSwati from the first minute to the last minute because of the book that you use, by the way they are in which language?

Teacher E: They are in English, in subjects like Maths, Science, RE (Religious Education), but then to simply we revert to our mother tongue.

Me: But you will have started teaching using English because you are referring to the book?

Teacher E: It is not use the use solely, throughout. There is a lot of code switching but most of the time the language that is used is siSwati. The language that we find ourselves using is siSwati. I am not sure about what they do in urban schools but for us here in rural school, we use siSwati during teaching and learning because we have a lot of children who have not had the opportunity most probably to go to pre-school, that is English-medium pre-schools. Our rural children find it much easier to understand the content if you use a lot of siSwati. Of course there is a lot of this use of siSwati even if you're teaching something that is written in English in the prescribed book.

Me: You want to tell me in rural schools, you would children who do not have a good command of English so you would have to teach in siSwati just to accommodate everyone?

Teacher E: Certainly, to accommodate them, we do that.

Me: So in a rural school, children do not have a good command of English, is that what you're telling me?

Teacher E: Mostly. Mostly.

Me: Then what happens to those who have a good command of English, when you teach in siSwati because they are in the same class, I want to believe? They also listen.

Teacher E: Certainly. Because siSwati is not a foreign language to them in fact they understand even better, they perform even much better through the use of the siSwati.

Me: But when they have to write, which language do they use?

Teacher C: They have to revert to English, of course.

Me: And when do you get the time now to train them to respond in English because you have taught them in siSwati?

Teacher E: Okay, what has to happen, as you present the content in siSwati, you make quick reference to it in English. You sort of become an encyclopedia to them but you simplify in siSwati for better understanding. Of course, they will certainly know that they are not going to answer in siSwati but in English; but when we are conversing we use siSwati. They always know that there is a difference between a conversation and work presentation (written work). What is funny is, again, even if they are presenting in English, you also get to see the mother tongue behind the English, more especially at their tender age.

Me: Because the teacher was teaching in siSwati anyway.

Teacher E: (*bursts out in laughter*) You may think it would have been that influence but it is not necessarily that. It is because they are Swazi, so the mother tongue will always come in.

Teacher E: It will always come in. To simply content, we find ourselves using the mother tongue, siSwati. No matter how good the command of English you may have as a teacher but you don't have to fly over the learners. To help them, you then revert to siSwati. Most of the time, most of the time. Even when you're doing Maths, you find yourself making examples in siSwati. For relevance, something that is more relevant to their day-to-day life and

understanding. You find yourself time again making your examples in siSwati unfortunately you find yourself receiving them in your tests, for some. But yes, it assists.

Me: It does? I really don't know what the teachers of English do? I'm really wondering, how you can teach English in siSwati, meaning you use siSwati to teach English. How possible is that? If you say it's culture of the teachers to that, to teach in siSwati. And then it means the teachers are not following the education sector policy on the language of teaching and learning because the policy is straight, from here to here is siSwati; from there to there, it's English. There is nowhere where the policy says: mix now. So the teachers are not following the policy.

Teacher E: If my opinion then were to be sought strictly on the issue of following the policy,

Teacher E: Eee, policy makers have got to put the policy on paper. We have to do what is practical. What is practical on the ground may not be necessarily exactly what is written in the policy. All we're interested in is to have the learners grasp the content.

Me: So you want to tell me there is policy on paper and there is practice in the classroom which necessarily does not go hand-in-hand.

Teacher E: To a greater extent it may not necessarily go hand-in-hand but of course the policy helps because what now the policy states is, from Grade 1 up to Grade 4 we have to use strictly the mother tongue but that would need books to be written in our mother tongue like it is the case in developed world. But in our case, we still have these books written in English then we have to use the mother tongue on top of the English but we still tests time you go back to English. You can't give them an English Test in siSwati, you can't. So you try to reach down to the level of the learners as Swazis by putting more of the siSwati but not moving away from what is written in the books.

Me: But then here my issue is: It means teachers are not following the policy from what you're saying, more especially teachers from your school, they are not following the policy.

And then my next question would be, aren't there any consequences of not following the policy? Or you don't follow policy and nothing happens to you as a teacher? It doesn't matter what you do?

Teacher E: There are inspectors, they have the duty of insuring that things are done in order but you know when you have your supervisors, and you stick to what you know they are looking for. You want to do exactly the way they are expecting you to do. And once they are gone you do what seems to be the best practice because sticking exactly to the policy may not be 100% perfect but, YES, the use of siSwati was a good decision because this is what we are actually doing. And this is what our teachers at high school were doing.

Me: But you talked about children who attend English-medium pre-schools for two years, some for three and they come to Grade 1. So you're saying siSwati is good and after two, three years of pre-school you come to Grade 1 the teaching has to switch for these 5 year old, 6 years old to be siSwati.

Teacher E: They are an isolated case though. They are an isolated case and what is can notice is there is probably a difference between them and the majority of those who never got that opportunity to enroll in an English medium-preschool. Those from an English-medium pre-school they do have a challenge with the language.

Me: Which language?

Teacher E: The siSwati.

Me: So it would be vice versa now. If you're from an English-medium pre-school as a child you will have a challenge in siSwati. If you have not been to an English medium pre-school, you will have a challenge in English.

Teacher E: If the child has had an opportunity to go to an English-medium pre-school, the tendency is they lose siSwati. So as a practioner, you work even harder to try to put the siSwati into those kids because even in their conversations they use English. As for this one who has been to an English-medium pre-school and is taken to a mixed school, they find it easier.

Me: Then if I may ask a person question because you're making these two distinct scenarios, that is to say there are children who have been to English-medium pre-schools who have a challenge in siSwati, and those who have not been who will have a challenge in English. If you were to have a child, which one would it be?

Teacher E: Yaa...you see...probably...there could be some issues of the English being made a passing/failing subject pushes parents to take their kids to English-medium pre-schools because they want to help their kids meet those standards.

Me: Now that English has been scrapped off as a failing/passing subject what is going to happen in your household?

Teacher E: (laughs a bit) That's an interesting one. In some households those that afford, I still see them taking their kids to English-medium pre-schools and even schools.

Me: Then, why would they continue to do that even when government has said, N, don't trouble yourselves with English? Why would they want to do that, because it's not an issue anymore?

Teacher E: It will take time for some households to move away from that mentality of having English being the subject. Of course I don't know, I don't think though that now that the English has been scrapped off as a passing/failing subject then it means people can fail English, no, it does not necessarily mean that. English is a subject just like the others. So it would be a wrong mentality for them to begin to think that it does not matter if a child does not pass or do well in English. The child will just not repeat a child just they have not done well in English. They will move on but try to find a way of trying to improve that English. But it is a good move, in fact to me, I would wish that eventually we move into a scenario of moving from the teaching in siSwati ending in Grade 4 but teach in siSwati up to high school. Even changing our books, putting all the information in siSwati. I see that as a greater component of improving the education system and probably performances. If and when I look at what is happening in the developed countries, in the first world countries, they have their Maths books in their languages; their Science books in their language. That is why therefore you may find that you have this young child being a scientist because they had grasped these concepts at very tender ages. Then if we take it to the African context, if you go to Mozambique even though they were using Portuguese because they were colonized by them. It's unfortunate that they were using this Portuguese, the syllabus, their books were in Portuguese not in the mother tongue. Well, it's the same thing as the English in Swaziland but their education system is different. What made their education very different is that it was more on the practical side. But like I'm saying, in the developed world their books are written in the mother tongue. And I think their education system is ahead of ours. We are third world and most of the third world countries; they use the

colonizer's language and the mother tongue. I am not sure if it would have a greater and better impact if we revert to that system of using the mother tongue. It makes it easier for the learners to understand the stuff they are taught.

Me: So you're convinced about that.

Teacher E: Yes I am.

Me: So now you say you're happy that no learner will be made to repeat a class because of English. And I'm looking at a scenario whereby the child goes through school; he even gets to Form 5 and finish school. And this child has never passed English language and obviously in Form 5 he will not unless the standard is lowered. But from my experience, if your grades are normally around 50%, your chances of you passing English language in Form 5 they are close to zero. Now the child is there with no credit pass in English, what do you think will happen to that child who is a product of this direct that English is no longer a failing subject, which you are so happy about?

Teacher E: Yah! I wanted to also bring up the issue of, the policy and directive has to be considered not only at national level but at international level too. The politicians have to look around the continent or even the region to start with. So that as we make these policies, as we make these directives, it should not tend to make us an island. So that challenge can see it but I still see it as a move towards the right direction but there are some things to be taken into consideration. Like it is true that they certainly have to work towards getting good grades in Form 5 if they are to be competitive. They certainly have to compete with other learners at regional level outside Swaziland even at the University of Swaziland, in universities in South Africa. All these countries in the region were colonized by England so English becomes one important subject to all of them. The movement must be a joint movement like the case is in east Africa. East Africa is beginning a greater move of bringing kiSwahili as a language that will link up Kenya to Tanzania, to Uganda. All these east African countries, so that when one of them stand up to speak in kiSwahili they will all understand that language. That tells you that they are moving towards a certain common understanding. So then they will begin to have a common budget, writing up their books in kiSwahili. It doesn't become an individual decision like in our case. Swaziland is seemingly taking these decisions without looking around and that would be the only challenge when it comes to that level. Otherwise internally If only with us it can start in

Grade 1 up to Form 3, I am fully behind that idea, I'm really in favour of the decision which says English is no longer a failing subject. A child cannot be stopped just because the child has failed English but in Form 5 the child has got no chance but to pass this English because all these states that were colonized by Britain they still have to follow that benchmark. Yes it will be a challenge when it comes to Form 5 but the question that I still have then is: Now that English language is no longer a failing subject, does it mean that people must fail the English language. (*Silence*)

Me: Are you asking me that question or you're just wondering?

Teacher E: (*Giggling*) Yes I'm asking you that question just to get your opinion too on this question. Let me say it's a rhetoric question. My belief is that all what has happened was to remove this barrier not to say the English must be failed, NO! English must be passed just like we're passing siSwati, Maths just like they were passing Science. So learners do not have a situation of like , now you are free to fail English, No.

Me: But you know all the things that teachers of English would do to help the pupils to pass English; they would make them debate, make them speak English around the school, make them write this, do this, do you think the pupils enjoy those things?

Teacher E: That's good question which I would put back to anyone to say: So now that this barrier has been removed the teachers now should feel a load has been taken away from their shoulders because nothing has changed, teachers would have to still do their duty as they were doing? They still have to do their work as they were doing. The only thing that has been done was to remove English as a failing subject. And I don't even understand what informed the decision of making English a failing all along because a person would still move on having failed Maths, still move on.

Me: Having failed siSwati.

Teacher E: Having failed siSwati, they would still move on to the next class, why then English, is it given special treatment? I then can begin to say there were some issues of colonization showing some head.

Me: So now you feel colonization has been dealt with to a certain extent in the education sector?

Teacher E: That is why I'm saying we're taking a step towards the right direction, as a country, to have English being scrapped off but it's part of the broader picture. To deal with the broader picture, you would still need to have this heavy budget for getting into this route that if...anyway I'm not very sure if the politicians who took this decision really had the broader picture or they were just being pushed by certain situations but I would be very happy to know that they informed by the fact that they were gradually moving out of the colonization thing.

Me: Yah, you keep saying you're not sure, what informed...and at some point you even said to start with, we need this budget. So we need to work on this and that so that the directive can work. Do you want to tell me that as a teacher you never heard that teachers were consulted on this, this came because of a consultation exercise with teachers or any other stakeholder or maybe parents, such that the directive came by?

Teacher E: I would believe that there was consultation but...you will forgive me, I have a background of being a unionist, the style of consultation by the system of governance in our country is something else. They call it consultation when they are making the stakeholders rubber stamps of what they have already drafted and then they would just call some kind of an occasion where the stakeholders would also be in attendance, then there would be those talks in that occasion and then BOOM! You will see a policy coming out and then in the policy there will be a page where they will write all those who were in attendance in that meeting. If you are to be consulted, first you're given an opportunity to look at what is it that you will be talking about and your input in that issue which you have discussed will also be dissected but in this case, they come with a finished product then you rubber stamp. Then you will hear that these people were consulted. I will have a challenge because if the process was as transparent as one would have wished, I wouldn't be having doubts, I would be telling you exactly that this is the road map and this is the ultimate goal but in this case I am not sure of the ultimate goal.

Me: Is it because you feel the consultation wasn't actually consultation?

Teacher E: It was not a through consultation because if you may remember, the consultation was actually done some ten years back now that they are implementing this. Who knows what has been happening over the ten years? Who knows then, what triggered the action to be taken now? Nobody. You could even tell when the Minister of Education was outlining this thing that we're still talking to the issue of mixing up these things, we're talking of scrapping off the

Standard 5 or Grade 7 examination and Form 3 examination, you would say we're still going to think about other forms of check points and you can tell that it is haphazard, it is not well organized. That is why I still remain with the question that, the scrapping off of the exams and the removal of English as a passing subject, what informs it in the long run? What is the final objective? What is the final destination of this journey which has been taken? My wish though would be that we move towards decolonization of the education system so that these books are written in our mother tongue. So that the kids find it easier to learn, like I believe those first world countries are doing, using their mother tongue to teach; and their books are written in the mother tongue in countries like China, Japan, you name them.

Me: So from what you're saying, our children have a challenge when they are taught in English.

Teacher E seems a bit disturbed...

Me: It's not what you're saying?

Teacher E: No, No, No! I think I would say: Yes. That is exactly what I'm saying. My thinking is that, the use of siSwati in all levels of teaching and learning would certainly improve the level of education particularly when our books are written in our mother tongue and our teaching is done in our mother tongue, adopting the systems that are being used by these successful countries. I believe the language has a greater influence in the whole education set-up judging from the progress made by these countries that are using their mother tongue in writing their books, in setting up the curriculum, even the delivery of the curriculum content to the learners. Really, I have that belief.

Me: So you have even implemented the directive from what the Minister was saying, but we do not have all these things you're saying the developed countries have such that they teach in the mother tongue. So it's like we jumped the... (*Teacher E interjects*)

Teacher E: There are gaps in the whole process such that we may say it is a correct move. There are so many gaps so many questions unanswered which is a problem and it becomes a political challenge. It shows lack of political will because it's a journey that we have gone into but when you look into the future you would want them to see a budget talking towards that but there is none such. This is where you would have a question: What is the product of this journey we are taking. Even though I still maintain that I favour that one and move towards the full use of our

mother tongue. But I would find comfort in seeing that being implemented unfortunately here I can see some challenges. We do hope that with more discussions, with more engagement of stakeholders like the teachers themselves, we have our organization, the Swaziland National Association of Teachers (SNAT); I believe we have to be called by our organization, convene a symposium, we have to call the academia; we have to sit in a discussion, have debates so that these discussions may inform in the echelons of power so that at least they may have a clue about the route that should be taken because I do know that the academia do have some studies over the issue of getting to use the mother tongue during the teaching and learning.

Me: Okay! I think we have covered all that I would have wanted us to talk about. Thank-you very much for your time sir! We have come to the end of the interview, and I want to assure you that this will go a long way in shaping my study. It wasn't just a drop in the ocean, Thank-you very much!

Teacher E: You're most welcome!

Appendix K – Semi-structured interview session with Prinipal A, Chase

Me: Thank you very much, mam for your time. I just want to get your views on my topic that I am tackling for my next degree. The topic is: An exploration of the principals' and teachers' responses to the official language policy and recent directives in Swaziland. There will be some questions that will be required to respond to.

Principal A: Okay mam, I hear you but it's a pity that I don't know anything about the language. Infant, I don't anything about the language policy; actually I have never seen that document or anything that is documented about a language policy. I only heard through the media that there is something like a language policy, so I am not well versed about it.

Me: So you want to tell me that you've never seen a document that has the language policy in it.

Principal A: I have never seen it,

Me: But you have heard that there is something that is called a language policy?

Principal A: Maybe and not.

Me: Let's start about the maybe. If you have heard, what was being said about a language, anything that you heard?

Principal A: I heard that we're to teach siSwati from Grade 1 to 4.

Me: As in teach siSwati or teach in siSwati?

Principal A: Teach in siSwati all the subjects.

Me: At least there is something that you heard.

Principal A: Through the news.

Me: So there was a news item to that effect that teaching has to be done in siSwati from Grade 1 to 4.

Principal A: Yes

Me: So for you, how is a policy supposed to get to you?

Principal A: Through the relevant authorities, the Ministry of Education.

Me: And if I may ask, do you remember exactly when it was when you heard that teaching has to be done in siSwati from Grade 1 to 4?

Principal A: I think it was when siSwati was introduced as a first language. The introduction of SGCSE. I'm not sure of the year but I think it was around that time.

Me: It was well after the 2011 Policy document was published and before the 2018 one. In between those two years.

Me: Having said that there is something that you know about the language policy in Swaziland, May I know, in your school, are you following that which you heard about the language policy?

Principal A: No we are not.

Me: If I may know, why are you not following that which you heard about the language policy?

Principal A: I only follow what is communicated to us by the inspectors, not something that I hear over the media.

Me: So with that which you had over the media, what is your opinion about that? What do you think about that?

Principal A: I think it is not going to be helpful to the child. Maybe it can help the child during that lesson but for the long term objectives of the subject, it is not going to help the child anywhere. If the child only has a chance when he is in school and the government is depriving the child a child a chance to communicate in the English language or hear a person speaking to him or her in English. Ten where else is the child expected to learn the English language?

Me: So that is solely the reason why you are following that particular part of the policy?

Principal A: It is not practical. When I give the pupils a test or classwork, are they going to be in siSwati too?

Me: If it is said the language of teaching and learning is siSwati, then it means the tests have to be in siSwati since giving tests and assignments is part of teaching. So the tests and classworks are going to be siSwati. The Geography, the Science questions.

Principal A: But the books are still written in English? And I expect that child to read what is in the book, how do I expect him to read something that he does not understand? To him or her that thing written will be written alphabets with no meaning.

Me: So you're saying to me, the materials that the teachers are given to use are in English yet the policy says the language of teaching and learning has to be siSwati. (Teacher interjects)

Principal A: It's a contradiction. The very same books are from government and they are in English and I am expected as a teacher to evaluate the child at the end of the lesson, so if I give the homework, how is him or her going to read (the interviewer interject)

Me: Because the learning was in siSwati and now the books that will be consulted when doing the homework are in English. (Teacher interject)

Principal A: And there is no guarantee that at home they know the English language. What if he stays with the grannies?

Me: So with that policy which is there, that we are expected as teachers to teach in siSwati from Grade 1 to 4, then from Grade 5 up until tertiary level we can teach in English. With the schools that are not following the policy, do you think that there are any consequences that the school may face or the teachers may face?

Principal A: That would be very unfair because when you pass a policy, a law or a directive, you have to make sure that it reaches the rightful people, whichever way, but you have to make sure that it reaches the rightful people. And this is not about insubordination but it is about me as a teacher waiting for the inspectors to tell me how to conduct my lessons. What if they find me conducting the lesson in siSwati? Are they not the very same people who are going to give me a problem?

Me: Let me say the policy document was delivered into the school, maybe the workshops the workshops you are talking about were conducted, you were invited, you attended, as a school, were you going to follow that policy?

Principal A: No no no no no no no no!

Me: Mhh, so many Nos! So still with what you are saying is blocking you was done, you were not going to follow the policy?

Principal A: No, I wasn't going to follow it.

Me: So with all that in place, you were still not going to follow the policy.

Principal A: If I may ask, if I teach all the subjects in siSwati, when is the child going to acquire the English language that remains a passing subject in the Kingdom of Eswatini? Am I not depriving that child the right to learn the English language? As our constitution stipulates, we've got 2 official languages, siSwati and English; and that English you are banning is the one that is a passing subject, so how is the child going to acquire the English language? Acquisition of a language happens at the very early stages of childhood.

Me: But the policy will not stop the teaching of English language, don't you think that child is going to acquire the necessary skills during the English language class?

Principal A: who were involved when making the policy, were the teachers, the stakeholders involved in making the policy or it is some people up there who do not know what is happening in the schools, in the class situation?

Me: I should be asking you that question that as teacher, do know of any people, any teachers who say were involved maybe in the gathering of the information that was used to come up with the policy or who say were involved during the formulation of the policy itself? So you want to tell me that teachers were not involved when the policy was crafted?

Principal A: I do not know whether they were involved or not, I really do not know. But if they were involved, why didn't they conduct workshops after that to sensitize the other teachers? Because when a new syllabus is introduced, they call the as teachers to formally introduce syllabus to them and they send the documents through the headteachers making sure that they reach the teachers in time. So this policy never got to our hands. So how am I expected to apply it if it never reached my hands? And the prospectus I found in the school is written: English is the medium of communication. So how am I expected to deviate from the rules of the school?

Me: So for you school policy supersedes the country's policy?

Principal A: It's an internal thing.

Me: Which you abide by anyway?

Principal A: As a child starts Grade 1, he or she is supposed to run until Grade 7 and then write an external exam by the Examinations Council of Eswatini, the Examinations Council of Eswatini stands by its ground that English is the passing subject. They are not involved in the crafting of the policy. Why did they say as the Examination Council of the country about siSwati being the medium of instruction from Grade 1 to 7? Is it a political thing or is it their way of cutting the number of pupils who cross over to the high school level?

Me: So that is what you have. So if I may ask by depriving the learning this opportunity of communicating in siSwati in your school, an opportunity which the government is giving them: Speak siSwati anywhere. And you are saying... (Teacher interjects)

Principal A: We are not depriving them of anything. As a teacher I have to make sure that the pupil passes in every way possible. So as a teacher I'm in a dilemma, if I teach the child in siSwati, what result am I expecting? Am I expecting the child to get A or an E?

Me: Are you talking about the passing subject or...

Principal interjects)

Principal A: All the other subjects. Maybe it can be applicable in Maths to teach in siSwati because they do not have to express themselves in English, they only deal with numerals only. But in the other subjects, ay, NO, I do not approve since the child has to express himself in English.

Me: Yaa, when I talk about consequences, maybe you are thinking about some form of punishment but consequences still could anything that you face... (Teacher interjects)

Principal A: As a teacher?

Me: Even the learner.

Principal A: Like I said, maybe this thing is political. They are trying to cut the number of pupils who cross over to the high school level because you cannot expect a child to acquire English language when doing Standard 3. That is impossible. That is impossible.

Me: But the English is taught from Grade 1 as a subject... (Teacher interjects)

Principal A: When does he get to practice the English language?

Me: During the English language lessons.

Principal A: During the 30 minutes and you expect that child to be good in all the other subjects?

Me: Anyway, if I may ask, are they good in siSwati such that you may feel they have had enough practice, they should not be given enough practice at school?

Principal A: Oh, in the Literature part, when it comes to the reading of the novels, they are fine. It is only when you have to analyze, critically analyze, that is applying themes; but they do have the concept that, oh okay, this is what they want, it is just that I am not answering the question the way it needs to be treated.

Me: I get your point. So that was about policy. So if I may ask about something else. Which is more like policy. Do you know of anything about directives in the country or even in the education sector?

Principal A: Mhh, like not punishing pupils?

Me: No, directives are more like policy but they are verbal. You may not find them written anywhere. They are said by someone in authority for the country to follow or stakeholders in the education sector to follow.

Principal A: At some point in time, they have to be documented, in a form of a circular and I think a circular has a time frame; it is not a lost lasting thing. So a directive too has to be a short term thing. How is it communicated?

Me: Anyway, that is what you think; it has to be short term., according to your understanding. If I may make an example, I know of a directive that, every learner in the country (from that time it was published) must learn siSwati, all the nationals that are in the country. From Grade 1 now. It is a directive because it was said. Are you saying that you're expecting that to change?

Principal A: It was only applicable for two years and after that it dies a natural death. People are learning French in schools and nobody is taking them to task.

Me: French, substituting... (Teacher interjects)

Principal A: Substituting the mother tongue. It is either you do French or siSwati, English is not an option.

Me: I would have thought that if someone is doing French, he would be doing a third language now but you're saying people drop siSwati and take French, even after that directive?

Principal A: Yes! It was only effective for 2 year.

Me: So after that it died a natural death.

Principal A: After that they introduced siSwati as a second language for the foreigners but I heard that at high school level even the children of emaSwati ended up writing SiSwati as a second language in an effort to up their grades. And that too became questionable. So the directive was only effective for 2 years.

Me: I know of another directive which says that if you need a scholarship, you must have passed SiSwati with a credit pass, so what do you think will happen to the people who will have not done SiSwati?

Principal A: You see, they are only doing it for the certificate not for the love of the language. I think when they were formulating the directive, what they had in mind was preserving the language. So if you are forcing the child to have the language in the certificate, are you really preserving the language? I think the introduction of culture, the culture part in the schools, was a way of preserving the language and culture and there is no way you can do culture without the language since the teaching of all subject in siSwati from Grade 1 to 4 wasn't working, that is why they introduced the culture part.

Me: So you think this is just something done to appear following what is expected but it is not practical?

Principal A: It is not practical. What is practical is the teaching of the cultural component, that is why it is even sponsored by an NGO under government, (tries to remember the name of the NGO, she remembers that the CEO is Stanley Dlamini)...Arts and Culture but does not remember the other NGO that Arts and Culture works with. (Interviewer interjects).

Me: Where is that one based?

Principal A: In Manzini, Ingula Building. I know of its involvement in the teaching of the culture part in schools.

Me: What are they actually doing for schools those people?

Principal A: They provide emahiya (traditional regalia, worn by both men and women on the upper part of the body), food if you ask in time. So they are really into the culture part.

Me: So I get you. You are saying even with these directives they will not change the mindset of the people.

Principal A: No, it will not. Only the cultural aspect will and it is changing the mindsets of the people and it is working not the culture part not the language part. But I think the language is embedded in the culture.

Me: It is actually, they say language is culture. Okay, I do get you and you are shedding a lot of light with what you are saying. So whether you adhere to the policy or you do not adhere to the policy, it will not. Infact, the government has made us not to adhere to the policy by introducing the cultural activities. It was an informal way of telling us that OK now concentrate on the cultural activities because we have seen that the language policy is not effective. It is just because people who are in position cannot withdraw what they have said. They have to find other ways to make sure that it is implemented.

Me: So in crafting a policy, how do you think the stakeholders can be involved? Because at some point you said you're not sure if teachers were involved. If they were to be involved what do you think they get involved. If they have been involved, how will you know with the so many teachers out there?

Principal A: There will be workshops, symposiums, conferences at national level, at regional level, at branch level, whichever way but those workshops and symposiums are conducted and it is the only way of knowing that the public and teachers have been involved. Just like when the constitution of the country was written, we were called to Esibayeni (the royal kraal) and we were told what was to be done. We had to make our submissions first and when it was written and ready for the people to read, it was presented officially to the people at Esibayeni (royal kraal) and that is the siSwati conference. So it was supposed to be like that even for the language

policy, taken to schools even to inspectors, inspectors making sure that it is known by the teachers through workshops.

Me: I hope there will be no point where someone will say, these documents on language policy were sent to the schools and they are straight forward and there is no need to call a teacher to a workshop because everything is straight forward.

Principal A: There is nothing straight forward. That is why they even give an HOD (head of Department) a hard time if they do not interpret the syllabus to the other teachers in the department. So even this document, somebody needed to interpret it to us as teachers. And if I am not following the policy, it doesn't mean that I'm disrespecting you as my superior, it is just that I am not aware. As superiors you need to make sure that we are aware of such. So it is the responsibility of the people in government to make sure that the policy document reaches the people more especially the teachers.

There is this directive that if a school wants to introduce a top up fee, the school must involve the parents, and then write a letter to the DPM (deputy prime minister's office).

Me: Ya, I did hear about that.

Principal A: So if I am not following the language policy, why would they think that I am violating or disrespecting what was said, so they should have given us a chance...? (I interject)

Me: To...?

Principal A: To voice out our concerns.

Me: As who, parents or teachers?

Principal A: As teachers, parents know nothing about the classroom or school situation.

Me: You think so? Some parents have been to school so they know what is happening.

Principal A: Not in the way a teacher knows.

Me: Ok. So I get you.

Principal A: So that is why even the directive of punishing a child who speaks in siSwati, also has a timeframe. It means as a school we can go to the ministry and say that this directive will be

altered. If as a school together with the parents have agreed that in the school we want our children to be punished, to be beaten with maybe less than 2 strokes. If all the stakeholders have been involved.

Me: So you're saying the directive could be there but the schools have to decide what is working for them.

Principal A: Just like it happened with the OVC fund.

Me: But I think there was an instruction to that effect, they didn't just do it. But then from we have talked about, I think it will come in very very helpful. I should thank you for your time that you have spent with me.

Principal A: You're most welcome, ma'am!

Appendix L – Semi structured interview session with Principal B, Abner

Me: Thank-you very much for your time, for allowing me to interview you. It really means a lot to me because it is actually what will give the data that I'm looking for, for my study. And may I briefly remind you what my study is about, it is about the country's language policy and of course the directives that are published in the country time and again in the educations sector specifically the ones that concern the language of teaching and learning which the language policy talks to. And again I will introduce myself to you once again even though a brief introduction was done before this interview. I am Nomvuyo Nhlengethwa, a PhD candidate at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa, based in the Pinetown campus and my study focuses on what I have talked about: the language policy which is written and the directives which are verbalized in the education sector in Swaziland. And may I also make it known to you that if you feel you cannot continue with the interview maybe I keep asking you questions you cannot talk to, you are free to tell me that we should stop but then I hope everything we will talk about will not be touchy.

So having said that, may we get on with the interview.

May I just ask you; are you aware of the country's language policy?

Principal B: Yes, I am aware of the country's language policy that is in black and white, in terms of communication in class with the learners from Grade 1 up to Grade 12.

Me: If I may ask, what exactly do you know?

Principal B: I know that in Grade 1 up to Grade 4, if I'm not mistaken, we have to communicate with the learners using the mother language, strictly using the mother language but from Grade 5 up to Grade 12 we are supposed to use English as medium of instruction but we are supposed to clarify where we see a learner is struggling to handle a concept using the mother language, something that we do even in the upper grades.

Me: Yah. It's basically that. Having alluded to the language policy, what's your personal opinion about that?

Principal B: I do concur with the policy that at the first grades the learners should be given instruction using their mother language because they come from home and that has been the norm. It must act as an introduction whereby you're preparing the learners for a new language that has to be introduced thereafter but I am also aware that some learners actually most learners do go to pre-schools, others go to English-medium preschools and they get to Grade 1 only communicating in English depending on the community of course. Even in the rural areas we do have some English-medium preschools but you then find that the child goes to a school which is not an English-medium school.

Me: So you're saying to a certain extent the policy is okay.

Principal B: I'm saying the policy is okay to a certain extent, yes.

Me: So if you say it is okay, do you want to tell me that in your school you are following the language policy?

Principal B: I would say yes and no because in Grade 1 level, we find ourselves speaking in English to the learners yet the policy demands that we use the mother language. We do not follow it to a greater extent. So when we are supposed to switch to the English medium then we find ourselves reverting to the mother language when we try to make sure that the concepts are imparted to the learners so that at the end of the day we meet the objectives of that particular lesson. And the other issue is now, we are expected to teach them in the mother language for the first 4 years but the only subject we ask them test questions in the mother language is only siSwati. While we were teaching them in siSwati but the questions will come in English in the other subjects save for siSwati.

Me: So how do they respond? You have taught them in siSwati then the questions are in English, how do they respond? How do they relate what they have learnt to the question that is hip front of them?

Principal B: It really takes a brilliant child to comprehend the situation otherwise you find that during the test a teacher is found yelling at the child telling them that: But you answered me correctly the other day, this is what I was asking; and then by and large you're bridging the rubric because during a test, a child is supposed to speak to the questions and respond without the help of a teacher.

Me: I get you. Then if we can talk about now about the material that the teachers are provided with, the books. In what language are the books, maybe let's not talk about the siSwati books because for that one it will be obvious, the other subjects?

Principal B: All the other subjects, except for siSwati like you have just said, they come in English. So that is the other issue that needs to be looked into in terms of policy because it is contradicting when it says we must teach them in siSwati but ask them exam/test questions in English. They get confused (some), except for a very brilliant child like I said before.

Me: So if we have all these books written in English, it means there is a lot of translation that has to be done, a lot of translation that a teacher has to do if they are to follow the language policy to the latter.

Principal B: Yes, there is a lot of translation that needs to be done, it even eats onto the teaching time because you have to translate and retranslate and you find that you do not finish the syllabus for that particular year because it means you're taking a lesson three times, the same lesson while you're trying to make sure that the concept is absorbed.

Me: Then I'm thinking of a situation here that it's not all the teachers that we have in the land who are Swazis or born in Swaziland. Some are born somewhere else then they come here, they assume the citizenship. Then how do these teachers handle these things if there is a book written in English then they have to translate it into siSwati? What actually happens?

Principal B: Well, he still has to translate and the way you put it, it means even more of the teaching time is consumed on the same concept because the teacher himself is none Swazi, then he has to learn the mother language of the learners then translate and retranslate. I mean, look at the time that is being consumed there. So those are the some of the issues that need to be considered when this policy is revised again in the next...I think it's already less than 5 years because it was reviewed in 2018 and it must be done on a 5 year basis.

Me: According to your knowledge, do we have people going around checking if teachers are following what government is expecting, to the latter or you just work, you do what you want to do?

Principal B: We find ourselves doing everything we could just to make sure that the learner progresses or passes to the next class. The personnel as in the inspectorate can't meet the demand of going to every school, every day, every week, every year to do inspection to make sure that the policy is being adhered to except for a school there is a situation whereby there has been a shout out that something is really going on wrong there in terms of bridging the rubric and then we would safely say that those are expected to make sure that the policies are adhered to are not able to do so, not that they don't want but resources are not in their favour. Even the number of inspectors that we have in the schools that would mean every teacher should have an inspector behind him or her to make sure that on a daily basis that teacher is following the rubric.

Me: So you just have policy and from what you are saying, it is up to you whether you want to follow the policy or not?

Principal B: Really, you just have to use your conscience when teaching. If you don't have one, you just go hay-wire doing something that is against the policy and you may find yourself in trouble like I said once somebody has said: Please watch out on this one he is not doing good.

Me: And what exactly could that person do to you if they have been alerted, what could be the consequences if they do find you not to be doing what you're expected to do?

Principal B: The first thing that is being done, you are called before a disciplinary hearing and they may also suspend you until the final verdict comes out. But I haven't seen or heard of any teacher that has been fired because they didn't follow the education sector policy in the country but there is a possibility. I know of one who has been suspended but I'm yet to see the final outcome of that case.

Me: So even with such consequences teachers still take chances.

Principal B: Definitely, definitely. And not because they are being stubborn or whatsoever but it is because they are racing against the syllabus. So what they do is what they think will make this child to proceed to the next class. As teacher we believe we should do what benefits the child. If child A wants to be taught in siSwati, child B prefers to be taught in English that is what we do. We do things that way because we feel they all must proceed. Our job is result oriented you know, so we do all we can to make sure that the child benefits in terms of passing and progress to the next level.

Me: Then again, if I may ask another question related to the language policy. Then in your school now, do you have your own in-school policy which may be talking to the national language policy?

Principal B: We definitely do have but we found ourselves. We emphasize on using English as the medium of instruction more than following what the official language policy says because we believe that most of the subjects are asked/examined in English. So we are actually focusing on whether the child understands the question and then he'll be able to answer it correctly, pass then move on to the next class.

Me: So from what you're saying, your school language policy to a certain extent contradicts the national language policy?

Principal B: It does, yes it really does.

Me: Do parents have a say in these policies that you have in the school now, the in-school policy?

Principal B: Oh yes they do. When we make these in-school policies we make them as teachers, actually we draft them as teachers then we take them to the school committee, the school committee approves then we take it to the parents to make them aware because they might not have time to go into it section by section but they are adopted by the parents as an in-school policy.

Me: Then from what you're saying, you do acknowledge stakeholders in the school set up. You're pretty much aware of who parents are in a school.

Principal B: We should, we surely are, we surely are.

Me: Then now coming to the national policy which you're the last one came in 2018, according to your knowledge were stakeholders involved in crafting and publishing that policy?

Principal B: Well through the help of UNICEF, to some extent some stakeholders were involved, you know but that was on a representative manner and there is that weakness in the country whereby people who attend such meetings on a representative manner they fail to get the information down to the rest of the people. I can say because I am part of an association of school administrators in the country, yes we were involved but I'm not sure really if that

information tickled down to the staffroom, the school where the actual teaching and learning takes place.

Me: Okay. Now we have talked about policy which is in black and white; and as a Swazi yourself, I hope you are aware that time and again we will be told that this is what we will be doing as teachers. There will be this policy which is not written down which will be verbalized, what I call directives. Are you aware of such taking place in the education sector?

Principal B: Yes, there is quite a lot of those, they come time and again whereby the ministry officials would have learnt of something that is not going on correctly and the they will be calling to regional meetings, the regional education telling you that we are aware that such and such a thing is not going on well and they would say, from today onwards please make those corrections, if they are corrections because from now on this is how we will be doing things. I will give you one example that is on the issue of orphaned and vulnerable children's fund whereby there is a school committee constitution that says the school committee is responsible for mobilizing funds for the development of the school but we were then told that if a child falls under the OVC category then no one should demand extra funds for that child because, where do you think the child will get that extra fund as they are categorized under the OVC. This is a contradiction to me but we have to adhere to this directive that: Don't charge additional funds from a child who is categorized under that group of OVC. These children have been paying before and they were those type of children even before. So clearly they would be able to pay except for few cases, for those who are double orphan and there is no estate that was left by the parents but the greatest number comes from the vulnerable kind whereby both parents are there but maybe the man has got 7 children or one parent is unemployed the other one is employed but getting a very low salary. A lot of things like that.

Me: Then recently, I was reading the newspaper; the head of government was talking about one of the languages that we use for teaching and learning, English. He was talking English alluding that from now on; English will no longer be a failing subject anymore. I don't know if you got that.

Principal B: Yes, on one of our developmental workshops that we undergo as headteachers, there was a paper that was presented and the heading of the paper was, "The Hegemony of English." Now, during that presentation, we were told that English has been a barrier to quite a

lot of learners in the country because you would find that a learner has got straight As and failed English so he or she would not proceed to the next class just because of the hegemony of English. We were told that the Ministry of Education is doing all it can to make sure that it removes English as a failing or passing subject as they call it.

Me: Then, what's your take?

Principal B: Personally, I'm in-between, I'm saying: Great and oh No; based on the issue that once our children know that English is no more an issue, they will relax and not apply themselves in terms of improving this language yet the university's requirement still stand that English as a requirement still stands that you must have credited English for you to be admitted into the school. So I will only be happy when I'm told that even at the university English is no more an issue. Then I will know that there is collective responsibility from Standard 5, Form 3 ND Form 5.

Me: Then, which university, our university or other international universities or we are producing graduates that will enroll into our university only?

Principal B: That's the thing, yah, that's the thing. It is a very good question you're asking, you know. In other countries like the US where I once attended Cornell University, when we were recruited, we were given a special type of English test; they call it TOEFL (test Of English As a Foreign Subject). It doesn't matter what you got in your Form 5 or Grade 12 whatever you call it but they say now that for this course, we will take you through this specific type of testing your communication skills in terms of understanding the questions not that you need to get what, what now. But I am aware that English is an issue especially if you go to other countries for your undergrad. If it is your masters and stuff, they allow you to take that special test.

Me: Okay! The other thing, I know at some point there was a directive for our mother tongue, again the head of government directed that; from now on, every child in a school in Swaziland must learn siSwati. I remember it was around March when that was said and he was actually saying, as you hear this, from the following day; every child has to learn siSwati. Again, did you pick something like that?

Principal B: I really did and it was not only siSwati but there was also Religious Education. The short coming of our powers that be, they are very reactionary. First of all, Making that

announcement when the first quarter of the year is about to end. That was bad timing, you know but even the reasons for introducing or making Religious Education compulsory in the country, it was not being honest really because the very same constitution of the land is saying there should be freedom of religion but then you come up with a directive that, no any other religion should be taught in schools save for Christianity and that was contradiction on its own, you know. The on the issue of siSwati, again we have schools that teach French others are even going to Portuguese because we have French and Portuguese speaking people who are residents of Swaziland and who are citizens of the land. So I felt it wasn't the correct way of forcing Swazi children into learning the mother language like that, it is something that had to be discussed before it was implemented, to confirm if ever it was going to work. But I still feel they have a freedom of choice.

Me: I'm just wondering that, if you say there is diversity in the people that are in the country then the children are in the class, they are to be taught siSwati, how are teachers handling this, a child from that country, from that other country, they must all learn siSwati or we are just saying it's an easy thing to learn because they also learn English yet they are not from England.

Principal B: That's the dilemma we have as a country because just feels, in his or her backyard and say, "No, this wrong!" and they go and make it a policy just like that without really looking at consequences of bringing that change, you know, and at a go like that. So one can only hope that the executive arm of government should really bring in technicians before they pass any other law that impact on policies such as the Education Sector Policy of the land.

Me: If I may be personal, would you want your child to be taught in siSwati and be taught siSwati as a compulsory subject?

Principal B: That becomes some form of tautology because once I am teaching my child in siSwati it means the child already has a command of the language then to go on and say every now should take it as a language then it's some kind of channeling the child because like I said some of our learners they come from preschools where siSwati was never used as a medium of instruction and now you start teaching the child in that language which is foreign now and you also force the child to take it as a subject and that child can really lose all the other subjects because of the frustration that the child might go through in terms of the siSwati issue.

Me: So are you saying to me you would not want your child to be forced to do some of the things the directives and the policy is instilling?

Principal B: The word itself ‘force’ is really not correct and I really wouldn’t want my child to be forced to do something that is not adding value to his or her life as per family rubrics.

Me: Anyway, mam’, thank you very much for responding to the questions and I do want to believe that this will go a long way in shaping the study that I am working on. I do appreciate the time that you have given me.

Principal B: You’re most welcome, my lady!

Appendix M – Semi-structured interview session with Principal C, Best

Me: Thank-you very much, my dear, for allowing such an opportunity to come and talk to you about my study here. But before we get into that, may I just briefly introduce myself even though I have been already introduced to you.

My name is Nomvuyo Nhlengethwa a PhD candidate at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, at the Pinetown campus. I am doing my research for my PhD, like I have already said. Like you noted in the consent form that you signed when you agreed to do this interview. If you feel you cannot do it, you're free to tell me that we should stop; no one is forcing you to continue with the interview even if you feel you cannot talk about all these things I would like us to talk about.

Basically, we'll be talking about the country's language policy I hope you might have heard about as somebody who is in the education sector. We will also talk about the directives which are pronounced time and again by the government. So I want to believe what is going to happen and what the discussions will entail.

Principal C: Ok, Vu, Thank-you so much for inviting me to contribute to your study.

Well, I'm not sure...I've not seen a hard copy of this language policy but I have heard in some structures, discussions on the policy itself but I've not seen a hard copy or a soft copy. But I am familiar with what is in it. It may not be everything but I know quite a bit of its contents.

Me: I am happy then that the starting point is there, we will be talking about something that I think we both have knowledge about.

Then if I may ask you, what exactly do you know about the language policy? Anyway that you could have read, seen or gathered from the discussions that you have mentioned.

Principal C: Yaaah, what I have heard is that, this language policy says that English will no longer be passing subject in the country. So, I'm just worried about that because English is our way of communicating, it's a medium of communication in the country for a better part of the education of an individual. So if we say English will no longer be a passing subject, what will happen to the standard of learning English because we need English everywhere we go, and as a country we are not independent, we depend on other countries whereby if a school which is not in the country, I am sure those people still need English, they need good English. So I'm worried

if we say English will no longer be a passing subject, because, you know students, they may not put enough effort in English language yet they will need it. The university will still require it as a passing subject.

Me: Okay! So now you're talking about the latest directive because that was said by the Prime Minister. Even though it wasn't verbal, I guess the media got it from the government website where it was made clear that government is saying English will no longer be a failing subject. That is a directive. Then it means that he wants us to follow what government has proclaimed. In short, a directive is something that is verbalized; we may not find it anywhere as a document but then a language policy is a document. And you said you've never seen ours anywhere. Anyway, we'll get onto that. Let's talk about what you raised earlier that you heard that government has pronounced that English will no longer be a failing subject. What can you say about that?

Principal C: Government should have started somewhere, not to just pronounce that directive without having gone that special route. We seriously want our learners to go to universities, what if the entry requirements have not changed? And they have not changed from what I heard; they still require English as a passing subject. They still want the learner, the child to credit English. So government should have started by looking at the entry requirements of the universities, though I do not know still how that can benefit the child because government can only change the requirements for institutions here in Swaziland not the international world. So if government encourages pupils not to put much effort in to the English language and then have those learners who will no credit English language.

Me: So, what is basically worrying you? You think the methods of teaching English will change such that the learners will not get a credit pass in English is worrying you. Is it the teaching of the language or what?

Principal C: It is not actually the teaching of the language that I'm worried about. If you know that the child does not need this credit, we are human beings, you may find some teachers not putting that much effort in teaching it, but what I'm much worried about is where will these learners without a credit pass in English go after finishing school after Form 5 because our institutions of higher learning still want a credit pass in English language?

Me: So you for see a lot of learners moving around aimlessly because of the lack of a credit pass in English.

Principal C: Yaah, because the entry requirements for our institutions of higher learning will not have changed so these without a credit pass in English, the training institutions will not accommodate them.

Me: Just because you started with a directive, may I know if you have heard about the directive touching on every learner learning siSwati in a school?

Principal C: Yes, I've heard, we had a conference, a siSwati conference where the Prime Minister also said that, now every child in the country, every learner must learn siSwati. On that, I feel it's an infringement on pupils' rights, on human rights, forcing someone to learn your language. Think of an international child who comes just for a very short period of time to study in Swaziland and go back to his or her country. How will that siSwati benefit her? So I'm not for that, they must let the learners choose what they want not to infringe their rights.

Me: Did you attend that conference or you heard from the discussions that you talked about?

Principal C: I didn't attend that conference but I got a report of that conference.

Me: So from that directive, the people who attended did they say they discussed that directive or it just came from the head of government?

Principal C: They did not discuss that but they were just told by the head of government and they say they were shocked because did not understand how it will benefit anyone. What is it that they want these learners to gain now by forcing them to learn siSwati? They say they did not discuss that but the Prime Minister just announced that something is on the pipeline, a policy that every learner in the country has to learn siSwati and imagine a child who joins our system say at tertiary. I think it would very very difficult for that student to acquire siSwati. It will just frustrate that learner.

Me: why would it be difficult, is siSwati a difficult language?

Principal C: Not really difficult but linguists say language acquisition is best before the age of 12. So that child as much as he or she can grab those few words but I'm sure she can struggle without the basics of the language.

Me: So I get you that the siSwati teachers who attended that conference did not discuss that. How that you have mentioned that it is a policy now which is there, is it something that is happening according to your knowledge, something that is being followed?

Principal C: Not yet, maybe it is still coming but so far, we do not force anyone to do siSwati. Maybe at high school level, at primary school level with the government schools, they are encouraged now to all do siSwati. I'm not sure of the private schools of what happens there but with tertiary, it is like they are not forced for now to do siSwati. At high school I know all learners do siSwati and it does accommodate them a bit because now there is siSwati as a second language for those whom you see as a teacher that are just failing to grab those essentials, the basics of the language. There is this siSwati as a second language which tests them on comprehension skills, orals and a bit of writing.

Me: The, as a teacher yourself, a community member, how is the reception of this directive that every learner should do siSwati, how are people reacting to that?

Principal C: For now they are not happy with that because you find that most of them did not do siSwati as it has been happening that they choose at primary level, whether you do siSwati or French. And then when they get to Form 1 and they are told that they have to do siSwati, they are like: Not me, I am not going to do siSwati, I have never done it. Those never did at primary level will obviously have that negative attitude towards doing siSwati. In fact in this era, even our very own learners they don't like siSwati (laughing), they just want to speak English English English...English English English all the time. So, introducing it in Form 1 will obviously be a struggle for pupils who have never done it at primary school level. So they are not happy.

Me: If maybe I can ask, have you ever tried to find out, what is it that is making them unhappy about being taught siSwati?

Principal C: I think it is just the upbringing, the influence of the parents because parents are always there to advise children on what to do. So if the parents tell them the importance of learning their mother tongue, I believe that they will have a different mindset on learning the language. But if you take your child to an English-medium school, you speak English; you encourage the speaking of English, still the English. Then it will be difficult for the child to now learn something new which the parents don't even support. I believe so much it is in the

upbringing and it is the parents who decide, more especially at primary school level, who decide what the child must learn. They just say, I don't want my child to do siSwati, I want my child to do English and French only not siSwati. So they just feel like, where am I going to use this siSwati because at home we speak and at school we speak English all the time.

Me: So you want to tell me that teachers of siSwati have a challenge.

Principal C: They really have a challenge, a serious challenge when you try to introduce siSwati to these children of our period, of this period.

Me: And I'm wondering, is it something that we will ever overcome?

Principal C: (laughing) Ei...I do not know how really we can do that but I want to believe it is possible to overcome this, if only everyone can work towards that. It is very much possible. The problem here is that, most of these policies, the government does involve the stakeholders. They do not invite the stakeholders to come down, sit and discuss, especially the outcomes of whatever they want to introduce. So they just direct direct direct, do this, do this, do this. And forced changes they normally don't work.

Me: So they come from the top, down there.

Principal C: Yes, most of the time they come from the top, down there; and without making the necessary preparations as I said, they need to start with the parents, teachers get their views so that when you come with these new policies, the people are well informed and equipped, they are ready to accept and work but if you just impose, it become difficult. So it is possible. Some parents are not learned, they still believe that learning English, having that good English is the right thing, the good thing, the best thing yet in a way, and their children must know siSwati more especially because they are Swazi.

Me: Then may be if we can get back to the language policy which is in the document which I have seen in a soft and hard copy. There is a language policy of 2011 and there is one of 2018 which somehow has revised the one for 2011, which states that at primary school, the language of teaching has to be siSwati from Grade 1 to 4 and then we change to English from Grade 5 upwards then. Have you heard of something like that?

Principal C: I've heard of it. But I'm still trying to find the advantages of that, how is it good? What is it that they want to achieve by introducing such a policy?

I once read from the newspapers and social media, people were having those sentiments, people wondering, how is it helping us and the Prime Minister of the day was saying, it is not something that comes from Swaziland, it is something that comes from the UN conventions, the meetings that they attends and conventions that the country signs. It is from there that they agreed that the language of teaching and learning has to be the mother tongue at least for the first few years, for the mother tongue not to be lost amongst the people of a country, and Swaziland, I am told is also following suite.

Principal C: As I said before about language acquisition, our system allows that a child starts Grade 1 at 7 years which means by the time he is in Grade 4, he'll be 10 or 11 so the child will have only 2 years at most because it's up to 12 years when it is done best, so the child will only have 2 years to acquire siSwati rather the English because it starts at Grade 4. So imagine a child who starts school in Grade 1 and then drops in Grade 4 or even before Grade 4, how will child survive because English is an international language, it's our medium of communication, even in the country it is one international that we use. Then how do you expect that international child to survive, a child who cannot say, "Good morning, can you offer me a job?" How will that child survive? How will that child fill a form, may be an application form for a travelling document?

Me: Maybe it's for that reason that we should change all those into siSwati.

Principal C: Well, that's where we should start then. That's where we should start before implementing such policies, think of those children who might drop out of school before they are given a chance to learn the basics in English. How do you expect them to survive now? So we are not ready for those policies as a country. For us to implement those policies we must start somewhere so that the child is able to survive.

Me: Think of a situation where the child has been to a pre-school, as they take 2 to 3 years then they come to Grade 1 and then government policy says they should learn in siSwati. Do you think the transmission will be that smooth and how will the Grade 1 teacher handle the learning because now it has to be in siSwati, all the subjects taught in siSwati except for English during the English time.

Principal C: I pity those teachers, really I pity them because they will have so much to do and they will be frustrated for some time because one, we are following a curriculum here. As I said, we must start somewhere before implementing these policies; we must start somewhere because if a child learns in English at preschool and then in Grade 1 she learns in English, she is still a small child, she forgets a lot of things. From Grade 1 to Grade 4, the period will be longer now learning in siSwati than maybe than it was when she was learning that English language. So by the time she gets to Grade 4 again, that child will have forgotten everything that she might have learnt at preschool, so the teachers will really have a tough time with those students.

Me: Do you think there are schools in the country that follow that policy of teaching in siSwati from Grade 1 to 4 then change to English in Grade 5, are there any school according to your knowledge or even from the discussions that you have as teachers?

Principal C: Who teach in siSwati...I have never heard of any school. For now, what is happening now is English, English, English. I have never heard of a school that teaches everything in siSwati until Grade 4?

Me: You want to tell me that even schools in the rural areas where there are no preschools, they just start teaching in English from Grade 1?

Principal C: They try, they try but use more of siSwati, and they don't just put away the English. They do come to siSwati and explain some concepts in siSwati which they feel are a bit difficult for the children. It's not that they just do away with the English; they mix the two languages for the child to understand, they explain in siSwati. They do what we call code-switching. They teach in English but with those concepts that they believe are above their level, they then use those siSwati words.

Me: Then with that policy in place and you're saying you've never heard of anyone who is following the policy to the latter. Do you government is aware of this thing that you say is happening in schools, people not following what government has published because policy is more like law?

Principal C: I think government is aware, is that...you know the government of this country is another government, I don't know how to explain. But as I said before, our government just impose things without doing the necessary preparations. They are aware of this but so far they

have not done anything to instill or make sure that every school is following this policy. We have not started implementing this policy, which dates back to 2011 but government is not doing anything about it. Maybe she was just pronouncing it because it from the UN (laughing a bit). It is written down but it's not that it's not working but we're not doing it as teachers.

Me: And you're not afraid that government might just do something to you?

Principal C: How can he do something when he has not prepared me for this? Government should have invited me to a caucus meeting and explain how to carry on, how to implement this.

Me: But policy is law, you want to tell me that all the laws that are there in the land, you want to tell me that people are called and told that, now this is the law?

Principal C: But we are talking about education here which has to be standard, (*uyabo*) you see, firstly in the country and it has to be standard even internationally, be at par with the education of other countries. Swaziland still depends on the other countries for survival. So for a smooth introduction of this, government should have invited the stakeholders. As I say, I have not seen it today with my eyes, I only hear about it as teacher; I have not seen any copy of it. I cannot just take it from the air, from anywhere and go to class and implement that. Teaching is a team work, I cannot do it alone while the others are not doing or my neighbouring schools are not doing, I can't.

Me: Then maybe if we can talk about the books now, the Maths books, Science, Social Science, are they in siSwati?

Principal C: I haven't seen one written in siSwati, it's just the siSwati books written in siSwati.

Me: So the teacher has got to do some translation before going into class.

Principal C: No, the government has got to do something. It goes back to what I said before that the ground is not level for us to implement these policies. It's just that, it's not like the teachers are law unto themselves. They are willing to work but then government is not leveling the ground so that everything becomes conducive.

Me: Let me just, we get the books in siSwati and maybe we do sit somewhere, we agree that we need siSwati as our mother tongue before it goes extinct. You think we would seriously have schools teach in siSwati?

Principal C: Em...I think as you said it is law, we have to follow it. We'll have no choice. As a teacher, you will have to follow, do everything you can to teach in siSwati because phela (Really) there are inspectors, superiors monitoring if you're whatever they have said as government, you will be forced. Well may be with the private schools, ah, they may have a way because in the country most private schools concentrate on what? On English. Most parents take their children there because of what? Because of English, because of the good English base they get from the private schools. Maybe those can have a chance of code-switching, I'm not too sure but still they will use more of the English than siSwati. But with us government schools we just cannot deviate from that.

Me: Then, let me ask you a personal question. You would send your child to which school after leveling the ground that we were talking about? Then you know that, Yah, government school teachers have to follow this policy, then in private schools or company schools there could be some leeway. Then your child has to go to school, where would you send your child?

Principal C: (laughing) Yah, may be my decision will be influenced by what, may be let me say the political situation of this country. I wouldn't take my child to the government school. I would take my child to that private school that will try to maintain the English that the child will have learnt may be from preschool, I would take my child there.

Me: How is the political system affecting the education in the country?

Principal C: Wuuuu.... In so many ways like I have said, this government only comes to impose. No matter how much you try to explain kwekutsi (that) this is not ready it is not practical. Let me make an example of the inclusive education that they introduced. It says every child regardless of how disabled that child is must be accepted. You can't accept a disabled child in any school. Like in my schools there are so many steps that the children have to use as they move from one room to the other, there are so many of them, you always climb step, steps, steps everywhere everywhere. And there was this one child who was disabled on the leg you see. That child one day you see, missed a step while he was going to the deputy headteacher's office. He missed a step, fell and injured his arm; he lost some teeth in the process. Why? Because government says: Accept. Where? Because government has to do all the preparations, has to level the ground before forcing people to implement a certain policy. So that is how our government is. They just direct, direct, direct and as you said, are we still following this policy?

We are not but they just directed us and we are following and no one is checking if really this is implemented in the schools. So I wouldn't take my child to a government school for now until government is active, until government is hands on, on the changes that she wants the country to implement.

Me: Thank-you very much for your time! I think we have covered all that I wanted us to cover. Once again, Thank-you, my dear!

Principal C: You're most welcome, Vu.

Appendix N – Semi-structured interview session with Teacher D, Drake

Me: Thank-you very much, my dear for your time, for allowing me such an opportunity to talk to you about my study! But before we get into the study, may I just introduce myself to you even though some introductions have been done.

I am Nomvuyo Nhlengethwa, a PhD candidate at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and I am doing my study for the very same PhD, which looks into the country's language policy and the directives that are published time and again in the country, more especially in the education sector and those related to issues of language of teaching and learning. We have two official languages in the country and both of them are used in the education system. So that is basically what we will be talking about. For me soliciting your views about the policy itself and the directives, so I hope we will have a fruitful discussion and I would like to make it clear to you that if you feel you cannot go on with the interview or you feel I'm being too personal, just let me know. You can even say you're stopping, you cannot go on, and it's okay. It's a free world after all but I'm grateful you allowed me to sit with you like this to talk about the country's language policy and the recent directives. I hope we're okay?

Principal D: I'm fine.

Me: Thank-you very much! And then may I know, are you aware of the country's language policy, anything in the language policy?

Principal D: Wuu, I must say I wasn't aware of anything. I wasn't aware. Infact, I think in terms of language in schools, it's something out that has been there from way back and we just assumed this is how we should work but to be precise I've never heard of anything. I have never heard anything about the language policy and I've never seen it. I've never bothered maybe. Maybe it's because I'm still new in the office, maybe it's there, a copy of it, but I've never seen it. When the former headteacher handed over there are some documents she handed over but I can't remember this one or there was an over-sight on my part, I don't know.

Me: Then I need to make you aware of what exactly is in the language policy. The language policy basically talks about the language of teaching and learning that we use at school. It says from Grade 1 to 4 we are supposed to use siSwati, from Grade 5 up to tertiary education, and

then we teach in English. It goes on to say that, even if that's the case but if you feel the child understands better in English from Grade 1, you are free to teach in English.

Principal D: This sounds new to me. I have never heard of something like this and I've never done it. I have been a primary school teacher for the past 21 years, this is my 22nd year but I've never heard of something like this. Even during my school days, we were taught in English.

Me: Anyway, the first language policy was published in 2011 before then there was nothing that guided the language of teaching of learning.

Principal D: I wonder if it was effected after 2011 or it was just there on paper.

Me: So you want to tell me that in your school you are not using it because even the head of the school is not even aware of such a document and its contents.

Principal D: To be honest, we do everything in English, we only teach in siSwati during siSwati time but every other subject is taught in English. And if you explain that it is a relatively new policy as it was introduced in 2011 then I would say that I prefer the old policy whereby everything in the school was done using English.

Me: And the books that you are using are in which language?

Principal D: The siSwati books are in siSwati, the rest are all in English. You talk of English, Religious Education, Social Studies, Science, Maths...infact I must say I don't even want to imagine teaching Science in siSwati, Maths in siSwati. I wonder how practical that could be.

Me: I want to believe you will only use the siSwati words which are known by everyone, the scientific words like photosynthesis, you'll use them as they are, and I doubt you'll have siSwati equivalence for that one.

Principal D: Then if I can refer something back to English again just because it doesn't have a siSwati name, so still its English translated to siSwati, partially.

Me: Then, if I may get this from you, you're saying in your school you're teaching in English throughout. Do the learners understand the concepts well with you teaching in English?

Principal D: Well, em... I can say, mostly they do even though I'm from a rural school where most of the learners get to know of English only when they are in class it's only a few cases where you find that you have to change into siSwati for their benefit, to get the idea, as it is.

So even the English is not something that is used throughout, 100%. You may find that some teachers do drop in some siSwati words in-between to bring the concept into light for them.

Me: So having told you some of the issues that are raised in the language policy document, what's your take about this language policy, what do you think about it, what do you feel about it?

Principal D: The language policy which talks about teaching in siSwati and switching to English at a later stage (Grade 5), I must say it is a very difficult thing to do. I don't think it would be practical, I can't imagine teaching siSwati then along the way in the upper Grades we switch onto English. Why then did we have to teach in siSwati from the onset?

Me: To help the learners to also the grip of the mother tongue because if we teach in English it means there will be no point in the school where they would have anything done in the mother tongue such that we might lose the mother tongue as a nation.

Principal D: We have never lost it, we have always been taught in English. We speak siSwati at home, we speak siSwati whenever we feel like but on the academic side of it, I think it requires English.

Me: Being taught in English, how does it help anyone in the education sector?

Principal D: I may not be sure about the others but for the children since English is a core subject not unless it changes that it is no longer a core subject but even before everything was done in English and all the other subjects are taught in English. So it was benefitting them. Talking about the English, it was benefitting them when doing English as a subject because it is core, they did not have to meet the language during the English language period only but they would also have a feel of it from the other subjects.

Me: What is the change you have just alluded to regarding English?

Principal D: It was just announced that English is no longer a failing/passing subject at primary school level, I'm not sure about the primary school level but at primary school level it is no

longer a passing or failing subject of which even if learners can't read or write English properly but they can still proceed to the next level. That's the change. Before, if you failed English you would never move forward because it was a core subject.

Me: So the change, how do you think, it's going to help the learners? We will move to teachers, parents or even the country; but how is it going to help the country?

Principal D: The change will help the learners only in that even those who were not gifted in English language can now proceed to the next class without being deprived by English; but I'm not sure what will happen at high school and especially at tertiary because it is a requirement at tertiary that you must credit English language because everything is done in English there. The mother tongue is hardly used not unless you're specializing in the language department where some of the examples are in siSwati; other than that everything, every other department conducts their business in English. So you just sit and ask yourself as to how will this change affect the learners as they move any further with their studies to tertiary? Fine they will be happy without having passed their English at primary school level but I'm not sure it will move to high school.

Me: From what I got it's like it will be for everyone. Like at some point there was another directive that every learner in a school in Swaziland whether at primary school level, secondary or high school level, they must learn siSwati.

Principal D: Yes, yes, I once heard that, and it was for everyone. So we are yet to see when the Form 3 and Form 5 results when they come out. Which then siSwati take the place of English?

Me: from what I got is that there has always been a debate that why is English a foreign language a failing subject yet our siSwati is not? So I think they were trying to level the ground so that no language is a failing or passing subject because even in the past you would fail siSwati pass English, you would proceed but pass siSwati and fail English, you repeat. So I think it was just that politics again they were trying to address that.

Principal D: If that is the case then, let us assume then they conducted a study before coming with the directive, probably they know what should be there, probably. But if the study was there as teachers we would know since now there is uproar. One wonders then, were they involved initially?

Me: I would ask you that question, as a teacher yourself, working with teachers, did you hear anything to that effect, did you hear anyone talking about a study they had participated in dealing with issues of language policy that was conducted by the Ministry of Education?

Principal D: I have never heard. Maybe I had ignored issues touching on language policy, I don't know but I've have never heard. I don't. Maybe if you can try and find out from our National Executive Committee of the Swaziland National Association of Teachers (SNAT), maybe they know something because they are the ones who get involved with such things before they come to us.

Me: And you don't think those would have alerted the teachers even before?

Principal D: They would have. They have. So my guess is the teachers were not involved. Knowing how the leaders of the union operate, they would have alerted the teachers that this is what we are working on, on your behalf, just like they update us on salary negotiations, Cost Of Living Adjustment (COLA) and other things. I think they would have particularly after getting that teachers are puzzled by this that has come up but as it is, you may find that they know nothing.

Me: If you say they don't know this, do you think they will adhere to this?

Principal D: Whether they adhere to it or not, government is going to implement it, it has been implemented already. Government does what she wants to do whenever they want to do it.

Me: Let me think of a scenario in your school, the pupil maybe is in Grade 4, he passes all the other subjects and fails English, maybe before this was said, what will happen in your school?

Principal D: As we speak, they will be repeating, they passed everything. The only ones that probably we will promote, are those with 40s but those with 20s and 30s, they are going to repeat, even now. So my school is not going to implement this directive. NO! We will not implement it.

Me: Why are you not going to implement this directive because it has been given to you as, teachers.

Principal D: (A bit agitated) It won't benefit us teachers, learners, parents and the country as a whole, because if we keep pushing these learners without English language yet all the other

subjects are done in English, so what are you expecting to understand and respond to questions if the English language is not fostered anymore? They will eventually not be able to say a correct sentence in English. It just doesn't make any sense. We will continue doing things the way we have been doing, it was working for us that way. Although most things are imposed. If the inspectors can come to the schools like they are doing now, they require that you give them the register with the marks then you will be asked to explain why you made this and that learner repeat because he or she passed or he or she only failed English? So in that way, it can only be imposed to us otherwise we will just do things our way I doubt anyone will follow this directive willingly, we can never do that.

Me: So you're saying we will foresee a situation where a child has been made to repeat then when the inspectors come the following year, learners will be made to move into the next class?

Principal D: They have been doing that so it won't be a new thing for them to do anyway. It has always been like that, they have always told teachers to push them to observe this 5% retention rate policy that was also imposed by government. And you find that out of them, these many many learners that have been promoted by the inspectors don't deserve to be in the next class but due to the directive that has been pronounced and what government has just decreed you find yourself doing it., against your will for the sake of peace not that you're doing it for the good of anyone. Sometimes we need peace but deep down in you, you will know that these learners won't do anything in the next grade, they will just proceed because they will have been pushed but when they go to tertiary, what will be of them? They will finish school because it's like that's what we are targeting, they will finish school without getting anything in a form of credits. If it's about them going through Form 5 only to come back and roam the streets, it's okay then because that is what our government wants.

Me: But then, how can it be okay because it will be a problem now for us, people living with them in the communities?

Principal D: What can you do if it's being forced down your throat; there is nothing you can do. It is painful to us because we are educators and we have our children as well who are in the same education system. It's very painful but there is nothing we can do.

Me: Really, there is nothing we can do, nothing?

Principal D: There is nothing as it is imposed. And the situation will never change since we never even have an input, these directives are always imposed and that is why there will be no change since there is nothing we can do, so that is why I say there will be no change.

Me: This is a very very unfortunate situation. We are saying we have a problem but we will have anything to do as a means of solving the problem. It will always be our problem.

Principal D: It will always be our problem. At the end of the year they will want to know why these learners failed yet they know that they have always wanted them pushed to the next class.

Me: So the problem will be for who because I guess even Form 5 you will fail your English, maybe you will get all your 6 credits, pass all your subjects with flying colours and the English will be horrible because now I know teachers are forcing the learners to speak English, to read, to do presentations, debates and everything, in a way of helping them. Do you think that will stop if there will be nothing more like forcing the learners to pass English with a credit?

Principal D: It might as well stop. It might, what's the push if you don't need this thing. Why keep on pushing someone towards something he doesn't need.

Me: But do we think the tertiary institutions will lower their standards?

Principal D: That is what I said earlier on, I doubt. So we will get into a situation whereby only those who think they will go to tertiary will, those who will have the credit pass in English, whom I can say are gifted naturally because the teachers won't have that much input now in English like they have always done. The compositions which were written on a daily basis, the debates, the speaking of English around the school premises, I doubt will go on. I once heard some time back that we are not allowed to discipline learners for speaking siSwati in schools.

Me: That was another directive which gave the learners liberty to use the mother tongue inside and outside school.

Principal D: We don't know anyway, I think we're in a fix, a very big or tight one.

Me: it's just a pity that schools are still closed, I would have wanted to know, what are the teachers' feelings regarding this latest directive? What are they saying, more especially teachers in your school. But I know, you do hear what other teachers are saying because you interact as principals and teachers as well.

Principal D: The ones I've talked to are all negative. They can't imagine doing things the way they have been directed to. Teaching in siSwati in the lower grades then in Grade 5 you change into English, where will that English come from since these pupils have been taught in siSwati for four years. Then introduce the English as a medium of instruction, that will be late. You know that even pre-schools give instruction in English, then the pupils go to Grade 1, they are taught in siSwati, what exactly are we doing? We do need a policy that will address what should happen at pre-school level.

Me: And you think parents will take their children to pre-school to be taught in siSwati?

Principal D: They will because parents just want to keep their children away from home.

Me: Is it? And they wouldn't really mind what is happening? It's like there are going to be a number of challenges here.

Principal D: There are already. I am trying to imagine what will be the situation like with the high school teachers come 2020 with these learners who failed English, those learners who will be in Form 1 because of the directive, a prospective Form 1 pupil will produce results that will say he has passed Form 1 even with an F in English language in Grade 7. Unless they want to challenge authority, not admit those learners.

Me: I foresee a situation whereby the Ministry of Education or even the Regional Education Officers with long queues of complaints because some principals will say: You didn't pass.

Principal D: Yes, they'll just look at the symbols and say: With your G in English you think you have passed? Nothing doing. And I will not blame them because all the subjects there are done in English except for siSwati. Just imagine. Maybe RE could be taught in siSwati and you'll have the teacher ask: *Make was Jesu kepha bekungubani* (Who was Jesus' mother?).

And just imagine teaching Maths in siSwati as the policy says. I don't think it will be practical. $4 + 4 = 8$. Then you teach that Maths in siSwati (*kune ungeta lokunye lokune, sekungatsi?* When our learners don't even know *lokune*, 4 in siSwati is. We are in trouble, big trouble. Because if you talk of siSwati, siSwati is deep, siSwati is deep. If you mean the real siSwati. It is difficult. We were actually supposed to start somewhere, first get all the equivalence of the concepts that we have in English, we put them down in siSwati. Not unless we will be doing siSwati *fanakalo*,

mixing English and siSwati. Because even ourselves, each we have a conversation we mix siSwati and English words as adults, as educators. So imagine the teaching in siSwati now., throughout, 60 minutes, 2 periods teaching in siSwati. With observers sitting there as you teach and if they would award a mark, you will be luck to come up with 20%.

Me: May be things will not be as bad as we anticipate.

Principal D: Probably, may be even though we have noted that there is no consultation that is being done before things are published or finalized.

Me: Anyway my dear, Thank-you very much for your time! I think we have covered all I would have wanted us to talk about.

Principal D: You're welcome, Nomvuyo. I hope my input will help you with your study. Wishing you all the best.

Me: Thank-you very much!

Appendix O – Semi-structured interview session with Principal E, Amelia

Me: Thank-you very much, sir for your time, for allowing to talk to you about a couple of issues that concerns my study. I will introduce my study to you but before that, let me briefly introduce myself to you.

I am Nomvuyo Nhlengethwa, a PhD candidate at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, in Durban – South Africa, based at the Pinetown campus. And I am doing a study that is looking at the country's language policy and the directives that are published time again. So we will talk to issues relating to those two things – the language policy and the directives that are published for people in the education sector to work with but specifically, teachers.

So I will actually direct you on which one are we starting with but it's the language policy and directives. And I would like to know from you, are you aware of these two sets of law if I may call it which we operate by in the education sector?

Principal E: Yes I'm aware of the language policy and the directives.

Me: Which one do you want us to start talking about, is it the language policy or the directives?

Principal E: Let's start with the directives because we do have one directive that is a hot potato these days. I don't know if you have heard about this directive which teachers are grumbling about these days and there are some who are actually rejoicing about. The only problem is that there is no documentation that has reached the schools. They only said it should be implemented. These internal classes like Form 1, 2, 4 and Grade 1 – 6 at primary school level. So at primary school level, we were not aware that thing will be implemented. We heard it through the press only to find that only now it's going to be implemented but we haven't seen any documentation directing schools to follow the directive.

Me: Then if I may ask, what exactly is the directive saying?

Principal E: It says that now we should use siSwati as a medium of instruction, furthermore, English is no longer a passing or failing subject. Even if the child can fail English, he or she should go to the next class.

Me: What has been happening in the years gone by?

Principal E: English has been a failing subject, it was compulsory. A child was supposed to pass English meaning it was a passing subject. So proceeding to the next class depended on whether the child passed English. If not the child was made to repeat that class or the teacher would decide to promote that child. So English language has been there, compulsory, passing subject.

Me: So according to your knowledge, has there been a policy or directive which directed teachers to make English a failing or passing subject?

Principal E: There is none. I heard of this through the press and it has since become a practice and the parents and pupils just know that if you have failed English language you cannot proceed to the next class. Even in the external examinations if you got straight As, maybe 7 and fail English language, say you got an F, you would repeat and it ended up knowing that English language is a passing subject, you need to pass it no matter what.

Me: You want to tell me that actually schools got it from what Examinations Council was doing?

Principal E: Ya, that's true, we just followed what Exams Council was doing.

Me: And now that learners will not be made to repeat a class after they have failed English, what are your feelings about that?

Principal E: Ya, it's not a good thing because most of the subject are being taught in English even the books themselves are written in English. This thing would have been applied better only if we were all going to be engaged as artisans category like those who go to MITC, (Manzini Industrial and Technical College) where they communicate in English for the sake of communicating not concerned about the correct form of the English language. They just use what I can call 'fanakalo' but somewhere else there is no 'fakalo' needed, they need proper English. Even if the kids can pass the other subjects and fail English, I doubt this directive will apply there because the medium of instruction is English at college and universities so your English must be up to standard. I am reminded of a boy who passed all his subjects very well but he got a D in English and he was never admitted at the University of Swaziland.

Me: So besides that, what other problems do you foresee with this directive in place?

Principal E: It will be very problematic with the other subjects, when teaching them because the type of students that we have more especially in the rural areas who do not put much effort in the

English language and now if they are told it is no longer a passing or failing subject, they will relax such that the other subjects will suffer because they are also taught in English. Now they are aware that if they fail English they won't be made to repeat; and this will have an effect because most of the books of the other subjects are written in English so how will they study, how will they write if their English is not okay? Do they mean even in the other subjects like Science, the kids will write in siSwati?

Me: No, we haven't changed the medium of communication in school, beyond Grade 4, it remains English.

Principal E: Even at pre-schools, the medium of instruction is English; most pre-schools will teach the kids in English, they don't teach them in siSwati.

Me: It means we are getting to the language policy now because it's the language policy that says we should start teaching in siSwati in Grade 1 up to 4. And now if we can look at this child who started failing English in Grade 1 but passing all the other subjects up until the last class, Form 5 and the child has never passed English, he gets even a G in English language, what will happen to such a child?

Principal E: I think he will have to go to these TIVET or even upgrade because there is no credible institute of higher learning that will accept this child. Most of the tertiary institutions require that somebody passes English with a credit pass. And we haven't heard anything from tertiary institutions lowering the standards, and I have reasons to believe they will never. Only these bogus colleges will accept a child who doesn't have a credit pass in English language. Those money making schemes will do that do but ordinary universities and tertiary institutions will do that. William Pitcher Teachers' College, the University of Swaziland, they will not do that. Maybe VOCTIM and the other vocational training institutions which were also started for Form 3 graduates. Even MITC was started for those who have a Grade 7 certificate maybe that is where somebody with an F or G in English language in Form 5 can go. I foresee a situation where we will have a lot of children loitering the streets. Seriously, how do you expect someone who has failed English to communicate at a college or university? The problem here is that, the people who are pushing for the implementation of this directive are not sending their kids into these public schools. Their children go to private schools that are even outside the country where this directive is unheard of; it's just not applicable in those institutions.

Me: You mean the institutions of higher learning are not going to adopt the government policy?

Principal E: Hhawu, (siSwati exclamation, which suggests disgust), they won't, forget. Only those in the bundus (rural areas) may do that, places like boKaMboke, Holy Family, they are going to implement this but the institutions of higher learning are all in town, they are not going to allow such things. And this means we're in serious trouble, serious trouble.

Me: Then, how did it come by if people and even heads of schools are saying that they do not know this? How did it come by?

Principal E: It thinks it was through parliament, a plan of helping government save because it's government paying most of the money in tertiary institutions. She started with tis that there should be no kid repeating. All of a sudden now (since we know that there are those who fail English and get stuck somewhere) so the best thing for government to do from where I stand was to scrap English as a failing/passing subject so that everyone goes to the next class. This alleviates the burden from the one paying school fees at primary school level.

Me: So from what you're saying, I gather that you're saying, in a way, the quality of the education will drop.

Principal E: It will drop, it will drop, and it will drop. Government can say what she is saying but tertiary institutions want the best; they will demand what they want from the government. For an example, the university wants the students to meet certain points. So how to do you expect the students to meet certain points if you imply that they should relax at some point?

Me: Maybe government is yet to engage the tertiary institutions.

Principal E: When? Mxm! (another siSwati exclamation which suggests that what has been said has no substance). Not unless these children who will do well will be absorbed by the armed forces, other than that, I doubt they will have any future that anyone can be proud of.

Me: Absorbed by the army? How many police and soldiers do we need?

Principal: Nomvuyo, in the past, actually two years back, one point one police officers were recruited, one thousand soldiers too, in such a small country.

Me: What is causing this that the stakeholders in the education sector are never consulted but somebody there who doesn't have a touch with what is happening in the schools just decides on what should happen?

Principal E: Just imposing! The government just doesn't listen, doesn't consult. Everything is from the top down to the people there. Stakeholders are never consulted. Even now they were complaining 'nje' (that) marking the exam has become expensive for them and Examinations Council is also saying her own things. What if the teachers do not go to mark, what will happen? And if government stops the Grade 7 and Form 3 they contemplate stopping, what exactly will happen to the staff that they have, how will they pay them if there will be no money because there will be no exam fees for Grade and Form 3. And one never stop wondering what exactly will happen to those people. Maybe they will be redeployed, as inspectors who whatever since Examinations Council is a department of government. I'm just wondering, where will they work? They can't go back to schools since there are no posts in schools. But one way or the other, they need to decrease the staff. Then what will happen to the huge building there with so many millions that have been wasted there?

If you think of the fact that with the Form 3 examination, Exams council is in partnership with Lesotho and with the Form 5 one, Cambridge is the one who is accrediting, then when will government let those stakeholders aware of what she intends doing? They will implement the directive then explain to their partners later? This is really funny! What are we saying about ourselves to the international community? Ah, this thing won't work.

If only the Examination Council can localize everything, if possible. They administer the examination on their own. But again, what will the institutions of higher learning say because they haven't changed their entry requirements. And these institutions are ranked world wide, and these are some of the standards that are used when ranking to universities which we then see.

I'm also thinking of the learners who come from outside countries to study here, what will happen to them? I'm talking about international students. In schools like Siteki Nazarene Primary, there is a boarding school, children from Mozambique they come to school there, what will happen to them because they came here for English. Are we going to say, we don't pay attention to that anymore?

Me: But I heard someone saying, it's fine now that English is not a failing or passing subject anymore, the children will just go through school.

Principal E: Then after finishing school, what will happen to them?

Me: And that is the snag.

Principal E: If only government has built many artisans schools that would be better. Now that it is no longer a failing subject yet they have closed MITC, NASTIC in Nhlngano and Siteki, these artisans schools where they will not be trained in doing white collar jobs but these practical skills will be sharpened.

Me: You're telling me that these colleges have closed?

Principal E: Where do you live, Nomvuyo? MITC is closed, the Nhlngano based one is closed, the one at Siteki is closed. The teachers or instructors are being paid but there are no students to teach because they we turned back home. The students paid their fees there but what happened? They closed the thing. There are no students there. Nhlngano-Siteki, MITC – Manzini, all these are not working.

Me: Then maybe they will increase the prevocational schools because I know that there are very few prevocational schools.

Principal E: they are very few and expensive. The problem is for prevocational studies, you must have this machinery which is expensive. Even these current ones which are being used, it was the African development bank which sponsored them since government cannot do anything on her own. They applied and were admitted at SCOT at that time, it was Make Phindile Mkhonza, PS in the Education ministry. They stayed for the whole two years, they were not doing anything. Even now, exams council, actually Cambridge is not accrediting this component, done in Swaziland, set and marked by the same examinations' council.

Me: So it's more like we implement even before we conduct a study.

Principal E: There is no study here that is ever conducted before any directive is passed. Even this thing of prevocational studies (prevoc), it was just a donation and they grabbed this donation without us conducting a study to check, will it viable? Now we are stuck with this thing with no funding or whatsoever. Once a thing doesn't have a sponsor, it's a problem. You see the sugar cane industry, it is still there because of EU (European Union) is funding it. Even this prevoc, if only there were sponsors, sponsoring these things and have a market buying from the schools

and giving the schools tips on viable projects to do. You cannot tell that at Lavundlamati High School, found in a drought stricken area, there is a dairy cow. Where will you get the fodder there because it's so remote and as a school you're supposed to transport the feed for yourself yet resources are scanty?

Doing Agriculture there is close to impossible because the area hardly receives rain so grass may grow to feed the livestock. But there you are, giving a school a dairy cow to keep. People are struggling to get water to drink, then you take water to irrigate in the school. Ahhh...from where I stand there is no logic there. It's impossible to practice Agriculture there. It's impossible.

Me: Eish, it's really amazing how we think these things will work for us as a country. But then ours is to talk about issue touching on the language of teaching and learning.

And you want to tell that in your school, you don't care about the language policy, you don't care about the directives?

Principal E: We still haven't received the latest directive, we just heard about from the media. Let's wait for the directive. They will give those to the REO (Regional Education Officer). Fine the radio said it but we cannot rely on what was said over there. What about people who do not listen to the radio, what will they do?

Me: What do you mean, but I know of a directive, this one that changed the name of the country, did you have anything written notifying you about the change of the name?

Principal E: Dish...later though I think it came from the office of the Attorney General if I'm not mistaken.

Me: Meaning we have gone through the stages we were supposed to go through when changing a name.

Principal E: Ahh no! We started by announcing and there was some noise. Then I think that it was gazetted. Some of us didn't even see or hear about that gazette but we just heard that the country's name has changed.

Me: So you want to tell me the directives are confusing?

Principal E: A lot of confusion, it's causing a lot of confusion and it's not promising that it will get any better.

Me: Do you mean in the education sector or outside?

Principal E: In the education sector. I want to emphasize that the stakeholders should be consulted over certain issues before these issues are implemented as directives or policy. And you cannot force the stakeholders to consult these directives if you have not even consulted them before implementing whatever you're implementing.

Me: I'm just wondering, what are you going to do in your school concerning this latest directive? I can foresee a situation where the pupils who failed English in 2020 coming back in 2020, saying we had that we are not supposed to repeat because we failed English.

Principal E: In my case, I have no problem with those learners, I will only wait for my supervisor to give the instruction on how to implement the directive.

Me: And the child will bring the newspaper where the Minister of Education was quoted in a press statement, telling the whole country what will happen.

Principal E: I don't use the newspapers for that kind of information; I only rely on written instruction from the supervisor saying what should happen in schools and how principals and teachers are expected to implement the new directive. But I know even if you were to consult the REO (Regional Education Officer), they will just say "*YeDLamini, uvile mosi*" (Dlamini, you have heard). Saying "*Uvile mosi, hambokwenta njengaloku kushiwo*" (You heard, go and implement what you heard being said).

Me: So we might have children demanding this and that, and the teachers not being able to give the children what they want.

Principal E: I think it's the urban schools that might have that challenge. In the rural areas I doubt the children will do that because you might find that they are not even aware but then you might find that they are just one who takes the teachers or the administration to task. But you might find that already they have heard like they heard that they are not to be forced to speak English around the school premises. Even the one on corporal punishment, they heard it.

Me: So chances are, they will hear even about this one.

Principal E: They have heard it.

Me: At least you are anticipating that there might be a problem. And even amongst the staff, some will be for the directive and some will be against.

Principal E: Yes, some will be for more especially those siSwati teachers who have always complained why English is the only failing subject yet there are two language offered as subjects in the curriculum. Fine it is a language but all the other subjects are done in English.

Me: Ya, what I'm getting here is that there is a lack of consultation.

Principal E: Yes, a lot, quite a lot of time of times, there is lack of consultation. There is no research that is done before anything is passed as a policy or directive. Like now they are saying this exam (Grade 7 and Form 3) was supposed to be stopped ten years back. Why were they quiet all these 10 years? All the ten years they have been improving the quality of their structures, at whose expense? You can see that all the money was directed to these buildings. Even if you ask them why aren't they paying the invigilators because they are doing work for Exams Council? You never get a straight response. And in other schools since it is government that is paying the exam fee for the orphaned and vulnerable children, some of those don't want to pay the invigilation fee. It really becomes a problem because that invigilation fee is for paying the invigilators since teachers do not invigilate. You then find yourself as a headteacher talking some money from the school fund to cover up this side.

Me: But why aren't they paying the examination fee because it's nothing significant? It's not a big sum of money.

Principal E: Ey, these people! Most of the rural people, they don't want to part with money even if it's for the good of their own children. There is this top up and they don't want to pay the top up fee. In other schools they even provide them with Mathematical instruments during the examination and they use the very same invigilation fee. So it helps them not just in one way, it helps in a number of ways. Some even get calculators, and some during the course of the year they get dictionaries because they pay early in the year. But for some of us, we cannot buy them even one of those things because these things are expensive. We give them the exercise books and they rent the books. Stationery is expensive.

This thing of food too is expensive. Sometimes they demand meat and then you just wonder what would you buy meat with considering the little that government pays for each pupil. If you buy meat once and when they feel they should have meat, these pupils will riot. When they want it and the school does not have money then what are you going to do? Government only brings the beans and not all the children want them. In the past they use to give us more but now they are reducing, ah!

Me: With what I am getting, a number of teachers are not happy with the directives and some are not happy with the policy.

Principal E: And it means we're going to have. This is a sign that we're going to have teachers who are not compliant. I for one, I will not blame them. Or the government should give the REOs (Regional Education Officers) the instrument explaining that this is how we will work going forward but there is nothing. If may be they could communicate like they did when they stopped external trips. Even though teachers never stopped organizing those and actually taking the students out of the country but at least something was communicated to them. Even if they can bring the circulars just to bluff us, it would be better. Instead of teachers we have heard it from the radio that English is no longer a passing/failing subject but it looks like there is no instrument reaching the offices.

Me: But from what you have just said, it's like the teachers will go against the instrument, they will do whatever they want, they will not follow the dictates of the circular. But rather than hearing it over the radio that English language is no longer a passing/failing subject. It's better. Now, I don't have anything to say to the teachers, I will just say: I heard over the radio. That is just embarrassing on its own.

Me: Then with the instrument or even without the instrument, if the teachers go against what government has said, are there any consequences or some form of punishment that the teachers will be subjected to?

Principal E: There will no punishment instead there will be intimidation. What instrument will anyone use against them because you would through this circular or whatever document, I said, English language should not be a passing or failing subject and you did not follow that but there is nothing. So how do you hold someone accountable?

Me: But I know even if there is no instrument in my head... (Principal interjects)

Principal E: Yes, that won't follow whatever has been said, for the betterment of the children but the poor ones in rural areas will suffer. And I don't think they will apply this thing at St. Theresa's at St. Michael's.

Me: Then, what will government do to such schools?

Principal E: Nothing. Even with the top which in the past was E2 500. 00 and now they have reduced it to E600.00 but they are still making parents pay even though government has said it many times that it should not be charged.

Me: The parents pay, which means the school does go against the proclamation by government that schools should not charge the top up fees.

Principal E: and it not like government is not aware. The officials send their children there. Anyway these urban schools need a lot of money to run as compared to ours. You just cannot run a school with the almost nothing that government pays for the children at primary school. There is so much that need money in town.

Imagine what happened at Manzini Central, they had to stop Agriculture because they could not settle the water bill. It was just too expensive because watering a garden is a daily thing. And you're not allowed to have a borehole in town. Even if you apply for it, the Ministry of Natural Resources will not give you the license because the law says if you're in town, you use water from the Eswatini Water Cooperation not to cripple the government department by having a borehole just in town.

Me: From your submissions, I'm gathering that there are so many ills in the education sector.

Principal E: There are a lot of things, a lot! Imagine there is a school in Dvudvusini area where the was just no classroom, nothing and the principal was told to build the classrooms yet government had opened the school, which school if there are no classrooms? With what is he going to build the classroom with? Hhay! (a siSwati exclamation for disapproval). He children are not allowed to pay any top up and government is not going to build nothing citing shortage of funds. No classrooms, what about the teachers' houses because the teachers must live nearby?

Me: As stakeholders, I wonder how are we going to address these issues.

Principal E: It's problematic. Even these the issue of extra lessons, then it means it won't be there in this school since the teachers will live far from the school. Even if teachers may travel from where they live to school but they won't be paid any overtime or even travelling allowance because they travelled on Saturday.

Me: Sir, I think we have talked about all this I would have wanted us to cover. Thank-you once again for your time. I hope what you have shared will really shape my study. Thank you very much once again!

Principal E: You're most welcome, madam!

Appendix P – Focus group discussion for teachers

Me: Thank-you Ladies and gentlemen for coming, for availing yourselves to this discussion. You have so helpful and I hope even now the group discussion will just go on to the end. And we are still going to talk on the issues that we discussed when we met as individuals. The issue of the language policy in Swaziland and then the directives that are pronounced; now it's almost every day. Even though I'm exaggerating it almost every month in the Education Sector there will be a directive even though it may not be addressing issues of language but there'll be something. But we are to discuss here issues those that pertain to Education Section specifically on the recent directive and the language policy which touches on the two official languages of the country, siSwati and English. So having said that, let's get to the gist of the matter.

The issue of the language policy which I hope you still remember even though you are on holiday, I hope it's still ringing in you heard. May I just get your feelings, your aspirations, your thoughts about the country's language policy, that of teaching in siSwati from Grade 1 to 4 and then change into English from Grade 5 up until tertiary. What do you think about that one?

Teacher E: If my memory serves me well, I will go back to what I said that I see no point teaching the child from Grade 1 to 4 then change. Why don't they start practicing the language at an earlier stage, teaching the children in the second language because it is going to be of use to them even when they proceed to university or college.

But again, what was your question?

Me: What are your feelings, your thoughts or anything about the language policy?

Teacher A: I still stand by my words, what I said during the one-on-one interview, that it teaching in English should start as early as possible. Like it is happening in private schools, they start teaching in the English language as early as in Grade 1. Imagine a student...eish...but it doesn't matter, you know who I am talking about even at pre-school...the student is taught in English at pre-school the in Grade 1 that child in taught in siSwati. It looks like you are disturbing the child; you're actually confusing the child. We are just disorganizing the child, frustrating the child. That's my feeling.

Teacher D: Ye, I'm not happy about that because if a child has been to pre-school, was taught in English then from Grade 1 to 4 he has to be taught in siSwati, is all like confusing the child.

Teacher B: I think I also agree with the other teachers. It is not good at all. Why? Because English is an international language, one; it is also our medium of communication. So this child has to learn all the basics of English at least so that this child if this child drops from school say may be in Grade 3, this child must be able to survive after that. He or she must be able to write something in English. He or she must be able to say: Good morning, sir! Please offer e a job. So if that child can't say a word, just one word in English, not to mention a sentence, so how do you expect that child to survive?

Teacher C: On that note, even domestic workers are expected to speak English nowadays. They are being interviewed now. So how do we expect a child who has dropped maybe in Grade 3 or Grade 4 and doesn't even understand a word in English, those children that she is going to be looking after speak English, so how is she going to communicate with those children if he does not understand their language.

Teacher E: I think we are failing our learners so much. I think the Ministry of Education should deal with this because maybe that is why our children can't cope with English; we're confusing them from the beginning, yes!

Me: So you're basically saying the government is the main contributor, here, to the low standards of English competency that we witness time and again.

(All five of them, just say something but it's not clear what each one of them, said)

Teacher B: Still to emphasize on the learning of English at an earlier age, linguists say language acquisition happen best up to the age of 10 to 12 years. So if you say this child will start learning English all the subjects in Grade 3, then that child will have lost a considerable amount of time then he will have difficulty in trying to grasp all the things he will have missed in the first four years. I mean some of these basics. I'm just not in favour of the official language policy.

Teacher D: I'm also not in favour. I don't know what the Ministry of Education or even the minister herself, *(We are talking from the point of view of the teachers, is it? (Addressing the other participant)*

All: Yes we are: in unison)

Teacher D: (*continues*) maybe she is not a linguist. She does not understand all these things we as teachers of language are talking about now.

Teacher A: They do understand, they know what they are talking, it's just that we want to impress other people. Their own children go to private schools. They are taught in English. So they want to our children, they want to fail us as a nation. Those that are poor should remain poor; those that are illiterate should remain illiterate. They know what they are doing, it just that they want to impress other stakeholders, those in higher positions, people who sponsor the country or whatever they get from them because the very same people take their children to private schools to be taught in English.

Teacher E: Or even outside the country.

Teacher A: Or even outside the country. Say that again. But they are the very same people who say the teaching of learners in English should not happen in the country more especially in government schools. It's not fair.

Teacher B: I want the Swazi child to be taught in English because that is what is happening at pre-school anyway. Let what was started at pre-school continue. They will only use siSwati during the siSwati period.

Teacher E: But guys, don't you think these children will lose their mother tongue if they are to be exposed to it in this serious way you're suggesting they should not use siSwati?

Teacher A: They will not lose siSwati. They know siSwati, they dream in siSwati.

Teacher D: Most of our learners speak in vernacular in their respective homes. It is only at school that they communicate in English.

Teacher C: I am convinced that whoever crafted this policy missed a thing or two.

Teacher A: He got everything. It's just the money that is a problem here. People want to impress the donors or whoever came with this idea at the expense of the Swazi child. Because if you were going to interview this person, you were going to get the facts. Some of these people take

these decisions but when you sit down with them, you ask them: Why did you do this? You find out that it's politics.

Teacher D: Mhh, I didn't think of that.

Teacher B: I think I agree with what Zanele is saying because at times you find them talking about what they call language globalization implying that language education should be at par with all the other countries, so that our students when they finish school here they can enroll in other universities outside the country. So definitely, they need the English in as much as some professions do not require the child to have very good English but we still need English.

Teacher E: But if you remember the time when this directive which says, every learner should learn siSwati as a subject because at some point, other learners would opt to do other languages and not do siSwati. And I don't know who thought everyone should do siSwati. It changed, like everybody is learning siSwati now. And they were asking the Prime Minister of that time, he said that directive does not come from Swaziland per se, it is a declaration from UNESCO where Swaziland signed because it's like at the UNESCO assembly, that is where they agreed that for the early grades, the teaching should be in the mother tongue. So he was explaining that. Saying that it's not ours, it's not like we are being hard on the child, it is actually following what we agreed upon where we also sit as a country in UNESCO. So we might think the government has issues, actually unfair, only to find that government is just doing what they signed to do.

Teacher A: Well, they did sign and they were authorized. Then where do you get the instruments for teaching these kids? Teaching Religious Education in siSwati, teaching these kids Sciences in siSwati, how do you do that? Where is the instrument? How are we going to teach them?

Teacher D: Because all these books are written in English? There's not even a single book written in siSwati.

Teacher E: But we are Swazis, translate before you go to class.

(Teacher D and Teacher A responding almost at the same time)

Teacher D: Why don't we make our own book then?

Teacher A: What?

Teacher B: I cannot just do it at my school while she is not doing it at her school. Government must play her part. She must do all the necessary preparations before introducing such policies. We cannot just...because we have never been called somewhere to come and discuss these policies, we're never involved.

Teacher A: It's not our baby. We don't own this. They should have called the stakeholders parents, the teachers, students so that we can own it, right now we don't own it and we don't want it.

Teacher B laughs in such a way that she agrees with teacher A

Teacher E: And you're even strongly putting it, you don't want it.

Teacher B: Yes we don't want it, do you? (Sounds like a rhetoric).

Teacher E: Then what are you going to do because you are the implepnters of this language policy and directives? Let's not waste each other's time teachers. Let's go and implement the policy and directives as expected.

Teacher A: Once it becomes serious, then we will but we are going to do it against our will. We will do it when we are forced.

Teacher C: But for now because no one is following us, we do what we want and what we think is good for the Swazi child.

Teacher B: Exactly.

Teacher A: And the parents are happy about it.

Teacher B: Laughs in agreement.

Teacher A: That their children can speak in English at an earlier age, in Grade 1.

Me: I have alluded to a directive whereby every pupil was said should learn siSwati, how are you coping with that one?

Teacher A: Eish, that one. I don't mind it that because if you go to any country, say Russia, you're going to find the pupils there being taught the Russian language. So I don't mind even those foreigners learning the siSwati language during the language period, during that siSwati

period so that they understand the language of the Swazi people, the people whose country they are living in.

Teacher E: Then what's the problem here, now you want everyone to learn in siSwati but you don't want them to be taught in siSwati.

Teacher D: it's our language, we should know it but with English it's different it's not our mother tongue.

Teacher B: It's not like we're saying we want to do siSwati and leave out English.

Teacher D: We want our children to face the world with the English because all the other subjects are taught in English and we only have one period for siSwati. Let them learn siSwati during the siSwati time and learn the other subject in English from the onset.

Teacher E: So you're saying you're fine with that?

Teacher B: Because they speak in siSwati, they understand siSwati. **Teacher A:** We have no problem even if you can interview me in siSwati, I'll be able to give you answers every question. siSwati we're fine with siSwati, we all are. We also want the foreigners, those who have come to live in this country to understand siSwati; and as they go to secondary school, they are lucky because for foreigners they can take siSwati as a foreign language. It is not that much of a challenge to the foreigners. It's a pity that at a primary school level we still don't have that but in general. It won't frustrate them that much learning siSwati.

Teacher E: Do you bring in some English as you teach siSwati?

Teacher A: We do for them to understand better since siSwati is not their mother tongue. There are basic things that these children will not understand. We put some English there for them to understand better. Like in the English classes we put some siSwati so that they understand even much better. I mean in the English conducted subjects, your Geography, the History sometimes the teachers use some siSwati for better understanding. The same thing we do in the siSwati class we use some English so that they understand even much better. So you see, we need both languages.

Teacher E: Then I don't understand now with the latest directive if we are not going to have English as a failing or passing subject just like siSwati. Then what's the hype about that colleagues?

Teacher A: I have mixed feelings about this one. I read in one of the local newspapers that one student was supposed to fail but because has been made a non-passing or non-failing subject that child got a first class with merit. The child would have failed but this new directive bailed him out. So I have mixed feelings about that one English being made an ordinary subject.

Teacher B: My worry is with the institutions of higher learning. Are they not going to still require English passed with a credit pass as their requirement?

Teacher D: No they will fix that. We are talking about Swaziland, isn't it? I think they are going to deal with that because they have initiated it. They can't say at school you should pass like this and at tertiary level forget about what they have said at school.

Teacher A: They said they are not going to make any fuss. Since English is no longer a passing subject, even at tertiary they are going to admit student who will not have passed English.

Teacher D: I think that is fair.

Teacher A: I think that is how they are going to handle it. Mine are not mixed feelings, I am happy about the directive.

Me: Now you're giving your thoughts about how this will work, were you not consulted as teachers?

Teacher A: No, No, No, the teachers were not involved, this is a directive were talking about. There is no way the teachers would have been involved. It's a directive.

Teacher B: But those should work independently, teachers have brains, they can think of how they want to conduct their business.

Teacher A: In which country, whose country is this?

All the teachers burst out laughing.

Teacher A: In whose country? You forget easily. Students should just be admitted and progress to the next class in the beginning of each year without having passed English. Are you going to deny them that chance? Are you not going to bend on that one?

Teacher B: And happens now to the ranking of the universities because these are ranked even worldwide? And what will happen really?

Teacher A: Yes they are.

Teacher B: And what will happen to ours then?

Teacher A: It will remain down there. The country's main university will be the lowest.

Teacher D: Because even today we are low.

The other teachers: Yes, we are.

Teacher D: But then let us not prohibit the child from doing something that he can, If he has mastered a certain subject, let the child be trained in that particular career.

Teacher A: This reminds me of one particular student where I a friend of mine once taught, he got 7As and he got a G in English not even a D. He came to the friend's house and asked for help because he needed the English so much and my friend felt so bad because she knew that even if the boy tried English many times, he was never going to pass it. He was going to fail still. English was just his no go area but he did quite well in the other subjects. So we advised the boy to go to SCOT. The admitted him.

Teacher D: You see!

Teacher A: He did a course in electronics or something like that. Otherwise at the University they declined him, they didn't admit him, they said he must go and work on his English. But we knew very well that at the university he was going to do very well.

Teacher D: So English has been a stumbling block to many learners, to many even for this learner. But the child can communicate using the language, he is able to write, he is able to do anything. Why do we frustrate such a child anyway? He should continue.

Teacher C: Mind you, we are not saying such children should learn English. They should learn it but it should not be a passing subject.

Teacher D: I think now a challenge for a teacher who teaches English is to teach the learner about the significance of the language. They should know that English is crucial in their lives.

Teacher E: So colleagues you are with us now, you are okay with that directive?

Teacher D: I'm okay with it.

Teacher A: I'm skeptical. What will happen if the university does not admit these students? That's my worry then. Because this is just a directive, a new thing and we are not sure if they met those people from the colleges and universities, I'm not sure.

Teacher B and C: And this is Swaziland.

Teacher C: Wonders never cease to happen.

Teacher D: I think the learners will be admitted into our colleges and universities but the thing is we'll now be like countries like Nigeria where people are learning but they have no jobs. That's maybe the thing that can be a problem.

Teacher A: If he has been admitted to the university or any college, they won't require him to produce an English language certificate. He will go through his course pass it, I don't think that will be a problem. For now the country is in trouble with jobs. There are no job opportunities. But if you are admitted that is fine. They take a course then that's it.

Teacher D: They'll go out to other countries to look for jobs. At least they'll be learned. They will have those certificates. They will have something in their hands.

Teacher E: Exactly!

Teacher C: I'm still not sure what's going to happen, I'm still not sure. Because if you're dropping your standards as an institution of higher learning, what are you saying?

Teacher B: Already they are complaining. They keep asking, they want to know what we teach these kids in schools.

Teacher C: Because when they get to the university they know nothing when it comes to expressing themselves in English in writing. Their presentation skills are said to be sub-standard.

Teacher D: I don't believe that we're bringing down our standards. I'm considering countries like South Africa whereby the passing percentage is 30%, what does it mean? But they continue into tertiary institutions. They have some jobs. Are we dropping our standards?

Teacher C: We are compromising the standards, we are. If we are eliminating English as a passing subject. It means a bigger number of the learners are going to go through that and be

admitted and those will not have been admitted into other international universities. So we are bringing down the standard.

Teacher A: We are. Well, I don't know if it was well researched. I heard, I'm not sure about it. Something was mentioned about the University of Swaziland when comparing it to some of the South African Technikons, it's far better.

Teacher D: Which one is far better?

Teacher A: Swaziland, The University of Swaziland.

Teacher D: Eee...I don't believe this!

Teacher A: That is why I say I'm not sure if it was well researched. That is what I heard from some of the lecturers at the University of Swaziland.

Teacher D: Someone who went to evaluate her certificate in South Africa with a Degree from the University of Swaziland, they told her it's a diploma. That is why I back to differ with you.

Teacher A: That is why I said not the South African universities but the Technikons because there is a difference between the universities and the Technikons.

Teacher E: How dare you compare our university with a technikon!

Teacher A: I don't know. Then they said our standard, the standard of The University of Swaziland is higher.

Teacher C: They should compare it with other universities not technicons.

Teacher B, C & E: Ya,

Teacher A: But they said but I have heard that quite a number of Universities in South Africa are ranked worldwide like the University of Pretoria, University of Cape Town. So that is why I said technicons not universities.

Teacher D: I think it depends because someone who went to Australia from the University of Swaziland, he was supposed to take a year for the Master's Degree but because he was from the University of Swaziland he had to take 2 years because this one is ranked low.

Teacher C: I was just thinking about what happens if you go to South Africa to do your Master's Degree. For some people, they are told to do the Honors degree first, only a few would go straight to Master's.

Teacher A: Yaa, that is what they brain-washed us with when we were there.

The whole group burst into laughter.

Teacher A: And we were thinking they were giving us the best. That is why I said I don't whether it was researched or not or someone just woke up in the morning and said that.

Teacher A: I think someone woke up in the morning.

The whole group laughs again.

Teacher E: Anyway, no one would say I'm selling stale fat cakes, no one. Everyone will say, mine are good, mine are the best.

The whole group laughs again and they nod their heads in agreement.

Teacher E: Because it's a service that they are selling so they must portray the service as the best.

Teacher D: And if you happen to go outside, you have a feel of it that, oh, okay, I'm here now. This is what they want; this is not what I had thought it is.

Teacher A: But then with this directive, I hope the government seriously did the spade work.

Teacher C: I would very very bad if there could be a learner with his or her symbols written; English is not a failing subject, they go to apply in a tertiary institution, because they accept the application fee, they wait then get: We regret...

Teacher D: Oh, you think that can happen?

Teacher B: In Swaziland, it can. It can happen.

Teacher D: I don't think so; I think they are yet to work on it. I think we should just relax. They can't do this and leave it for tertiary institutions to decide.

Teacher C: But you know this is someone else's initiative, it's not the same person who is there at the university or college admitting because I guess the intellectuals there they have the same misgivings that we have. Where was the research done for this? And what were the results? So dealing with the intellectuals it's different from dealing with the other people and the teachers.

Teacher D: Ya, that's true.

Teacher C: And we should remember, the university is not 100% owned by the government. As much as government can have a word it will not be over everything. Some decisions just have to be left to the intellectuals to take because they also report somewhere, in bodies of other intellectual who I doubt so much will accept an explanation that does not have facts that emanate from research because I want to believe there are checkpoints where everyone is reminded of the world standards or whatever standard that is being used.

Teacher D: It will mean that something is lacking from our government.

Teacher A: It has always been like this lacking.

The rest of the teacher laugh and through the laughter Teacher B could be heard saying: It has always been.

Teacher A: A lot is lacking with our government. It has always been lacking. Nothing has changed.

Teacher D: Then we can then say: Cry the beloved Swaziland if that's true.

Teacher A: I'm only worried about the education of the Swazi child otherwise there is nothing new in what is happening here. We are doing a lot of things below the expected standard.

Teacher D: I think before schools open, they will talk about this; they will invite the relevant people to address this.

Teacher C: Who will convene that gathering, that talk, that meeting, that symposium or whatever it will be?

Teacher D: I think SNAT should stand up.

Teacher B: That would be too much for SNAT. SNAT does not own the education sector or the education system.

Teacher D: Okay, it's too much for SNAT but it's for teachers.

Teacher A: It's not for teachers it's for everyone. There are so many stakeholders in education not just teachers. It's for teachers, parents...lots of other people.

Teacher D: We need to know the future of our learners because we love our learners.

Teacher A: But then that is why I said I'm skeptical, I'm not sure, I have mixed feelings because if a child gets (it's not for everyone but just an individual for which I think they should be admitted rather accepted at the university), this child who gets straight As, or 5 or 6 As and then a terrible grade in English language, with those grades we can talk. You can see that the child is only struggling with the language. Why can't we just admit that child but not everyone?

Teacher D: I think I'm not skeptical if we want to do it positively, if we want to help a Swazi child. If we fix everything, in the end it will work not unless we don't want. That's why I say, for now. It would be too early for me to be skeptical. WE can't work like that. How can you say a child will not be disturbed by English language in all his schooling years then when he wants to start his tertiary education you demand a good grade for English language from the child. No, we can't do it like that.

Teacher C: We are used to such things. Remember the continuous assessment at primary school level government was imposing it and what did the teacher do? They totally opposed it. There was a strike. So even with this, we're not going to welcome it warmly, there's going to be fights, fiction over it but probably at the end of the day they are going to accept it. We just heard now that the results are out; someone just woke up and said, English is no longer a failing subject.

Teacher E: But if it has been announced like we've all heard, that's the way to go. I doubt there is anything we can do.

Teacher C: if the learners get accepted into tertiary institutions maybe there will be no problems, there will be nothing to worry about. The problem will be if they do not get accepted. We should expect questions like, why were we being lied to?

Teacher D: That's why I said something would be lacking from the government. If government says English is no longer a passing or failing subject then at the university or college the child is

not accepted then something will be totally wrong, something will be lacking as government initiated that. Government must see to it that it is implemented fully.

Teacher A: The snag is, government does not own all the colleges out there, there are only few that government owns, for example William Pitcher College, Ngwane College, SCOT, those probably are the government owned where probably these learners who have not done well in English could be accepted without any hustles. Then to the universities and other colleges, they will not dance to such music.

Teacher D: We are one country now we should do one thing.

The other teachers burst out laughing.

Teacher C: if we're not doing one thing as schools, why do we think colleges and universities will do one thing?

Teacher D: Ah, but anything is possible.

Me: WOW! What a discussion! Anyway, thank you very much for your time teachers for your time. We have covered almost all I would have wanted us to cover. And I want to believe this will go a long way in shaping my study. Thank you once again!

Appendix Q – Focus Group discussion for principals

Me: Teachers, once again, Thank-you very much for your time! We had to do this focus group discussion because we are still dealing with the same participants that we were discussing with even as individuals but now we are here as a group and you will remember that I met each one of you and we talked about the country's language policy and the directives that are pronounced time and again in the country, more especially in the education sector. And that is what we will be discussing even here today, as a group of primary school administrators. I do want to believe that after that first interview there are things you wished you could have said which I hope you will say now even in a more clear way, if I were to say; and you are free to interrogate whichever issue that you may come up here ladies and gentlemen. Once again, thank you very much for your time!

So we will get to this issue which I hope we are used to now, the country's language policy, the official one. Because from the discussions I discovered that apparently each school has their own policy but now we are talking about the official one which obviously schools use to craft their own policies.

Ladies and gentlemen, if we start with country's language policy, what can you say now? We're talking as a group, what can we say about the country's language policy? We can include feelings, aspirations...anything that relates to the language policy. The very same thing we were discussing as individuals.

Principal B: It is an interesting one indeed bearing in mind that it has translated into what we see in the external examination results, whereby English is no longer a failing subject. So we are heading for interesting times ahead because English was motivating. It was a motivation on the part of the student, on the part of the teacher. Now that it is official that English is no longer a passing subject, we are heading for interesting times.

Principal C: For me it's a big worry to just come out, you know, without even preparing the teachers or even the heads of schools that 2019 was the last year having English as a determinant factor, to just come out and make a declaration like that. So it is pretty worrying. Also because the caliber of learners that we, they really need pushing a lot, so like my colleague has just said, once you tell them that English is no longer an issue, they may react, you know, to a manner we

are not looking forward to because we have this caliber really that doesn't like to learn. So if you eliminate English yet you're still going to be asking questions in English, then I'm not really sure as to what is going to happen. I know that Zimbabwe is doing the same thing or has been doing that for a long time but that's a different caliber of citizens in Zimbabwe that they have. You can go to any state in the world, if you find a Zimbabwean; you will note that that person is very very competitive. But us in my own country, we are generally not competitive, not in a bad way though but we cannot survive in other countries. You know it for yourselves.

Principal E: Ya, from the submissions of the two speakers, they have twisted the order; they are starting with the discussion on the directives. May I get this, mam', it is okay?

Me: It's fine. It shows that it is a hot issue. The issue of directives whereby we are just directed. Then it doesn't matter. We will go on in that fashion, talking about directives and bearing in mind that that's not the only directive we have but it's like this one is very hot, the teachers were not notified about it not to mention being consulted.

Principal A: It's true; the teachers were taken by surprise. We were really surprised as to, how did they come to this conclusion? Because I don't remember a time where teachers were engaged so they may have an input on this issue but they only found out when the external examination results were released that the status core is now this. So it is really worrying because here we are dealing with the people who are directly involved in the teaching and learning process. They are the ones teaching these students. I would like to believe you cannot tell a doctor what to do with a certain patient because the doctor knows what is good for the patient. The teachers are the ones who know what is good for the students they are teaching.

Principal B: Moreover, if we knew what consultation is, in fact I would say the people in government do not know rather, do not believe in consultation. They believe in dishing out instruction in the form of directives. Because if only they knew the consequences, they will have consulted so that they can support. Now it will take time to recover from this directive because we are going to see a downward trend depending on how the teachers react to this. We are going to see an impact of this. I'm not sure if it's going to be positive but firstly I think it will appear as a positive impact but down the line when the effects start sinking, it is then that we will see that we made a mistake.

Principal E: And at that point it will be we made a mistake.

Principal B: Yes.

Principal E: It won't be he or she made a mistake. We will have to own up.

Me: If maybe we can talk about the effects, the consequences; what are we expecting? What could be some of these effects?

Principal B: Okay! The effects include overpopulated schools, the schools will be overpopulated. We still do not have enough secondary and high schools; meaning the high schools we have cannot absorb the number of primary school learners coming into secondary schools. Now we are going to have whereby there are those schools that will stick to their policies. That is they will not stick to this government policy that no English as a passing subject, no what... they will continue to look for learner's competency in the English language. That's one major effect. It is going to divide the schools because some schools will want to abide by the instruction from government and others will not bulge. They will say: No, in our school we are okay with what we have been doing. That's an immediate effect we are going to see.

Principal D: I think another which might be a pain to the teachers and principals alike, is the issue of ill-discipline among the learners themselves. I can bet you, there will be a lot of shouting in the school premises in siSwati, spiting at the teachers since they know of so many measures that the teachers have been using to get them to speak English and even to write even after school in order to get them to pass English since it has been a passing/failing subject. Now the learners will be rebellious knowing very well that the subject is not on their way anymore.

Principal A: I foresee a problem whereby we will have students who are not competent in the English language because the books that we use are written in English, we are yet to see books written in siSwati if ever that is possible or if ever that is going to happen but I doubt that is possible at this point in time because we all know that siSwati has got a limit vocabulary.

Principals: *Agreeing with her as she explains that point. Others just nodding their head, some agreeing with a YES muttered through a closed mouth.*

Principal A: So it will be difficult to translate books that are written in English into the siSwati language. And the fact that these students know that English is no longer a failing/passing

subject, they will not put much effort in the language because they will know that at the end of the day even if they fail they are going to proceed.

Principal D: These are just some of the anticipated effects; there could be more as a result of introducing this directive: English is not a failing/passing subject anymore.

Principal C: I just feel that there is almost zero groundwork that has been done towards this change and I also feel like it is a political stunt the political officer at the helm of everything. And the other

Me: Unfortunately you are not saying how will it affect the citizens you are talking about?

Principal B: It's very interesting because you're going to have learners who will have finished high school but unable to read the newspaper. That is one way. A whole high school graduate. In that way it is going to affect the citizen down there. So that is one way and there are many other ways. Because the reason why people go to school, is to get the basic language to communicate-read and write. If I cannot read this newspaper, it's going to be very interesting, if can't read and understand the newspaper.

Me: So it will be that serious.

Principal B: It will since we don't even have a newspaper in our language which we claim we so much value and love. I seriously feel we were better with the English. Not that I'm being unpatriotic, it's not about patriotism, it's about readiness. Give us a study to substantiate this. I know there will be talk like advanced countries like Japan have their teaching and learning conducted in their mother tongue, okay good for Japan but did we conduct a study? Can we go to the University of Swaziland and find a paper by somebody that says, No we've got to take this route it's going to work for us, and it has worked for so and so. Research was supposed to inform the direction we had to take.

Principal D: My colleague here is saying we just plunged, and I totally agree with him.

Principal B: Yes, we did.

Principal D: We will then see once we are in the river whether there are crocodiles or not.

Principals laughs but acknowledging the danger ahead.

Principal C: But the problem with that is that there is somebody's future attached to this. It's not a game you know. It not a game that we're playing crocodiles or whatever. There is life, there is a future attached to each child, each learner. If our education system is gambling using it then we are gambling with the future and that is very dangerous for the country and that is very detrimental.

Principal E: In fact, if you go to the University of Swaziland, you find that the students are compelled to take English classes in their first year, they take compulsory English classes. Then, why are we taking things so lightly? What does this mean? It means that instead of the English classes they must hire more people to teach English at university level because the English course will have to go for two years now or even three because we are ignoring the basics as they are saying no to English as a passing subject. The university was complaining even before we had this challenge that we have abolished the offering of English as a passing or failing subject, the university had a problem with the 'little' we had then, how much more now when we are saying we are doing away with English?

Me: So this according to you this has created controversy?

Principal B: It is but it means more jobs for the teachers of English at the university.

Principals laugh again.

Principal C: What confuses me is that, I think I read it from the newspapers that this is a change that was being muted for the past ten years. I first heard of it last year that this year it will be operational which means a lot of things are done behind the scenes without involving the stakeholders. That is my biggest worry and fear that even before this was introduced, I feel there was supposed to be a process to kind of motivate our learners in anticipation that such a time will come so that whatever they do, they (the learners) still get serious about the English just like they would want to become serious about the Science because they will want to become Scientists not that they will want to serious about English because they want to be get to the next class or level. Maybe that way, it would have worked better than just removing it like that. Now it's more like they are pressing a button, English is no longer a failing subject and that's it, without creating awareness to the learners. This only means that only when you get to the university things will start being more serious on the question of English because it is still a requirement.

Principal A: I also feel that this decision was taken prematurely. I anticipate a situation whereby most people or most parents will enroll their children outside the country where English is taken seriously. But the problem is: What will happen to the poor Swazis who don't have the financial muscle to take their children to such countries? They will be forced to endure what is happening here.

Principal E: This is fertile ground...private schools will thrive in this. This is the right time to start a private school.

Principals burst out laughing.

Principal E: ...that will emphasize on the teaching of English, teaching in English rather. This is fertile ground. It's time to make money. Schools like boKazakhali, will thrive.

Principal D: They will, that's for sure. And their fees are going to shoot up. It will be very expensive to send your kid there.

Principal B: That's true, and to send your kid there, it will be very expensive.

Principal D: So it will be even useless to ask you guys where you'll be sending your children as individuals.

Principal E: We are looking for opportunities; we're looking for good schools. If you find one, irrespective of the cost because it's going to be for two years. If some of us are able to take their children to good English medium private school from Grade to seven, we will still be able to manage to send their child in any school then for secondary education because everybody is looking for what is good for their children. Everyone wants what is best for their children.

Me: So according to you, sir, the best education is the one that will be delivered in the English medium?

Principal B: Until they prove to us otherwise, those who are going to pursue this policy. Until they tell us otherwise that is does work.

Principal C: We are aware that in China, Physics is taught in Chinese. We are aware of that and we have some of the best physicists that you can think of in the world but that thing was started

at the inception of education in that country. So for them it's fine. How I wish this could have been done way before we were born ourselves.

Principals nod in agreement.

Principal C: Then it wouldn't be an issue today.

Principal E: It would have matured like fine wine.

Principal C: Because what we want, for us, this education system, after attaining it you become competitive in any continent not only in Africa let alone Swaziland, Eswatini should I say but you should go to China and you should survive, you should go to Cuba you should survive using the best education that you have attained in your own country.

Principal D: And we are saying it should have started well before we were born.

Principal B: Yes, that is what we're saying.

Principal C: Yes our education has evolved but it took us too long to start that. And the generation within the transition period is going to suffer.

Principal B: In fact this brings me to the political aspect of the issue because had we not been a one party state maybe there would have been a foresight earlier that no man, we are taking the wrong route. Now being a one party state, that strives through all these things including directives and instruction, no. This is one of the downfalls of a one party state.

Principal A: And Swaziland is a country that has always emphasized on the teaching of the English language, its importance thus a lot of school adopted English as a medium of instruction so that the students could be conversant in the language; and as a country, we haven't even reached a stage whereby citizens who are good in sports, can't sustain themselves or earn a living through that sporting activity unless they migrate to other countries. That is why I say this was a premature decision to bring this change at the time it was brought. I feel it will cost our citizens a lot.

Principal E: There was not even a debate. In other countries such issues are debated even in parliament. There was no debate on this one, when parliament is supposed to be a watchdog for the citizens of that country.

Principal A: In fact, the same parliamentarians take their children to English-medium schools.

Principal B & D: That's true.

Principal A: ...and even outside the country.

Principal E: And this could be the main reason why there hasn't been any teaching in purely siSwati from Grade 1 to 4 because the teachers I have talked to including yourselves here, none of you have alluded to them teaching in siSwati from Grade one to four. The reason being, even the people in power who are supposed to make a follow up on whether these policies are followed or not, take their children to schools that are not following the laid down language policy.

Principal B: It's true, that's one of the reasons. I agree with you colleague. The reason being, there is no one to enforce that policy, there is no one to enforce this policy. I'm tempted to talk about the inspectorate. But then this is not about the inspectorate but I'm just mentioning it in passing. The policy is there and there are people who are supposed to see to it that the policy is implemented. I don't know if you can expand your research go to the inspectorate and find out, what do they have in place to make sure that this policy is implemented?

Principal C: And I overheard the powers that be saying, before the end of 2020, there is a new exam strategy that is going to be put in place to make sure that this transmission doesn't affect other things. How do you implement the plan as to how you are going to manage that change? For it was more like putting the horse before the cart because they were supposed to come up with the examinations strategy put it in place then teach according to it, then we eliminate the English caution as a failing/passing subject. So you cannot make a move and then you say you will start working on the examination method. How will we be teaching because we have a syllabus in place? That syllabus talks to English as a passing/failing subject but now it's not that.

Principal D: Maybe it will be there by the time schools open, who knows?

Principal B: How I wish. And where will it come from? Bottom up or Top down approach?

Principal A: In two weeks from now?

Principal D: Top down, just like the directive has come.

Principal B: In fact Swazis are nice people, they are very kind. They are docile so to speak. In some societies you cannot do this.

Principal A: yes, that's true.

Principal B: They would rubbish it because there has to be consultation, constructive consultation.

Me: So you're really not happy about this.

Principal D: It's just that there is nothing we can do about this, we are expected to just.

Principal E: Even if the soul is not ready, we just have to make it ready.

Principal B: Which is a demotivation on its own. It is a demotivation because when we get into class, you know teachers, once you get into class and you see your learners, you tell yourself that I want to do everything I can to make sure that my learners proceed and they become competitive.

Principal A: I wonder what the principals are going to say to the learners when schools open especially the teachers of English because knowing learners, some good learners will want an explanation on this issue, so I really wonder what these teachers, who have been thrown to such a deep end, will say to these learners.

Principal E: And I foresee a situation where there'll be different explanations It will depend on the teacher as to what does he or she want to tell the learners.

Principal C: My learners, some of them I failed them because of English, the internal examination writing classes...

Principal B: Laughing and nodding his head in dismay

Principal C: I can bet you, they will say, I want to proceed because everybody else in the external exam writing classes has been made to proceed even though they have failed English.

Principal B: And they will have a case, there is nothing you're going to do.

Principal C: And you can imagine when the learners demand to go to the next class.

Principals laugh.

Principal D: So it means we have to be ready as head of schools and the teachers too.

Principal A, C and E: We have to be.

Principal B: We already are ready. I'm afraid we are faced with a situation whereby we will say: Everybody passed, go to the next class. And there those who had failed two time, whom we had said they must go and try another school. And they will be coming back to say, Eiy, I passed.

Principal D: Even the pupils who were in Grade 7, they didn't know that at the end of the year if they fail English, they will proceed to Form 1.

Principal A: We also didn't know.

Principal C: Only the one who made the declaration.

Principal B: I suspect that the issue of the strike action had an effect.

Principals laugh.

Principal B: Because the strike was crippling.

Principals laugh again.

Principal B: So it's a political game to score political points.

Principal C: Political mileage.

Principal E: At least we know what we are going to have on our tables when we open. We are not just anticipating. We should be ready; and teachers being teachers, they will find a way, they will find a way.

Principal B: Definitely, most definitely.

Principal A: In fact even those people who passed this policy, they expect the teachers to find a way.

Principal D: Even though they didn't say it.

Me: Thank-you very much teachers for your time! I think we have exhausted the issues. Once again, thank you, thank you very much.

Principals: Thank you to you too!

