

Degree Project

Level: Bachelor's

English as a Lingua Franca in Namibia:

Teachers' Attitudes Towards English as a Medium of Instruction in Classrooms

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Subject/main field of study: English Linguistics

Course code: EN2043

Credits:

Date of examination:

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Abstract

This study aims to investigate Namibian teachers' attitudes towards English as a medium of instruction in Namibian classrooms. Regardless of the fact that English has no historical ties with Namibia, English still operates as the official language and the language of instruction in schools. This study briefly discusses the probable reasons for choosing English as an official language in Namibia, and as the medium of instruction in educational institutions. Furthermore, it discusses the attitudes that Namibian teachers have towards English as a medium of instruction in Namibian classrooms. A pilot electronic questionnaire, a revised questionnaire, and telephone interviews were used to acquire data for the study. The results indicate that English is a challenge for many learners and this poses a challenge to teachers as well. However, a majority of teachers from this study portray English as the language that is capable of uniting Namibian learners from different backgrounds, and a language that makes education possible in Namibia. In addition, teachers also reported that knowledge of English opens up educational opportunities for learners to study abroad.

Keywords: English as a medium of instruction, English as a second language, First language, Code-switching, Teachers, Learners

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“Namibia has a skin of a leopard. The skin of a leopard is so beautiful. It has this diversity of colors. If you look at a skin of a leopard through a micro-scope, you will find that also the black spots have some white in them, the white spots some black. The lion is strong, but the African kings (...) wanted to adorn themselves with the skin of a leopard. We must keep this diversity, the multitude of colors, traditions [and] the languages we have. (Dr. Diaz, Director of Culture Namibia)” (Birgin BrokeUtne & Halla B. Holmarsdittir, 2001, p.295).

1 Introduction

As mentioned in the above quote, Namibia is known to be a multicultural country, a country with a diversity of languages, and a population of just over two million people. The estimated number of Namibian languages ranges from ten to thirty languages, although these numbers may also include dialects of other languages (Frydman, 2011: 181). The majority of the small populace speak the Oshiwambo language, from the Bantu family tree of languages (Melchers & Shaw, 2011: 159). However, the country has a “policy of monolingualism” with English operating on its own as an official language (Frydman, 2011: 181).

After Namibian independence in March 1990, the Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture (MBESC) held meetings in all parts of the Namibian region to discuss language policy for Educational systems in Namibia (MBESC, 2003:2). It was then concluded that English should be the main language of instruction from the fourth grade upwards. However, the emphasis on mother-tongue learning was brought forward as well, resulting in the decision that learners in lower primary grades (grades one to three) should be instructed in their mother-tongues. The reason stated for this was to motivate learners in their learning process and help them master the basics of content learning (p.3).

However, this is seen to benefit only some learners with certain mother-tongues, but not all learners. According to Utne and Holmarsdottir (2001), Namibia has only ten languages with “African linguistic origin”: two of which are Germanic languages, seven are Bantu languages

and one is from the Khoe group (p.296). Frydman (2011), on the other hand, claims that thirteen languages exist as national languages in Namibia. These languages include: Oshindonga, Oshikwanyama, Rukwangari, Silozi, Setswana, Otjiherero, Ruciricu and Thimbukushu (from a Bantu group), English, German and Afrinkaans (from the Germanic group), and Khoekhoegowab and Ju/'hoan from the Khoe group (p.181). These are the languages with lingua franca roles in some parts of Namibia, and are the languages included as subjects in the education system in those parts of the country.

1.1 Status of English in Namibia

English, spoken by a minority number of people in the country, operates as a medium of instruction in schools and as an official language in all official sectors (Frydman, 2011: 182).

English, being the “main European language used” worldwide, is on top of the language hierarchy in Namibia (Melchers & Shaw, 2011: 158). Bearing no historical background with Namibia, and with only a few number of people able to express themselves fully in the language, English still operates as the official language (Frydman, 2011:182). As Melchers and Shaw (2011) define the purposes of English in African countries, English has full functions in schools, religion, and also official uses (p.158) in Namibia. In his review article of Martin Putz’s *Discrimination through language in Africa? Perspectives on the Namibian experience*, Herbert (1998) mentions that the choice of making English an official language in Namibia was supported in a speech given by the current president of Namibia, who was then the Prime Minister of the country, Dr. H.G. Geingob, entitled “Our Official Language Shall Be English” (p.572).

In order to gain insight into how English became the adopted language with official functions in Namibia, it is relevant to mention in brief the colonial history of Namibia. During the periods of 1884 to 1914, Namibia was ruled by Germans (Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2001: 195). During that period, the German language was the official language (p.195). However,

other Namibian languages were also accepted (Frydman, 2011:182). Germany lost its colonial power over Namibia to the South Africans, who by then were under British colonial rule (p.182). South African colonial rule lasted for nearly 70 years (World Bank, 2009: 3). During this period, Afrikaans and English were languages of instruction in schools and they were the languages used in official environments (Steel, 2014: 226). Afrikaans during that time, however, was dominant in the central parts of Namibia, but not entirely in the northern parts (Frydman, 2011:182).

According to Frydman (2011), after Namibia's independence in March 1990, the leading democratic party, South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), saw it fitting to remove Afrikaans, a language they categorised as the "language of the oppressors" and officialised English only as Namibia's official language (p.182). According to Putz (1995), about "80% of the Namibian populace believe that English has the capacity to unite the country" (cited in Herbert, 1998: 573). In his article, Putz (1997) claims that at the time of choosing English as the sole language of communication, Dr Hage G. Geingob defended the idea based on the notion that "Namibian people had been restricted in their capacity to communicate with the outside world" for a long time (p.92). In this statement it can be assumed that officialising English in Namibia was hoped to open doors for the Namibian people to be able to communicate with the outside world. This may be considered as the sole reason why Namibia, with a total number of approximately thirty languages, would use English as the official language instead of the local languages.

1.2 Aim and Scope of Study

As Melchers and Shaw (2011) assert, "if education is offered in a language of the colonisers it alienates the local education from their own community and creates an elite. But if education is offered in a vernacular, the colonised people suspect an attempt to keep knowledge from

them and provide second class service” (p.161). With this being the observation of many African countries, Namibia can easily be wrongly associated with these countries given that English operates as an official language in the country, and therefore it can be assumed that Namibia was once upon a time under English colonial rule. However, as mentioned above, English has no historical ties to Namibia.

Quoting Cummins (1983, 1986), Melchers & Shaw (2011) continue by stating that “educationalists basically agree that it is better to acquire literacy in a language that one is familiar with, rather than struggle to learn literacy and a new language at the same time” (p.161). Moreover, evidence has shown that “children learn content ineffectively in a language that they and their teachers have not fully mastered” (Melchers & Shaw, 2011:161).

That having been noted, this study investigates teachers’ attitudes towards English as a medium of instruction in Namibian classrooms. As Utne and Holmarsdottir (2001) observe, recent research has indicated that Namibian teachers are unsure of their English competency as some of them “may underestimate their knowledge of English” (p.295) when asked to rate their levels of English competency. This claim indicates the uncertainty of some teachers’ English competency, and also that not all teachers have a good knowledge of the English language. Therefore, this study investigates their opinions towards expressing themselves in a foreign language that neither they (teachers) nor learners have a good command of. In attempting to test the hypothesis that English as a medium of instruction in Namibian classrooms contributes to poor teaching and learning processes, the following research questions will be discussed:

1. What are the teachers’ attitudes towards English as a medium of instruction in classrooms?
2. Do teachers think that they face challenges when conducting their lessons in English? If yes, what challenges and how do they report to overcome them?

3. To what extent do teachers believe that they express themselves fully in English during their lessons, without losing information due to the language of instruction?

2 Theoretical Framework

This section presents the theoretical background which this thesis builds on. Beginning with a brief discussion on the importance of the mother-tongue in education, this section will also cover some literature discussions concerning the adoption of English as a medium of instruction in Namibia.

2.1 The Importance of Mother-Tongue in Education

According to Skutnabb-Kanga (1981), “origin, competence, function and attitude” are some of the criteria to consider when defining the term mother-tongue (p.18). Summarized by Skutnabb-Kanga (1981), Table 1 presents the concept of mother-tongue according to criterion associated with a specific discipline. Following the definitions proposed by Skutnabb-Kanga (1981), English can actually be considered a mother-tongue for some people in Namibia who know it best. However, for the sake of this study, the criterion of “origin” is utilised to define the term mother-tongue.

Criterion	Definition of mother-tongue	Discipline
Origin	The language one learnt first (the language in which one established one’s first lasting communication relationship)	Sociology
Competence	The language one knows best	Linguistics
Function	The language one uses most	Sociolinguistics
Attitude	The language one identifies with (Internal identification) The language one is identified as a native speaker	Social psychology sociology

	of by other people (external identification)	
(Automacy) (World view)	The language one counts in, thinks in, dreams in, writes a diary in, writes poetry in, etc.	Popular conception

Table 1 defining mother-tongue according to criterion and discipline (Skutnabb-Kanga, 1981: 18)

According to Simasiku, Kasanda and Smit (2015), “learners can only progress successfully if their language proficiency in the language of instruction is sufficiently developed to be able to communicate academically” (p.71). With that being noted, it is seen as important for education to be offered in a language that teachers and learners have strong competence in. Prinsloo (2007) not only regards mother-tongue education as a linguistic right or an educational right, but he also asserts that mother-tongue education “undoubtedly impinges on inalienable fundamental human rights such as the rights to dignity, freedom and equality” (p.27).

Moreover, the promotion of mother-tongue education restrains language death. Romaine (2000) mentions that the minimum utility of a language can certainly result in language death (p.54). Some of the factors mentioned by Romaine (2000) as contributing to language death are “government policies concerning language and education” (p.54). Offering education in second or foreign languages promotes foreign languages and pushes aside local languages. The inadequate use of local languages can result in them not being used at all. As a result, local languages may cease to exist, leading to what Romaine (2000) defines as language death (p.45). A language is, however, able to survive if its mother-tongue speakers communicate in their mother-tongues.

According to the Namibian Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture (2003) “language is a means of transmitting culture and cultural identities” (p.1). Most people express their identity through the languages they speak, and also countries can be identified through the

languages spoken in those countries. If these languages do not have local functions, like offering education in local languages, they lose their local function. However, using local languages for administrative purposes can maintain a country's culture and cultural identity.

The Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture (MESC) in Namibia mentions in the Namibian language policy for education that “education in the mother-tongue, especially in the lower primary cycle of basic education, is crucial for concept formation as well as literacy and numeracy attainment. In order to be literate, one should not only speak well, but also know the written language, as language is the system of human expression by means of words. For people to be in a position to communicate and understand each other this system needs to be fully functional” (MESC, 2003: 1). Melchers and Shaw (2011) use Williams' (1996) research to support this claim about mother-tongues and education. William's (1996) study showed a comparison in knowledge acquisition of children from a country (Zambia) where English is the only language of instruction and another (Malawi) where both the mother-tongue and English were languages of instruction. The conclusion Williams reached was that children from Zambia could only read English, while children from Malawi could not only read as well in English as the Zambian children, but also read and write in their mother-tongue (cited in Melchers & Shaw, 2011:161-162). This indicates that children taught in their mother-tongues plus in a second language are more advantaged than children only taught in a second language.

However, there are practical problems in promoting mother-tongues in developing countries. As Melchers and Shaw (2011) point out, some countries have many languages and large urban areas where people with different mother-tongues reside. It would, therefore, be problematic to select one or two mother-tongues for administrative functions, and leave out the others (p.162). This, Melchers and Shaw (2011) add, can result in political conflict. The other problem that Melchers and Shaw (2011) mention is a financial one. They assert that, due to limited resources in developing countries, offering education in all mother-

tongues (the 30 mother-tongues of Namibia, for example) would be extremely costly, even when providing only primary textbooks (p.162). In theory, foreign aid money could be utilized, but in practice, however, due to the inexpensive English-learning materials and the frequency in production of English learning materials, (the) aid money is spent on English-learning materials instead (Melchers & Shaw, 2011: 162).

2.2 English versus Local Languages

Around 90% and more of non-Arabic African countries are still tied to “languages of their previous masters” (Garbo & Brock-Utne, 2009: 144). Cited in Putz (1997), Wilfoson and Manes claim that the ruling role of colonial languages in Africa has led to “linguistic inequality” (p.1). This claim is evident in the roles assigned to local languages compared to colonial languages. Putz (1997) claims that colonial languages are assigned to fulfil “higher functions in secondary domains”, while local languages are languages of “inferior quality” applied to primary “domains of life” (p.2).

As noted earlier, in most African countries mother-tongues are substituted by foreign languages after the third grade in education. According to Brock-Utne (2000b), as far as African languages as medium of instruction are concerned, a pair of separate trends are apparent (cited in Garbo & Brock-Utne, 2010: 143). The first trend involves empowering foreign languages, which are in most cases colonial languages, and the second trend involves the “preservation and revival” of local languages (p.143). Cited in Garbo and Brock-Utne (2010), Malekela (2003) declares that the continuity of instructing children in English after their lower primary grades is perceived as “a torture” and “unfair” to [African] children (p.143).

Garbo & Brock-Utne’s (2010) observation that the status and reputation of most people in Africa is maintained due to their good command of colonial languages (p.44) has been supported by a number of scholars. In his review article by Herbert (1998), Putz contends that in most post-colonial African countries, languages are still major influences of “power,

status, and opportunities” (p.571). This explains Benjamin’s (2004) claim that most parents in Namibia prefer their children to learn English at an early age as they (parents) believe that a knowledge of English will make them successful in life (p.23).

2.3 Positive and Negative Effects of English as a Medium of Instruction

Previous studies have concluded that English as a medium of instruction in Namibia pose both positive and negative effects. Iipingge (2013) mentions four groups of benefits that come with a knowledge of English. These benefits include: (educational, economic, social); (cultural); (political), and (linguistic) benefits (pp17-20). To begin with educational and financial benefits, as mentioned above, Otaala (2005) cited in Iipingge’s (2013) study supports Melchers and Shaw’s (2011) claim that providing materials in a country with many languages would be expensive and impossible. Otaala (2005), states that a lack of learning materials in local languages would make learning impossible if education was offered in local languages. On the other hand, the supply of learning materials written in English makes learning possible (cited in Iipingge, 2013: 17). Moreover, since English is spoken internationally, an opportunity for countries to work together, exchange resources and experiences is widened. An opportunity to study in other countries is also strengthened (Iipingge, 2013: p.18). Regarding social, cultural and political benefits, English unites people from different cultural backgrounds, by making communication possible for people with different mother-tongues. As for the linguistic benefit, a knowledge of English makes learners bilinguals. McCardle (2015) defines bilingualism as the “ability to speak more than one language” (p. 42). Nguyen and Astington (2013) assert that bilingual learners perform better than monolingual children in educational cognitive tasks (p.396).

The negative effects of English as a medium of instruction include: learners’ lack of exposure to English, teachers’ lack of proficiency in the English language, and the effects of English on Namibian languages (Iipingge, 2013: 21-24). Most learners lack resources to expose

themselves to the English language outside the school premises. The inability to express themselves in English challenges some of them, resulting in them gaining low marks at schools. According to Lee (2012), teachers, parents and educationalists fail to understand the challenges learners face when instructed in English, and often they associate learners' poor performance with a lack of interest and commitment to learn (par. 5). The second challenge concerns teachers with a lack of English proficiency. According to Harris (2011), about 80% of Namibian teachers are qualified to teach. However, about 69% of teachers lack adequate English language proficiency (p.14). On the other hand, reporting for the Namibian newspaper, Kisting (2011, November 09) reported that in a national test taken by teachers in Namibia, about 70% of teachers in senior secondary school could not read and write in English, while 63% of junior secondary teachers lacked proficiency in English.

2.4 Code-Switching in an English as a Medium of Instruction Classroom

According to Nguyen, Grainger and Carey (2016), “many studies examining the use of more than one language in English language classrooms find that code-switching is a common phenomenon in bilingual and multicultural educational context (...)” (p.1333). According to Francois (2010), code-switching is when a speaker shifts from a base language to utter a word, a phrase, or a sentence in another language and then “reverts to the base language” (p.51). Sert (2005) asserts that in a foreign language classroom, especially, code-switching occurs either in the teachers' or learners' discourse (p.1). Giving reference to Mattson and Burenhult (1999), Sert (2005) states that code-switching in a teacher's discourse carries “topic switch, effective and repetitive” functions (p.2). “Topic switch” is defined as the change in language due to a specific topic, whereby a teacher uses a native language to increase learners' understanding of a specific topic. During this change a student gains knowledge using the native language instead of the language of instruction (p.3). The “effective function” is done unconsciously by a teacher

who is attempting to construct a “supportive language environment in the classroom”, and the “repetitive function” is the switch that a teacher does for clarity purposes (p.3).

In their studies conducted on English as a medium of instruction in Namibia, Benjamin (2004) and Iiping (2013) concluded that most teachers and learners in Namibia code-switch during their lessons for clarity purposes and to enable communication since both teachers and learners have not fully mastered the English language. Given these reasons, teachers in Benjamin’s (2004) and Iiping’s (2013) studies code-switched for the repetitive functions defined by Sert (2005).

On a similar note, for effectiveness, Simasiku *et al* (2015) concluded that code-switching in Namibian classrooms enhances learners’ academic performances and encourages communication between learners and teachers (p.75). However, Cook (2002) cited in Sert (2005) mentions that code-switching in a classroom with different native languages neglects some learners who do not share the same native language being used to code-switch (p.5). Correspondingly, learners might not be obligated to try to interact in a foreign language as they expect the content to be translated into their native languages (Sert, 2005: 3).

3 Material and Methodology

Beginning with the description of the population of this study, this section will also document the methods used in conducting this study. The advantages and disadvantages of the selected method will be discussed as well, ending with the analysis procedures employed for analysing the data for the study.

3.1 Population

The term “population” in research refers to the “entire group of people, things or events of interests” that a researcher wants to examine (Sekaran, 2003:265). The group that is of interest for this research includes a category of teachers in Namibia who are expected/required to teach

in a foreign language that neither they nor their learners have fully mastered. Both random sampling and judgement sampling designs were used in eliciting data for this study. Sekaran (2003) defines random sampling as the probability that every element in the population has a “known and equal” chance to be selected as a subject for research (p.270). In contrast to random sampling, judgement sampling is defined as the selection of participants according to the researcher’s “preferred criteria, or else a range of representative criteria such as social class, age, gender or education” (Wray & Bloomer, 2012: 166). The study involved random sampling insofar as every teacher in Namibia who taught in English had a chance to participate; the research was not restricted to a specific region. The study also involved judgmental sampling in that a specific category of teachers was preferred: those who conducted their lessons only in English (i.e. teachers of content subjects and English language teachers). Teachers who taught first languages (i.e. Silozi, Oshiwambo, Oshindonga, etc.) only were not asked to participate in this study.

3.2 Data Collection

Questionnaires and interviews were the two methods of data collection used for this study. Two electronic questionnaires, one of which was a pilot questionnaire (Appendix 1) and the other a revised questionnaire (Appendix 2), were distributed digitally on a common social network and via email addresses of teachers at the researcher’s disposal. The questionnaires were compiled by the researcher. Some of the questions on the pilot questionnaire, however, were taken from Benjamin’s (2004), and Iiping’e’s (2013) studies. The pilot questionnaire was divided into three sections. The first section consisted of biographical information, with ten questions. The second section consisted of content subject questions, with nine questions; eight of which were to be answered by both teachers of English as a second language and content subject teachers, but the ninth question to be answered only by content subject teachers. The last section contained questions on English as a second language and was to be answered only by teachers of English as a second language subject. In addition, this last section contained two questions designed to

gain insight into English subject teachers' attitudes to English as a medium of instruction. The last question in the questionnaire did not fall into any of the three sections. It was a general question which required general comments on the position of English as a medium of instruction in Namibia. In total, the questionnaire consisted of twenty-one questions, and it was filled out by six participants.

Due to a lack of informants from the pilot questionnaire, a revised and cohesive questionnaire was compiled to get more data for the study. The questionnaire consisted of fourteen questions; nine of which were designed to gain biographical information, educational history and teaching experiences informants have in teaching in English (the questions resembled those from the pilot questionnaire), and five questions contained content questions which were designed to answer the research questions of the study. The questionnaires were physically distributed by a relative to teachers in Namibia who agreed to participate in the study. The questionnaire received thirty-two responses.

Telephone interviews were used as a second method for collecting data for this study. A message was posted on Facebook asking for teacher volunteers to participate in a phone call interview. Nine teachers volunteered, but only four were available to be interviewed. Each interview was booked a week prior to the actual interviewing date. The questions asked in the interview resembled the questions in the second questionnaire. However, these questions were formed as spoken rather than written. For example, one question as it would appear in the questionnaire was divided into two to three separate questions, and in simple language for clarification and to gain more details regarding a specific question. In total, the informants for this study were forty-two teachers.

3.3 Advantages and Disadvantages of Electronic Questionnaires

As highlighted in Litosseliti (2010), the main advantages of using questionnaires are that they are time efficient compared to interviews, and they allow a researcher to gain easy-to-process

and a massive amount of data at once (p.60). In addition, Sekaran (2003) asserts that electronic questionnaires are “easy to administer, they can reach globally, they are very inexpensive, they provide fast delivery, and respondents can answer at their convenience” (p.251). In the case of the current study, the researcher and the informants live in different continents, so it was the easiest method to use to retrieve data.

Moving on to the disadvantages, one of the disadvantages of electronic questionnaires, according to Wray and Bloomer (2012), is that the opportunity to enquire into interesting matters which might have been mentioned in the responses will not be known until later on (p.170). In addition, Sekaran (2003) asserts that the response rate of electronic/mail questionnaires is always low, at about 20-30% responses (p.251). In addition, with electronic questionnaires, computer literacy is a necessity and informants should be able to access the facilities necessary to be able to participate in the research. Last but not least, just like in any other research, participants should be willing to fill out the questionnaire or else no or less data will be retrieved (Sekaran, 2003: 251).

3.4 Advantages and Disadvantages of Interviews

Sekaran (2003) mentions two advantages of telephone interviews. The first advantage mentioned is that people from different parts of the world can participate in an interview within a short period of time. Secondly, telephone interviews eliminate any discomfort that interviewees might feel facing interviewers (p.233). This can result in a massive amount of data as participants feel comfortable disclosing information.

However, telephone interviews restrict the interviewer to reading nonverbal communication (Sekaran, 2003: 233). In addition, Sekaran (2003) states that some interviewees might end the call without notifying the interviewer which might lead to less or no data collected (p: 233).

3.5 Limitations of the Study

The study contains several limitations, of which a lack of data was the most challenging one. The pilot questionnaire produced six responses, while the revised questionnaire produced thirty-two respondents. In addition to that, four respondents were interviewed by telephone making the total number of respondents forty-two teachers. The second challenge which might have contributed to the main challenge of this study involves the administration process of the questionnaires. Since the pilot questionnaire was distributed electronically, it might have been a challenge for some teachers to get access to it. Similarly, those who might have had access to it might not have been in an accurate situation to print or fill out the questionnaire on screen due to a lack of resources. The revised questionnaire, on the other hand, was limited to three towns in Namibia due to a lack of time and money.

The third challenge was experienced during the telephone interviews. Two of the interviewees had connection problems during the interview. Sentences and words were broken making it hard to get some points mentioned during the interview. The last but not least challenge concerned informants who were not informative enough. Some informants only replied yes/no to open questions which required elaboration. This was problematic because information that enabled a complete analysis/examination of the data collected was lacking.

3.6 Data Analyses

This study took a qualitative approach to analysing the data collected. Rasinger (2007) asserts that qualitative analysis is “concerned with structure and patterns, and how something is” (Litosseliti, 2010: p.52). The following processes were applied during the analysis of the data. Firstly, understanding the data was a necessity. A thorough reading was done several times to understand the data collected. It was done after the researcher had printed out the scanned responses and transferred the data that was sent as messages through emails, Facebook inboxes, and WhatsApp messaging (to the researcher’s devices), to the printed questionnaires. The data

was transferred exactly as it was sent without altering grammar or spelling mistakes. The second process involved finding meaning in frequently used expressions that sounded different from how other interviewees expressed them. According to Gibson (2013), people's attitudes, perception and feelings can be learned through words they use to express themselves (p. 69). The third step involved coding/categorizing the data. Categories of *positive and negative, challenged and not challenged* and extents of *Most of the time, sometimes and seldom* were created to evaluate the data. "Categorizing helps one to bring meaning to the data by identifying themes or patterns ideas, concepts, behaviours, interactions, incidents, terminology or phrases used in order to bring meaning to the text" (Frazer, 2012: par.4). Finally, the researcher tried to find possible explanations for the findings. Questions like whether or not the findings supported the study hypothesis, and whether the findings relate to previous studies were considered when finding possible explanations to the collected data.

4 Results

This section will begin with a brief description of the participants in this study and then present the findings from the questionnaires distributed and the interviews conducted. The questions on the questionnaire together with the interview questions were developed to analyse teachers' attitudes towards English as a medium of instruction in Namibia. Following the same order as the research questions presented in section 1.2, all findings from the pilot questionnaire, the revised questionnaire and the interviews will be presented at the same time.

4.1. Participants

Data from this study was collected from twenty-three female teachers and nineteen male teachers. While ten of the teachers hold diplomas in teaching, twenty have bachelor's degrees in teaching, five have teaching certificates, two only have high school certificates and five have other qualifications not related to teaching. The majority of these teachers (nineteen of them), have zero to five years of experience of teaching in English, while twelve of them have six to

ten years of experience, nine have eleven to twenty years of experience, and one has more thirty years of experience teaching in English. All teachers estimated their English competency to be between seven and ten, whereby ten was regarded as the highest fluency in the language. Thirteen teachers rated their English competency at ten, seven rated nine, eleven rated eight and eleven rated seven.

4.2 Teacher’s Attitudes Towards English as a Language of Instruction in Namibia

The following two tables (Table 2 & 3) will report opinions that teachers who filled out the questionnaires have towards English as a medium of instruction. Table 2 contain responses with positive attitudes and Table 3 contains responses with negative attitudes.

Table 2 Positive attitudes towards English as a medium of instruction

Positive Attitudes	Number of Respondents
❖ English is good because it is used in all schools in Namibia including universities	2
❖ English makes communication easier because there are many languages spoken in Namibia.	2
❖ Since English is a national language it puts learners on the advantage level to communicate.	2
❖ English is one of the languages spoken in all SADC (South African Democratic Countries) regions.	1
❖ English, now being the language of instruction is good compared to 1966 when students where taught in their mother-tongues. Now	1

<p>learners from different language background acquire knowledge in the same language.</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ English enhances communication. It makes education possible. 	2
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ English helps people to understand other cultures 	1
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ It is good that English is the medium of instruction in Namibia. If mother-tongues where used as medium of instructions, they would have tons of language problems since every town in Namibia live people with different or mixed tribes. 	1
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ If mother-tongues where used as medium of instructions, only few learners would benefit from lessons given. 	3
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Emphasizing English only education in Namibia is good because learners are trained to master the language as all school subjects (except one) are taught in English national wide. In this way, learners' language confidence is boosted. Learners will be able to express their opinions and communicate with their friends without the language insecurity. 	2
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ English is good for students because it is a universal language. With the knowledge of English learners can study abroad 	1
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ The language is very challenging for both learners and teachers, but since learners are trying their best in mastering the language, it is hopeful that eventually English will not be a problem in Namibia. 	1

❖ Learners like the language. They speak the language all the time although the influence from their first languages affect their competence. It is hard to turn them away from their local pronunciations and the use of invented Local-English words.	1
❖ English as a medium of instruction only works to senior students and not to junior students. However, it is vital since Namibia has a lot of languages.	1
❖ English is an easy communication tool.	2
❖ English is a universal language. For the Namibians to be on a global level, English is the engine that can drive them through.	1
❖ English is good because almost content subjects except the History subject, are better explained in English than in local languages. Some of the terms, in Physical Science for example, are not found in Namibian languages.	2
Total	26

Table 3 Negative attitudes towards English as a medium of instruction

Negative Attitudes	Number of Respondents
❖ As per policy, a learner should be taught in the mother-tongue from grade one to there. Switching to English completely in grade four disadvantages learners as they struggle to learn a new	2

language, therefore, they do not master the basic content 100%, as they would if they were taught in their mother-tongues.	3
❖ English disadvantages learners living in remote/rural areas who cannot speak, write or understand English.	1
❖ English is fully supported by the curriculum, so there is nothing much to say but comply with the curriculum, although many students are thrown to streets because of this language	1
❖ As it is now, not all teachers are following the language policy in schools. The English only Education is not implemented.	2
❖ English as a medium of instruction is a bad initiative. Learners need to be taught in their vernacular languages. Developed countries do not use English as a medium of instruction in schools because they believe that teaching and learning is better applied when instructed in mother-tongues.	2
❖ Teaching in English is not good because it challenges both teachers and learners. Learners are introduced to English at the age of eleven or twelve, if not older. At those ages learners struggle to learn the language on top of the content that they are required to learn.	2
❖ Learners only speak or listen to English when they are in school premises. At home they interact in mother-tongue. How are they supposed to perform well if they are not used to English?	2

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Many learners who have completed secondary schools with good points in most subjects here in Namibia are forced to stay at home because they failed English. It is so hurtful to think that a foreign language is ranked a necessity to achievement here in Namibia. ❖ English has taken over most of the local languages' responsibilities. Politically speaking, Namibians are oppressed through language in the name of education. 	1
Total	16

4.3 Do teachers think that they face any challenges when conducting their lessons in English? If yes, what challenges and how do they report to overcome them?

The responses for this question will be reported in three different tables. Table 3 will contain responses from teachers with challenges and Table 4 will report how some of the challenges are overcome. Table 5 will report responses from teachers with less or no challenges.

Table 4 Report on challenges that teachers encounter when teaching through English as a medium, of instruction

Yes! There Are Challenges	Number of respondents
1. Most learners use words in their mother tongue when they speak English in class	3
2. Most learners are able to speak English but they are unable to write in English and vice versa.	2

3. Learners do not understand some English words	
4. Learners might know the answer to a question but they are scared to speak out because they are not fluent enough in English. In most cases, learners laugh at fellow learners when they mispronounce words in English or use words in wrong contexts.	5 7
5. Learners do not use English tenses well	1
6. Finding the right word in English is hard sometimes even for teachers	1
7. Learners in upper primary grades (grades 4&5) do not understand English fully	2
8. Learners have difficulties communicating with their fellow learners in English. They prefer using their mother-tongues.	2
9. Much time is spent on paraphrasing other than actual teaching	3
10. Not all teachers encourage teaching in English. Most of them take their lessons entirely in a vernacular language. Therefore, learners struggle to follow up with some teachers who follow the language policy.	2
11. Parents and teachers should work hand in hand to enhance the learning process. English being the medium of instruction pushes aside some parents who cannot read and write in English. Therefore, some learners fail to get help with their homework and end up not doing it.	1

12. The high rate in poor performance in schools is due to English. Learners struggle to express themselves on papers, and since most final exams are written, learners end up failing.	2
Total	31

Table 5 Report on how they overcome challenges

How They Overcome Challenges	Number of respondents
❖ Frequent translation of words said in their mother-tongues to English. Also encourage learners to repeat the words several times.	2
❖ Learners with this type of problem are in most cases given extra exercises in components of English that they struggle with just to train their skills.	2
❖ Report these challenges to their English subject teachers	2
❖ Advising learners not to laugh at each other but correct each other when they notice that a wrong word has been said. Also, not allowing learners to speak in vernacular language amongst themselves and to teachers helps to promote the English language.	3
❖ Discuss the matter with their English teachers.	5
❖ For a teacher, reading a lot help improve English skills	1
❖ Give them more school activities	4

❖ Rewarding and complimenting learners who follow the language policy encourage other learners to try communicating in English	1
	1
❖ Nothing much to do	
❖ I overcome problems by introducing topics on a more practical based scale. Using a lot of pictures and frequently translate English words to the common mother-tongue spoken in class helps learners understand a lesson.	1
	1
❖ If there are any challenges faced during the preparation, those challenges are dealt with before a lesson begins. For example, by doing more research for clarification.	
	1
❖ Using English dictionaries in class helps quite a lot	
	1
❖ As a teacher, when I realise that learners do not understand my lessons in English, I try to find out where exactly they have missed out and find means to help them. Most times I code switch and also I offer support classes to help learners improve their English skills.	
	1
❖ Using simple language to explain things	
Total	26

Table 6 Report from teachers without challenges when teaching through English as a medium of instruction

No Challenges	Number of respondents
----------------------	------------------------------

1. Learners are willing to learn, and therefore, they take instructions given to them seriously and follow them.	2
2. most learners attend pre-primary school which in most cases is taught in English	1
3. No challenges faced because all lessons are pre-planned in advance	1
4. English has been used in schools for so long now and has become a language that almost everybody uses.	1
5. I believe my English is well polished. I write, spell and pronounce English terminologies as expected	1
6. Learners can read, write, and understand English very well.	2
7. Arousing learners' interest at the beginning of every lesson helps to boost learners' concentration and willingness to learn.	1
8. I pay attention to every learner and teach them according to their levels of English language.	1
9. I am competent in the language and therefore encourage learners to be competent as well	1
Total	11

4.4 To what extent do teachers believe that they express themselves fully in English during their lessons, without losing information due to the language of instruction?

Chart 1 reports the extent to which teachers believe they express themselves well when teaching in English. Twenty-nine teachers reported that they deliver the required knowledge to the learners entirely in English without losing any content. They reported that all their teaching is aligned with the curriculum of the grades that they teach. Twelve teachers reported that they sometimes deliver content entirely in English. However, for clarity purposes, they code-switch to ensure that all learners understand what is being taught. One of the twelve, however, reported to code-switch in order to promote both English and the local language that is a pre-requisite subject at (the) school. One teacher seldom delivers content in English because most of the learners concerned barely know a word in English. Therefore, teaching in a common language that most learners are familiar with helps to deliver content.

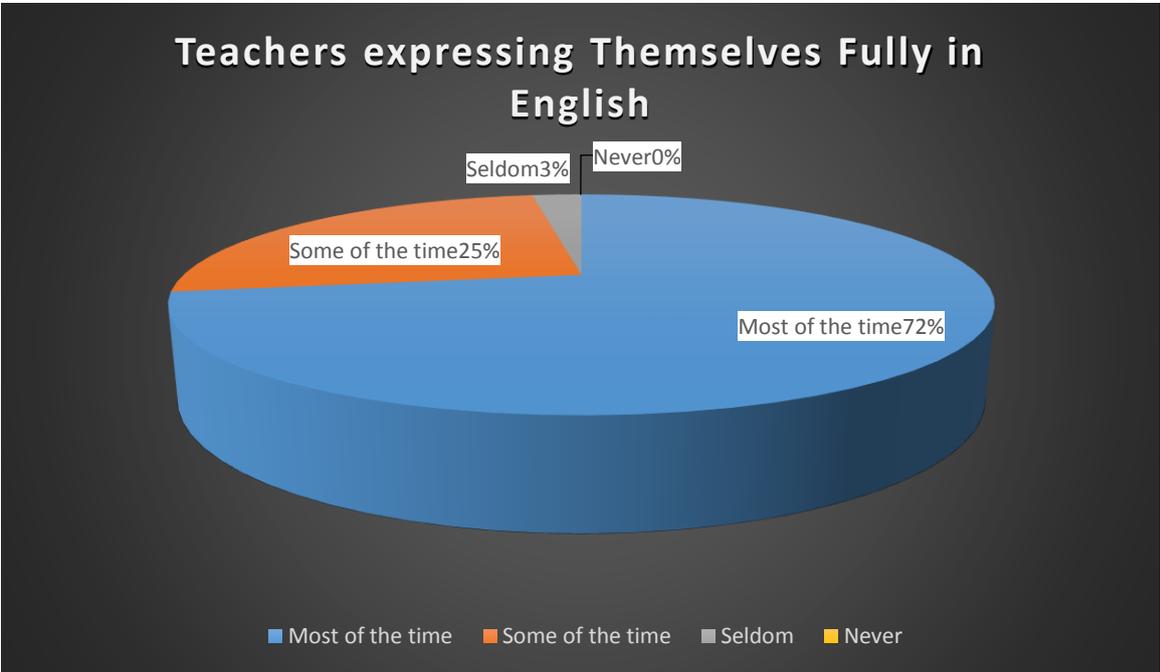


Chart 1 Teachers expressing themselves fully in English

4.5 Results Analysis

The majority of the teachers in this research are qualified teachers. Out of forty-two teachers, only nine teachers did not hold teaching qualifications. This supports Harris' (2011) finding that about 80% of the Namibian teachers are qualified to teach. In this study, 78% of the teachers hold teaching qualifications, while 17% hold qualifications in fields other than teaching, and 5% hold grade 12 certificates. However, all these teachers ranked their English competence between seven and ten, where ten was regarded as very competent. This finding contrasts Utne and Holmarsdottir (2001) observation of recent research indicating that Namibian teachers are unsure of their English competence as some of them "may underestimate their knowledge of English" (p.295).

Teachers' attitudes varied between positive and negative attitudes. Twenty-six teachers were in support of English as a medium of instruction, while sixteen were against English as a medium of instruction. Some of the reasons given by teachers in support were that: English makes communication easy in Namibia; English makes education possible due to a wide range of learning resources in English; learners' opportunities to study abroad is widened; people understand other cultures due to English; English unites Namibian school; etc. Some of these attitudes support Melchers and Shaw (2011), as they assert that offering education in the mother-tongue would be extremely expensive since there are many languages to consider. However, since English materials are produced in large quantities and frequently, aid-givers spend money on these resources instead (p.162). Therefore, education is made possible. In addition, some teachers' attitudes support Dr Hage G. Geingob's defence, stating that since "Namibian people had been restricted in their capacity to communicate with the outside world" for a long time, introducing English will enhance the communication between the Namibian people and other people from different regions and continents (cited in Putz, 1997: 92). In this instance, English makes educational exchange programmes possible for Namibians to study in other countries and people from other countries to study in Namibia. In a nutshell, these teachers

report to feel that the usage of English in schools operates as a tool that not only enhances education but also operates as a tool that unites learners, teachers in same school premises and in other school premises as well. Also, they see English as an opportunity for learners to have a successful life after their periods in school, either in working environments or furthering education at local universities or abroad.

Unlike the teachers who saw English as an opportunity, sixteen teachers saw English as an obstacle to learning and teaching content in schools. Some of the reasons given were that: English being introduced at a late stage to learners creates a conflict between learning a new language and learning content. This attitude supports Cummins' (1983, 1986) statement cited in Melchers and Shaw (2011) that "educationalists basically agree that it is better to acquire literacy in a language one is familiar with, rather than struggle to learn literacy and a new language at the same time" (p.161). In addition, some teachers feel that since not all learners hear nor speak English outside classrooms, it becomes a challenge for them to perform well in schools where they are expected to converse in English. These sixteen teachers understand the challenges that learners face when instructed in English. In a nutshell, these teachers reported to feel that English as a medium of instruction challenges the idea of learning content effectively, due to English being a foreign language that requires mastering before one can have good command of it.

74% of the teachers report that there are challenges experienced when English operates as a medium of instruction in schools. Some of the challenges reported are: the language policy is not implemented; meaning that both teachers and learners express themselves in vernacular languages when they are supposed to teach and learn in English; also, some learners do not understand words in English, therefore, much of the teaching time is spent on phrasing rather than teaching content. Correspondingly, some teachers reported that learners are not confident enough to express their opinions in English, as they fear to make mistakes.

As a result, they end up not participating in an English instructed lesson. In addition to the above challenges, some teachers reported that some parents who do not have good command of English are unable to get involved in their children's education. Last but not least, some teachers reported that the high rate of learners failing is associated to English as a medium of instruction. With these reports it can be concluded that since English is observed by some teachers as a challenge to learners, these challenges are reflected by teachers as well. Code-switching, simplifying the language, meetings with teachers and parents and also assigning extra exercises to learners are some of the things some teachers report to do in order to deal with these challenges.

In contrast to the 74% of teachers who face challenges in instructing through English as a medium of instruction, 26% of teachers do not see English as an obstacle to learning and teaching. They report that learners are willing to learn in English and they (learners) take instructions seriously and follow them. They also report that most learners are introduced to English before the fourth grade as they attended pre-school education in English. With this report it is assumed that the learners referred to attended private kindergartens where they were instructed in English and did not follow the educational language policy in Namibia, where learners are supposed to be taught in their mother-tongues during their early stages in education. Some teachers report that because English has been an official language in Namibia for a number of years now, many people including learners can express themselves pretty well in the language. In addition, one teacher reports that preparing for lessons in advance avoids being confronted by challenges when teaching in English.

As for teaching content in English, 72% of the teachers in this study reported to teach content entirely in English and deliver content as the curriculum states. 25% of teachers sometimes code-switch to clarify content, and 3% seldom teach in English. The findings for this research question contradict the findings in the second research question. The majority

(74%) of teachers in research question two indicated that they were challenged when teaching in English, and yet the majority of teachers (72%) report they deliver content entirely in English. Vice versa, 25% of teachers report they sometimes deliver content entirely in English as at times they code-switch to their mother-tongue for clarity purposes, and 26% from the research question two face no challenges in teaching in English. Here it can be assumed that a majority of teachers face challenges, but are unable to translate content to common local language for several reasons. For example, teachers may not know/speak local languages, and as Cook (2002) cited in Sert (2005) mentions, code-switching in a classroom with different native languages neglects some learners who do not share the same native language being used to code-switch (p.5). Therefore, it can be assumed that a majority of teachers in this study deliver content entirely in English for the reasons mentioned above.

4.6 Relation to Other Studies

As mentioned earlier in the study, many researchers have taken a great interest in investigating the influences of English as a medium of instruction in non-English speaking countries. Similar to the findings of this study, Benjamin (2004) and Iiping (2013) concluded that English as a medium of instruction in Namibia has both positive and negative effects on learners, teachers and the country as a whole. As this study has shown, their studies also showed that English as a medium of instruction benefits learners in terms of making communication easy and widening opportunities to interact with other countries. However, the processes of transferring knowledge from teachers to learners has not been easy for both parties. Learners have difficulties understanding content fully when taught in a language that neither they nor their teachers have mastered. Also, Simasiku *et al* (2015) showed that code-switching enhances learning. Some of the teachers in this study code-switch for that very reason. However, a majority of teachers do not code-switch.

5 Conclusion

This study reported teachers' attitudes towards English as a medium of instruction in Namibia. Regardless of the fact that that Namibia has approximately thirty local languages, English operates as an official language and is the language that learners are instructed in. Ipinge (2013), Benjamin (2003) and Simasiku *et al* (2015) are some of the many authors who have researched on this similar topic. They all reached a similar conclusion that English has positive and negative effects on learning and teaching in Namibia.

This study took a qualitative approach to analyse the data collected, and two forms of data collection. Two electronic questionnaires (a pilot and a revised questionnaire) and a telephone interview produced data from forty-two teachers, whose reports helped to answer the research questions of this study. The questions and the reports come as follows:

- What are the teachers' attitudes towards English as a medium of instruction?

Both positive and negative attitudes were reported for this question. Twenty-six (62%) teachers report feeling that English as a medium of instruction is good for learners. Some of the reasons given were that English enables education and communication between learners and teachers with different language backgrounds in Namibia; a knowledge of the English language provides learners with the opportunity to further their education abroad, and understand other cultures; offering education in local languages will only benefit a few learners and leaving out many.

Sixteen (38%) teachers reported to be against English as a medium of instruction. They reported that English challenges the learning and teaching processes in Namibia. To support their attitudes, several reasons were given which amongst them is that learners simply do not understand the language well enough to be instructed in it.

- Do teachers think that they face challenges when conducting their lessons in English.

Thirty-one (74%) teachers reported facing challenges when teaching in English. Some of the challenges reported were that learners are unable to express themselves in English. Time is in most cases spent on rephrasing instead of teaching. Some parents with less command of the English language are unable to be involved in their children's learning processes. These teachers also associated the high rate of failing learners to the English language. They reported that in most cases they code-switch to clarify content.

Eleven (26%) teachers did not face challenges. Some of them reported that preparing for lessons in advance helps avoid being challenged during lessons. Also, some of them reported that English has been in usage for a long time resulting in many people being able to speak it, and that some learners were introduced to English (in pre-primary school) before the fourth grade.

- To what extent do teachers believe that they express themselves fully in English during their lessons without losing information due to the language?

Twenty-nine (74%) teachers reported to teach their content entirely in English. They believed that they are delivering content as the curriculum expects. Twelve (25%) reported to sometimes teach entirely in English but sometimes code-switch for clarity purposes. One (3%) reported to seldom teach in English as the learners in concern hardly know a word in English.

The limitations of this study included a lack of data, which resulted in the re-draft of the questionnaire (revised questionnaire). Some technical interferences were experienced during the telephone interviews. The last but not least challenge was informants not being informative enough.

It would be interesting to research the same topic but from learners' perspectives. In this study, teachers report being challenged, not due to their English competencies but because of the competence of learners of English. Since Utne and Holmardottir (2001) have observed that some

teachers are uncertain of their English competences, it would be interesting to test the hypothesis from learners' perspective.

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Appendix 1: Pilot Questionnaire

English as a Lingua Franca in Namibia: Teachers' attitudes towards English as a medium of instruction in classrooms

Name of school:

Region:

.....

Biographical information

1. Gender (*Please mark the appropriate box*)

Male

Female

2. Highest qualification

Grade 12

Certificate in teaching

Diploma in Teaching

Degree in teaching

Higher degree in teaching

Other (*Please specify*)

3. Subject (s) taught

.....

.....

.....

4. Period of teaching (for how long have you been teaching?)

.....

5. How long is/are your lesson(s) (the time is indicated in *min* for *minutes*)

0-29min 30min -59min 60+min

6. Age

19-24 25 -29 30-34 35-39 40-44 45-49 50-54
 55+

7. What is your mother tongue/first language?

.....

8. In which language (s) were you trained to teach?

.....

9. From a scale of 1 to 10 (1 being the **bad** and 10 being the **good**), how do you rate your English competency?

.....

Subject content questions

10. Are you satisfied with the standard of English used in the textbook (s) of your subject (s)? (*please elaborate on your response*)

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

11. Do you feel comfortable conducting your lessons in English?

Extremely comfortable, comfortable, neutral, uncomfortable, extremely uncomfortable

(please circle your preference and elaborate more on your answer)

.....
.....
.....

12. From a scale of 1 to 10 (1 being **bad** and 10 being **good**), how do you rate the *majority* of your pupils' competency in English (**1-4 bad, 5-6 neutral, 7-10 good**)

.....

13. Is English as a medium of instruction in classrooms a barrier to effective teaching?

(Please elaborate)

Yes/No *(please circle your preference)*

.....
.....

14. How often do you code-switch (alternate between two or more languages) during your lessons? (*Very often, often, barely, never*). why do you code-switch if you do?

.....
.....
.....

15. What, according to you, are the advantages and disadvantages of English as a medium of instruction?

Advantages.....

.....
.....
.....
.....

Disadvantages.....
.....
.....
.....

16. Are there any challenges you face when conducting your lessons in English, if yes what are the challenges and how do you overcome them? If not, could you state your strengths in conducting your lessons in English.

Yes, the challenge(s) is/are:

.....
.....
.....
.....

No, my strength(s) is/are:

.....
.....
.....
.....

17. Do you play any role(s) in learners' English language acquisition? If yes, what role(s) do you play? If no, how do you help learners understand what you teach when they have difficulties understanding you?

Yes/No (*please circle your preference*)

.....
.....
.....
.....

18. (To be filled in by content subject teachers only)

What advice would you give to English subject teachers that will help learners understand you when you instruct them?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

(19 and 20 is to be filled in by English subject teachers only)

19. Do you find any components of English (reading, writing, speaking and listening) hard to teach? If yes, why? If not, what is/are your strength(s) in these components?

Yes/No (*please circle your preference*)

.....
.....

20. What advice would you give to content subject teachers that will help learners improve their English skills?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

21. Any comments regarding English as a medium of instruction in Namibian Schools?

Do you think English should remain a medium of instruction in Namibia classrooms?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Appendix 2: Teachers' Questionnaire

English as a Lingua Franca in Namibia: Teachers' attitudes towards English as a medium of instruction in classrooms

Name of school:

Region:

Biographical information

1. Gender (*Please mark the appropriate box*)

Male Female

2. Highest qualification

Grade 12 Certificate in teaching

Diploma in Teaching

Degree in teaching

Higher degree in teaching

Other (*Please specify*)

3. Subject (s) taught

.....
.....
.....

4. Period of teaching (for how long have you been teaching?)

.....
5. How long is/are your lesson(s) (the time is indicated in *min* for *minutes*)

0-29min

30min -59min

60+min

6. Age

19-24

25-29

30-34

35-39

40-44

45-49

50-54

55+

7. What is your mother tongue/first language?
.....

8. In which language (s) were you trained to teach?
.....

9. From a scale of 1 to 10 (1 being the **bad** and 10 being the **good**), how do you rate your English competency?
.....

10. What are your views towards English as a medium of instruction in Namibian classrooms?
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

.....
.....

11. Do you face challenges conducting your lessons in English? If yes, what are the challenges and how do you normally overcome them? If not, what are your strength in the language?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

12. How often do you code-switch (alternate between two or more languages) during your lessons? (**Very often, often, barely, never**). why do you code-switch if you do?

.....
.....
.....
.....

13. From a scale of 1 to 10, 1 being very bad and 10 being very good, how do you rate your pupils' English competency?

.....
.....
.....

14. To what extent do you believe that you teach content in English? Do you feel that information is lost due to the language of instruction?

A. Most of the time

B. Sometimes

C. Seldom

D. Never

.....

.....

.....

Appendix 3: Teachers' Interview

English as a Lingua Franca in Namibia: Teachers' attitudes towards English as a medium of instruction in classrooms

Name of school:

Region:

Biographical information

1. Gender (*Please mark the appropriate box*)

Male Female

2. Highest qualification

Grade 12 Certificate in teaching

Diploma in Teaching

Degree in teaching

Higher degree in teaching

Other (*Please specify*)

3. Subject (s) taught

.....
.....
.....

4. Period of teaching (for how long have you been teaching?)

.....
5. How long is/are your lesson(s) (the time is indicated in *min* for *minutes*)

0-29min

30min -59min

60+min

6. Age

19-24

25-29

30-34

35-39

40-44

45-49

50-54

55+

7. What is your mother tongue/first language?
.....

8. In which language (s) were you trained to teach?
.....

9. From a scale of 1 to 10 (1 being the **bad** and 10 being the **good**), how do you rate your English competency?
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10. What can you say about English as a medium of instruction in Namibia, considering that fact there are approximately 30 languages in Namibia. Do you think it is a good/bad idea to utilize English in schools instead of local languages?
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11. Do you face challenges conducting your lessons in English? If yes, what are the challenges and how do you normally overcome them? If not, what are your strength in the language?

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12. Do you use more than one language when teaching? If yes, what languages do you use and why do you use those languages? If not, how do you make content clear for learners who do not understand the language you teach in?

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13. From a scale of 1 to 10, 1 being very bad and 10 being very good, how do you rate your pupils' English competency?

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14. Considering these four alternatives (Most of the time, Sometimes, Seldom, and Never), To what extent do you believe that you teach content in English? Do you feel that information is lost due to the language of instruction?

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