Language and Educational Trajectories in Mozambique: Policies, Perspectives and Practices

By

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Dedication

For my parents, my perpetual supporters,

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You didn't see the end of this journey, but you were certainly present all the way.
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Abstract

This study explores educator narratives, language perspectives and educational practices in recently implemented bilingual programs in central Mozambique. Home to approximately twenty-two million inhabitants, more than twenty languages coexist in this country. However, Portuguese remains the only official language, a vestige of Mozambique's colonial past. Drawing on postcolonial and poststructural frameworks, I use thematic analysis to investigate language and educational trajectories of teachers, constructions of language legitimacy from teacher perspectives, and language practices in the classroom. Using data including in-depth interviews, participant-observation, and archival documentation, I examine how 13 teachers' life experiences and constructions of self-identity shape attitudes towards language use and policy, and shape implementation of bilingual education in Mozambican schools.

This study shows that multilingual educators, even those from different generations, reproduced a similar repressive mentality towards local languages and their roles in education. Local languages were seen from the teachers' perspectives as appropriate and valuable within informal traditional networks, while Portuguese was appropriate in formal networks associated with modernity and cultural capital. Implications are that national policy alone cannot translate into meaningful changes in implementation at the local level as long as teachers' beliefs prevent appropriate adoption of bilingual curriculum.

This study contributes to the broader multilevel qualitative analysis of postcolonial countries with multiple indigenous populations and diverse language environments. The interdisciplinary nature of this study, spanning the fields of applied linguistics and education, contributes to broader understandings of how language, culture, and identities intersect with educational policies and practices to impact educational possibilities for diverse learners in linguistically and culturally complex global contexts.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Numerous ex-colonial countries have undergone significant changes since their independence from colonial powers. Within these changes, education and second language learning and teaching have been profoundly affected by language policies and practices, which have in turn impacted local educational systems. Mozambique is a nation that fits this paradigm.

Mozambique, like many other African nations, is a multilingual society with over 20 African languages spoken in the country. This linguistic diversity is the background for a long historical colonial legacy that ended in 1975 after a prolonged battle of independence. Independence was a crucial time for change after more than 500 years of a colonial regime that had limited the local population in terms of education, employment, health services and development as a whole. New policies and practices were fervently being formed shortly after independence from Portugal, during a period that called for national unity and included a "refashioning" of Portuguese as an instrument of the new society (Stroud, 1999).

At independence, Mozambique retained and 'chose to move towards greater use' of the ex-colonial language as the sole medium of instruction (MOI) in public schools (Hamid et al., 2014). Even now Portuguese continues to hold a privileged status as the only official language of the country. However, recent changes in the language-in-education policy have given more support to local languages and introduced bilingual education in three modalities to the national curriculum.

In this context, I investigated the interpretations and enactment of language policies of one major group of individuals who convey values to the next generation: primary school educators. I subscribe to the idea that education is a key venue for construction of societal values. The way the greater societal discourses are challenged and reconceived, as well as how current

language beliefs and educational practices have been rearranged, are essential in establishing reproductive and normalization processes within the society (Bourdieu, 1991). It is also a site for the appropriation (Canagarajah, 2005) or rejection of language practices in the classroom setting. Looking at the how the discourses are perceived and conceived within education not only brings forth reproductive and normalized processes, but also those which fight against norms and assimilation through resistance and appropriation.

Against the backdrop of this temporal and historical background, I analyze narratives of teachers and directors who were students and/or have been teaching during the three different periods of Mozambican sociopolitical history; specifically: Colonial Times, Civil War, and New Policies (refer to chapter 3 for a detailed explanation of each period). Part of the study attempts to find out if teachers who were raised during different time periods would have divergent perspectives regarding language education. I found that at the time of the interviews certain participants had markedly unique experiences in becoming teachers and diverse attitudes towards their role as current teachers.

From the participant's personal life histories, I attempt to understand, through the voices of educators, the deeper context of the historical trajectory in Mozambican educational changes and how these have impacted attitudes and perspectives towards the use of various languages. These attitudes are played out in the classrooms- a place where either the status of the local language is valued or undermined, having further consequences on student/teacher interactions and broader language perspectives and usage. These attitudes and perceptions have real life implications for linguistically diverse students as well as teacher development in countries where the prestigious language differs from those spoken by the majority. Understanding teacher

attitudes and how ideologies are formed can shed insight into teacher practices and teacher training for a better implementation of desired curricula.

Educators' trajectories can inform us of the way they have lived and experienced their life as students and teachers, as well as language learners and speakers. By looking at the way they have constructed and recognized themselves within each of those roles we see impacts on the perspectives and practices towards local language education. Knowledge of how ideologies are socially constructed and distributed, as well as how practices of language are interpreted and understood, are important in order to discern whether the reproduction of colonial ideologies that were created during colonial times is still in place. If they are being reproduced, how are they being maintained?

It is important to understand how the policies implemented by governments who are attempting to become "decolonized" not only officially, but also in practice, affect the perceptions and ideas regarding languages of those who convey these values to learners. As Stroud (2007) explains, "language (and multilingualism) is just as vital to the reproduction and resistance of colonial orders as it is to their postcolonial transformation" (p. 25). The social identities that are negotiated can in turn deeply influence the values and importance associated with local languages in a society where the majority of the population speak African languages in their daily life and speak Portuguese as a second language.

It is important to note that in this dissertation I refer to Portuguese as the variety spoken in Mozambique, also referred to as Mozambican Portuguese. The linguistic norm for Mozambican Portuguese is based on Portuguese from Portugal, characterized by unique departures due to the influence of other Portuguese speaking countries as well as local languages.

Although not the focus of my dissertation, it is important to acknowledge that regional variations and varieties exist in diverse sociolinguistic contexts.

Structure of dissertation

This dissertation is structured as follows. In Chapter 2, I focus on the theoretical underpinnings of this research, beginning with my constructionist epistemology and then situating my study in the postcolonial, poststructural framework in a broader sense. I highlight a major review of literature concentrating on language, bilingual education, language policy and planning, identity, perspectives and implementation. I conclude this chapter with my research questions. In Chapter 3, I detail the historical and language background of Mozambique, highlighting the specific time periods that influence the educational and linguistic background of present day Mozambique. I describe the language diversity and underline census data to show the complex reality of this multilingual country. In Chapter 4, I detail my narrative inquiry methodology and methods (documentation, interviews and observations), describe the participants, sites of study and limitations. Chapter 5, 6, and 7 are dedicated to the data analysis. Chapter 5 focuses on teacher educational and linguistic trajectories, identity construction and the shaping of their perspectives. Chapter 6 centers on the identification of legitimate spaces for Mozambican languages according to teachers' views. Chapter 7 draws attention to the intentions and implementation of the bilingual curriculum in Mozambique, highlighting teacher practices in the classroom. In conclusion, Chapter 8 summarizes the study and discusses recommendations after revisiting my research questions. It finalizes with a discussion of possible future research.

Chapter 2: Framework

Epistemology & Theoretical Framework

In this section I outline my epistemology and overarching theoretical framework. My work explores the intersection of narratives, perspectives, and educational policy in teacher experiences of language teaching and learning in the context of Mozambique. It is fair to say that postcolonial Mozambique is still struggling to reconcile the objectives of unity, integration and economic development with a just language policy.

Drawing on postcolonial and identity theory for theoretical underpinnings, I explore how primary school teachers, in both their professional and personal roles, negotiate and construct their linguistic, ethnic, racial, national, teacher and community member identities inside and outside of the classroom, and their perceptions of the role of language, nationalism and identity in their teaching and lives. Furthermore, I investigate how teacher understandings of the curriculum and language policy are reflected in their practices as sites of resistance or empowerment.

In order to research varying perceptions, multiple identities and the practices in different interactional contexts, I use a constructionist epistemology. Constructionism is the "view that all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context" (Crotty, 1998, p. 42). It represents a view of our individual and collective knowledge as never reflecting an external reality separate from the social world; knowledge is based on our own experiences, perceptions and values. The goal is not to find the "truth", if there ever is one; reality exists only through

meaning construction and interaction. Consequently, realities vary among situations and a person is never separated from those contexts, where the "self" is never fixed. Social constructionism conceptualizes identities as an interactional accomplishment, produced and negotiated in discourse, and it "emphasizes the hold our culture has on us: it shapes the way in which we see things" (Crotty, 1998, p. 58). It also emphasized the central role of language and interactions. This epistemology places the context as highly important and necessary to understand the constructs of the self.

Postcolonialism, like critical theory, reflects and explains power dynamics and relations, a central tenet of many disciplines. Particularly in a postcolonial context, where the colonial language is the only official and dominating language in the country, it is necessary to consider the power relations that exist regarding the appropriation of specific languages. There are reasons attached to the "choice" and use of language, which cannot be divorced from those relations of power.

Postcolonial theory addresses issues of identity, gender, race and ethnicity based on resistance, legitimacy and power structures. Postcolonial theorists acknowledge the permanent presence of power, recognize that many assumptions portrayed in colonialism are still active, and discuss the need to include the subaltern voice (Said, 1993; Spivak, 1988; Bhabha, 1994). These theories are used to question and critique Western binaries and approaches to realities of oppression and subjugation. Postcolonial theory offers a critical analysis of systems of language and how those languages are valued, legitimated, used and the purposes that they serve. This framework has significant implications for Mozambique, where power dynamics have contributed to the formation of language policies and curricula, and where linguistic and cultural

identities have been negotiated due to the imposition of one language and cultural affiliation over others.

In addition to postcolonial theory, I reach towards poststructuralism for an analysis of identity construction with a historical lens. Poststructuralism is a movement that surfaced in response to structuralism (Pavelenko & Blackledge, 2004), and it positions itself as a study of how knowledge is produced. It asserts a historical analysis to describe concepts but with a critical eye. Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004) suggest, "recent poststructuralist thought points to splits and fissures in categories previously seen as bounded or dichotomous and brings into focus hybrid, transgendered, and multiracial identities that have previously been ignored" (p. 13). Poststructuralists accept a variety of perspectives in order to create a multifaceted interpretation of a text or conversation and acknowledge the de-centering and fragmentation of certain concepts. Crotty (1998) states that poststructuralism retains "…that the meaning of words derives from their relationship to one another and not from any postulated relationship to non-linguistic issues of reality" (p. 203). This means that language is socially situated, with an aversion for stable, fixed identities and either-or paradigms, but instead conceptualized as contradictory, contingent, unstable, and/or in process (Lunga, 2008).

To reinforce the fluid nature of language and the history of language construction, Makoni and Pennycook (2007) argue that the 'invention' (p. 1) of language was organized in metalinguistic ideologies or naming, categorizing, and counting, resulting in systematic bounded, separate, enumerable languages. Makoni and Pennycook propose that language is considered as linked to a geographical space and a single identity due largely to the way languages were invented and constructed from nationalist and colonialist projects. They argue instead for the 'rethinking' (p. 3) of language via the "interrelationships among metadiscursive regimes,

language inventions, colonial history, language effects, alternative ways of understanding language and strategies of disinvention and reconstitution" (p. 4) They contend that a number of approaches to diversity and multilingualism continue to enumerate and romanticize plurality, indeed reproducing and perpetuating the tropes of colonial invention " missing the qualitative question of where diversity lies" (p. 16). Language is therefore a social construct linked with specific discursive regimes.

Poststructural approaches recognize the fluidity and social construction of language, identity and ideologies, redefining the significance of each. In a time and place where nation-states are creating new discourses for language education, promotion and multilingualism, it is important to investigate people's views and practices vis-à-vis languages and how states are legitimizing their language ideologies, educational practices and policies. It is within these frameworks that I can explore the promotion of languages within the politically, socially, culturally and educationally dominant discourses in Mozambique.

Literature Review: Language, Bilingual Education and LPP

In neo-colonial contexts like Mozambique, dominant languages are naturalized through a discourse that positions them as superior via the connections with socio-economic development, technology and modernity (Stroud, 2007; Macedo et al., 2003). Language is a central component of identity and also unavoidably political (Gee, 2004, Bourdieu, 1991); society is commonly conditioned to accept this preferential discourse, keeping with a culturally pervasive colonial mentality.

In Mozambique, Portuguese was and continues to be the sole official language, even after independence. While there were changes in the early 90s to promote and value local languages,

these efforts have only recently resulted in the creation of bilingual education programs. In reality, most of the population speak local languages as L1 (INE, 2009), yet Portuguese remains the prestigious, high-status, and only official language. Achieving communicative competence and literacy in the colonizer language grants speakers socio-economic status and job opportunities, serving to provide social and political power. Statements that favor Portuguese as the only unifying language and, as well, the language for official discourses marginalize local languages, choosing a selective and subordinate role for vernaculars.

Much has been written about using and speaking colonial languages in postcolonial countries, and the literature has historically held a dichotomous position. Various scholars have lent their voice and opinions regarding the language controversy. On one side, there are those that favor the dominant, colonizer languages as a means for internationalization and as a unifying agent (Achebe, 1975). Those who believed that African languages were not qualified for international communication, science and technology rejected local languages for progress and modernity. In fact, individuals in very political roles have been complicit in the pervasive views against African languages. A known example of this in postcolonial literature comes from the former President of Senegal, Leopold Senghor, who contended that access to modern civilization required a common language, citing that none of the African languages could fulfill this role in the same way as French and French literature.

> We express ourselves in French since French has a universal vocation and since our message is also addressed to French peoples and others. In our languages [i.e. African languages] the halo that surrounds words is by nature that of sap and blood; French sends out thousands of rays like diamonds (as cited and translated in wa Thiong'o, 1986).

Senghor expresses a favorable perspective towards French, granting the language universal power while discrediting African languages. He also speaks of the inadequacy of African languages, " …French has given us a gift of its abstract words, so rare in our mother tongues…" (as cited in Lindfors, 1979, p. 241) and compares them to a superior kind. These views of inferiority also influence perspectives that deem African languages to be less suited for technology, science and higher expression, limiting them to informal and casual settings.

Others, on the other hand, support the use of native languages as empowering and expressions of progress outside of the colonial space (wa Thiong'o, 1986). In "Decolonizing the Mind", Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) argues in favor of using local languages: "language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we perceive ourselves and our place in the world" (p. 16). Perspectives such as this that view local languages as essential components of the African life tend to support mother-tongue education and the promotion of vernaculars beyond the domestic domain. In fact, in order to prove that African languages and literature should be encouraged and that African languages were not inferior to their European counterparts, Cheikh Anta Diop translated part of Einstein's Theory of Relativity into Wolof (Castaldi, 2005). Writer Ousamane Sembène also supported the use of Wolof in his novels even though it meant that he achieved less international recognition enjoyed by other African writers who wrote in colonial languages (Castaldi, 2005).

This dichotomous argument of language extends to bilingual education. Despite evidence that first language (L1) literacy benefits students (Baker, 2006; Cummins, 2001a; García, 1997, 2009; Benson, 1997), we see a strong resistance to the education of minority or minority-status languages. Therefore, bilingual education is a field fraught with contradiction and tensions. Conflicting perspectives arise in a context where local languages continue to be marginalized

and deprived of capital value, yet at the same time regarded by speakers as part of their identity, history and tradition. Indeed, the paradox in mother-tongue education begs several questions. Why aren't African languages being accorded official status in Mozambique? Why should the population invest in local African languages when they are not valued and maintain a low status in societal markets?

Historically, the introduction of bilingual education in the sub-Saharan context has had both positive and negative implications in educational views and practices. In this context, opponents of bilingual education view the implementation of bilingual programs to be divisive and a threat to national unity, seeing colonial languages as neutral means of communications for multilingual nations. In addition, bilingual education has also been measured against socioeconomic advantages and employment possibilities, leading to insecurities around investing in a minority status language at the expense of the dominant, powerful language (Chimbutane, 2011). Many believe that learning the mother tongue and low-status language hampers the acquisition and development of the prestigious language, and in turn limits the socio-economic mobility of the students (Bamgbose, 1999). These perceptions and views are maintained by societies who prefer to focus on dominant languages for instruction, with expectations of rapid assimilation to the preferred culture and language.

For example, in South Africa, a neighboring country to Mozambique, the Bantu (African) Education Act of 1953 was promoted during apartheid with a different goal and reactions; the objective was not to foster equality but instead create a separation between the populations. The apartheid regime insisted on mother-tongue education and reduced the role of English while increasing that of Afrikaans (Banda, 2000). In addition, the Afrikaans Medium Decree, entrenching Afrikaans and English as the medium of instruction, led to the Soweto Uprising of

1976 and the subsequent massacre of black high school students, who protested for the right to be taught equally to white South Africans.

The incorporation of Bantu education was perceived as a negative, discriminatory move by the Black students who saw mother tongue education as establishing further discrimination through the enforcement of racially separated educational facilities. "The demise of Bantu education is partly responsible for blacks associating mother-tongue education on which it was based with mediocrity and failure." (Banda, 2000, p. 53) In this situation, the standards for non-whites and whites varied tremendously, granting whites free, resource-filled schools while black children lacked well-trained, experienced teachers. Kamwangamalu (2004) researched larger questions within policy, posing questions regarding the promotion of African language as a medium of instruction against the stigma of inferiority attributed to these languages during the apartheid era. Kamwangamalu (2004) describes the resistance, which led to uprisings of the black pupils to the policy of Bantu Education Act, to be because they understood it to be "a dead end, a barrier to more advanced learning and a lure to self-destruction" (p. 136).

This is why the recognition of the historical factors associated with language are crucial to understand the choices a government makes and how language policies are interpreted and regarded. In the South African educational context, the incorporation of Bantu education was received as negative and unequal. Today in South Africa, the post-apartheid implementation of 11 official languages is attached to the revalorization of African languages. However, "negative attitudes to African language continue to exist [as] one of the major challenges to educational language planning in the South African Republic (Bamgbose, 1999, p. 15).

Globally, opponents frame bilingual education as a problem while recent attempts at multilingual policies have seen a shift towards language as a right and as a resource instead of as

a problem or threat (Ruíz, 1984; Ricento, 2005). Languages are therefore seen as resources to the state, where responsibility does not only lie in the community and family, but also at the national level. This global shift, and successful bilingual projects, prompted the creation of bilingual programs and initiatives in Africa. A highly successful bilingual project implemented in sub-Saharan Africa was the Six-Year Primary Project in Nigeria (Fafunwa et al., 1989). This program was conducted in the early 70s and students were taught in Yoruba for the full six years of primary school while learning English as a subject. Results from this study showed that students in the bilingual program exceled in Yoruba and other subjects (Fafunwa, 1990; Bamgbose, 2000). Positive results such as this one helped the push towards more bilingual support. Nonetheless, according to Alidou (2003), this promotion has not been without adversity given the lack of budgeting for African language education. Organizations such as the World Bank have not funded projects to specifically include budgets for bilingual schools and teachers (Alidou, 2003). In addition, the state-driven agenda for languages or "dialects" might not match the goals of language-minority advocates. Local languages that are not numerous or do not have the same prestige as English may be unrecognized. For instance, along with the curricular change in Mozambique, English was also mandated in the primary school level nation-wide, yet bilingual schools targeting local languages are only considered for rural, homogenous areas. Although there are 16 languages that are included in the recently implemented bilingual programs, there are more languages spoken in the country that are still being ignored.

In Mozambique, following a four-year pilot program (PEBIMO) from 1993-1997 conducted in the southern region, bilingual education was slowly integrated in particular rural areas in attempts to reduce the high repetition, drop out rates and failure. Results from the pilot project showed positive outcomes for participation and student retention, including lowered rates

of repetition and failure. The levels of participation greatly increased, with a notable increase in the participation of women. There was also more consistency between home and school values, where children gained appreciation of the home culture, language and self-esteem while also improving satisfaction levels for parents, teachers and students regarding school (Benson, 2000). A curricular change ensued in 2004 to improve the quality of education, including the addition of bilingual programs across the country.

This implementation of the bilingual programs was based on consistent literature that showed significant advantages to bilingual versus monolingual schooling (Baker, 2006; Cummins 2000, 2001a). In bilingual education students develop literacy skills in their mother tongue, gradually transferring skills to the other language. Beyond literacy and academic development there are also cultural, psychological and social advantages gained. Children participate and are heard in the classroom, consequently receiving better instruction and quality of education.

Carol Benson has conducted extensive research and project development in Mozambique's bilingual education reform. She played a major role in the bilingual pilot project. Benson's research has attempted to demonstrate the benefits, importance and factors that affect quality bilingual education where, "language is clearly the key to communication and understanding in the classroom" (Benson, 2004a, p. 1). In order to significantly improve educational services, Benson suggests the need to resolve "other pressing social and political issues" (p. 4) instead of simply changing the language of instruction to make bilingual education more accessible and inclusive.

In one of the first empirical studies to document the implementation of bilingual education in Mozambique, Feliciano Chimbutane (2011) offers an invaluable contribution to the

literature. In his ethnographic study of two rural communities and schools in southern Mozambique, Chimbutane highlights the positive impact of bilingual education in Mozambique through the community's renewed value perception towards the indigenous language and culture. In particular, Chimbutane uses in-depth classroom observations, interviews and discourse transcription to show positive changes in the maintenance of their ethnolinguistic identity, greater involvement of parents as cultural resources and the incorporation of culturally relevant topics in the African languages.

Chimbutane begins by laying out the topic with a background of the geographic, linguistic and educational context of the study. He notes that there has been support for bilingual education, but it is challenged by a social, economic and political dynamic that is concerned with Portuguese and its dominance. Chimbutane then highlights the contextual information and critically addresses the limitations of the bilingual programs that lack materials and teacher training. The teachers in his study have only attended schools themselves in which Portuguese was the medium of instruction.

Chimbutane shows the comparison between the bilingual classes where students participate fully versus the Portuguese classes characterized by silence or safe-talk. In addition, he notes the impact of implementing bilingual schooling on the value of language and practices and the strengthening of a sense of cultural identity. In fact, the local communities focused on the sociocultural value of the bilingual implementation, associating positive feedback to cultural practices and potential capital value. Finally, Chimbutane calls for a "joint corpus planning effort involving different stakeholders (including government, non-governmental organizations working in the education sector, and local communities) aimed at resourcing African language

for educational purposes" (2011, p. 168), and sees bilingual education in a crucial role of cultural transformation with potential to be explored.

Chimbutane's scope covers two bilingual programs in one of the modalities incorporated into the curriculum, that of mother-tongue as medium of instruction (MoI). It is my hope to add to this study and shed light on the additional modality (mother-tongue as a resource) of the 'bilingual practices" in Mozambique, focusing on attitudes, perceptions and identities of teachers in four different school settings. I want to look more deeply into teacher narratives and their trajectories as well as the perceptions of language legitimacy in order to see the impact on the implementation and bilingual practices on the ground.

It is worth consideration that the term *bilingual education* has been used loosely to "cover any type of educational programme in which bilingual learners are present (although their bilingualism may go unacknowledged) or any programme through which learners may become bilingual, such as, for example, language immersion programmes" (Shoba & Chimbutane, 2013, p. 3). The examples and discussions above consider bilingual education when there is use of more than one language as the medium of instruction. It excludes, therefore, the other modalities defined as bilingual education in the Mozambican curriculum, which use Portuguese as the MoI and the African language as a subject and as a resource. I am in firm agreement that it is inaccurate and dangerous to include bilingual education as an umbrella term for a wide variety of education provisions, reinforcing the outcome of competence in the prestigious language instead of true bilingualism, biculturalism, and biliteracy. I am careful to note that I will discuss the monolingual programs with local languages as a resource (defined as a bilingual modality in the Mozambican curriculum) yet indicate that I do not consider them forms of bilingual education.

Ruíz (1984) first introduced the orientations of "language as a problem", "language as a right" and "language as a resource". Ricento (2005) critiques the language of an 'as a resource' orientation for not explicitly addressing the lack of rights that language minority communities receive, such as appropriate funding and the lack of emphasis on the minority community as opposed to language. Furthermore, I see the incorporation of local language as a resource as a bilingual modality to be a reproduction of the monolingual ideology, placing other languages as resources for the ultimate learning of the dominant and prestigious variety. Nonetheless I am of the opinion that all modalities are worthy of investigation in the Mozambican context as it pertains to what others consider bilingual education and how the government also interprets the implementation of bilingual programs.

Within the field of Language Planning and Policy (LPP), the importance of making connections between the macro and micro level has been brought to the forefront (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; 2011) To this notion, Ricento and Hornberger (1996) first documented a multi-layer analysis and process as the LPP onion, a metaphor used to indicate the layers. They highlighted the crucial need to connect language policies at the societal level to the individual and community layer, emphasizing the power of human agency. In 2007, Hornberger and Johnson proposed a framework of ethnography of language policy as a way to limit top-down investigation and expand towards both micro- and macro-level interaction. They refer to *slicing through* the LPP onion's multiple layers to reveal 'ideological and implementational spaces' for multilingual policy and practice. Hornberger and Johnson (2011) argue that ethnographic work in LPP can

> illuminate and transform the development of LPP in its various types and across the various processes of the LPP cycle, shed light on how macro and micro LPP

> interact and uncover the voices, covert motivations, embedded ideologies, invisible instances, or unintended consequences of LPP (p. 275).

Through a multi-layer analysis and consideration, teacher's agency is reinforced and repositioned as policy interpreters, appropriators and creators (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007) instead of mere implementers without a voice. In this way, the complex interlinkages across levels are recognized, and policymaking is viewed from a bottom-up *and* top-down perspective.

Laura Valdiviezo (2009) also reported on the ethnography of bilingual intercultural education in the Peruvian Andes through a multi-layered; horizontal and vertical analysis. Focusing on the historical ideologies in language policy and on multiple layers of contexts, Valdiviezo (2009) reported that while there is a space for bilingualism and interculturality in the official policy of *educación bilingüe intercultural* [Bilingual Intercultural Education], teachers reproduce historical imbalances of power.

It is through this framework that I understand the importance of teacher perspectives and agency within language and educational policies. My focus lies on the consideration of several layers considering the historical language policies and the structures in place at the institutional levels as well as stakeholder beliefs and practices. The fate of bilingual education in Mozambique relies on the investigation of language policy at multiple levels, from national policies like the choice between early-exit and late-exit programs to classroom policies and teacher interactions. Therefore, how do Mozambican teachers interpret and appropriate the national bilingual policies?

Literature Review: Identities, Perspectives & Implementation

In order to transgress the boundaries of the dichotomous position of language and explore

educators' perspectives and consequently the implementation of educational practices, I explore identity formation and delve deeper into perceptions and attitudes, and their impact in the classroom. Felix Banda (2000) suggests that "…the problem is not how to best integrate African tongues into the envisaged additive bilingual programmes, but rather how to change blacks' attitudes towards mother-tongue medium of instruction" (p. 54).

Bonny Norton (1997, 2010) offers an approach towards identity formation, which explores the social, economic and political roles of the individual. Norton's conceptualization of identity is dynamic and part of a social process that is influenced by the imagined future, or the imagined view of one's future place in the world. Norton's framework of social identity gives agency to the narratives and trajectories that shape people's perceptions about the benefits of education.

In Mozambique, where various ethnic groups and languages have been categorized in a limited way in order to be catalogued, questions of identity are problematic. Many individuals speak different languages and "dialects", some intelligible to each other, some not. To further complicate the linguistic landscape, many people have moved around the country due to work and pre/post-war events where connections to a particular place, known reality, language and culture changes through the movement for safety. Other individuals did not experience the war and displacement, and do not discuss what happened or the effects of colonization in their languages; they are the generation of modernity. How people identify within the historical experience is complex. These identities are 'made up' by societies and people, which create a type of person who continuously negotiates these 'new realities' and definitions (Hacking, 1986, p. 226).

According to Gee (2000), identities cannot be self-defined; they are co-constructed and

can only be examined through the interplay between how individuals view themselves, how they enact the identities they wish to assume, and how these identity moves are received by others. At different points in history, or different contexts within the same historical timeframe, people may be recognized and recognize themselves differently through other interpretations and the reactions that in turn shape how people see themselves. Identities are not static or fixed, they are multiple, varied, hybrid and in constant formation, change, evolution, transformation and construction (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Gee, 2000; Hall, 1994; Norton 2000).

Teachers in Mozambique must follow educational practices and governmental discourses to an extent, and this is where the conflict of teacher roles is located, within the possible conflict of implementation and disagreement with the governmental power structure. There is a struggle between how they perceive themselves and wish to be understood as "local" teachers and how others view and identify them.

> Thus the subject positions that a person takes up within a particular discourse are open to argument: Although a person may be positioned in a particular way within a given discourse, the person might resist the subject position or even set up a counterdiscourse which positions the person in a powerful rather than marginalized subject position (Norton Pierce, 1995, p 16).

In Mozambique a dominant and dominated culture co-exist. According to Homi Bhabha, the place where those cultures collide and cultural transformations occur is a third space (Rutherford, 1990). Hybridity is a continual, ongoing process, not a goal, where transformation does not stop at a certain moment, instead remains in a state of in-betweeness. "Instead of getting imprisoned in one cultural space, one can now belong everywhere" (Kumaravadivelu, 2008, p. 124). Continuity and fluidity are key components of these descriptions. When delving deeper into the

identities of complex individuals who deal with political, social, and cultural changes, some of which are violent, there is a sense of multiplicity, or experiences in multiple spaces where identities are fashioned.

Teachers play a major role in the construction and reconstruction of social identities, both as instruments to teach languages and as conveyers of societal values and beliefs. They are products of the societies that they grew up in, and of the educational and professional discourses they have been exposed to in their professional training. Varghese et al. (2005) emphasize that in order to understand language teaching and learning we need to understand teachers through their professional, cultural, political and individual identities. It is with this description that one can look at individuals who have undergone shifting discourses, moved within and across borders, and maintained and lost languages. This "in-betweeness" is a space that is ever-changing, and fraught with the tensions of taking up social positions within varying contexts. It is within this frame that we will look at individuals' identities and notions of the self and other.

Monica Heller (2007) justifies the significance of the investigation into people's perspectives and ideologies.

> The first is the idea of bilingualism, and what it tells us about ideologies of language, society, culture and cognition. That is, we need to know what ideas about bilingualism people have, if any; who remains wedded to formerly dominant ideas about bounded systems, and who is trying to dislodge them? In favour of what? Why? This is of course a fundamentally and overtly political question: it asks in whose interest it is to construct language(s) and their relationships in certain ways, and in whose interest it is to attribute forms and

> practices- or rather, of managing the variability that has always been at the heart of questions about bilingualism (p. 341)

The importance of teachers' beliefs and perspectives in language teaching and learning has been well documented over the last decade. In particular, research has been devoted to teacher beliefs and its relationship to classroom practices (Varghese et al, 2005; Blommaert, 2005; Li, 2013). There is a widely held view that beliefs play a crucial role in teacher's decision, judgments and teaching behavior in the classroom environment. In addition, research has also established the great inconsistencies between beliefs and practices. Nonetheless, Li (2013) suggests that much of the research conducted has been based in a cognitive perspective, which ignores the contexts and interactive nature of teachers' daily work. Li remarks that there is a lack of micro-level insights into what happens when teachers are engaged in specific practices, once again emphasizing Hornberger & Johnson's (2007) call for macro and micro level understandings.

I add that there is a need to also look beyond the context and include historical trajectories that are guiding and shaping their beliefs as well as practices. Additionally, most of the empirical research into the relationship between teachers' beliefs and practices has been entirely conducted in ESL (English as a second language) contexts, but there are still deficiencies in Non-English speaking settings. Parallel research conducted in other language environments can bring invaluable contributions to contexts beyond those in the center, and acknowledge periphery countries (Phillipson, 1992).

In his dissertation work Dorcas Francisco (2007) investigated teacher beliefs toward bilingual education in Mozambique, tracing a considerable disconnect between the teacher roles and the role of the state, arguing that teachers view certain actions at the school to be the

responsibility of the state, thus becoming marginalized agents in the education process. Francisco addresses the need for the state to establish legitimacy with educators and teachers to develop socio-political clarity, and calls for the need to train teachers to think critically and reflectively regarding their own attitudes and experiences in order to become social agents of change.

Finally, addressing teacher practices and implementation, studies have shown that understandings of curricular implementation cannot be understood by solely looking at educational and language policies, the role of the teacher and their beliefs is essential in curricular reform (Orafi & Borg, 2009; Smith & Southerland, 2007; Breen et al. (2001); Breen, 2002; Silver & Skuja-Steele, 2005). Thus, examining teacher beliefs of educational process and practices is necessary as well as teacher *reculturing* (Fullan, 2007), where teachers question and change their beliefs or habits. In order to minimize the mismatch between new curricula and implementation, I examine teachers *in practice* and compare their actions to their intentions. I analyze how teachers interpret the changes from previous national curriculum to the recently adopted *novo currículo do ensino básico* (new curriculum of basic education) while using and or rejecting local languages in their classrooms.

Research Questions

In sum, Mozambique is still today a largely understudied, underrepresented country that, while unique in the specifics of languages, cultures and historical trajectories, is also in many ways representative of postcolonial non-center countries with multiple indigenous populations. In a time where the local government is attempting to value local languages in part through educational policies, the role of the teachers becomes even more important. This study examines the complex and intricate workings of identity construction, perceptions and practices in this

particular postcolonial context. It seeks to understand how multilingual educators, themselves subjects of the histories of colonialism and postcolonialism, view the relationship of language, culture and identity and the marginalization of indigenous languages before, during and after the civil war. In addition it seeks to understand how multiculturality and multilingualism are negotiated across movement and time, and the effects on teaching practices.

A goal of my research is to contribute to new perspectives regarding the role of value of mother tongue education. Very little has been written about bilingual education/experiences and teacher identity in contexts of primary education in Mozambique. There has been a shift within society in the importance of including local languages into the curriculum of young minds, it is interesting to think about how this discourse might affect other programs that serve learners of different ages. This context has real consequences for ways in which who people are and can be in the world is shaped, both by themselves and by others.

Recognizing the lack of studies in the Mozambican context dealing with attitudes toward bilingual implementation and the specificities of the way language relationships intersect with identity, perspectives and implementation, I ask these specific research questions:

1. What language policies/practices are in place and being implemented in postcolonial Mozambique, and how have they changed over time?
2. How is the historical trajectory of the language and educational policies shaping social identities and affiliations of local teachers?
3. How do local teachers understand and legitimize perceptions about the role and importance of Mozambican languages, both in society and in the classroom?
4. How do educators' views and experiences shape their practices and implementation of curricula in the classroom?

Chapter 3: Mozambique's Language Situation and Historical Background

Introduction

The reality of globalization means countries must find a balance between the promotion of local culture and values, economic expansion, and embracing a global philosophy. There is a natural tension between these disparate goals, and issues surrounding language rights and bilingual education in postcolonial countries such as Mozambique are becoming increasingly important in the world. Mozambique is a multilingual country that has recently implemented bilingual education to include a number of local languages. The ways in which local or minority cultures and languages are formally integrated into social and political institutions have important consequences for the sociopolitical and economic environment of the worlds' increasingly multicultural nations. Due to its location, intricate language background, and emerging language-in-education policies, Mozambique is a valuable case study for understanding the incorporation, adaptation or resistance of new language programs.

Mozambique is located on the east coast of Southern Africa, bordered by the Indian Ocean to the east, Tanzania to the north, by Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe to the west, and Swaziland and South Africa to the south. All of these bordering countries use English as one of their official languages; Mozambique is the exception, with Portuguese as its official language. Nonetheless, like many of its neighboring countries, the majority of the Mozambican population speaks a mother tongue different from the official language.

The question of official language choice and medium of instruction (MOI) is not reserved to Mozambique, it is in fact, not new in the African continent. Over recent decades, shifts in MOI policy in educational system have been of common occurrence in sub-Sahara Africa. After

independence, countries typically took two routes: they either solely adopted the colonial language as the MOI (i.e. Congo, Angola, Mozambique) or a combination of local languages and the former colonial language as MOI (i.e. Zambia, Zimbabwe). Mozambique's educational policy after independence remained the same as during colonial times when Portuguese was the only medium of instruction available.

Currently, with a population of over twenty-three million inhabitants, ten percent speak Portuguese as their first language (L1). While the majority of the population speak local languages as their mother tongues, about fifty percent of the population also speak Portuguese as a second language (INE, 2009). Thus, while Portuguese is few Mozambicans' native tongue, it is the language that most Mozambicans have in common. In sum, the language reality and socio-political climate, including colonial and postcolonial eras, contribute to making Mozambique a productive place for language policy and planning as well as of second language studies.

In this chapter we will take a more detailed look at Mozambique's diverse language situation as well as the previous and current language and educational policies. Political ideas continue to reflect language and educational policies mirrored on the colonial legacy with recent emphasis on the local. Thus, the analysis of the complex language environment, with inherited European languages and local African languages, can only be analyzed through a lens of socio-historical constructions.

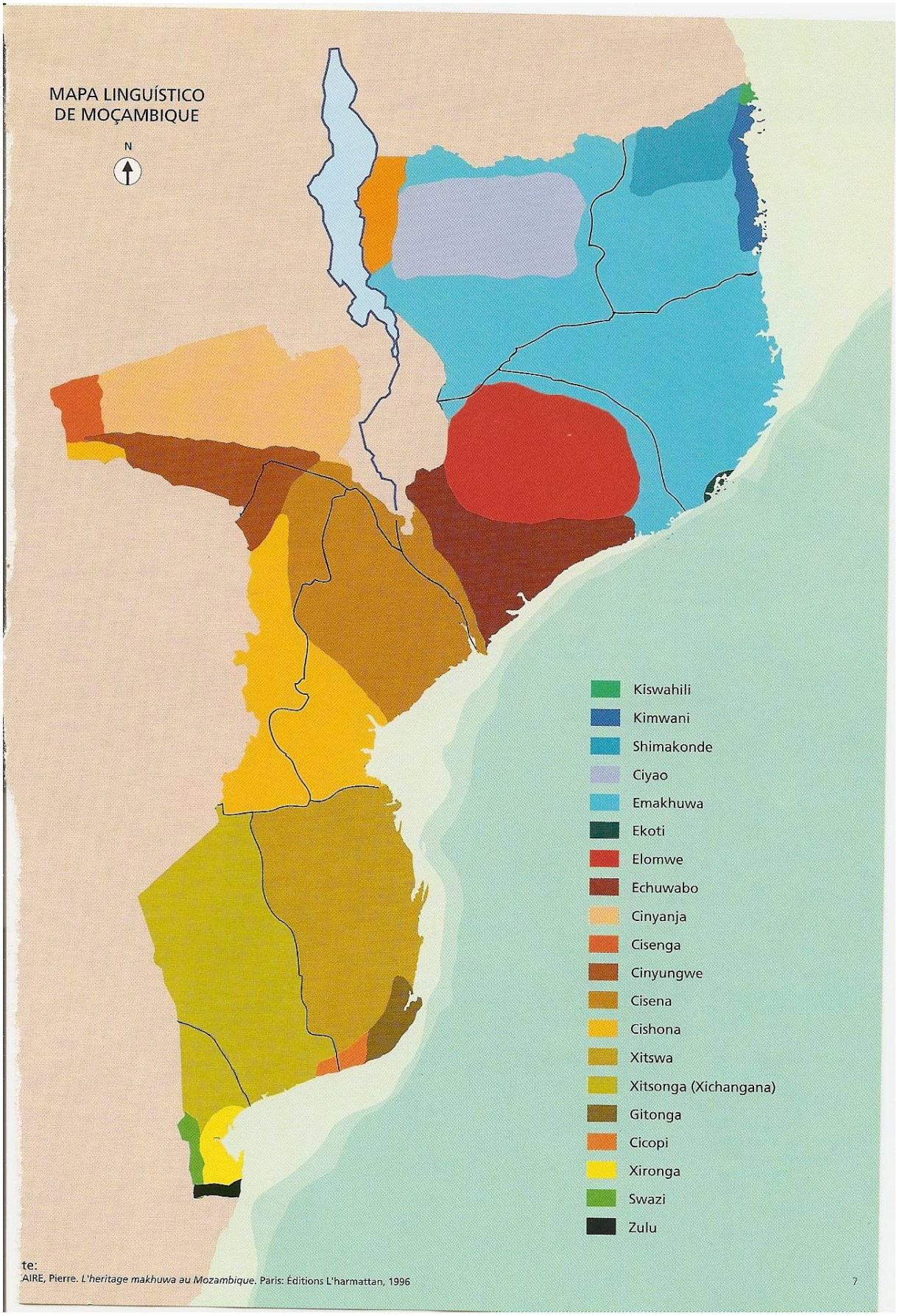
Linguistic Diversity

Mozambique is a multicultural country with a high level of linguistic diversity. Robinson (1993) defines high linguistic diversity as a "situation where no more than fifty per cent of the population speaks the same language"(p. 52). The majority of the Mozambican population speak no single language; in fact, Mozambique ranks among the 15 most linguistically diverse

countries in Africa (Lopes, 1998). Languages in Mozambique belong almost entirely to the Bantu group, with the exception of Portuguese and other "foreign" languages used by immigrants in the country. On an international level, Mozambique is part of PALOP (Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa- Portuguese Speaking African Countries) along with five other African countries.

In order to communicate with other countries outside of PALOP, Mozambique uses Portuguese and English, which are also the official languages of the Southern African Development Community (SADC, 1992). Recall that all of Mozambique's bordering countries have English as one of the official languages, making English a useful language for communication between them as well as on a wider international level. Because of this, English schooling in Mozambique has become more important during the last few years with a move towards mandatory English language education starting at the end of primary school; this change was implemented together with the application of bilingual education in local languages into the curriculum. All of these factors contribute to the linguistic complexity and prestige associated with specific languages, particularly those which historically have been attached to dominant economic and political forces.

Because of the great variety of in-country languages and "dialects", linguists have not come to an agreement regarding the total number of indigenous languages existing in Mozambique. The debate centers on whether to adopt certain varieties as languages or dialects and if these varieties should be counted individually or grouped into super families. However, the general consensus among scholars is that there are between 20-43 indigenous languages spoken in Mozambique. Some, like Guthrie (1967), divide the Bantu languages in Mozambique



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AIRE, Pierre. *L'heritage makhuwa au Mozambique*. Paris: Éditions L'harmattan, 1996

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into four zones with eight major groupings. Others divide the languages into four major groups and four minor ones (Katupha, 1984). The Ethnologue report (n.d.) includes 43 languages in the country, the highest number considered. NELIMO (Núcleo de Estudos de Línguas Moçambicanas, 1989), the center for Mozambican languages, lists 20 languages in its official linguistic map of Mozambique. This particular map (see above) is copied in every primary school teacher's agenda, and handed out for free by the government, making it the most "official" number of languages accepted within the country's educational institutions and government.

Without ignoring the rich array of languages and dialects across the nation, Portuguese continues to be the language most spoken by the population as a second language, making it an unofficial *lingua franca.* Portuguese functions as a *lingua franca* of sorts because approximately fifty percent of the population speaks it as a second language. Spoken mostly in urban areas, Portuguese is the most common language spoken amongst the entire Mozambican population according to the latest census. In 2007, 85.3% of the population reported speaking a Bantu language as their L1 while 50.4% reported Portuguese to be their second language. And 10.7% claimed Portuguese as their L1 (INE, 2009).

On one hand, Portuguese remains the language of official discourses, education, and government institutions. On the other hand, local languages are used widely in daily communication across the nation, particularly and especially in rural areas (which encompass most of the nation's space). Thus for many people, the language used to navigate civic space is separate from that used in private life.

Census data on language use

The Mozambican government has conducted a total of three national censuses in the nation's history, where information regarding local languages was collected. The results paint a picture of society with a rich complexity of language diversity.

The first census was conducted in 1980, five years after independence from Portugal, the second in 1997, and the last and most recent in 2007. The government aims at performing the census every 10 years, yet in 2011 when I was collecting my data in Mozambique, many of the regional topics of the 2007 census hadn't been analyzed or developed. The local government was still carrying out the statistical analysis of the data, and some results even remained to be analyzed from the 1997 census.

The way the government counts Mozambican languages has shifted over the three censuses, though the number of languages identified by the government hasn't changed drastically. In 1980 (Direção Nacional de Estatísica, 1985), the census recognized 24 national languages: Bitonga, Chope, Chuabo, Koti, Kunda, Lomwe, Maconde, Macua, Marendje, Mwani, Ngulu, Nsenga, Nyanja, Nyungwe, Phimbi, Ronga, Sena, Shona, Swahili, Swazi, Tsonga, Tswa, Yao, and Zulu. The 1980 census showed that Macua (emakhuwa) was the most spoken language in the country, spoken by 25% of the population. However, because this particular language is concentrated uniquely in the north of the country, far from the capital, its popularity hasn't translated into expansive institutional support. This could be largely due to the history of conflict between northern and southern Mozambique where the ruling party, located primarily in the southern capital of the country, chose Portuguese instead.

My research is centered on the Manica province, and relies on interview, observation, and census data of the region. The Manica province is centrally located, bordering Zimbabwe. It is a place where movement of people before and after independence influence the languages spoken in this area. By looking at the changes between the censuses, we can see a steady growth in the acquisition and use of Portuguese as a first language during the past thirty years, especially in urban areas. The census indicates that the majority of Manica province's population speak a local language as their first language, however, a small number of people communicate in Portuguese in the household even though Portuguese is not their first language.

Census data in general, and in Manica specifically, is limited due to the scarcity of data collected and also because the most recent census, in 2007, had not been made available to the public in full. Because of this, the 1997 census (INE, 1999) is the most extensive and informative to date. It includes the most complete language data and analysis in the country. At the time of my data collection in 2011, the 2007 census had only processed information for two languages available in the Manica province, limiting a comprehensive look at this information.

The figures in the 1997 census show that, at that time, a clear majority of people in Manica spoke mother tongue languages at home. Of these mother tongue languages, Cindau (28.6%) was the most frequently spoken, Chitwe[1] was second with 21.6%, Cimanika third with 15.4%, Cisena fourth and Cinyngwe fifth. Nonetheless, of those surveyed, 6.5% use Portuguese in their household, which does not match the 4% who claimed Portuguese as their mother tongue. This indicates that some families use Portuguese in their households instead of

Languages spoken at home	Percentage
Cindau	28.6%
Chitwe	21.5%
Cimanika	15.4%
Cisena	10.7%
Cinyngwe	5.3%

[1] Chitwe, Ciutee, Citewe are the different spellings for the same language.

their mother tongue as the primary language of communication. For reasons discussed later in the study, these families have made the decision to prioritize the official language over their local language.

The 1997 census (INE, 1999) also indicates a difference between languages spoken in rural areas versus urban areas, with a clear majority of Portuguese speakers located in urban areas. The government considers twenty-three cities and sixty-eight *vilas*[2] as urban areas in the country; all other remaining places are considered rural areas, which is the greater majority of the nation's population and area. In the rural areas only 1% of the population has Portuguese as their mother tongue and only 1% use it in the household, while in urban areas 11.4% of the population learn Portuguese as their L1. In addition, a significantly larger number of individuals in urban areas (20.6%) use Portuguese as the language of communication in the house. In sum, in a largely rural country, mother languages are clearly predominant, yet Portuguese use continues to grow steadily and maintains the sole official status.

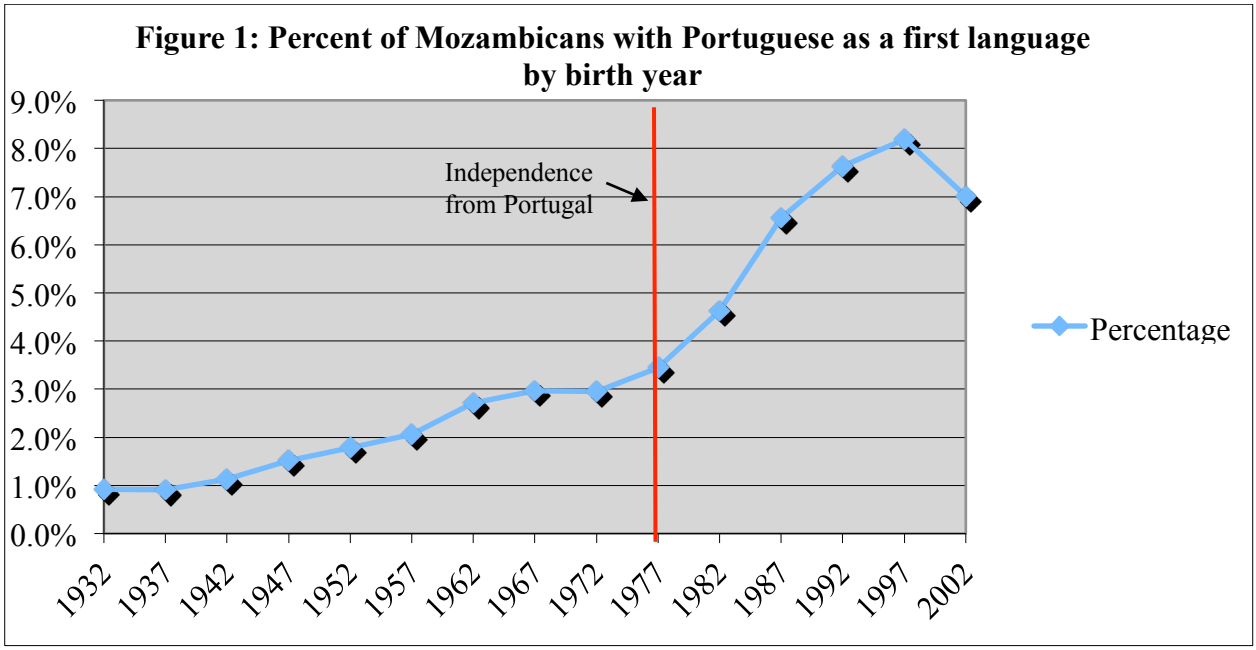
In fact, the 2007 census (INE, 2009) highlights a language shift occurring in Mozambique towards more Portuguese use. In the 2007 census (INE, 2009), with the exception of the people born in the 1998-2002 period, we find that among the older generation a lower proportion speak Portuguese compared to the younger ones who speak more Portuguese (see graph below). If we assume that mother tongues do not change over time (i.e., no matter what their age was when they answered the question), then it means that there has been a gradual increase of the population in the Manica province that has Portuguese as their mother tongue.

In addition, we find that there was a surge of people who claim Portuguese as their mother tongue in the years following independence from Portugal. That is a somewhat surprising

[2] *Vilas* are small cities

fact to note, and coincides with both the officialization of Portuguese by the newly formed government and the implementation of 'education for all' policies that followed decolonization. One of the unintended consequences of expanding the availability of education post-independence was the concomitant marginalization of local languages, which did not have an official place in the educational system, instead increasing the prominence of Portuguese in the society. Simply increasing access to education for all citizens meant that Portuguese was prioritized instead of local languages, at least in an academic setting.

However, since the official introduction of bilingual education in 2004, we could expect to see an increase in the prominence of local languages, as local languages are also incorporated into the curriculum and assigned more prestige in society. In Figure 1 below we see a 1% drop in the proportion of the population that speaks Portuguese, suggesting that those born between 1997-2002 may be resorting back to local languages as the main language of communication as they enter their teenage years.



It implies that there may have been a change in the trend, although small, with more people starting to speak local languages as their mother tongue, which could be due to the recent changes in policy promoting local languages.

In sum, Mozambique is a linguistically rich country, bordered by many nations with diverse languages. Nonetheless, one language has political and economic prestige, particularly in urban areas. In rural areas, the population uses local languages as their first language, while urban, more cosmopolitan places have a higher percentage of Portuguese speakers. In addition to the rural and urban divide, according to the census data Portuguese has seen an increase in users and speakers throughout time, even after independence from their colonial powers.

Issues of language officialization and prestige are further complexified by an intense history that has deeply affected uses and perceptions of both language and identity. In addition to standard languages, categorizing language is further made more complex by hybrid forms, where neighbors code-switch and use several languages for conversation. It is important to mention that census data tends to identify languages as isolated monolithic entities; although they take into consideration the different languages, referred to as dialects, there are also instances of code-switching, hybrid creations and local forms that are not acknowledged in the data.

Within this context, one with many local languages and a constant negotiation of Portuguese in and outside of the home, a study of teacher perspectives and the ways in which they instantiate this negotiation can speak to a wider African issue of postcolonial language policies.

Language–in-Education Policies

Prior to the Portuguese colonization in 1498, waves of Bantu-speaking people migrated to the area that we now refer to as Mozambique. Due to this earlier settlement, most of

Mozambique's languages can be traced back to Bantu origin, the major exceptions being Portuguese and other languages spoken by foreigner immigrants. Even though Portuguese colonizers arrived in the 15th century, scholars argue that the dominance of Portuguese language is fairly recent due to the lack of investment in the country's educational system in the early years of colonization (Matsinhe, 2005). It wasn't until 1912 that the government built its first secondary school in the country. Portuguese interest peaked at the end of 1800's and in 1884 at the Berlin Conference control for European powers was established and the area of Mozambique was granted to Portugal. Beginning in the late nineteenth century the Portuguese government's more proactive role in educational policy led to widespread changes in language usage and the construction of language policies.

Bazilashe et al. (2004) describe three eras of conceptual shifts regarding the role of education in Mozambique: 1) the colonial regime lasting from 1400's to 1975, 2) the independence and civil war period from 1975-1992, and 3) Mozambique at peace from 1992 until the present.

The first shift was part of the colonial regime, when the Portuguese exerted total domination over the local population, and lasted until the country's independence in 1975. The second shift occurred after independence from Portugal and lasted until the end of the civil war from 1975-1992. Following independence, the liberation party continued to promote Portuguese education, consciously changing the discourse surrounding the Portuguese language from one of colonialism to one of Mozambican unity. At the time, the government's narrow focus on Mozambican nationalism led to a rejection of all tribal representations in official domains. Finally, the third conceptual shift involved efforts to introduce new language policies embracing greater understanding of cultural diversity and unity, as well as developing local curricula

towards this goal. This final period began with the Peace Treaty in 1992 and has continued until present times.

In 2004, following a 4-year pilot study, PEBIMO (Projecto de Escolarização Bilingue de Moçambique) led to the formal introduction of bilingual education into Mozambican schools, representing a significant policy change (Benson, 1997; 2000). The simultaneous adoption of both Portuguese as a language of national unity and the formal recognition and celebration of Mozambique's tribal history highlights perfectly Mozambique's complicated and shifting conception of language and ethnic identity.

Having provided a brief overview of the larger historical stages, I turn now to a more expanded discussion of each of these periods and explore in detail how each contributed to the evolution of Mozambican educational and language policies.

Educational Landscape During Colonial Control (1400s-1975)

During the colonial period the educational system was highly segregationist and discriminatory. Through the establishment of church control over native education the Portuguese government implemented major educational changes, in the process introducing segregationist and discriminatory policies and practices. In 1845, the Portuguese government invested in public schools in their overseas territories, including what is modern Mozambique, with the goal of tightening control of the local population via education (Cross, 1987). Under the influence of both government and church, African languages were eventually banned in school settings, at the same time as African culture and tribal customs were rejected.

In the wider African context, two major groups dominated the local populations: users and anti-users of languages (Cross, 1987). France and Portugal were anti-users, who prohibited local language knowledge and thus enforced an assimilationist policy in order to "civilize" the

local population. British colonizers were typically users, combining the medium of instruction of local languages in the educational system of former colonies. These practices regarding language and education were essential to the oppressive system of order and control imposed by the Portuguese government. The powerful effects and influence of this system had lasting repercussions in the aftermath of the colonial control.

Fearing the increasing competition between the Protestant and Catholic churches in the territory, Portuguese authorities granted the Catholic Church sole authority over missionary education in 1921. At the same time, African languages were officially banned in schools. Churches, however, maintained some religious teachings in local languages in order to facilitate conversion. Alongside the religious education, the church also had the major intention of "civilizing" Africans by proscribing local values and cultural norms. Thus, education didn't necessarily concentrate on providing literacy to the population, focusing instead on repeated prayers and discarding African customs as uncivilized. Brock-Utne (2000) writes of the unwillingness to give Africans higher education, instead minimally preparing them for semi-skilled positions, claiming, "…we find that education was used as an ideological tool to create feelings of inferiority in Africans, to create dependence on white people, and to spread the thinking, ideas, and concepts of the 'master' race" (p. 19).

In 1930, under Salazar's fascist rule, the Portuguese government significantly and dramatically increased the segregation and subjugation of the local population through the Colonial Act. The act proclaimed an assimilationist ideology and policy geared towards the devastating "civilizing mission" that took full precedence in the colonies oversees. Cross (1987) explains that two distinct categories were then created to divide the African population: *indígenas* and *não-indígenas* (indigenous and non-indigenous). The *indígenas* were

unassimilated Africans who did not receive any citizenship rights. They were forced to abide by colonial legislation, including such treatments as forced labor, also known as *chibalo,* requiring all Africans to work.

Não-indígenas were Portuguese citizens, mostly comprised of white individuals emigrated from Portugal. However, this category also included *mestiços* (mixed race citizens) and assimilated Africans. In order to become assimilated one had to reject the indigenous status and request Portuguese citizenship, satisfy the following criteria "fluency in spoken and written Portuguese" and "possess financial stability" (Golias, 1993, p. 31). Those who desired to be *assimilado* had to promise to abandon the native habits and customs and live as a European adopting the Portuguese culture, ideals, religion and language. *Assimilados* was a criterion used to represent colonized Mozambicans who were considered to be "civilized" according to Portuguese standards and thus theoretically qualified for rights as Portuguese citizens, such as the right to an identification card and passport, right to attend the official schools and right to vote (Golias, 1993). Other assimilated Africans were categorized as *mulatos* (offspring of Portuguese fathers with African mothers).

According to Stroud (2007), this notion of *assimilados* played well into the discourse of forced language learning. It implied that even black Africans could aspire to citizenship if they fulfilled certain conditions, including abandoning the habits of the 'black race' and speaking and writing in Portuguese. Mastery of the Portuguese language was a requirement for becoming *assimilado.* Only Mozambicans who agreed to put aside their local languages and devalue local traditions would achieve this status and be recognized as "civilized". The fact that the status was granted to only a "lucky" few reinforced a clear class/racial distinction between those indigenous

people that spoke Portuguese and those who did not. The majority of the population, however, did not achieve this status; it was rare and difficult (Isaacman, 1983).

Once a fundamental condition of becoming assimilated rested on learning Portuguese, official and unofficial policies related social mobility to knowledge of Portuguese (Firmino, 2008). This meant that knowing Portuguese granted the person a higher status in the eyes of those in power and provided access to certain jobs. The unequal categorization of human beings created under the Colonial Act was the foundation of the repressive system imposed by the Portuguese government, and it has had a lasting impact on educational and language policies to this day.

With regard to education, the government reinforced discrimination by creating two distinct types of education: one for the indigenous population, *ensino primário rudimentar* (rudimentary primary education), and another for the citizens, *educação oficial* (official education). In theory, the curriculum was identical, though slower for those in the rudimentary programs. The reality was harshly different however, and the opportunity gap between the two groups was increased by the divergent quality of education (Errante, 2003). The emphases were distinct between the systems; teachers were not trained the same way and it took students two more years in the rudimentary school to complete the equivalent of the official primary schooling. Needless to say this divided system led to unequal levels of quality in education and provided incomparable opportunities for job achievement and social status.

The ultimate goal of this educational system was to maintain the unassimilated Africans as a separated and servile lower class. Switching from the rudimentary education to official schooling was extremely difficult; an indigenous student could only qualify into the official system by completing additional instruction in the primary school and passing an entrance exam.

In addition, the bureaucratic process was heightened by other obstacles, such as the difficulty of mastering a foreign language, restrictive regulations, age limitations, and a lack of space in the rural elementary school (Cross, 1987). These obstacles were put in place to maintain the status quo and grant the elite an advantage beyond comparison. In sum, the mission's educational objective was clear, to educate unassimilated Africans in basic literacy, crafts and agriculture, granting them simple tools adequate for subservient employment in the colonial economy.

At the same time, the government expressly prohibited African languages in both the rudimentary and official schools' curricula and mandated the exclusive use of Portuguese as the language of instruction. Article 69 of the Missionary Statute, cited in Golias (1993), states:

> Nas escolas é obrigatório o ensino e o uso da língua portuguesa. Fora das escolas os missionarios e os auxiliaries usarão também a língua portuguesa. No ensino da religião pode porém ser livremente usada a língua indígena [In schools, the teaching and use of Portuguese is mandatory. Outside of schools, the missionary and auxiliaries will also use the Portuguese language. In religious education, however, the indigenous language may be widely and freely used] (p. 38).

The colonial discourse defined African languages as local, indigenous and traditional versus Portuguese as the language of modernization and civilization (Stroud 2007), making a clear distinction between the educated language of schooling and the languages of the community. The movement against the tribal and traditional gave a negative connotation to mother tongue use, designating local languages as inferior 'dog's languages' (Kitoko-Nsiku, 2007). During the period prior to independence the main motivation for acquiring Portuguese was due to the position the language maintained in the ideological, socio-cultural and economic systems (Firmino, 2002). Given that the Portuguese government manipulated the capital economy,

acquiring Portuguese meant achieving the status of assimilation, which in turn gave access to better education and jobs.

In addition to the rudimentary schooling for students, the government created courses for indigenous teachers, with a goal of teaching them to have pride of the 'majesty and homogeneity' of the Portuguese empire (Golias, 1993, p. 48), aimed at sending the teachers to rural areas. The missionaries, in charge, had an objective of forming religious teachers who were "menos habilitados mas devotados"[less skilled but devout] (Golias, 1993, p. 49). Beyond the religious priority, teachers were required to declare integration to the colonial order and to be actively against communism and subversive ideas. In addition, teachers were only required to pass exams with six arithmetic problems, a 15-line essay and a dictation of 12-15 lines (Golias, 1993). This also outlines the minimal investment that the government had in the rudimentary schooling.

Is wasn't until the rise of both internal revolution against the colonial powers and external pressures in the global community against colonization that the government adopted policies ending the division of the two groups *indígena* and *não-indígena*, as well as the system of rigid school segregation. In 1964 the Educational Reform Decree eliminated the distinction between the school systems that had been created from the Colonial Act thirty years prior, instating compulsory primary school education for all. While transparent extreme segregation and discrimination largely subsided, only areas that had sufficient means could enforce this policy; "inadequate" areas, largely rural, were exempted by the decree (Cross, 1987). Practically, this meant that the majority of Mozambicans in the largely rural country did not have access to compulsory education and the subjugation remained the same. By the time of independence,

almost ten years after the fighting began, 93% of the population was deemed illiterate (Errante, 2003).

In sum, the colonial legacy of prohibiting African languages, privileging the European language, and systematically discriminating against natives in the educational sector had lasting implications in Mozambican education even after independence. During this period, the underlying purpose of the educational system in place for the local population was to make Mozambicans better servants and have them adopt the Portuguese culture. This system was motivated by the belief that this type of education would create a society less likely to question the oppressive regime. Throughout the entire colonial period, meaningful education for the Africans was never developed. On the contrary, the Portuguese regime did everything possible to discourage its development (Mungazi, 1983). With the end of colonization new expectations and movements began to surface, providing opportunities for national educational transformations.

Independent Mozambique and the Civil War Period (1975-1992)

Mozambique achieved independence on June 25, 1975 after a long and devastating 10-year war. That decade saw a surge of liberationist movements across the continent, concluding with many newly independent states. Eduardo Mondlane, Frelimo's (Liberation Front of Mozambique) leader, initiated the armed campaign against the Portuguese. The 1974 national coup in Portugal combined with the internal armed forces in Mozambique brought the slow decay of the governmental structure in Mozambique, leading to the independence of the country. With the change in power to Frelimo came hopes for change in the educational system.

After independence from Portugal, the new government consecrated the right of education for all citizens of Mozambique, while making the decision to promote Portuguese as the national language (Golias, 1993). By choosing it to be the sole official language of the newly

created nation-state, the new government continued to prioritize the colonial language during the first years following independence and subsequently closed the door on local languages at both educational and institutional levels. In sum, the new liberationist government perpetuated the linguistic assimilation imposed during colonial times even post-decolonization, with the intent of unifying the country.

The shift in political rule away from the colonial powers was neither peaceful nor easy and had damaging consequences for education. In the first few years of control, the newly formed government prioritized the expansion of education, focusing on increasing access to education and educational opportunity for all citizens. According to Golias (1993), the period of 1975-1985 can be characterized as one of the most effective in terms of improvements in education. However, this initiative could not survive amidst the new country's instability. By the end of the colonial fight many of the teachers or trained pedagogues, who were Portuguese citizens, had left Mozambique and returned to Portugal. In addition, prior to their departure the colonial power reactivated old conflicts between indigenous groups, turning ethnic groups against each other, ultimately leading to a civil war (Bazilashe et al., 2004).

Two years after achieving a hard-fought independence, the country turned on itself as tensions boiled over between political parties and ideologies. The ruling party, *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (Liberation Front of Mozambique; Frelimo), and the opposition party, *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (*Mozambican National Resistance; Renamo), fought a devastating civil war lasting 16 years before finally ending in 1992 (Bazilashe et al., 2004). Though it would foreshadow future educational policies, the original proposition to grant education for the entire population and better the educational quality was short-lived. Instead of moving forward, the country was further debilitated by extended decades of war.

The war had a devastating effect on the Mozambican people; approximately one million died and millions more were displaced, either internally or to other countries (Hanlon, 2010). The displacement of the local population during the civil war brought forth another dynamic in language exchange. Adding to the complexity and number of indigenous languages already spoken within the borders, many who fled the country were eventually repatriated and returned speaking another language. Some citizens who moved internally found it necessary to learn separate dialects to survive and participate in new communities. These movements and migrations within the country and elsewhere added a new level of language interchange and further complexified the social, political, and cultural affiliations attached to different identities and languages.

During the years of the colonial struggle prior to independence, Frelimo adopted Portuguese as their primary language of communication in order to avoid alienating those involved in the fight against the Portuguese. They needed a unifying language that would serve all of the soldiers, many of whom spoke different mother tongues. Additionally, Frelimo needed a group of soldiers who were educated, and turned their attention towards education to advance the fight (Mazula, 1995). As a result, students who had achieved a certain educational level in their schooling to become teachers were recruited to serve.

Samora Machel, a military commander, leader of Frelimo, and eventual President of Mozambique, declared that it was necessary "matar a tribo, para construir a nação" (to kill the tribe, in order to build a nation[3]) (Chichava, 2008, p.8). These words would become famous in Mozambique in the struggle for unity and creation of the nation-state. The "tribe", or notions associated to tribalism, were seen as incompatible to national goals and thus the choice of

[3] All translations from English to Portuguese and Portuguese to English are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

Portuguese as the official language and the language of education received much attention and encouragement. Ironically, Chimbutane (2011) speaks of the contrast between the ideological declarations or omissions in relation to African languages and the language practices used by Frelimo. For example, one of Samora Machel's well-known and respected attributes was his ability to use local languages to address the masses. It was one of the most powerful instruments for the mobilization of masses.

Since the majority of the population spoke no single language, the revolutionary leaders considered local languages as possible sources of division among the diverse ethnic groups in Mozambique (Bazilashe et al., 2004, Firmino, 2008). The large variety of languages in the country contributed to the thinking that choosing one local language would cause more harm than benefits. Mazula (1995) explained:

> The Portuguese language was always understood, by Frelimo, to be a uniting instrument of the Mozambican society. In this aspect, despite their innovative tendencies of revolutionary character, like trans-ethnicity, Frelimo wasn't able to escape the challenge of the euro-modernity that characterized the African countries after their national independences. Instead of rationally facing the problem of multiple spoken languages in their territories, in the general scope of the Modernity-Traditional challenge, the African countries did not hesitate to adopt the ex-colonizers languages.[i] [4](p. 214)

Against this ethnic-tribal conflict background, Frelimo denied all types of diversity, rejecting political and social pluralism, and settled on Portuguese as the national language of communication. However, although the government claimed to unify the population there were

[4] Original citations in Portuguese are included on the endnotes. All translations are my own.

discriminatory tensions between citizens. The president of Frelimo, Eduardo Mondlane, surrounded himself exclusively with members of ethnic groups from the south, excluding those from the center and northern regions (Chichava, 2008). The south was home to the country's capital and the place where the economy and the elite developed. Renamo, the rival political party, accused Frelimo of modern day segregation due to the fact that most of their leaders were from the south of Mozambique. Renamo defended the idea that each province should have a "filho da terra" (son of the land) as the leader of the zone designated who had ethnolinguistic characteristics of that area. Scholars have argued that Frelimo's vision confused unity versus unicity; instead of uniting the population; it gave "unique" treatment to certain members and excluded others of different regions (Chichava, 2008).

This pattern was not unique to Mozambique. In most ex-Portuguese colonies, a greater expansion of Portuguese took place in the few years following independence than during all the years of colonial control (Ferreira, 1988). However, the laudable purpose of unification in a country recently torn apart by a civil war left many scars in the perception and valuation of local languages and cultures. The decision to keep Portuguese as the language of government after 1975 nonetheless reinforced the prestige already associated with it.

However, in many ways, the fact that the new government appropriated Portuguese as the official language based on an ideology of unity allowed Mozambicans to expel colonial connotations related to the language. This decision served to expurgate colonial associations with the language, since it had liberation purposes when it was adopted as their own (Firmino, 2008). Ironically the language of the colonizers became a means to unify the nation and fight against what had once been colonial ideas. In this sense it was an attempt to change the deep meaning associated with this language, which had been used a deliberate tool to separate indigenous

people from those in power. Instead, the language now served as a tool for the construction of the nation-state and for new constructions of Mozambican identity. Thus, the process involved the evolution of the Portuguese as a symbol of the colonizers to the "mozambicanization" of European Portuguese.

Eduardo Mondlane and Samora Machel, both leaders of the independence movement, saw education as a way to freedom. During the fight of liberation, Frelimo emphasized education as a means of personal autonomy through education. They saw education of adults and children as a way to form conscious, national leaders much needed for development. The fight for better education began prior to independence in the liberated areas. The principle behind this idea was to grant importance to education in a conscious recognition of education as a means to create a new identity. The formation of the "homem novo", literally the new man, gave an ideological framework of new citizens free of tribal customs and superstitions (Machel, 1975). The new government supported an educational system that used a second language methodology for Portuguese learning (Lopes, 2004) and related the official language with the new objective of progress. The objectives tied to notions of modernity were at the forefront of the discourses supporting the nationalized educational system.

The Frelimo government launched a new literacy campaign in 1979 granting education for all children, and initiating adult literacy programs and evening classes to facilitate schooling at all levels. In the first few years after independence the literacy and enrollment rates increased substantially. In the first five years following independence Frelimo, the official ruling party, focused on the fight against illiteracy by making education a constitutional right and mandatory for all citizens. From the repercussions of the colonial control and war an estimated 93% of the population was illiterate, making reconstruction and the rebuilding process even more

challenging (Bazilashe et al., 2004; Benson, 2000; Kitoko-Nsiku, 2007; Matsinhe, 2005). The rate of illiteracy decreased from 93% to 71.1% in the first five years, and school construction programs were launched (Ngunga, 1999; Bazilashe et al., 2004).

In 1983, the government introduced the national system of education (*Sistema Nacional de Educação*) making it the first educational system created by Mozambicans after independence. This promise, however, fell short. Despite these positive changes, as the civil war escalated in the mid-80s the development of literacy diminished and failed to deliver the results expected after the initial improvement. Unfortunately, similarly to the battle for independence, the civil war had dire consequences for the educational system. Due to the escalation of the war and the purposeful destruction of schools by the other political party, any improvement suffered greatly once again. Between 1980 and 1985 alone, the number of schools dropped from 5,730 to 3,679 (Ngunga, 1999).

During the civil war, educational facilities and educational workers were strategically targeted by Renamo, teachers were mutilated and assassinated, and more than 50% of primary schools were closed or destroyed. Hanlon (2005) describes the terror tactics used by the Renamo guerrillas against civilian populations. Due to the support Frelimo had achieved via the expansion of health and education, Remano strategically attacked schools and health posts, "terrorism was targeted and effective" (Hanlon, 2005, p. 274).

Renamo terrorized civilians by attacking schools and health posts, causing teachers and medical workers to be too frightened to work. With tactics such as "killing patients in their beds" and "burning passengers alive in buses", people were afraid to continue their daily lives (Hanlon, 2005, p. 274). Additionally, Renamo targeted educated people, raiding schools and kidnapping teachers and students to become part of their organization (Hanlon, 2005).

In addition to the consequences of the war on the educational development of the country during that time, there were other reasons why the fight against illiteracy was short lived. Ngunga (1999) suggests three reasons for the failed literacy development in Mozambique in the period following independence: (a) the choice of Portuguese as language of instruction, (b) the minimal changes to the language policy from colonial times, and (c) lack of local objectives in literacy. He tells us that, "literacy campaigns failed because they were intended to perpetuate the hegemony of the Portuguese-speaking elite at the expense of the majority of the people" (p. 156).

Even though indigenous languages constituted the major language stratum, and the governmental power had now shifted from the colonizers to the ex-colonized, the new political discourse called for language unity around Portuguese with the intention of uniting a country damaged by colonial and ideological fighting.

However, in the midst of the officialization of the ex-colonial language, policies internationally began calling for the valorization of African languages, and changes in Mozambican policy began to occur towards the end of the civil war. According to Lopes (1998), in 1983 the political party created documents in favor of national languages. This and other contributions to language policy (Katupha, 1994) influenced later changes in the national policy regarding the incorporation of local languages.

Immediately after the civil war, Mozambique was listed as the poorest country in the world with a striking illiteracy rate of 93%. Any improvement that occurred after independence was erased during the civil war. It was only after the end of the civil war that education in Mozambique improved steadily. However, there were clear, painful consequences in the educational system after a total of 26 years of consecutive fighting and a previous segregationist approach to education.

New Policies (1990's to present)

Peace talks beginning in 1990 between opposition parties ended the drawn out civil war. After the end of the civil war in 1992 the newly democratically elected Frelimo government focused once again on education. Their goal was to provide greater opportunities for students by giving more access to schools in order to achieve higher enrollment and increasing the numbers of schools across the country. There was noticeable advancement in both areas. The number of children in lower primary grades rose from 1.7 million in 1997 to 2.8 million in 2003, while the net enrollment rate for lower primary grades reached 69% in 2003 compared to 44% in 1997 (Education-The picture, n.d.).

The literacy rate increased as well, but lower literacy rates remained among women. In the 1997 census, the total population in Manica was 974,208 (INE, 1999). Of this, 61.6% had completed primary schooling, 5.2% had secondary education, and less than 1% were in some form of higher education. More than half (57.7%) of the population was considered illiterate, with a majority being women. The older population had higher levels of illiteracy, which indicates that there is more access to schooling in recent years than previously available to Mozambicans in this province. Education is strongly related to urban versus rural residency as well. In urban areas 68.0% of the population is literate versus a 31.9% in rural areas, with a higher number of illiterate women than men (INE, 1999).

The most significant change in language policy regarding local languages occurred with the revision of the constitution. For the first time in Mozambican history the constitution promoted the use in education of national languages. In 1990, the government revised the country's constitution in the following way: "(1) In the Republic of Mozambique, the Portuguese language shall be the official language. (2) The State shall value the national languages and

promote their development and their growing usage as vehicular languages and in the education of citizens" (Lopes, 1998, p. 458).

This change was a turning point in the country's recent history of segregation, granting value to local languages, which had been unacknowledged since Portuguese occupation. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy to mention that even though Mozambican languages were valorized, the constitution still identified Portuguese as the sole official language and didn't include any Mozambican languages as national languages. It also didn't explicitly mandate the government to adopt local languages in their educational policies. It could almost be interpreted as paying lip service to the international pressures, but without putting any significant policy change in place to allow local languages a valid place within formal society. However, although mandatory bilingual education was not incorporated, the government established a friendlier attitude towards national languages (Hall & Young, 1997). This eventually brought enthusiasm for bilingual education and local language use in the classroom.

In terms of languages, the constitutional change of 1990 prioritized other interests. Among these interests was the issue of mother tongue and bilingual education. An initiative to develop a primary bilingual program in Mozambique was sparked with a bilingual pilot study. This decision was centered in the belief that the Portuguese-only curriculum created a barrier in education and was considered to be partly responsible for the high repetition and dropout rates in Mozambican schools (Benson, 1997).

Frelimo, together with a group of Mozambican researchers at the national Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM) carried out an experimental primary bilingual project named PEBIMO (Projeto de Escolarização Bilingue em Moçambique/Bilingual Schooling Project) in Mozambique, which lasted 4 years from 1993-1997. The pilot aimed at understanding whether

mother-tongue primary education could reduce student attrition due to dropout, failure, and repetition. The aim of this project was to incorporate indigenous languages into the curriculum, which provided overall positive results (Lopes, 1998; Benson 1997, 2000, 2004b; Kitoko-Nsiku, 2007; Matsinhe, 2005).

The PEBIMO project involved four classrooms in two provinces, Tete and Gaza, and incorporated two Bantu languages, Cinyanja and Xichangana, which were chosen due to previous teaching and learning efforts from neighboring countries who also use these languages. In this way, government and teachers were able to observe bilingual implementation in other countries prior to the initial experiment. In the project, bilingual classes began at grade 1 and finished by grade 5. Following completion of fifth grade, students continued schooling in the Portuguese-medium system (for detailed information on PEBIMO see Benson 1997, 2000). Though there was a scarcity of resources and lack of bilingual education expertise, the results were overwhelmingly positive. Many positive results surfaced with regards to PEBIMO such as: lowered rates of repetition and failure, higher retention (particularly for women), students became bilingual, and there was increased participation in the classroom. Parents, teachers, and students claimed to be more satisfied overall and the study showed that mother-language education provided a higher valorization of the home culture and language (Benson, 2004b; Kitoko-Nsiku, 2007; Matsinhe, 2005). These results, in turn, motivated a larger implementation of bilingual education across the country.

In the wake of the PEBIMO project there has been a serious attempt to incorporate other forms of bilingualism and bilingual programs into the educational system. Unlike other African countries Mozambique had no prior experience with bilingual education, thus making

implementation a slow process. Six years passed until bilingual education was officially integrated into the curriculum in 2004.

The biggest change for language survival, valorization, and maintenance came with the introduction of the *Novo Currículo do Ensino Básico* (New Curriculum for Basic Education) in 2004. Along with other changes (including mandatory English education starting in 6th grade instead of 8th grade), Mozambican languages were built into schools' educational programs. The new curriculum added the possibility of using a local language in the classroom setting, with a deeper objective of maintaining national unity as well as the promotion and valorization of Mozambican culture. The bilingual education program was divided into three modalities: 1) using Mozambican languages as a means of teaching and learning in bilingual programs, 2) using Mozambican languages as an optional subject in monolingual programs where Portuguese is the language of instruction, and 3) using Mozambican languages as a resource in programs where Portuguese (L2) is the language of instruction (INDE, 2003a).

After the successful pilot project the pull for bilingual education expanded in the country exponentially. In 2003 the bilingual program extended to the Maputo, Gaza, Sofala, Nampula, Niassa and Cabo Delgado provinces. Later it continued growing, spreading to the Manica, Zambezia and Tete provinces. It is now available in 16 national languages: Xirhonga, Xichanga, Cicopi, Gitona, Citshwa, Ndau, Ciutee, Sena, Nyanja, Yao, Shimakonde, Kimwani, Echuwabo, Elomwe, Hunmgwe, and Emakhuwa (INDE, 2008).

In Manica, the site of my study, the languages incorporated into bilingual education are Ciutee and Ndau, in the districts of Gondôla and Sussundenga respectively. In 2008 there were a total of 10 provinces in Mozambique participating in the bilingual program and a continuing increase in interest. Though problems in training, education, lack of materials, supervision, and

others still remain, the growth of bilingual education is demonstrative of the interest and success of these initial programs. Within the first five years of implementation, over 800 teachers were trained in bilingual education, 75 in the Manica province (INDE, 2008).

The educational system has vastly improved for Mozambicans in recent years. The latest statistics by UNICEF indicate 91% net enrollment ratio in primary school education, promising a higher literacy rate in the country (Education-The picture, n.d.). Moreover, with the larger implementation of bilingual programs, a significant change towards language acceptance and promotion can be foreseen.

However, while the growth of bilingual programs has created higher demand for qualified teachers, unfortunately the government has not been able to match teachers to student enrollment proportions. The teacher to student ratio increased to 1:66 students in 2003 from 1:61 students in 1997 (Education-The picture, n.d.). The situation for current teachers remains problematic with large classrooms and limited school supplies and building space.

Educational Landscape in Current Times

In present-day Mozambique primary school education is compulsory and free for all, with an intended entry age of six for all students. School fees were abolished in 2004 with the implementation of the new curriculum as part of a movement to grant more access to all students. With the educational for all initiatives the intent is for all children to have a full range of schooling, however, many factors including the need to help support families, prohibit many from attending and staying in school.

The current educational system is highly centralized and is comprised of primary school and secondary education. The National Institute for Educational Development (INDE) carries out curriculum development for general education (primary, secondary and pre-university) and

teacher training (basic and intermediate). Steps to begin a decentralization process were created in 2000 by implementing the "local curriculum", granting schools 20% of the national curriculum to be used for local needs, topics and activities (INDE, 2003b, p. XIX).

Primary school education lasts 7 years and is divided into two cycles, EP1 and EP2. The first five years are known as EP1 (grades 1-5), the other cycle has two years of upper primary school known as EP2 (grades 6-7). Individual school schedules operate in two or three-shifts depending on the school's resources and region. Ideally it consists of a two-shift program, though classroom spaces and lack of teachers force a three-shift operation in certain schools. Secondary education is not mandatory and it is divided into two cycles, ESG1 (Grades 8-10) and ESG2 (grades 11-12). Schools are public and free although private schools exist for those who can afford the extra cost.

With the embedded linguistic and historical reality of Mozambique, issues of language education are of primary interest. The local population has had to adapt and adjust to language policies first imposed by colonial powers, then by the newly elected government. Mozambique is a country with high linguistic diversity, where the population negotiates several local languages daily, yet focuses principally on Portuguese as the official language. With this reality of the historical domination of Portuguese and newly incorporated bilingual education programs, what are the effects on language education, teacher perspectives and teacher practices?

In the following chapters, after first describing the methods and setting of the study, I will delve into data collected from 'bottom-up' ethnographic fieldwork (e.g. teacher interviews, classroom observations) with a critical viewpoint towards choices of language use or rejection. Looking at the combination of strategies can help shed light on the interpretation and implementation of national language policy.

Chapter 4: Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

Overview

In Chapter 4, we will look in detail at the research design including the methodology, data collection methods, timeline, access, researcher positioning, sites of study, as well as participant information. Given the epistemology and framework outlined in Chapter 2, I focused on a narrative inquiry and ethnographic approach; collecting data via semi-structured interviews and participant observations to complement the document data I collected to analyze the historical perspective. In my attempt to answer questions on perspectives, views, attitudes and educational practices, I chose to design a qualitative study, which has the capacity to illuminate complex human experiences and open doors to deep, profound conversations. I triangulated the data via classroom observations in order to present teacher practices and experiences.

Methodology: Ethnography and Narrative Inquiry

My work in Mozambique focuses on educator experiences, particular in respect to their perspectives on and practices with African and Portuguese language use in the educational system. By exploring multiple facets and processes through an ethnographic approach, we are able to delve in to the many layers involved in language planning and policy, and learn more about the meanings created between participants and researcher. One of my goals was to attend to the full array of repertoires that multilingual, multicultural, hybrid individuals include as part of their complex identities. In addition, since individuals often shift identities in different contexts, I found it best to approach the complexity of identity construction through the lens of those affected, using the tools of narrative inquiry. My focus lies on the educators' voices, their

perspectives and attitudes towards local and official languages, as well as their practices inside and outside of the classroom.

Ethnographic work combines a variety of methods of inquiry for an interpretive representation of human experiences. Ethnography strives for reflexive work, exploring in a holistic manner using thick description (Geertz, 1973) and incorporating historical information. Denzin (1989) describes thick description as a "description that goes beyond the mere or bare reporting of an act (thin description) but describes and probes the intention, motives, meanings, contexts, situations and circumstance of action" (p. 39). Far removed from the view that researchers can be neutral observers, in ethnography the researcher is rather an active co-participant, whose values inform the research. I drew on particular ethnographic methods (interviews, participant observation, and archival work) to collect my data.

With the purpose of investigating the topics of interest and the reflections of the participants, I also used a narrative inquiry methodology, which allows for the construction of events and identity. A central premise of narrative inquiry is "that speakers *construct* events through narrative rather than simply refer to events" (Chase, 2008, p.64). There is not a one-to-one correspondence between a narrative and reality, it is thus more important to look at how individuals narrate their experience. There is a performativity associated with the narration, where the narrator "shapes, constructs, and performs the self, experience and reality" (Chase, 2008, p.65). Mishler (1999) explains that narratives, or stories told by us, are "identity performances (that) -express, display, make claims for who we are-and who we would like to be" (p.19). The stories we choose to tell can be considered an excerpt of our experiences in life and how, therefore, we also see ourselves fitting and identifying in relation to others. To the participants that tell and craft a story it is also an exploration of themselves through their own

eyes and the reflection of the world on them, allowing for a fashioning of identities (Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992). It is through the *process* of the retelling and plotting that storytellers create their account of their identities.

The storyteller's identities, in this case those of educators in Mozambique, therefore can be socially defined by their relationship to others and the social world. Consequently the retelling, which helps explain part of an identity, cannot be separated from the relationships, itself becoming yet another part of the many "ways individuals position themselves vis-à-vis others" (Mishler, 1999, p. 111). Norton (2000) highlights the Bakhtinian notion of interaction where "no public interaction, written or oral statement or even idea expressed in the privacy of one's own mind can be truly separated from the voices of others, from the on-going dialogue between the self and the other" (p.16). With the Bakhtininan suggestion that narrative identity exists only in relation to others, the process of understanding one's identity goes on throughout life. Because it is neither static nor confined to one's youth, the process of telling, retelling, and revising stories together with their context and relationships, is one way in which people sculpt the multiple selves that together make up a meaningful life. Ochs (1997) explained, "how we think about ourselves and others is influenced by both the message context of jointly told narratives and the experience of working together to construct a coherent narrative" (p.185).

Alongside the interpretation of the participants, my interpretations are also present. Undoubtedly, I consider my own role in the interaction between the participants and myself. In adopting narrative inquiry as a methodology for listening to stories told and lived there is unavoidably a significant relationship formed between the interviewer/researcher and interviewee. Interviewers themselves become another set of relationships through which these stories and selves are negotiated. It is through the process of co-production and co-construction

that “we together draw upon, sometimes expand on, and sometimes make inferences from our culturally shared stock of knowledge” (Mishler, 1999: p. 110). Both the interviewer and participant have their own cultural resources and come with their own views and biases.

As a newcomer to Mozambique I brought my own tensions and perspectives to the meetings, as well as my unavoidable history. Even though I grew up in an ex-colony of Portugal as well, speaking the same official language (Portuguese), and had no major difficulty communicating with the teachers, directors and others, our lives and experiences are poles apart. To them, I represented a separate world, ethnically, culturally and linguistically. Embedded in each question and interpretation were my own life experiences, thoughts and perspectives. I further address my own positioning, biases and others’ perceptions of me below under the researcher’s positioning section.

I had to be aware of the part I played in the shaping of the stories and how the respondents answered my questions. Norton (2000) argues that there is a set of assumptions that guide the questions asked. The way data is collected cannot help but influence what type of data is collected and the conclusions drawn from them. Beyond that, the way the questions are responded *to* can shape the research. Not only will the interviewer/writer likely understand the meaning of certain stories differently, based on her own experience in life the respondents can also subtly guide their stories to focus on what they want to talk about at the time they are interviewed. There is a high level of subjectivity in our social reality and thus this work does not seek generalization, but rather to problematize ideas of national, cultural and language identities.

While focusing largely on the institution of education, including the discourses and teachers’ perspectives and experiences, I also sought to understand teachers’ voices as community members, as multilingual speakers who negotiate local language as well as

Portuguese in their daily lives. It was crucial to look at the discourses throughout time to understand how society and institutions have influenced the understandings people have constructed of themselves, and of who they are through interactions and negotiation between languages. In explaining the complex reach of language, Bailey (2000) explains that "language is not just a resource through which individuals construct identities; it is also a medium through which socio-historical relations of inequality are reified, essentialist categories are reconstituted and re-imposed" (p. 578).

Using these methodologies as my foundation, I set out to explore ways of living and thinking about language and education, focusing on the educators, while always maintaining a consciously self-aware and self-reflexive stance.

In addition to narratives, observations were crucial to my study. The purpose of the observations is to observe and note interaction patterns, language use and preference, and how these discourses are played out in classrooms. Observations were essential in order to ascertain, within the researcher's perspective, how policies are being implemented in comparison to discourses. Of course, the "realities" of the current situation as reported by a "peripheral" researcher may differ from how they are represented through participants' perspectives. Nevertheless, through observation, one can draw inferences from a different perspective, one not available using interview data alone (Maxwell, 2005). Thus, despite their limitations, researcher observations can help facilitate an understanding of how teachers are "actually" using languages in the classroom. As Angrosino (2005) states:

> traditional researchers' concern with process and method, therefore, has been supplemented with (but by no means supplanted by) an interest in the ways in

> which ethnographic observers interact with, or enter into a dialogic relationship with, members of the group being studied (p. 167).

In order to understand how teachers' views and experiences shape their performance in the classroom and outside, observation of classroom interactions was necessary.

Gaining Access

Gaining access to a research field can be difficult and time-consuming. Getting approval to conduct research in schools, I soon found out, can be quite a dance, where grace of movement and who you speak to may grant you open doors or close them.

I arrived in Chimoio with an established contact, a friend in the agriculture field, Armando[5] who knew one of the English professors at the local university. Though not the capital of the country, Chimoio is one city that housed higher education. The first day I met the professor I went with Armando, who warmly greeted the English professor and spoke about my research. I mostly listened to their interaction, allowing Armando to speak for me. I soon understood that his introduction was important in establishing credibility. After we left the meeting Armando, who was familiar with other cultures and working with foreigners, explained that because I was a foreigner in Mozambique it was better if he carried the conversation.

Even though my contact worked in agriculture instead of education, I soon understood that he was my "witness" and had to explain to others what I was doing for me, instead of using my own voice. Unlike cultures that appreciate when a person establishes their own presence, it was obvious that Armando held the torch guiding my way towards acceptance and access. I quickly learned about the culture of the witness in Mozambique; someone becomes responsible for you and this allows you to gain others' trust. The access I received through my witness

[5] All participant and school names used in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

allowed a trusting environment to be established between the professor and me from the beginning, and was thus an invaluable introduction.

The professor immediately took me in with open arms, agreeing to meet me at a later date in order to help obtain the documents needed to start going to the schools. Receiving support from the university via the English professors was a crucial step; I was told that if I had gone through the process on my own, it would have taken at least 6 months for local approval. The delay would have deeply affected my work since approval at the local level was a necessary piece for IRB approval from my institution. Thankfully, given the contacts I had established, I was quickly able to obtain government support. This initial experience taught me several important concepts about Mozambican culture that would reflect on my entire duration there: a) the importance of contacts and b) the flexibility of time.

The English professor who helped me at the beginning dedicated several hours to writing letters to the Ministry of Education, getting approval through his dean to grant their support (the university stamp was worth a lot in terms of credibility in this highly bureaucratic environment) and hours of walking around town showing me where the local archives were located, and even going to the offices with me. This generosity works on both ends, which meant that many times I also waited long periods of time or arrived for an appointment and the person was not present. I also dedicated several hours at the University during the first three months of my arrival, helping with English language classes for pre-service teachers, giving presentations and sharing information with professors and students.

The local *Universidade Pedagógica* [Pedagogical University], the only university located in town, offered me full support in contacting teachers and aiding in the data collection process. They provided a source of welcome and extra resources for archival work and contact

information. With an official (stamped) document, and an official letter from the local university offering full support, the provincial level approval took no longer than a week. I was very excited, suddenly expecting that everything might work as smoothly as this. The provincial level approval, a paper with the appropriate stamps and signatures, opened all the doors to begin my research. With the documents in hand, I set out to follow my data collection plan.

I began my connections within the language community at the university level, by observing, participating, presenting topics and working with students in classes in the English department directed at pre-service teachers of English at primary and secondary levels. Some of the students in the classroom were already primary school teachers at the time, which proved an advantageous situation for establishing initial contacts with local teachers. Before beginning interviews, performing the observational collection and selecting the final schools for my study, I observed a series of classes in different primary schools in the region. This allowed me to get an idea of the realities of teaching in a primary school in this setting and to narrow my focus to four schools: two rural, two urban.

I decided that my focus would remain with primary schools, given my interest in the negotiation of local languages and Portuguese in the classroom setting. As I already mentioned, Portuguese is required in the curriculum and secondary students are already fluent in Portuguese, with all classes conducted in the official language. Bilingual education only occurs in primary school and many students who attend the monolingual modality come to school without knowing any Portuguese. I was interested in seeing how teachers managed and negotiated student education in that reality.

Although I had gained access to begin my data collection, I encountered a rather large and unfortunate stumbling block. By the time I received the approval and was able to locate and

meet with the first director who granted me access into the school and interactions with the teachers, it was the month of November. In November the crop season starts and many students were already out in the fields helping their parents prior to the school vacation in December. This meant that classrooms were considerably smaller due to all the absences. Many classes were cancelled and some teachers hesitated in covering anything new.

In any case, I established my teacher contact, meeting with the oldest teacher at one of the schools, and was told to return in February when vacation would be finished and students would be returning from the *machamba* (plantation). The academic year in Mozambique begins in February and officially ends in December. I continued to observe certain classes in November in order to select possible participants and understand the context of schooling at a deeper level. I also used this time to compile most of the local documents related to the socio-historical context.

The frustration and anxiety I felt during those months of waiting, uncertain of whether teachers would really agree to participate and if this time in Mozambique was in vain, were appeased once school was back in session. After a vacation from visiting schools, I returned in February and initiated the regular data collection in my first school while continuing to select more participants for the study.

Data Collection Timeline

I conducted the data collection during a 9-month period, beginning in September 2010 and ending in May 2011. This granted me enough time to get acquainted with a new culture and acclimatize to the country, as well as to make local contacts and obtain bureaucratic approvals on both ends (United States and Mozambique). After I gathered documentation regarding policies, curricula, language data, I set off to visit schools and select teachers for my study. I collected

observational data from the beginning of my visits in November and began interviews in February.

The timeline for data collected is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Data Collection Timeline

<table>
<tr><td>Sept.</td><td>Oct.</td><td>Nov.</td><td>Dec.</td><td>Jan.</td><td>Feb.</td><td>Mar.</td><td>Apr.</td><td>May</td></tr>
<tr><td>Arrived in Chimoio, capital of Manica Province</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">Connected with local education University (Universidade Pedagógica). Contacted university professors who work with language policy and bilingual education. Sat in pre-service teacher classes to make connections.
Received approvals and support from Universities.</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="4">Gathered documentation. Looked at policies, official documents, newspapers and decrees. Searched at local university library, education department and ARPAC.</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td colspan="7">Visited local schools and selected local teachers to participate in the study.</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td colspan="7">Collected observational data of classroom environments.</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="4">Conducted teacher and director interviews.</td></tr>
</table>

Data Collection Methods

The methods used in the study included document gathering, interviews (multiple individual and one focus-group interview), and classroom observations. They involved an in-depth, longitudinal exploration of diachronic data over a 9-month stay in Mozambique, beginning with documentation and then subsequently doing interviews and classroom observations. These varying sources of data answer specific research questions.

Documentation

I analyzed national and local newspapers, local books, official documents, curricula and decrees to answer the following research question:

1. What language policies/practices are in place and being implemented in postcolonial Mozambique, and how have they changed over time?

Individual and Focus Group Interviews

In order to answer the following research questions I conducted a maximum of four individual interviews (each) for a total of 13 teachers. I also conducted one focus group interview with three teachers at the bilingual school.

1. How is the historical trajectory of the language and educational policies shaping social identities and affiliations of local teachers?
2. How do local teachers understand and legitimize perceptions about the role and importance of Mozambican languages, both in society and in the classroom?

Observations

I observed classroom practices for 13 teachers in four primary schools, two rural and two urban, starting in December until May of 2011, to answer the following research questions:

1. How do educators' views and experiences shape their practices and implementation of curricula in the classroom?
2. What language policies/practices are in place and being implemented in postcolonial Mozambique, and how have they changed over time?

Documentation

To research language ideologies and national discourses within shifting political and social contexts in recent decades, I focused on archival work. To understand what language

policies and practices are in place and are currently being implemented in Mozambique, I looked at books, curricular documents, language policy documents, brochures of language programs, and teacher manuals. Together these helped me to situate the historical chronology of language discourses.

The search for official documents, newspapers, and decrees in local libraries and ministries proved to be an extremely challenging task due to my distance from the capital of the country. In Mozambique, the government is centrally located and everything that related to "official" documents was 1,148 kilometers away. Unfortunately, the municipal library and the local archival center, ARPAC (Arquivo do Patrimonio Cultural) lacked adequate information. Although visits to the local archival center proved minimally fruitful, I was able to obtain copies of books written by Mozambican authors regarding educational policy over time. One of the most useful documents I obtained at the archival center was the curricular plan for grade 1-5 with the newly endorsed curricular changes. However, it was through my interactions with a school director that I was able to obtain copies of the Rules and Regulations book, curricula for cycles 1, 2 and 3, pamphlets addressing bilingual education and the most recent bilingual report in the region. The Rules and Regulations included the guidelines for the profession while the national curriculum handbook covered all aspects of the curriculum and classes for teachers and directors. They were important pieces in investigating intentions and implementational changes in school grounds. In addition, I also visited the Direcção Provincial de Educação e Cultura [Provincial Department of Education and Culture] to receive approval for the study and obtain census data of Mozambique and Chimoio.

Semi-structured Interviews

Interviews are a considerable source of data in this study. As Fontana & Frey (2000) so aptly note, interviews are "one of the most common and powerful ways in which we try to understand our fellow human beings" (p. 645). I chose semi-structured interviews because they allow for flexibility and for new questions to surface during the interview process, while still providing a slightly directive framework when highlighting themes. Both the interviewer and the interviewees had the opportunity to discuss issues and search for meaning of the details, permitting a two-way communication and access to a range of insights on various issues.

The frequency and duration of interviews varied depending on the time available by each teacher and their personal experiences. They ranged in duration from 45 minutes to 1.5 hours per interview and from one to four interviews per participant.

In general, the interviews were outlined in the following way: interviews covered historical and educational trajectories of each participant, topics of language use and also targeted information about classroom teaching. Follow-up interviews consisted of questions regarding the first interview and any classroom observations conducted during the interim. The follow-up questions investigated the reasons for teachers' classroom decisions, patterns of language and behaviors and checking my facts and interpretations with the teachers. A list of questions guided the initial interview, however fact-check and formal follow-up questions were not prepared *a priori*.

Given the nature of my research, another point that I took into consideration while conducting interviews was the language spoken during the interviews. Fontana & Frey (2008) point out that learning the language and culture of the respondents is important for building rapport and understanding certain "faux pas". (p.47) Given that my participants were

multilingual and multicultural this was a very sensitive topic. Being aware of the multiple layers of culture and languages is important; however, it is also challenging to match their language repertoire, seeing that they the majority of them spoke several languages. Since I am also familiar with this situation myself, growing up in a bilingual home, attending a school where another two languages were spoken, and living in several countries, I understand the importance of connecting with various cultures and also being able to express one's thoughts in different languages. I am highly conscious of this and understand that Portuguese was not a first language for most of my participants.

Given Mozambican's context, certain participants understood Portuguese but felt more comfortable speaking in their native language. However, seeing that they are products of a society where Portuguese is the language of professional settings, teachers and directors were required to speak the official language, which allowed for communication to take place between researcher and interviewee. In addition, certain teachers also seemed to prefer speaking Portuguese to each other at work, associating Portuguese with professional interactions.

In short, interviews were mostly conducted in Portuguese, though one of the teachers and one of the directors who were Zimbabwean were not discouraged to switch to English as I wanted them to express their ideas in whatever language they felt more confident in.

The interview questions did not conceptualize the research questions per se. Maxwell (2005) emphasizes the value of asking interviewees "real questions", those that the researcher is genuinely interested in. This, in turn, "creates a more symmetrical and collaborative relationship in which participants are able to bring their own knowledge to bear on the questions in ways that you might never have anticipated" (p. 92). I attempted to avoid questions that could manipulate answers and produce the type of data I was interested in. Instead I listened to their concerns and

comments, and together with the participants created a dialogue regarding attitudes and practices of African languages and Portuguese.

A summary of interview data collection is presented in Table 2

Table 2. Data Collection Summary

Teacher	School	Grade	Classroom Observations	Interviews
Tende	EPC Chibanda	1st	10/26/10 02/01/11 02/07/11 02/09/11 02/15/11	02/07/11 02/09/11 02/15/11
Catalina	EPC Chibanda	1st	05/06/11 05/09/11 05/11/11	05/06/11 05/11/11
Luíza	EPC Chibanda	2nd	05/11/11 05/12/11	05/12/11 05/26/11
Hamid	EPC Gómes	1st and 2nd	02/16/11 02/22/11 02/23/11 02/24/11	02/22/11 02/23/11 02/24/11
Noémia	EPC Gómes	1st and 2nd	02/17/11 02/18/11 02/21/11 03/01/11	02/17/11 02/18/11 02/21/11 03/01/11
Tino	EPC Gómes	6th and 7th	02/08/11 02/11/11	02/08/11
Daniela	EPC Sandúa	1st and 2nd	03/02/11 03/03/11 03/04/11 03/14/11	03/02/11 03/04/11 03/14/11
Kapomba	EPC Sandúa	3rd	03/22/11 03/23/11 03/28/11 04/01/11	03/22/11 03/23/11 04/01/11
Matos	EPC Sandúa	5th	03/08/11 03/09/11 03/14/11 03/16/11	03/09/11 03/16/11
Paulo	EPC Santander	1st and 2nd	04/05/11	04/05/11
Santos	EPC Santander	6th and 7th	04/13/11	04/13/11
Ana	EPC Santander	6th and 7th	04/06/11 04/08/11	04/06/11 04/12/11

Focus Group Interviews

My initial plan included two focus group interviews, however I was only able to conduct one small focus group interview at a single school where teachers were housed overnight,

simplifying the meeting. While it seemed theoretically simple to get teachers together, it turned out to be incredibly challenging logistically, given dirt roads, limited public transportation and very busy schedules. In light of this, I made a decision to only conduct one focus group interview with teachers at the bilingual school.

Focus groups are a useful tool and can offer unique insights "into the possibilities of or for critical inquiry as a deliberative, dialogic, and democratic practice that is always already engaged in and with real-world problems and asymmetries" (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005, p. 887). Moreover, focus groups provide formation of collective inquiry and a way of working with participants instead of about them. This method can also afford researchers "access to the kinds of social interactional dynamics that produce particular memories, positions, ideologies, practices, and desires among specific groups of people"(Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005, p. 904). Bloor et al. (2001) also explain that focus groups can provide an occasion for members to collectively articulate "those normally unarticulated normative assumptions" (p. 6). Within the group, members feel socially legitimated and may tease out previously taken for granted assumptions. I took this opportunity to check their views in a group format. I did however also see the power dynamics that are in place in Mozambique, particularly with gender. The only male in the focus interview dominated the conversation, even though he was one of the youngest in the group.

Classroom Observations

Participant-observation of teachers' classrooms was another important piece of data collection. It aided in my understanding of how teachers were putting practices into place and the interactions that occurred with the students during classroom activities and breaks.

Field notes were recorded during observations. Comprehensive notes of teacher/student interactions in Portuguese and local languages were collected during the classroom periods, offering a window into enacted language and educational practices. Detailed notes were taken in order to relate language use of the teachers in differing contexts.

I was also able to shadow some of the teachers shortly after their classes, by giving them rides to their homes or walking them home. This allowed for a small amount of observation of how they negotiated their languages outside the classroom.

I observed 13 teachers in their classroom setting, ranging from 1 to 5 full day's program for each teacher. I observed fewer classes in upper primary school (6^{th}-7^{th}) given the Portuguese levels of the students; older students had more advanced levels of Portuguese and teachers only communicated with them in Portuguese. I concentrated my time in younger levels, primarily 1^{st} through 3^{rd} grade, due to the negotiation between two languages on a regular basis.

An unexpected difficulty I encountered during my data collection was the inconsistency of teacher attendance; some teachers were absent on the days we had confirmed visits, thus I was not able to complete a total of 4 visits for each teacher. I remained at the site of study in meetings with the directors and visiting the nearby communities for approximately a month for each site.

A research objective was to see how policies are shaping practices within the institutional setting as well as other contexts. It was my assumption that the language use of each teacher might influence how s/he resists, accepts, or encourages the use of local languages among his/her students, or may have done so in the past. Their personal values towards and use of Mozambican languages can shed light on the ideologies that they teach/taught within their classes.

Researcher Positioning

My personal interest and drive to go to Mozambique was, among other things, due to the fact that I grew up in Brazil, also an ex-colony of Portugal where Portuguese is spoken. I speak Portuguese, which although not an indigenous Mozambican language, enabled me to communicate with many people in Mozambique, and especially with those in the educational environment who are required to know Portuguese.

Doing research in a country one is unfamiliar with is not a simple task. I was lucky to have access through my contacts, and yet I understood that my interactions with participants would unavoidably be informed by my social position. Because of the complexities of qualitative research in a foreign environment and the debate between the outsider and insider perspective, I considered reflexivity to be a crucial aspect of ethical research. As a western, white-skinned woman, and as a graduate student (among others characteristics of my social position that need to be acknowledged), there are numerous and inevitable assumptions that I bring to the study. I found myself stepping on soil that I was completely unfamiliar with, finding comfort in being uncomfortable and trying to be respectful of the cultural norms I was faced with. I adjusted to local realities and customs, class cancellations and religious holidays, always attempting to stay faithful to my methodological design.

My social position had an important role in the data collection process. Being aware of my effect on the teachers, and of my experience as a young researcher, was part of my reflective process. The positioning of the researcher has been extensively studied in qualitative research and has been frequently divided into outsider or insider status. As mentioned above, arriving at the schools without a witness was inappropriate. Had I done so, a level of trust would not have

been established right away and the initial interaction could have been unsuccessful. After receiving my provincial approval, I imagined that the document would provide trust and enable a more independent interaction. However, I was told by locals that I should not appear at a school on my own without a witness, because it would suggest that my purpose was to evaluate their work, instead of to create a collaborative and observational enterprise. Had this been the case, participants could have been more reluctant to cooperate fully and honestly. In addition, my phenotype separated me from the large majority of the population. I clearly understood the notions my skin brought forth when another English professor at the university asked me how I was going to show up at the schools:

P: Are you going to go to the schools like that?

Sandra: Like what?

P: By yourself.

Sandra: Umm (….) Oh, I have a friend that can come with me.

P: Is he Mozambican?

Sandra: Yes, he is.

P: OK then. It's best if he goes with you initially. (…) Is he Mozambican like me or you? Does he look like me or like you? (touching his arm)

P& Sandra: (laughter)

Sandra: Like you. He looks like you.

P: Wait, is he muzungo (white)?

Sandra: No, he is like you Mozambican Mozambican.

P: (laughter) Ok, then you will be okay, he will be your witness (fieldnotes, 10/24/11).

It became quickly apparent that my whiteness, and being specifically a racial outsider, extended beyond the outsider status (Anderson, 1976). My race was relevant to my access in the field and I was positioned as an outsider member of the community. Best (2003) proposes that "race categories are an emergent feature of ongoing social interaction and talk" (p.897), instead of race being a fixed categorical designation

In our brief interaction, the professor quickly claims a group identity separate from my own, and I calm his fears by affirming his membership and that of my friend as part of this collective. There is a negotiation that happens while the professor ascertains that my friend is in fact black. Unsatisfied with knowing that my friend is Mozambican, the professor asks further without addressing race directly, touching his arm instead. We laugh together, probably because of his indirectness at the question, and I assure him that my friend is Mozambican and looks like him (in other words, black). However, the professor is still unsatisfied and wants to be certain that Mozambican "like you" means Black and for his last question he asks directly if he is white.

As a non-Mozambican my racial position, in addition to my gender and age, play a role in my research. Due to the society's historical and present relationships with whites (at the time, in that region, the majority of whites seemed to be working for donor or international agencies) the professor explained to me that he preferred it if I went with "one of our kind" because directors would think that white people are evaluating them and are hesitant to be truly welcoming and open in the classroom.

It was this same professor who eventually drove me to my first site, where he was not only considered an insider in terms of nationality and race, but also knew the director personally. He initiated contact with one of the *diretores pedagógicos* and insisted on being there for the initial meeting with the experienced teacher. Though I was a racial outsider, establishing contacts

in Mozambican culture are very important and knowing a professor that knew a director allowed for more trust and interest. His insider knowledge of the customs and expectations of the cultural traditions provided access into the school system and granted a welcoming response from the teachers.

Another example of my outsider status was reflected in my participants' choices of self-address terms. For instance, Tende, a much older teacher, would repeatedly call me "doutora" (Doctor), ignoring my request to simply address me as "Sandra". This self-reference choice signaled a gesture of a hierarchy-free relationship, and my desire to self-position as an equal. It would take several reminders and prolonged visits to his classroom for Tende to address me by my first name, when he was finally convinced by my role in education and comfortable with my presence. I believe that coming to the site the very first time with the university professor and being introduced as a researcher gave the teacher an indication and justification to address me with a higher status.

However, being an "outsider" provided me with some benefits as well, as in many ways teachers believed I was doing something "important" and would also address me as Doctor (Tende wasn't the only teacher who called me "doutora"). As I mentioned, regardless of my insistence on being called Sandra, very few people in Chimoio had received a Ph.D. or were pursuing one. In fact, nobody at the local university had one. This granted me both access and "respect" as an interviewer and observer, and provided me some level of credibility, which helped me in terms of gathering participants. Every single teacher I asked to work with me was willing to do so. Many teachers told me that it was useful to speak about their educational practices and appreciated the exchange we had during our conversations.

Qualitative researchers have argued that the insider/outsider dichotomy is overly simplistic and not adequate in representing the role of the researcher in collecting the data. Instead it has been described as an in-between space, not fully occupying either of the positions (Breen, 2007). This ambiguous, in-between state best describes my own feelings within the community. Over time, my status shifted from being an outsider, to a foreigner, a Brazilian, then into an "expert" voice, a researcher and finally into a friend.

After the time spent at the schools, the status I held was molded and varied, it was not a static status; instead, it had a fluid dynamic. My participants and I co-constructed my status throughout my time, having distinctive and interactive roles in the data collection process. Rabe (2003) speaks of the insider and outsider debate from the perspective of a white, highly educated female fluent in only Afrikkaans (the language of the apartheid era) and English in conducting research in the mines of South Africa. Similarly, in addition to my own doubts of being a white female without knowledge of the vernacular, I also doubted my wisdom and ability to conduct research in the African context. Mozambique was an ex-colony of Portugal, the majority of the population is black, and race inequalities are still relevant.

Rabe (2003) speaks of how researcher status can be understood within three major contexts: power, knowledge and self-understanding. In terms of knowledge, Rabe (2003) suggests that insiders have the ability to share perspectives with those studied, but at times due to the proximity and commonality of the researcher, particular situations go uncovered or are taken for granted.

When I arrived in Mozambique, I had no membership status in the group of teachers and directors. While I lacked the commonality that can be afforded when the researcher is part of the group, I also could see everything with fresh eyes, as a child would when everything is brand

new and exciting. Rabe (2003) describes this insight as looking at events and interactions with 'new' eyes, able to notice things that insiders take for granted. I had no presumptions or assumptions of similarity and tried to understand everything based on teachers' views and experiences shared in our conversations.

Specific interpretations are shaped by positionality. Though I did not have shared experiences with the teachers and directors, I observed common practices in the communities, such as respecting the hierarchy within the profession and making use of witnesses to provide me with a welcomed access. Nonetheless, as an outsider to their cultural and educational spheres, I also brought my own tensions to the group. I was often frustrated with the way teachers disciplined their students, and with teachers' consistent tardiness or total absence from the classroom. It was not infrequent for me to drive an hour to a site only to find that the teacher was not in school that day and classes were canceled. It took some negotiation on my part to understand that there are deep cultural practices that exist between teachers and students that have been repeated for decades, as well as when it was appropriate to comment on these differences. I learned to accept the different daily pace and appreciate the fact that teachers felt they could be honest with me since I did not represent a governmental institution.

As researchers, we are part of the community but with a different purpose. Nevertheless, with time and involvement, connections are formed and experiences are shared beyond the professional. For example, though I was collecting information from the participants, I was also a source of comfort and support in our conversations. We shared information regarding teaching, compared educational spaces in Mozambique to the countries I had lived and experienced, and I also served as a sympathetic ear to their personal frustrations inside the field. They were not threatened by my presence once they understood that I didn't work for the government, which

allowed them to share their frustrations and disappointments with the system. This occurred frequently once they established that I was not going to affect their job status.

In addition, even though I held an outsider role in terms of not belonging to the Mozambican community, I speak Portuguese as a first language and could communicate with all the teachers. What separated me from the Portuguese citizens in Mozambique was my Brazilian culture and language. Though also Portuguese, Brazilian Portuguese has many differences and connotations. Like Mozambique, Brazil was also colonized by Portugal. I was frequently told that I was "different" from the people of Portugal who lived in Mozambique. This distinguished me from the other Portuguese speakers and gave me a unique status with the educators. My Brazilian citizenship also provided me with some unexpected interest from many Mozambicans that I met, given the major influence of Brazilian television shows on Mozambican television channels.

Though I was welcomed and was commonly asked questions about Brazil, I was often initially viewed as an evaluator as well, due to the association the local population had with foreigners who worked in international organizations. In Chimoio, most of the white people were foreigners and many worked for those organizations. The *pedagógicos* often had to introduce me and explain that I was doing personal research, "so they are more comfortable and do not feel judged by you, which could affect their jobs" (Rapa, interview, 03/02/11).

My social position as viewed by others and myself affected my role as a researcher. I began as a clear outsider, but as I gained access and began to participate in classes and share experiences with the teachers my role shifted to the in-between place, where my status shifted between insider and outsider depending on the context (Kerstetter, 2012). My extended contact

at the schools led to empathy and feelings of closeness, which is what allowed for a dynamic relationship, surpassing a simple dichotomous interaction.

Sites of study

My research took place in the Manica province of Mozambique, more specifically in Chimoio, the capital of the province, and surrounding villages. In this mostly rural and agricultural area, located merely 80 kilometers away from the Zimbabwean border, a considerable part of the population had moved to this neighboring country, returning only after the end of the civil war. Some of the reasons that I chose this location were that minimal research had been conducted in this area, its location close to the border, which allowed for flows in movement during the civil war and beyond, and because it allowed for comparison between rural and urban areas. Chimoio is the fourth largest city of Mozambique, though it is considerably smaller than the capital and is largely agriculturally based. This location was also ideal for my research due to the recent bilingual implementation by some of the schools in this province. However, the most determining factor that geared me towards conducting research in Chimoio, a place completely unknown to me prior to my travel there, was my existing contacts in the area. The educational sites selected for my data collection were a total of four primary schools and a Teacher Formation Center, the only one in the entire province. Two of the primary schools were located in Chimoio, one in Chibata (30 kilometers east of Chimoio) and the last school was in Marera (situated approximately 30 kilometers south of Chimoio along dirt roads). The first two schools were in urban areas, closer to downtown Chimoio, whereas the other two were more characteristic of rural schools, surrounded by agricultural communities and distanced from town.

The four schools differed in infrastructure and resources available for both students and teachers. However, all of the schools had equally limited materials and precarious settings for

some of the classrooms. Many classrooms lacked desks, chairs, blackboards, books, or walls, resulting in daily lessons being conducted outside, on the ground, underneath trees. The teacher formation center was the only one in the entire province training pre-service teachers from Manica and other provinces.

I began my selection of schools with certain criteria in mind: I wanted to depict a comparison between rural and urban environments and include both monolingual (with language as a resource) and bilingual educational programs. I also wanted to look at the recently implemented bilingual programs and the integration of local languages into the monolingual classes with African languages as a resource being part of the curricular plan. Seeing that local language usage varied nationally, particularly between urban and rural contexts, the choice of setting was an important consideration.

With those criteria in mind, I began my search. I obtained access to the first school through a recommendation from an English professor at the university. He knew the *pedagógica* and initiated the contact and meeting. *EPC Chibanda* was located 30 kms from Chimoio nestled within a community. They had three locations for students; a base school, near a busy intersection, and two other annexes, where students attended schools in makeshift classrooms, sometimes borrowing the church's infrastructure for lessons and gatherings.

The next school, *EPC Gómes*, was selected based on a teacher contact that was attending the university for his bachelor's degree. He wanted to participate in the study and took me to his school and introduced me to his *pedagógico*, a kind man who was willing to let me work with his teachers. This school was located within the urban area of Chimoio, a short ride away by bike or community buses. The base school was standard; it had classrooms with blackboards and limited chairs and materials, yet due to high enrollment, other classrooms were set up next to the

school's field. These classrooms were rudimentarily put together, containing a blackboard and asymmetrical wooden slats as walls. Students sat on the floor and had limited privacy; the other classrooms were visible through the walls.

Another urban school, *EPC Santander*, enjoyed furnished classrooms (desks, chairs, blackboards) due to a government prize they had received in previous years providing them access to money for furniture and materials. This was the only school where elementary school students did not sit on the floor.

The final school selected, *EPC Sandúa*, was situated 30 kms west of Chimoio, a far commute via dirt roads. This school had several annexes within the community, located near the base building. It was an educational setting for 1st-12th grades and included a bilingual strand from 1st to 7th grade.

All four schools were "complete" primary schools (EPC or *Escola Primária Completa)* meaning that they were comprised of both cycles, EP1 and EP2. EP1 includes the first five grades of primary school while EP2 includes 6th and 7th grade. After 7th grade, secondary school began. Table 3 presents an overview of the schools selected for study.

Table 3. Overview of Sites of Study

Name	Location	Modality
EPC Gómes	Urban – in Chimoio	Monolingual Modality
EPC Santander	Urban- in Chimoio	Monolingual Modality
EPC Chibanda	Rural- 30 kms from Chimoio	Monolingual Modality
EPC Sandúa	Rural- 30 kms from Chimoio	Bilingual Program (1st-7th grade)

In short, the contacts I established via the university faculty and their friends were invaluable to my access into the sites of study. I formed an excellent relationship with the director at a school with the bilingual program who generously shared his time and resources, and encouraged teachers at his school to participate in my study. He, too, let the teachers know that I was not from the government and was not evaluating their work.

All sites were selected through a contact who introduced the directors and teachers to me. I was fortunate to receive full support and was immediately welcomed by all the directors and teachers. I know that arriving at the schools with a well-known member of the educational system was very helpful in establishing trust and acceptance and that establishing a social network was a crucial piece in the feasibility of my project.

Participant Recruitment

Teachers play a major role in the construction and reconstruction of social identities, both as instruments to teach languages and as conveyers of societal values and beliefs. They are products of the societies that they grew up in, and of the educational and professional discourses they have been exposed to in their professional training. For these reasons, they were the focus of my study. My goal was to conduct an investigation of stakeholders both tied to the institution and at the community level.

Participants were selected using purposeful selection or criterion-based selection (Patton, 2002). Participants were selected depending on their willingness to participate, availability, language, teaching experience and age. A very important factor in selection was age, in order to grasp the historical timeline of their perspectives. For each site, I observed and interviewed at least one teacher who was born during colonial times and taught during the civil war, as well as a

younger teacher who had experience in the newer system and had not experienced the colonial system.

Teachers were also initially selected based on their spoken languages, giving preference to those that spoke more than one language in addition to Portuguese. However, as I later understood, interviewing teachers who only spoke Portuguese (I only met one) would also inform the practices and perspectives they had regarding local languages in the classroom. They could demonstrate the exact language shift that has been occurring in present day Mozambique.

I began by asking the directors to identify their oldest teachers in order to create a dialogue with them, since there were far fewer older teachers than those in the younger generation. This allowed me to begin with those most experienced in the school system and those who had undergone schooling during colonial times.

As most qualitative ethnographic research shows, researchers adapt and adjust their research design based on realities of the culture studied. I soon understood that I wouldn't be able to work with teachers in their home environment given my language limitations (i.e., I didn't speak the vernacular languages). Due to that, I made the decision to interview more teachers that were representative of different age groups and focus greatly on the classroom setting instead of the home environment. However, information on their home environment was also included in the interviews. Additionally, I decided to include the voices of the directors and teacher trainers to hear administrative voices for a better grasp of the educational institution at distinct levels.

Table 4. Diretores Pedagógicos

Name	Location	Interview date
Rapa	EPC Sandúa	03/02/11
Antonio	EPC Gómes	02/11/11
Heloísa	EPC Chibanda	02/01/11
Glória	EPC Santander	04/04/11

In addition to the focus on teachers, I also interviewed "pedagogical" directors, those in charge of overseeing the teachers and their work. Their role was not entirely limited to a supervisor role; the *pedagógicos* were also required to teach one subject per semester. In each school, two directors were in charge, one called *Director* and the second named *Director Adjuncto Pedagógico,* shortened to *pedagógico* or *DAP.* Given the responsibilities of the two types of school directors in the Mozambican school system, I decided to interview the *directores pedagógicos* who could provide insight into both teacher views and different aspects of organizing classes and language incorporation in the classroom. The *directores* had a different, more administrative role within the schools. The *pedagógicos* were interviewed regarding language policy change and implementation, curricular changes, language beliefs and experiences. This provided a broader scope of information from those involved in the language policies and implementation in the province.

Overview of Teacher Participants

My participants were thirteen primary school teachers and four pedagogical directors in the primary schools. Although I also gathered partial life histories from the pedagogical directors, my focal participants were the teachers who I interviewed and observed in the classroom setting. Participants varied in age: some were students during the colonial period, others studied through the civil war, and others recently graduated and were only familiar with

the current governmental period of the country. Their age differences help us understand how views have changed for those who have undergone varying language and educational policies and life trajectories. These teachers, each with a unique story, have moved through Mozambican societies and schools during times in which educational policies and ideologies greatly shifted. All of the participants were black. Although issues of race are prevalent in Mozambican history and society, it was not a focus of my dissertation.

Below, I signal a brief introduction to each of the focal participants highlighting the generation, their educational and professional trajectory, current place of work, and whether they are multilingual or monolingual. For the purpose of identification, I often refer to teachers during the dissertation as belonging to the older generation and younger generation. They are not meant as permanent dichotomous positions, instead teachers move in and out of themes irrespective of age. However, as a means of guidance older generation teachers are meant to signal an exposure to the colonial regimen and a teaching career that began during the civil war. Younger generation teachers are mentioned as teachers who did not grow up during colonial times, did not experience the Portuguese regime, and did not become teachers until more recently. As you will see below in Noémia's description, it is not always possible to group individuals in these simplified categories, she was born during colonial times, but was not drafted into teaching and only entered the profession 13 years ago. Therefore, it is not my intention to identify teachers as "young" or "old" or young-minded or old-minded, instead I use younger generation and older generation simply to identify their birth and professional experience.

> 1) Ana was born in 1956 and had been teaching for 30 years at the time of the interviews. She was part of the older generation. She began teaching in 1979 when she was 22 years old with a 4th grade education, to help Frelimo with the lack of teachers. Her parents were assimilated and she received official education during colonial times while also speaking Portuguese at home. She was born near the border in the Manica province and moved to Chimoio after marriage. Multilingual from experience, she spoke Portuguese at home. Ana was teaching at EPC Santander.

2) Santos was born in 1961 in Nampula, a province north of Chimoio. He was part of the older generation. He had been teaching for 31 years at the time of the interviews. Santos attended school during colonial times as well, but only became assimilated during 4th grade. After being drafted to teach he moved to the Manica province. During the time of the interviews Santos was teaching at EPC Santander, an urban school in Chimoio. He is multilingual and speaks local languages at home with his wife who doesn't speak Portuguese.

3) Tende was born in 1963, he had been teaching for 30 years at the time of the interviews. He was part of the older generation. Tende attended school during colonial time and went to rudimentary school during colonial times. Tende was drafted during the war to teach in other provinces, moving around and learning other languages. Tende was teaching at EPC Chibanda in an annex, located in a rural community. He is multilingual and speaks local language at home with his wife who doesn't speak Portuguese.

4) Hamid was born in 1964 and had been teaching for 28 years; he was part of the older generation. He attended only rudimentary school during colonial times, given his unassimilated status. After his parent's death, Hamid was sent to Maputo from Cabo Delgado and later to Manica province. Hamid was teaching at EPC Gómes. He is multilingual and also speaks local languages at home with his wife who doesn't speak Portuguese.

5) Kapomba was born in 1967, but didn't begin schooling until shortly after independence. Though he didn't start school during colonial times he was drafted during the civil war to teach. He had been teaching for 27 years and is part of the older generation. Kapomba moved around during the war and also lived in Zimbabwe for a year. Kapomba was teaching in the bilingual program at EPC Sandúa. Kapomba is multilingual.

6) Noémia was born in 1966, but didn't begin schooling until after independence. She had been teaching for 13 years. Noémia was not a teacher during the civil war, yet was born during colonial times and experienced similar movement during the civil war. During the civil war she moved to Zimbabwe and learned other dialects. Now, she lives near EPC Gómes in the urban area and speaks Portuguese with her children at home. She is multilingual.

7) Tino was born in Zimbabwe in 1979. He was part of the younger generation who did not experience the colonial times nor taught during the civil war. He had been teaching for 6 years. He learned the languages in Zimbabwe first and taught English and Visual education at EPC Gómes, an urban school. He moved to Mozambique because his father was from there and was unable to find a job in Zimbabwe. He is multilingual.

8) Amélia was born in 1981. She was in her second year of teaching at the time of interviews and was part of the younger generation. She learned other languages at home and Portuguese at school. She started teaching because of lack of options and had worked in other sectors prior to education. She was teaching at EPC Santander, an urban school, and is multilingual.

9) Daniela was born in 1983 near the border of Zimbabwe on the Mozambican side. She had been teaching for two years and it was her first year teaching in the bilingual

program. She was part of the younger generation. She began teaching with a 10th grade education and always wanted to be a teacher. Daniela learned dialects of the province and married a man from Zimbabwe. She was teaching bilingual 1st and 2nd grade at EPC Sandúa during the time of the interviews.

10) Matos was born in 1984. Matos has been teaching for 4 years, but had only started teaching in the bilingual program. He was part of the younger generation. His family was from a village in the Manica province and he spoke other languages. He spoke Portuguese at home with his siblings, yet local languages with his mother. He was teaching 5th grade in the bilingual modality at EPC Sandúa and commuted from Chimoio daily.

11) Catalina was born in 1985. Catalina was teaching in her first year at the time of the interviews. She was part of the younger generation. Catalina has remained mostly near Chimoio but moved temporarily to the border near Zimbabwe and learned other languages. She lived in Chimoio and commuted daily to EPC Chibanda in the rural community. Catalina learned her mother tongue at home but also learned Portuguese with her father.

12) Luíza was born in 1986. She had been teaching for 3 years. She was born in a town bordering Zimbabwe and moved to Chimoio as a teenager. She got pregnant at the age of 15 and moved to another village with her husband's family. There she learned other languages and returned to live in the community near EPC Chibanda to teach. She is multilingual.

13) Paulo was born in 1992 and was 19 years old at the time of the interviews. He was part of the younger generation. He has been teaching for less than one year at the time of the interviews. Paula had grown up Beira, the third largest city in Mozambique and moved to Chimoio recently for the teaching job. He was the only monolingual (Portuguese) teacher of the study.

Table 5. Participant Summary

Teacher name	School	Age at the time of study	Years teaching	Multilingual/ Monolingual
Ana	EPC Santander	55	30	Multilingual
Santos	EPC Santander	50	31	Multilingual
Tende	EPC Chibanda	48	30	Multilingual
Hamid	EPC Gómes	47	28	Multilingual
Noémia	EPC Gómes	45	13	Multilingual
Kapomba	EPC Sandúa	44	27	Multilingual
Tino	EPC Gómes	32	6	Multilingual
Amélia	EPC Santander	30	2	Multilingual
Daniela	EPC Sandúa	28	2	Multilingual
Matos	EPC Sandúa	27	4	Multilingual
Catalina	EPC Chibanda	26	1	Multilingual
Luíza	EPC Chibanda	25	3	Multilingual
Paulo	EPC Santander	19	1	Monolingual

Data Collection and Analysis

In order to collect the desired data, I decided to audiotape semi-structured interviews. This allowed the main focus of the interviews to be on understanding life trajectories, perspectives and attitudes regarding language beliefs and use. I interviewed teachers individually; teachers and I generally spoke after school, during lesson breaks, or between subjects. My participatory role or involvement in the classroom environment also came into play when teachers sent the students to me for task corrections.

In the classroom, I preferred to simply take thorough field notes, due to the distraction that any technological equipment brought to the classroom. My recording equipment, though small, drew attention. I also had to stop taking a camera to class because students were so curious about it that they interrupted class to ask to use it. In addition, the noise level in most classrooms with children, particularly in open-air settings, was not conducive to audiotaping.

After data collection, I focused on a theme-based analysis. Narrative Inquiry focuses on the voices and stories of the participants. I analyzed the interviews and observation data by identifying emerging themes (Saldaña, 2013). I first looked at the data and looked at striking factors, comments, statement, or opinions in the transcriptions. I began by coding with a word or short phrase a specific salient attribute in a portion of the data. I then looked at categories that were formed based on the codes and analyzed the similar codes by assembling them together and creating a pattern. This pattern is "a stimulus to develop a statement that describes a major theme, a pattern of action, a network of interrelationships, or a theoretical construct from the data" (Saldaña, 2013, p. 212). These themes (i.e. assimilation, identity, legitimization, curricular intentions, etc.) were the focus of my analysis, which was divided into teachers' individual backgrounds, perspectives and their practices regarding languages.

It is important to note that the data analysis did not occur in any one given moment, instead it developed in a fluid nature, during stages of the data collection process and afterwards. I found myself recognizing themes both during the interviews and observations as well as during transcribing and after multiple interactions with the data in the write-up.

For the data collection encompassing classroom practices, I analyzed the field notes that were based on classroom observations of all of the teachers, excluding the *Directores Adjuntos Pedagógicos* (directors). My initial coding focused on parts of classroom observation that involved discussion of local languages and/or Portuguese as well as their use in the classroom. I was specifically interested in those interactions where local languages and Portuguese were negotiated in the classroom. For my analysis, I looked for patterns that surfaced regarding language use among the teachers and students, issues regarding teaching and learning that naturally occurred during our interviews, and comparisons between the curricular factors and what is actually being done in the classroom setting.

In addition to the analysis of narratives and discourse, other methods were used in order to triangulate the data, attempting to reduce the probability of misinterpretation and to clarify multiple perceptions. Those included observations of the classroom environment and teaching as well as documentation of educational and language policies.

Limitations

Regarding methodology, triangulating the interview data with observations/shadowing, as well as with archival work, can help strengthen conclusions that might otherwise only reflect systematic biases or specific limitations from one method. It also allows for a broader understanding of the themes and questions I was investigating. However, this is not to say that there weren't limitations.

First of all, I was not familiar with the culture and could for the most part only maintain an "outsider" position, as this was the first time I had ever been to Mozambique and did not have personal knowledge of Mozambican realities and day-to-day concerns. This may have prevented participants from feeling completely comfortable expressing personal historical events. In addition, the view of me as an outsider may have made participants feel as if they were being evaluated, despite my insistence of the contrary. There is no guarantee that informants' views are typical or that they do not differ substantially relative from the "realities" that people from Mozambique have lived.

Furthermore, this study does not provide the voices of the most subjugated in a country where the official language is Portuguese: those who do not speak Portuguese. The marginalized minority of the country does not use the language of the elite on a daily basis, and may have never been educated within the system, or may have been silenced for other reasons. Based on my impressions, I observed that many of the lower social classes in Manica province did not speak Portuguese or receive any education. There are others who sent their children to schools in neighboring Zimbabwe, claiming that English and education are better over there.

The lack of local language knowledge represents, in my opinion, the biggest limitation I had as a researcher. I was only able to access the information through one language, and had to limit my interactions with the teachers to the official language as well as location of research. I was also not able to understand many of the students' interactions, unless they occurred in Portuguese. In addition, my initial design was to accompany teachers into their home environments, however, I realized that my presence would have either influenced when they used Portuguese or I wouldn't understand their communication or understand which language they were using. They had to revert to Portuguese to include me in a conversation. Due to this, I

took notes of when there was a change in language and how teachers and students reacted to it. Follow-up interviews were used to clarify what was said in local languages.

Further, this study only looked at speakers of multiple languages which include Portuguese within them, in order to look at the how the official discourses have affected them. In addition, this study largely focuses on teacher perspectives, which limits the understandings of other stakeholders and students. Future research should acknowledge local populations that do not use Portuguese or other colonizer language as well as student and family perspectives.

Finally, this study is limited to a local reality in the area that I investigated. I investigate a specific location with proximity to borders and particular movements of people. It does not make comparisons to the broader context of Mozambique.

Chapter 5: Teachers' Language and Educational Trajectories

Introduction

In this chapter, I will delve into participants' educational and language trajectories through their own voices by examining data from participant observation and interviews. I will offer a more detailed understanding of my participants' life experiences as told by their own stories, and through them attempt to understand the deeper context of the Mozambican historical trajectory of educational changes. The resulting analysis is by no means absolute; some perspectives can be interpreted within various thematic constructs since they are fluid in nature. These trajectories contribute to shaping teacher perspectives and beliefs regarding Mozambican languages, highlighting the complexities of a multilingual postcolonial country in the current climate of vernacular promotion and education.

Varghese et al. (2005) emphasize that in order to understand language teaching and learning we need to understand teachers through their professional, cultural, political and individual identities. It is with this framework and the objective of understanding teachers' lived experiences and their effects on the educational system and students that I focus on narrative inquiry across time, specifically with educators that experience shifts in language-in-education policies.

As I have discussed in the methodology chapter (Chapter 4), narrative inquiry is a process that allows for the negotiation and creation of events and identities. It is through the telling of stories that participants and their audience create and define their relationships in the social world (Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992). In addition, teacher identity construction is negotiated over time within the social contexts teachers participated in, where they learned,

taught and used languages (Varghese et al., 2005). Teacher identity is a crucial component of the classroom. Identity formation is undoubtedly connected to the sociocultural and sociopolitical dimensions of teaching (Kubota, 2001; Norton, 1997; Pennycook, 1994, 2001) and is multiple, varied, hybrid and in constant formation, change, evolution and transformation (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Gee, 2000; Hall, 1994; Norton 2000). Also, teacher's experiences outside of the classrooms shape what happens in practice. These experiences are part of their socialization into attitudes toward particular educational and language policies and practices. It is with this assumption that I investigate the identity and trajectories in language education and instruction of several teachers.

A central premise of this chapter is that every instance of language use must be seen in its historical context. Blommaert (2005) has argued for the 'need to conceive of all instances of language usage as intrinsically historical' (p.18) and connect 'micro-instances of social practice with macro-levels of social structure and history' (p.19). The historical background is crucial in understanding the lived experiences of teachers and directors and how these in turn shape their beliefs about language use and educational policy. For this temporal background I use narratives of selected teachers who were both students and had been teaching during different periods of Mozambican sociopolitical history. The age range of participants delivers distinctive experiences in their schooling, professional opportunities, and attitudes towards their professional and personal identity at the time of the interviews.

For the analysis, I looked at themes across teachers, taking into consideration two major age groups: those who had experienced education during colonial times and those who hadn't. This division does not make permanent dichotomies; instead, teachers from both eras traveled in and out of themes, which were at times contradicting and filled with tension. I used relative

grouping to facilitate comparison across more similar educational and professional experiences in terms of the historical context. This is important given the relatively recent changes from colonial education and to new curricula. Within each generation, we are able to see shared historical trajectories based on the shifting political, historical and social environment in Mozambique, and shared experiences that shaped ways of being, thinking and believing. In the voices presented below, teachers' beliefs, perspectives and attitudes give rise to a most needed recognition of how educators shape the educational system and their students.

For this chapter I explore one main question: (1) How are teachers' personal and educational trajectories shaping beliefs, attitudes and social identities?

Teachers' stories

I have chosen to detail the voices of teachers in order to demonstrate a variety of educational and language experiences across my participants and in order to contextualize the educator's trajectories within the broader societal and historical structures and connect these to their perspectives. The older participants had first-hand knowledge of schooling in the colonial era as well as the civil war that followed. Younger teachers help inform new discourses and ways of thinking regarding language and education, themselves products of specific national, educational and linguistic changes.

From the 13 educators who participated in the study, I considered five of them as the *older generation* of teachers, given that they underwent their formative years under the colonial government, a time when local languages were rigorously forbidden. All five were near the retirement age at the time of the study, having exercised this profession for over 27 years. Other teachers varied in ages and experiences, some having undergone some schooling during the civil war time period (1975-1992) and still others who, having begun their formal schooling after the

peace treaty (1992-), were just beginning their careers with less than a year in the profession at the time they were interviewed (in general referred to as *younger generation*).

Though there have been changes towards the valorization of vernaculars, bilingual implementation in Mozambique only occurred in 2004, in limited rural provinces. Thus those participating in this study who were teachers during the school year 2010-2011 (when I was collecting my data) did not attend school utilizing the new curriculum at the elementary level when they were students; all of the teachers in this study were students in monolingual programs, using Portuguese as the sole language of instruction and the previous curricular guidelines.

Interviews on personal educational trajectories and language trajectories show examples of their own schooling, be it during the time of colonial education or after independence. Participants detail stories as students and memorable moments in their education spanning from elementary school to teacher training. The duration of formal schooling varied tremendously between teachers as a result of the sociopolitical environment during their formative years. Finally, the language trajectory underlines their personal experiences learning languages and their day-to-day usage. These trajectories, both educational and language learning, can help explain how teachers *identify* as students, teachers and language learners, situating their identities within the larger scope of history.

To make the explicit connection between history and teacher identity development, I intersect the narratives of teachers. Their life narratives share the particular sociocultural background of Mozambique for the past several decades. Common themes of professional roles, identity, movement, and multilingualism/monolingualism emerged from teacher narratives were representative of their lived and imagined historical experience.

In sum, educators' narratives can shed some light on the way they have lived and

experienced their lives as students and teachers, as well as language learners and speakers. By looking at the way they have constructed and recognized themselves within each of those roles we see impacts on the perspectives and practices towards local language education. For this chapter, I will analyze the beliefs, attitudes and perspectives of teachers, making associations to their collective histories, both shared and individual.

Mandatory Teaching for Older Generations

In 1973 the fight for independence was coming to an end. In 1974 Portugal signed the Lusaka Accord, formally recognizing the right of independence for the Mozambican people and agreeing to transfer powers to Frelimo, the political party in power. "But in 74, that's when the Lusaka agreement happened, so the Portuguese, many disappeared", says Tende, whose own boss returned to Portugal after the signing (interview, 02/07/11). In fact the majority of Portuguese citizens returned to Portugal for fear of reprisals. When this exodus happened, many of the wealthier, educated and trained individuals who held positions in the government and education sectors returned to Portugal. This mass exodus of its Portuguese population left Mozambique in need of major internal reconstruction.

One of Frelimo's top objectives after independence was to focus on education by actively promoting and expanding access to all. Frelimo 'nationalized all education services' and made education a 'national development imperative' (AfriMAP & OSISA, 2012, p.4). Given the severe loss of trained teachers who returned to Portugal, the new ruling party began an obligatory recruitment of teachers. According to the teachers I interviewed, the government recruited and conscripted students who had reached a 6th grade level (one of the teachers, Ana, only had a 4th grade education) of education to become primary school teachers, placing them in various zones

spread throughout the country. With this reality, most of the teachers from that generation were drafted, excluding the only female participant, who volunteered. In addition to the loss of teachers, Mozambique's civil war also had consequences in the education and language trajectories of these teachers. Owing to the increasing conflict between the two parties, students and teachers were put in harm's way.

Kapomba tells of his ongoing trials to stay in school and major losses prior to becoming a teacher. In the extract below Kapomba shares with me the kidnapping of his brothers, and his escape alongside his brother:

> At this school, until 4th grade, it was already after independence. That town was destroyed by the war. Renamo entered, kidnapped my two brothers and left.
>
> When they left we, [we] the two youngest, stayed to study and we were confused.
>
> We tried to talk to our parents to find somewhere else to go, there was no escape.
>
> But, my younger brother, who was in second grade and I, we fled. [ii] (interview, 03/22/2011)

For Kapomba the war took a heavy toll, he was later able to find one of his brothers, but the struggle to stay in school was tough. He lived with several different people because he was separated from his parents, he took whatever work was available (at one point working as a tractor helper), and was finally was able to stay in school because a teacher took him under his wing. He wanted to be a military officer, but when he was 18 and finished 6th grade, the teacher that was taking care of him was transferred to Maputo. Not being able to take Kapomba with him, he took him to a teacher training center where he finished the 45 day training, after which he began teaching. Kapomba didn't have much of a choice.

The government's priority to expand education for all led to many improvements in the educational system. In order to achieve that, teachers had to be forced to work. While the movements towards increased educational opportunities in the country were a positive, many were not eager to join the teaching force. Yet, under the circumstances others felt that becoming a teacher was a decent alternative. *Being* a teacher was not context-free, it was a direct result of the political and social context (Varghese et al. 2005). The identity as a teacher, for Kapomba, was connected to poverty and to an obligation and duty to government.

Tende was also recruited. As we see in the below extract, in 1980, at the start of the school year, a member from the ruling political party, Frelimo, appeared at his village with a draft list. Tende recounts the day that brought him towards his teaching career, "he came with the list and began to call names, and more names, and more names and my name appeared…it was an obligation." (interview, 02/07/11).

> Tende: So I went to stay in my brother's house, I started studying but in terrible conditions. Without cond—The government began social action since I had expenses, so when I did 6th grade, passed to 7th, when I went to register at school for Joaquim Mara, the Industrial School of Joaquim Mara, there came this [person] with the list. One of those that dispensed [people] on 6th grade, so they started calling, calling, calling and my name happened to appear.
>
> Sandra: And was, was it an obligation?
>
> Tende: It was an obligation so when I tried to resist they said 'look, the student who refuses the government assignments will not have the right to study in any place in Mozambique'. It was prohibited to study anywhere else and seeing that, I went home, spent a week without showing up to the center. Then somebody

> showed up at the house and said 'look, it is good that you go, you are poor, you don't have conditions, the government has already helped you study until 6th grade. Go to the training, start the training and you will work, you will make money and later on you will be able to continue with your studies.' Ok. I packed my bag of clothes, went and presented myself there in February almost at the end of February. I showed up and started the course, with luck I passed, when I passed I was placed in Tambara in 81, in the beginning of 81 and was placed in Tambara, in the war zone. Between Frelimo and Renamo.[iii] (interview, 02/07/11).

Tende attempted to resist this order, given that his dream was to continue studying for a better job had failed. The repeated governmental discourse of prioritizing education after independence was appropriated by Tende's desire to continue studying. Before independence Mozambicans were given limited education, but Tende wanted to achieve a higher position, one only obtained with more schooling. However, Tende's personal wishes were not possible in the political context of the country; he understood his limited access to education and livelihood. His resistance against being drafted was negotiated within the sense of who he was, and what he could be within his possibilities. Even thought he tried not to go, he was told that he was poor and he should accept being drafted. The responsibility towards his government was a duty, it was part of being Mozambican at that time.

Santos also experienced the draft as an order, "They had to ask me, or yet, it was not a request it was an order. It was an order because you had sworn to serve the father, serve the people until the last drop of blood. You had a compromise with the government, nobody could reject it" (interview, 04/13/11). Santos speaks of the oath to the symbolic father and the allegiance to the nation. Santos doesn't specifically name Samora Machel, who was warmly

referred to by the population as “pai da nação” [father of the nation], but it is apparent in his discourse that he stood by Frelimo and Samora Machel, leader of the independence movement. He alludes to Samora Machel, a Mozambican military commander who led the country to independence and later became president of Mozambique, representing to many liberation and better life. The loyalty to Samora and the government meant that many considered themselves to be “the children of Samora” (Hamid, interview, 02/22/2011). The identity of the “homem novo” [new man] or conscious national leaders, was part of the principle espoused by Samora Machel, and was adhered to by many who supported the creation of the nation-state (Machel, 1975). It was in the alliance to the new identity-- of the new man-- that teachers considered the obligation to their country; being a teacher was *part* of the new national identity.

A Choice of Becoming a Teacher for the Younger Generation

The younger generation had extremely different educational trajectories than those who were students during colonial times: they were not teaching during the civil war; they were not drafted into teaching. Many of them experienced the repercussions of the civil war through their families, but most of all their experiences of becoming a teacher were molded in a different historical context of Mozambique.

For that reason, I chose teachers to show how educational experiences have shifted in alignment with the sociopolitical landscape. The shift of government had already occurred and many of the younger participants did not experience civil war actions first-hand; instead they became teachers after the first national educational system was in place and peace talks were already at the forefront of the political agenda. Poverty was still common for many of the

teachers, yet the decision to become educators stemmed mostly from personal desire and need, instead of obligatory drafts.

Daniela was one of the three bilingual teachers that I interviewed during my stay in Mozambique. When I interviewed Daniela, she was beginning her second year as a teacher, she was fairly new to the profession. Daniela was born in the city of Manica in 1983, a bordering city from Zimbabwe, where she spent the first seven years of her childhood. Daniela was a young girl while the civil war was taking place, she personally didn't fight or flee at that time. However, her father left for the war for 10 years, a time in which his whereabouts were unknown. She stayed with her mother and grandmother and moved to Chimoio with her mother in search of her father and a better life. They eventually found him in Zambezia, a province to the northeast of Manica. Her mother decided to live near her father, but Daniela rejected this move, not wanting to leave her school and having to start again somewhere else, choosing instead to stay with her uncle.

Daniela completed most of her school years in Chimoio. After finishing primary school, she went on to vocational school, but fell ill and had to leave school for one year. She wanted to keep going with school but her family was poor, thus she married in order to leave poverty, "I was seeing so much poverty, poverty at home, so I married." She was then able to continue her education after marriage (interview, 03/04/11).

After 10th grade, she attempted to enter the teacher training but didn't pass the test. She was, however, successful the following year. Her dream was to be a teacher; she knew this was what she wanted to do since she was a child. This differs greatly from most of the teachers who were drafted out of necessity and had barely completed 6th grade; younger teachers had some agency in becoming teachers.

Daniela expresses that her desire was to give back to her family, who were so poor. Entering the program gave her the opportunity of eventually getting a job, getting remuneration and working in the profession of her dreams. When I asked her the reason behind her choice to become a teacher Daniela told me that as a child she would notice in admiration not only how teachers taught her, but also what they wore. In her stories Daniela mentions several times how their clothes impressed her. She explained that she was so poor and didn't have the means to wear nice clothes and teachers represented a community of educated individuals who looked presentable. The context must be compared with the reality of many students who do not have shoes or new clothes.

> My dream was in education because I admired, I admired the teachers. Mostly the female teachers, the way they dressed, when they wore their white coat. So that gave me that desire [to be a teacher]...Since I was a child, when I started school, entered school I saw teachers teaching me to read, to communicate with other children, and there were lots of games in school. So, I admired this, I admired, that's when I started to see, if God allows it I will study, I also have to be a teacher. I also have to give my knowledge to other children to go far with their lives (interview, 03/04/11).

For Daniela, teachers belonged in a community that she appreciated and yearned to become a part of, she imagined an idealized position and *imagined community*. "*Imagined communities* refer to groups of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with whom we connect through the power of the imagination (Kanno & Norton, 2003, p. 241; italics mine). They were part of the identity that Daniela ascribed to.

Catalina also went into teaching by choice "to help our children, right? And to move education forward."[iv](interview, 05/06/11) She was 26 years old and had been teaching for one year at the time of the interviews. Though she didn't finish her secondary school, she completed 11th grade and did a one-year teacher training program in order to learn the skills for primary school teaching. She hoped to continue studying and eventually get her diploma. "It's good to finish and then I can see what I can do, right?" [v](interview, 05/06/11) The diploma is valued and opens possibilities to teach at the secondary level. Nevertheless, not all the teachers picked teaching as their first choice, some ended up teaching because it was the best opportunity in their life. "I didn't see other doors. I didn't see other doors. This door appeared, I had to accept this route. I really wanted to go into medicine, nursing but hey it didn't work out. I am here, I'm not very regretful. The important thing is to work and not stay home."[vi] (Amélia, interview, 04/11/2011).

Conditions in the sociohistorical context of Mozambique led individuals to become teachers through different routes. Differing from those who were drafted and who had no choice through obligation and duty, others chose to become teachers and practice this career. Past experiences also led teachers to have attitudes and beliefs towards education and language.
It is also through these conditions and sociocultural realities that teachers construct identities. Following Gee (2000), I subscribe to a definition of identities as fluid, co-constructed and enacted by individuals in their interactions within the larger society. As these identities are not fixed, the identity formation of the self changes through historical contexts.

Being and Becoming Indigenous

The older generation experienced first-hand the colonial regime, independence and civil war, while the younger generation read about them in books or heard stories from their parents.

Questions of identity and of being Mozambican differed during the colonial times from what they are in present times after independence. For those who were students in the period of colonial domination, being a "worthy" and "civilized" individual was tied to the assimilation process, which was connected to social class and education. Teachers, who were students during this time, share that being poor placed them in an unassimilated status, where they received limited schooling and were deemed different and inferior from the 'civilized' group.

The stories of the oldest and most experienced teacher depict the process of identity construction that the older generation had to negotiate. Tende, an elementary school teacher nearing retirement, began his educational experience as a student in 1971, four years prior to Mozambican independence. At that time, students were divided into official and rudimentary schooling (detailed in Ch. 3) depending on their social status: assimilated or indigenous. The curriculum, while the colonial regime was in power, differed between school systems in terms of purpose, quality and length. It would take longer for those in rudimentary schooling to complete their education (Errante, 2003), which was overseen by the church and had a primary goal of civilizing Africans into the Portuguese customs, norms and values. The rudimentary education only prepared Africans for semi-skilled positions, maintaining their inferiority while purporting the beliefs of the "master" race (Brock-Utne, 2000, p. 19).

Given his family's lower economic condition and status, Tende was placed in the rudimentary school system, were students endured a disadvantaged curriculum compared to those that were assimilated, and he experienced arduous circumstances, such as traveling long distances-sometimes days at a time-to take exams at designated missions and move on to the next grade. He was not assimilated, to the contrary, he was poor and eventually had to stop attending school due his poverty. Beyond adopting the Portuguese culture, ideals, religion and

language, to be assimilated one had to possess financial stability (Golias, 1993). Poverty was one of the criteria that placed individuals in the indigenous status, a status that for some became part of their identity.

When I asked Tende about his educational history, he told me about his condition within the social labeling during colonial times. Tende narrates his identity as that of a poor citizen, one that aligns within the non-modern, inferior description of unassimilated Mozambicans. He compares those included in the official school versus his own "type of people" in the rudimentary school.

> Tende: There was the official school for the civilized people, called civilized.
>
> Sandra: Who were those people?
>
> Tende: Those people who had the card, what was it called? The 'assimilated' card. 'Assimilados' were the people who were considered more or less hygienic, you see? It was considered that way, people who knew Portuguese well, people who already had a civilized life, had a house, lived a little in church and had a normal life.
>
> Sandra: But, your family wasn't considered assimilated?
>
> Tende: No, we were poor, we lived in the field and our life existence was based on agriculture and we didn't have anything. We dressed poorly, sometimes it was those pants how do you call them? With strings to tie up.
>
> Sandra: Oh yes.
>
> Tende: Exactly… called 'ganga' pants. To go to school sometimes I had to, had to sell chickens and then buy notebooks. Those people no, assimilated no, it was just

take the money and buy it there. They drank tea, they had better houses, so they had official schools. Those were through the government. [vii] (interview, 02/07/11)

Tende explains that schooling was different for him because they were poor and lived based on agriculture, without good clothes or access to sugar and tea; commodities not easily available to the poor population. Underprivileged families, whose living was based on agriculture and who didn't speak Portuguese, were considered uncivilized. In consequence, many poor children had to work in order to buy school materials and essentials. The structural conditions of his life are the same as that of many Mozambicans during colonial times. The desire to become *assimilado* played well into the colonial discourse of forced Portuguese learning (Stroud, 2007); it implied that even African citizens could aspire to become civilized by learning Portuguese and abandoning 'inferior' habits.

His personal experience growing up in Mozambique allows him to speak in a discourse of normality, associating civilized versus non-civilized categories created by the government with himself and his own life circumstances. He identifies with the unassimilated individual even though formal legal equality in the colonies was established by 1961, prior to his formative education. However, in reality unequal practices remained in place for much longer (AfriMAP & OSISA, 2012).

He identifies within the categories that he was placed into at the beginning of his education, and that existed in the Mozambican society of that time, due to his impoverished condition and the lack of access to the same material possessions as those that were assimilated and considered civilized. This identity is the product of the societal context, created by the categories established socially in Mozambique by those people who labeled him as such. He negotiates who he is, where he stands and how others view him through what I call the *discourse*

of normalcy. Tende doesn't indicate any frustration towards the separation that was made between students in schools, although he recognizes that priests were indoctrinating Mozambicans to be passive regarding their position, "…the priest always had an influence, a doctrine to make the Mozambicans passive" (interview, 02/07/11). This is similar to a Macedo et al's view of naturalized discourse (2003), juxtaposing the assimilated individuals to a superior and preferred status, thus propagating the status quo and discrimination between individuals.

Tende mentions that the priests, who were in charge of the missionary schools for those students who didn't have assimilated status, had a role in creating this type of person, in order to indoctrinate Mozambicans into being submissive. As previously discussed (in Ch. 3), the division of educational systems was a way for the Portuguese to control the population (Cross, 1987). By keeping indigenous people separate and giving them limited resources, the Portuguese were able to "create" the type of person who would serve the Portuguese regime. This person would have minimal education, learn certain tools for production, yet maintain a subservient role. The goal of the colonizers was to limit the colonized to menial tasks and constrain their education.

In Eduardo Mondlane's Lutar por Moçambique (1995), we witness a letter from the Cardinal Archbishop of Lourenço Marques (current capital of Mozambique, Maputo) discussing the goals of missionary education, "We have tried to reach the native population in extent and depth to teach them to read, write and count, not to turn them into 'doctors'." He continues his letter with a clear priority of educating and instructing the natives "… to make them captives of the land" which the missionaries "… have chosen with devotion and courage, the path of good sense and of political and social stability," making schools necessary but only to "teach the natives the path of human dignity and the grandeur of the nation that protects them" (p. 56).

Similarly to Tende, Hamid began his primary indigenous schooling at the age of eight, in 1963, in Cabo Delgado, a province located in the north of the country, during colonial fighting. Much like Tende's experience, the social and economic status one had dictated the ability to live in certain "spaces" and to interact in particular domains, ultimately determining one's schooling. The status was important in the type of living conditions available and accessibility to a better life.

> Hamid: To go to the official school, your parents had to have some money because there you pay. That's why I couldn't since my parents were poor and that was the reason…I didn't see my dad…I didn't meet him. I was raised with my mom…she died, I ended up by myself in the tribe…My mom's neighbor raised me, took care of me more or less. Treated me kindly, I was able to grow. Then Samora Machel, after independence, took me to Maputo. Thank God…What else could I do? The only option was to study and then later the government could support me, which is happening right now.
>
> Sandra: So, at that time did you know you would be a teacher?
>
> Hamid: I didn't know…but it happened. That's what happened, and here we are.
>
> [viii] (interview, 02/22/11)

Being poor was one of the characteristics of the indigenous individual. Given his upbringing, Hamid self-ascribes to being a type of individual. When he discusses his past he describes himself through means of that identity, explaining that to be in the official school, parents had to have some money, but his parents couldn't pay since they were poor. He was then selected to continue his studies and transferred to Maputo. The government took young adults

and prepared them in education in order to serve the country after independence. Just like Tende, Hamid normalizes his status and laughs when he labels himself as indigenous.

> To speak in dialect, that was called….in my time, right? What was it called? You are *indigenous* (laughter). So, stay on that side, stay on the other side. And truly we were indigenous because at that time, in school we didn't even have shoes [ix](interview, 02/22/11).

He finds humor in the label of indigenous and agrees to it: "truly we were indigenous." because his condition was accepted by his society and labeled as his reality. Thus this identity was conferred, and internalized. However, the way people position themselves vis-à-vis their societies is not static, these identities are created by the societies and people through a constant negotiation of what it means to be who they are and the realities that they belong to (Hacking, 1986). Those that were "uncivilized" at a certain period could potentially belong to a new category of assimilation as well.

Being and Becoming Assimilated

Some of the participants had access to the other side of the education, the official version. Santos had a different experience from Tende and Hamid in that his family became assimilated during his educational years and Santos was transferred to an official school for *assimilados* based on the relationship his father had with the leaders in town.

Since speaking Portuguese was one of the requirements for this status, Santos laughs as he tells me that his father was assimilated yet didn't speak Portuguese, "He was assimilated even though he didn't speak Portuguese, but his habits, the behaviors, etc, they would say it equaled or followed the Portuguese civilization" [x](interview, 04/13/11). Though Portuguese was a

requirement, other requirements included abiding by Portuguese laws, reaching a level of 'civilization' according to the Portuguese standards, and emulating Portuguese ideals. When asked what that meant he explained that the Portuguese wanted people to be obedient and hard working. The reality was that those that reached the *assimilado* status were few and far between (Isaacman, 1983).

Santos tells me that he wasn't told why he was assimilated, but as he got older he realized that his father carried an identification card. The identification card held an important role; those who carried such card were granted benefits such as quality education. After the shift in status, Santos became the only black student in the official school. Santos explains that many of the other students were wealthy immigrants from India, while most were the children of white workers. The official school was commonly reserved for those children, children of Portuguese parents and parents who were assimilated and from a 'better' class.

He acknowledges that he was lucky to get into the school, but people considered him "different" since he was the only black student in the new school. However, given that he had already been in school longer than his peers under the missionary education, he had tools and skills that the other students were still developing and he became the expert through the skills and abilities that he had acquired in his previous schooling. Though he was clearly identified as different within the official school, his newly established expert status gained him respect and friendship among his peers. This granted him a privileged space, where his identity as a black child was replaced by that of friend or peer. "Children forget quickly, those children became my friends. I wasn't characterized as black, during lunch they invited me to join them" (interview, 04/13/11). In fact, instead of discrimination, Santos felt admired and appreciated within both

communities, those who were unassimilated and those assimilated, for his ability to enter this school and be a successful student.

His identity as a black student was negotiated and altered within the society and community he was exposed to during colonial times. These identities are 'made up' by societies and people, which create a type of person who continuously negotiates these 'new realities' and definitions (Hacking, 1986, p. 226). According to Gee (2000), these identities cannot be self-defined; they are co-constructed and can only be examined through the interplay between how individuals view themselves, how they enact the identities they wish to assume, and how these identities are taken up (or not) by others. There is a constant negotiation and co-construction of personal identities, or "selves". At different points in history, or different contexts within the same historical timeframe, people may be recognized and recognize themselves differently. He negotiates his ascribed identity of indigenous and transforms it to one of *assimilado*; by helping others at school, he was no longer "characterized as black," instead he was invited to join them. Who he is and is allowed to be- at least from his own perception- shifts when his peers see him as equal, forgetting his previous status quickly and seeing instead a new set of abilities. His racial identity, and that of indigenous person, was ignored given his cultural capital. He was allowed to be one of them. The education he received with the other members of the elite (assimilados) conferred on him a new status and authority to the individuals "not only in the African population in general, yet when possible to the minority Portuguese as well" (Sumich, 2008).

In comparison, Hamid and Tende see themselves as poor, and speak of maintaining the underprivileged status ascribed within the society. Santos's assimilated status granted him an opportunity to show what he had truly learned; his knowledge permitted him to be considered an

equal. It was through his cultural capital that he was able to break the relationship of black, inferior identity normally ascribed to someone of his ethnicity and background.

Assimilation Through Language: Maintaining the Status Quo

For those in the older generation, their trajectories of repression and rejection of local languages have played an important role in shaping their views and beliefs regarding language learning. Language played an important role in the creation of the new citizen; the assimilation of the individual involved the loss of their mother tongue. As a student, Hamid also faced the curricular practices of colonial times. At that time students were punished for speaking dialects in school, either physically or emotionally with dunce caps.

> Many who spoke dialect couldn't communicate with the teacher. Let's create an animal that is called a donkey (ass). Because of that you tried to learn Portuguese. Whoever speaks dialect we will place it on your neck. So as soon as you had the donkey you made an effort to speak Portuguese. But, sometimes parents didn't know it [Portuguese], [thus] we spoke dialect and you got the donkey. You tried to learn it with someone else, to learn something. Things have changed. I see that things changed when the war ended and everything belonged to the people. Let's learn slowly the language of the people. This new curriculum in dialect is now, speaking dialect to children that is new…before you insisted on Portuguese. [xi]
> (interview, 02/23/11)

Hamid explains that a form of punishment was to place a picture of a donkey, similar to a dunce cap, on the neck of students who use their native language. In Portuguese the word for donkey, *burro*, is the same as the word for "dumb", which meant that carrying a picture of a donkey was

derogatory to students. Therefore, teachers would place this object so that students would refrain from speaking local languages in the class. In other words, speaking your language was synonymous with being dumb. However, Hamid explains that after the government became a government that "belonged to the people", local languages were not prohibited any longer and were even allowed into the curriculum.

The statement "belonged to the people" refers to the end of colonialism and the beginning of Mozambican independence. Learning the "language of the people" is a major shift towards equality, where the minority, though a numerical majority, is considered. Even though Hamid favors Portuguese as the language of instruction, like his own upbringing, he recognizes the change that has occurred in support of the people, which includes him.

Tende, like Hamid, also recalls the punishment of speaking local languages when he was a student. Tende recounts that if students spoke vernacular languages they would be physically punished with a "chamboco". Tende states, " If I spoke dialect, I was *chamboqueado*. There was a ruler, a rounded ruler like this. If you spoke in dialect when you didn't know something you were hit on the hand." (interview, 02/07/11). He reinforces the discourse by saying that in the colonial system, speaking dialect was shameful and it meant that you were dumb. "They would say, you are dumb, you don't know anything. So, I must speak Portuguese to be a *human being*". interview, 02/07/11). The powerful association of Portuguese as the only way to be a human being, I suggest, has lasting effects on perspectives towards local languages. Tende also suggests that local languages were prohibited because speaking dialect contributed to the unsuccessful learning of Portuguese. Tende, like Hamid, continues to prohibit local language use in the classroom. How can one erase these connotations, when Portuguese is still the only official language and language of instruction?

It is important to understand how the inculcation of dominance and preference of Portuguese during their childhood affected the beliefs and attitudes of these participants regarding the various Mozambican languages as well as their use within different levels of society. The colonial discourse created a division between African languages, which represented the indigenous and traditional forms, while the dominant European language represented modernization and civilization (Stroud, 2007). During this period, the predominant goal of the educational system was to create laborers who served the Portuguese culture. The system of education had a role in convincing Mozambicans to agree to their inferior status, making them less likely to question the repressive command. The Portuguese focused on discouraging the development of meaningful education for the Africans (Mungazi, 1983). These beliefs, pervasive in their upbringing, consequently influenced the teachers who experienced them first-hand. In their instruction, teachers are influenced by several factors such as past academic experiences, educational training, materials, legislation, students, and changes in teaching situation (Freeman & Freeman, 2011). There is a tendency to mimic the methodologies and ways of teaching based on one's own education (Fullan, 2007).

Kapomba, a bilingual teacher who stays in the rural community where he teaches through the week of work and returns to his home in the city twice a month, claims that he hasn't allowed Shona reading or speaking in his house once he figured out that his daughter was really interested in learning more of it. He found out she was reading and speaking Shona as well as learning other local languages with her friends and, "I ended up telling the mother, take this bible from the table, hide it in the luggage, grab the Bible in Portuguese and put it on the table[xii] (Kapomba, interview, 03/22/11). He states that he is very interested in their children doing well in Portuguese first, because he thinks that if they spend too much time in Shona and perfect this

language, they will end up losing Portuguese. His fear of losing Portuguese or preventing the learning of it leads him to prohibit his mother tongue at home and to encourage a Portuguese only household.

These negative associations were conferred during colonial times, and in many ways maintained by the very population that was suffering discrimination as a result of these policies. The subjugation of local languages granted power and prestige to a small elite who spoke Portuguese and made those that didn't speak it feel less worthy. Once a central piece of assimilation rested on speaking Portuguese, social mobility was tied the language in both official and unofficial policies (Firmino, 2008). The assimilation of language, therefore, was an essential part of the subjugation of Mozambicans, with restrictive policies to become assimilated and suppressive regimes criticizing their mother tongues and subsequently identifying them as uncivilized and inferior. The assimilation began in the classroom and continued even after independence. As Matos, who was born in 1982 explains, when he went to school, local languages were still prohibited.

> I was born in 82. In that context I didn't see the difference in the curricular change, there was no bilingual education. So, I didn't see a curricular difference. In relation to my time when I studied primary, it was prohibited. If someone heard you, the other students would point at you "Mr. Teacher, he was speaking dialect outside", so then I was hit, at least two switches.[xiii] (interview, 03/16/11)

Atlhough Daniela was born in 1983, her first exposure to Portuguese was in school. Her family only spoke vernacular languages with her at home. She recounts of her deep interest in acquiring Portuguese, "I also wanted to communicate in Portuguese. I would say 'good morning, good afternoon'"[xiv](interview, 03/04/11)

She remembers vividly when a teacher punished her by hitting her hands with a stick because she didn't say something correctly in Portuguese. This experience marked her and shaped the intensity with which she pursued the learning of Portuguese, "The teacher that taught second grade, I'll never forget. She hit me for saying something wrong in Portuguese. She hit me and due to that I started having more abilities to learn the Portuguese language. And I did it." [xv](interview, 03/04/11). She remembers her teacher explaining to her that she had to punish her so she would remember. She continues by saying that from that day forward she began learning and wanted to use Portuguese as often as she could. "I learned well, I never forget. Even at home. Mom would call me in local language. She would speak in dialect and I would respond in Portuguese." [xvi](interview, 03/04/11). Even in her home life, Daniela preferred using Portuguese because she wanted to be successful in school. Daniela experienced the modern prohibition of local languages in the classroom; Daniela saw this punishment as a way of reminding her that Portuguese was important and consequently making her never forget to speak Portuguese.

Noémia who was born during colonial times, but only underwent schooling after independence, underpins the idea that local languages are still forbidden by stating "of course it almost still continues, because in the schools nobody speaks officially mother tongue, it means that it is still almost prohibited". She continues, "For example, in the classroom [if] you only speak dialect with the child from the first period to the last period, how ultimately how will the child learn this official language to communicate with whoever?[xvii](interview, 02/18/11). The ultimate goal of the educators is to provide Portuguese as the language of communication, for wider communication and education.

That is not to say that all teachers were against local language use in the classroom, yet like Noémia has stated in her interview, the final outcome involves Portuguese competency. For

example, Hamid explains that local languages are important for the assimilation process or helping the children transition into Portuguese.

> Local languages are very important to *assimilate* the children that come from the farm, not all children live here in the city or have parents that know Portuguese. That's why we take the child from far away close. Those that speak local languages we interpret in Portuguese for understanding. So the child begins to get closer *to understand the Portuguese language that is the official language*. (Hamid, 02/23/11, italics mine)

What remains clear in Hamid's statement is the assimilationist goal of bringing Portuguese understanding to the students, through an incomplete allowance and incorporating of local languages in education where some continue to see it as prohibited. As Alidou (2003) demonstrated, promoting local languages and bilingual support comes with adversity. Local languages lack the prestige associated with Portuguese and end up seeing bilingual education as a problem and threat instead of as a right and resource (Ruíz, 1984). As Ricento (2005) emphasizes, language as a right is being neglected without the acknowledgment of the language minority communities. In its place, the reproduction of the monolingual ideology is resisting the benefits of local languages in education for the appropriation of the single dominant variety of Portuguese.

Movements of War and Language Identity: Languages for Safety and Information

During the civil war, many Mozambicans were displaced and moved across community borders. Those who moved had to learn other languages to communicate with different groups. The movement and displacement that occurred during the civil war was significant, totaling

about five million Mozambicans, approximately one third of the country. Movement away from particular areas was crucial for survival, "there were areas where the war was 'hot', even here in the province the area was 'hot'. That's when people fled to Zimbabwe, others to another province and others to places they felt safe…that was war right? Escaping to save your health [life]"(Hamid, interview, 02/24/11, brackets mine). Renamo used guerilla tactics and targeted civilians and infrastructure. Many fled to urban areas and neighboring countries for more protection (Dava et al., 2013). Many of those fleeing traveled to neighboring countries such as Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and Malawi, and others fled within the country to safer zones.

Given the government connection to Frelimo, teachers and schools outside the major cities were a common target for Renamo, who attempted to take control over all government establishments. With escalating tensions between the two major political parties (Bazilashe et al. 2004) the role of the teacher was two-fold: that of educator and of fighter. Teachers received military training from the government and were in charge of protecting their students to avoid their recruitment as child soldiers. Part of the education entailed information about the war, digging trenches and teaching warning systems (Dava et al, 2013).

Tende describes his gun in the midst of laughter and jokes, gesticulating that the rifle he had to carry hung below his knees given his small frame of 1.55 meters (5'1 feet). However, the danger was real and Tende breathlessly narrates the day when the opposition forces approached the village where he lived. Though he was able to escape on foot prior to the attack, he walked for two long days to arrive in Chimoio; this event is something he has never forgotten.

> Tende: So I went to the base and worked there, received a gun named nguguda, we called it nguguda, at that time when I put it behind my back it got to here (laughs and shows on his body the distance below his hips)

Sandra: It covered your whole body…

Tende: Iii to save the children when the enemy arrived, but then the enemy actually got close. Yes, when nobody passed on the route to Tete through Guru, nobody could pass, people went through Chemba-Sena, so I saw that the situation was terrible and had to find a way to get out. I escaped on foot from Tambara to Chemba, it took me two days on foot. By foot! My legs started to hurt in Chemba, we got a cargo car and went to Sena, from Sena we rode a truck through Donga and in Donga I took another truck to Chimoio, that's where we stayed.

Sandra: To escape, right?

Tende: Yes yes yes, I left on the 24th and on the 27th the enemy occupied the district, it was a good decision, a good decision. I left all my notes from training school, my clothes, my documents, everything stayed because it was difficult to carry something to travel.

Sandra: Of course.

Tende: I lost everything! I lost my notes, I lost notes from from 3rd, 4th, 5th grade and 6th and I had the best notes that don't exist today, I lost everything and then the gover—the administrator said, people from Tambara have to go back. [xviii] (interview, 02/07/11)

Beyond the physical pain of escaping and walking for days Tende felt the impact of the war in his professional world as well. He recounts that fleeing affected him as a teacher because he had to leave everything behind, " I left everything. My notes, my notebooks, I left everything, I lost everything. I lost notes from third, fourth, fifth, sixth grade class. I had the best notes, that just do not exist anymore". Tende believed that the materials that he had from before couldn't be matched in the current professional environment and he demonstrates his sadness at the loss. He would commonly mention that schooling in present day did not compare to what they learned

when he was a student. He highlighted another aspect of the war; it didn't only lead to loss of life, but also loss of knowledge and preparation.

With the vicious civil war and Renamo's focus on targeting schools, Santos was also faced with severe threats to safety. He explains that when he was able to save himself, it was largely due to the community members who alerted the teachers of the invasion with enough time to escape.

> So then the war between us started to appear. That forced the cancellation of schools, we had to hide, all teachers had to be there, schools were closed. I stayed there, 1st year as doctor of the school then 2nd year as director of the school. My school was attacked by the war, but thanks to the population, the children that went to school said 'Mr. Teacher it is not good of you to stay here, they are close,' I had to leave everything, I had to run. I went to a different school...I was almost captured, but thanks to the collaboration I had with the students, some heard movement and I left that night and never went back. That school was also closed. [xix] (interview, 04/13/11)

The collaboration of the community helped teachers escape prior to the attack, the relationship with the students helped their survival.

Santos described in detail the role of a teacher during war times, receiving training for fighting and establishing relationships with students. In a powerful story of one of the times he was able to flee with other teachers, Santos describes the moments that led to his escape and the death of a cousin. Being a teacher in the rural zones meant that danger was imminent.

> I remember the second place I was attacked. I had just left a training session with military personnel; we had to participate in the military training. We had to be

> trained with guns and military tactics… So, people came to inform me, 'teacher, get ready they are here'. At that time, with my delay in getting ready, they had already arrived and were shooting, I was with a soldier in my room, he was a cousin, he wanted to be the first one to leave and took a bullet right there by the door, he died instantly. I was still inside trying to pack…I realized, there are sparks outside; my friend was lying by the door, dead. I gathered up the courage, "to stay inside and be killed with a bayonet?" that's not worth it maybe I'll just take a bullet and die right there. I left the room, since I was wearing underwear they thought I was a young boy and said "run, run run". So I escaped. I left just like that, they let me leave. Three meters away there was another student in another house 'Do you study? Yes. Where? Where is your teacher?' He pointed at me, I was going to die. They started shooting, bullets whizzing by me [laughs]. Epa, thank god I ran I ran, I stayed on the ground and I fled to another neighborhood and met up with 47 other teachers, we all escaped.[xx] (interview, 04/13/11)

Beyond making the connections with the community and having training in military tactics, movement was necessary for survival. The war had devastating effects on the Mozambican people; approximately one million died and millions more were displaced, either internally or to other countries. The displacement of the local population during the civil war brought forth another dynamic in language exchange. Adding to the complexity and number of indigenous languages already spoken within the borders, many who fled the country were eventually repatriated and returned speaking another language. Some citizens who moved internally found it necessary to learn separate dialects to survive and participate in new

communities. These movements and migrations within the country and elsewhere added a new level of language interchange and further complexified the social, political, and cultural affiliations attached to different identities and languages.

For the teachers who were recruited and sent to war zones to teach, learning local languages had a different meaning. The older teachers who had experienced the war also placed value on local languages as tools for safety and information in movement. There was value in learning languages of other communities; it was via the communication granted in local languages that many of them were able to survive. Thus not knowing languages of different communities is seen as dangerous and the inverse provides access towards help and protection.

Both younger and older generation teachers relate Portuguese as a language of movement- for a wider communication- in terms of travel around Mozambique, being a lingua franca and as an international language beyond Mozambique. However, the older generation sees the purpose of knowing local languages for movement as well, in this case, specifically for survival. Outside of urban areas, the majority of the Mozambican population still rely on local languages for communication and daily livelihood, where Portuguese at times has no place.

Santos, speaking to the issue that some children are not learning their mother tongue, said, "Children now aren't speaking their local languages, that is harmful. It is *dangerous*" (interview, 04/13/11). He continued stating that if you go somewhere and aren't able to communicate simply asking for water can be a problem, and thus "trouble" can arise. He sees the need for the local languages to be maintained in terms of *safety* and *information gathering*. These needs are referenced based on his personal experience while moving through different towns due to the war displacement. He highlights the shift that appears to be occurring when the younger generations are not using the local languages in place of Portuguese, and expresses concern

based on his own personal experiences of movement and the limitations from not knowing other languages.

Santos is an example of a Mozambican that resisted fleeing the country due to language; given that he was unfamiliar with English and Shona, he preferred to stay in the country where Portuguese and Mozambicans dialects were spoken instead of escaping to Zimbabwe. He did however, move around the country and given his experiences of arriving in a new environment and needing help, Santos places value in speaking local languages as a safety tool.

Kapomba, who was also a teacher during the civil war and fled from attacks, also speaks of the importance of learning other languages as part of adjusting to the movement required in the war. He speaks of language as tools for safety and community building.

> For example, when I speak Shona, it represents my origin, the origin of my dad. So, it is the Shona language. The Portuguese language represents my development in education, until the phase I am in now. Now, the other languages, Ciutee for example, represents the preoccupation, the dedication to know other languages, just like Cibarwe represents almost the same thing. Dedication and preoccupation of knowing. It is a moment in my history, because when I think how did I learn to speak Cibarwe? I learned to speak Cibarwe through the movement in time of war. In the suffering, because I learned that language to communicate with the people where I was inserted at that difficult time. *That is when I saw that to save myself from danger I had to learn that language to better communicate with people, to get more information*. So, I had to dedicate myself a lot, make an effort until I dominated that language, get to know, get in contact with those people and have friends from that very language.[xxi] (Kapomba, interview, 03/22/11, italics mine)

Though the government had adopted Portuguese as their primary language of communication, it remains true that local languages held much value for those who moved and wanted to be part of new communities. The movement and the necessity to communicate with others during the time of war make language learning crucial for information and connections. It was through learning the language that Kapomba was able to gather information and make friends for survival.

While these examples highlight the trajectories and the beliefs associated with movement and community building in rural areas, where the war was predominantly felt, the trajectories of movement also place Portuguese as a legitimate language in term of the wider communication across the nation-state. Santos, who spoke Portuguese fluently and had attended official schooling as an *assimilado*, also refers to Portuguese as a reason why he didn't flee the country and chose to stay instead in the Mozambican communities. Santos states,

> My problem was with communication. Being from Nampula I didn't know English first, there [Zimbabwe] no one speaks Portuguese and Shona is spoken fluently by the population. And I didn't know any terms Shona either. So it was difficult to move there. I couldn't, even though students' parents invited me. The parents said 'teacher, let's go inside' Epa, let's me do this [stay here]. [What] If I get alienated inside Zimbabwe and forget my own nation?[xxii] (interview, 04/13/11, brackets mine)

Unlike many others who fled to nearby countries like Zimbabwe during the civil war to save themselves, Santos didn't feel comfortable escaping outside of the country because of communication problems. He explains that since he wasn't from Manica province and wasn't familiar with English or Shona, even though he had been invited to cross over, he didn't feel he would be able to communicate with others. Instead he believed it would be worth trying his luck

on the Mozambican side. Santos made an explicit decision to stay in Mozambique; he did however, much like many Mozambicans, displace himself within Mozambique.

The fear of alienation and disconnect from his own nation gave Santos a reason to stay, even if it meant loss, death and war. The issue with communication was at the forefront of the alienation he wanted to prevent. He rejects moving to Zimbabwe because he doesn't have the language abilities to move forward and advance, the language would permit him to do so. Santos connects language to his national allegiance, being Mozambican and speaking Portuguese and other Mozambican languages are part of who he is and can be.

His attachment to his country, and its primacy in his identity, is clear when he expresses that leaving would mean forgetting his country, his nation. In addition, not knowing English or other languages from neighboring countries prevented him from making further connections with other communities. Having a language in common helped those who fled and were displaced in and outside of the country. Santos didn't want to go to a place where he didn't believe he could communicate with the population and in addition lose the connections he had with Mozambique.

It is noteworthy to highlight that Santos mentions Portuguese in his extract. Portuguese is also considered a language of Mozambique. In fact, for many the association of Portuguese was not necessarily aligned with a colonizer language per se.

Movement, Communication and Relationships

Most of the teachers in the younger generation did not experience first-hand the fears associated with the war. For them, movement and language learning were not seen as necessary for safety, but instead for communication. Local languages were needed when moving into smaller communities or rural areas, while Portuguese was needed as a lingua franca to

communicate for relationships. Allowing, for example, people who spoke different local languages to marry.

Though the younger generation primarily moved for reasons other than war, they did move, and through their movement were also exposed to multiple languages. For example, Catalina learned other languages via her neighbors and through travel between cities. Catalina describes how her neighbors were influential in teaching her local languages.

> I speak a little Ndau, I speak this Cibarwe. Cibarwe I learned because the neighbors where my home is now, well, those neighbors speak that language… I learned with them, the neighbors. We would talk, I began learning just like that. I would listen, sometimes I didn't understand something, then I would ask 'that, what is that?' and they explained. Now, I understand.[xxiii] (interview, 05/06/11).

Catalina embraced learning other languages and picked them up by "listening to others". She was also able to learn Shona while she lived in Machipanda for four years. She explains that she adapted to the people and began learning through listening. "I learned listening to others speak. I would just stay there, without responding, only listening" [xxiv](interview, 05/06/11). For her, movement to other towns, villages and communities led to the acquisition of local languages.

Conversely, Portuguese also facilitated communication in movement, enabling the formation of relationships with individuals from other communities. In particular, exposure to cities and urban area led to the preference for speaking Portuguese in the household.

Like Matos and Daniela (younger teachers who teach in a rural school), Catalina doesn't live in the community where her rural school is located, instead commuting from Chimoio on a daily basis. The outside perspective she favors is linked to her daily life, age and personal experiences. Her exposure to Chimoio, a bigger city where Portuguese is predominates in

business and commerce, informs her opinions about children and their languages, as she sees the utility and instrumental value of Portuguese in the market economy. Her language reality differs from that of her students, who attend school in a community where the majority of people speak local languages.

Catalina is not monolingual, having learned local languages in her home and community, yet she also was continuously exposed to Portuguese in her family. Catalina grew up speaking both her local language, Citewe, and Portuguese at home, as both languages were spoken by her parents. Catalina explained that Portuguese was always present, even when she moved to a bordering city and stayed with her uncle and aunt. Though she picked up another language through her aunt, she mostly communicated in Portuguese because her uncle didn't speak local languages. "My uncle doesn't know how to speak Cimanika, he is from Beira, he is Mandau…With me it was Portuguese always, with the children also in Portuguese"[xxv].

In the home, Portuguese was also the unifying language for her and her husband. Catalina explained that her husband was from a neighboring town whose local language, Masena, was different from hers. Interestingly, while at first Catalina referred to this fact to express why she did not speak a local language with her husband, it soon became clear this wa not the reason. When I followed up by asking if she had learned her husband's language it became apparent that, while Masena was his village's local language, *he* did not actually speak it.

Sandra: Do you know how to speak your husband's language?

Catalina: If *he* doesn't even know.

Sandra: He doesn't?

Catalina: He doesn't even know, we only use Portuguese.[xxvi]

(interview, 05/06/11).

For Catalina, Portuguese was a vital way to communicate in different relationships throughout her movement. In a generation where more people speak Portuguese, she was not forced to give preference to local languages for communication, instead Portuguese yielded access to building new relationships with others who moved into her area.

Daniela corroborated this opinion, explaining that she speaks Portuguese with her husband because he grew up in Zimbabwe where he went to school and learned both English and Shona. He was born in Mozambique but escaped during the war, "he speaks the one from there, that pure Zimbabwean that I don't understand"[xxvii] (interview, 03/04/2011). In the beginning of their relationship he didn't know much Portuguese, but she decided he needed to learn Portuguese because of the visitors that arrived at the house "What if a guest arrives that speaks Portuguese? It can be difficult because sometimes men are jealous and a man can arrive at the house. If he speaks Portuguese and we speak Portuguese he [husband] will think we are talking about him." [xxviii] (interview, 03/04/11). She told him that they had to speak in Portuguese to communicate with everyone, "Let's speak Portuguese, so we don't have problems, so we can communicate with everybody. If somebody arrives you will understand, it is preferable to speak Portuguese than Shona...when somebody arrives from Maputo, so I began teaching him." [xxix](interview, 03/04/11). For Daniela, Portuguese grants them access for wider communication. For people who move across cities and countries, it is the language allowing the broadest communication throughout the country.

The younger generation preferred using Portuguese in their daily interactions and with their family even though they learned local languages within their communities. Their trajectories in the educational field, movement and further exposure in the cities reinforce their preference to Portuguese. Matos summarizes the perceived benefits of Portuguese in

constructing relationships. “It can happen that the north marries the south, in order for the man and woman to understand each other, they need to speak the Portuguese language”[xxx] (Matos, focus group interview, 04/20/11).

In short, because many of the teachers interviewed married partners from different provinces and speak different mother tongues, Portuguese became the natural language of common communication in the home. With the exception of two older teachers, who were unassimilated during colonial times and who were married to female partners that only spoke local languages (they never attended school during colonial times), and a Zimbabwean-educated director who grew up with bilingual education, participants across the board preferred speaking to their own children and partners in Portuguese.

Being a Monolingual in a Multilingual Society

Paulo was the youngest teacher I interviewed, and also the one with the least teaching experience of all the participants. Like many Mozambicans who moved across the country in search of a better life or to escape a drought or war, Paulo’s parents were born in the south of Mozambique in a province called Inhambane, and later moved to the Sofala province. Paulo was born in the third largest city of Mozambique, Beira, and never learned his parents’ dialect because they decided to only speak Portuguese to the children, like *assimilados* did in colonial times. In addition, Paulo moved to Chimoio from Beira for his job and the little he understood from Sena (Beira’s local language) was nullified in Chimoio, where the majority speaks Chitwe.

Given his upbringing in the city and lack of movement for exposure to other languages, Paulo is respresentative of the monolingual experience in Mozambique. Though he can function, work and communicate with other in Portuguese, not knowing the vernacular languages is a

debilitating factor in his job, particularly when it came to communicating with his students' parents. For example, on a school day Paulo asked the responsible adult to come to school and discuss a student's behavior in class, "I called the guardian, when the guardian arrived today she was speaking local language, I couldn't understanding anything. That's when I called a student. The lady would talk, the student would translate. But it's difficult, I really have to learn" [xxxi] (interview, 04/06/11). He speaks of the embarrassment of needing to resort to his students for help in communicating with the parents. Not only could he not clearly speak with the student who spoke predominantly in the local language, his communication with the parents was stilted. Because of these interactions he sees the value in speaking local languages. "I am of the opinion that mother tongue really helps in the comprehension of the students as well as the teachers"[xxxii] (interview, 04/06/11). Paulo understood the value that knowing local languages can bring to the classroom for comprehension as well as being a tool for the teacher in different interactions. He shared that he often felt like he couldn't understand his colleagues as well and sometimes thought they were making fun of him, but couldn't respond because he was unsure of what they were saying.

Instead of feeling the discrimination of not knowing Portuguese, he experiences the consequences of not speaking other languages. For the teachers who do not value local languages, it is part of their repertoire. The feeling that he couldn't engage with other teachers and parents shames Paulo. He can't speak with students, parents nor teachers in local languages and he feels like an outsider. There are real barriers in the communication between teachers, students and parents that render all of the involved powerless, powerless to help, to learn and to educate.

Conclusion

Knowledge of how ideologies are socially constructed and distributed, as well as of how practices of language are interpreted and understood, are important in order to discern whether the colonial ideologies created during colonial times remain in place, if they are being reproduced, resisted and if and how they being maintained. In Varghese et al. (2005) we are reminded of the importance of understanding teachers through their professional, cultural, political and individual identities, while Blommaert (2005) argues for the historical connection of social practice at the micro level and social structure at the macro level. Teachers' historical narratives help inform attitudes and beliefs towards education and languages and help to understand identity construction through professional, cultural and historical lenses.

Narratives show how different generations of educators experience the motivation and desire to become teachers. The younger generation had the tendency to go into it because it was their choice, not obligation, whilst the older generation experienced education during war times, where learning Portuguese was mandatory in schools, and poor individuals were drafted after only completing 6th grade.

Most of the older teachers were affected directly by the war and suffered loses in life (friends and family) and professionally, leaving behind years of preparation. They recognize that Portuguese was prohibited during their formation and mostly maintained the same perspective in current times. In addition, although the curricular laws and promotion of local languages shifted in recent years, the younger generation still held some of the same assimilationist views associating Portuguese as the language of education. This is due in part to the increased exposure to Portuguese compared to the older generation who varied in education (rudimentary schooling) unless they became assimilated (few and far between).

Normalized discourses of assimilation and indigenous categories were deemed valid and sustained during colonial times. In addition, with the shift towards the new identity of the "homem novo", a rational, educated, modern individual, the discourse called for progress and modernity via the repression and rejection of traditional representations. The younger generation continued to repress local languages by prioritizing Portuguese as the language of modernity and education, in a way maintaining a modern version of assimilation that sustains a privileged status of Portuguese.

Teachers maintain the status quo and reproduce social constructions maintaining a monolingual habitus, where the cultural and symbolic capital of local language is delegitimized. In post/neo colonial contexts, such as Mozambique, the continued domination of colonizer languages in most prestigious spaces is naturalized through the discourses and arguments that position economic, social and technological development as integrally connected to modernity and reinforce the perceived superiority of colonial languages. As was explored in Macedo et al. (2003), naturalized discourse tying dominant language to superior status is what grants proper integration into the globalized economy, pervasively maintaining the belief of superiority, which is then appropriated and embodied by individuals, in a highly contradictory nature.

As an example of the lack of intergenerational language transmission between families, the youngest teacher in the study also represented those who are losing their parents' languages and have limited abilities in their interactions with older generations, parents, community members and certain students. The case of Paulo exemplifies this loss and cultural shift.

I see Paulo as being a product of the younger society, one that lives in cities and works in a government job, who grew up with parents that had access to education choosing to only speak Portuguese to the children, themselves products of colonization who view Portuguese as a better

choice. It is true that the loss and shift is more apparent in the urban domains than in rural Mozambique, where the majority continues to communicate in their vernacular languages.

As a theme, movement was an important piece in the life histories of the participants. For those who moved during the war, languages represented safety and information. For the younger generation languages were not tied to safety, instead simply for the relationships that were formed through the communication.

The individual background and trajectories contribute to knowing how language beliefs are adopted, and whether language ideologies may be disrupted with the shifting social terrain. Languages do not exist outside of the lives of the people who use them, how they ascribe to and identify ways of being that inform language beliefs and practices.

Chapter 6. Languages and their Legitimate Spaces

Introduction

My goal in this chapter is to carefully explore specific themes through close analysis of the data from participant interviews regarding their perspectives, attitudes and beliefs towards legitimate spaces for Mozambican languages (including Portuguese).

In this chapter, I explore major themes present in educators' narratives regarding views, beliefs, attitudes and perspectives towards language use within and outside of the classroom. A larger overarching theme of legitimate fluctuating spaces is apparent in the interviews, where spaces are considered a system of relations and not limited to a location or physical space (Bourdieu, 1989). They are also domains in which interactions are accepted and even expected. In reference to social mobility, themes are organized by spaces where local languages and Portuguese are seen as legitimate and valid.

Language policy in Mozambique has undergone several changes in recent history. Colonial policy aimed at civilizing indigenous populations prohibited indigenous languages in educational and official settings until 1975. Following independence in 1975, the newly elected government chose Portuguese as the official language of Mozambique in a claim for unity, rejecting political and social pluralism, and maintaining the language of the colonizers in official domains. However, a shift in mentality coupled with the goal of liberation linked Portuguese with a new association and a slow movement towards including indigenous languages in the educational system (Firmino, 2008; Stroud, 2007).

The dramatic 1990 amendment in favor of local language promotion had a long awaited implementation of bilingual programs for local vernaculars in 2004. As we have seen in detail in Chapter 3, although the amendment whispered changes in favor of vernaculars, bilingual

implementation only began years later following a four-year pilot testing that ended in 1997. In 2004, the adoption of a new curriculum, which included bilingual education programs, was a noticeable force towards African language valorization and promotion. It is, nonetheless, the commitment towards unification that sustained the perception and valorization of Portuguese language and culture. I argue that the decision to keep Portuguese as the language of government and education after the independence from Portugal fortified the prestige and distinction of Portuguese above other languages, keeping it in legitimate official spaces while local languages were bestowed a place in informal and traditional networks.

It was only with the newest curriculum in 2004 that Mozambique began to practically value local languages within the institutional level. Contrary to the prohibition of local languages in the classroom, the newest curriculum adopted the use of Mozambican languages in schools. A limited number of schools in the country adopted the transitional bilingual programs and languages as subject whereas others included local languages as a resource to help the learning of Portuguese. This trend to value local languages in the educational system came forth after the revised constitution and successful pilot program created to combat Portuguese-only education, which at that point was believed to be causing high drop-out and repetition rates in Mozambican schools (Benson, 1997). This change towards more local language value brought to the forefront a praiseworthy intention to improve education for all students in the country through the use of L1.

Due to the timeline of these recent curricular changes, current teachers were not exposed first hand to the new curriculum in their own schooling. Instead they were students in the previous monolingual programs, which used Portuguese as the sole language of instruction. Yet, curricular change required new implementation and adjustments to their educational experiences

and practices. I explore one main research question in this chapter (1) How have local teachers understood, and do they currently legitimize, perceptions towards the role and importance of Mozambican languages in their society and for their students?

Language and Legitimacy

"The links between language and mobility are built around the close connection between social mobility and access to education, and so on; this connection shapes people's perceptions of the value of various languages" (Trudell, 2012, p. 369). As Trudell (2012) has stated, perceptions are shaped by the connections and possibilities granted from educational access to language and social mobility. Social mobility is the movement of individuals or groups through a system of social hierarchy or stratification. There are different types of mobility including vertical, horizontal, inter-, and intra-generational mobility, with potential shifts occurring radically or slowly over a lifetime. Linguistic resources possess symbolic power, thus language can be converted into economic, cultural and social capital by granting access to more prestigious forms of education, positions in the workforce and connections within smaller and larger worldly communities (Bourdieu, 1991).

Beyond social mobility, perspectives that value or devalue bilingual practices of vernacular forms impact practices on the ground – where contestation of legitimacy and educational ideologies are formed. Attitudes that assign legitimacy in particular domains and spaces help shape the movement towards or away from the marginalization of Mozambican languages.

Language ideologies in Mozambique can be understood in terms of what Bourdieu defines as symbolic power and legitimate language. Bourdieu (1991) spoke about legitimate

language in reference to a language variety within a particular society associated with power and authority. According to Bourdieu, institutions reinforce a legitimate language, which in turn makes it important symbolic capital and a link to power. “Symbolic power is misrecognized as (and therefore transformed into) legitimate power”, where speakers of the official, dominant language believe in the legitimacy of this language (p.170). Minority speakers then also reproduce the status quo. This cycle helps maintain the colonizing language in power, even after independence.

In this chapter, I examine the views and beliefs of teachers inside and outside of schools. Given that education is a key site for the construction of legitimate language and spaces, teachers serve a primary role in establishing and reinforcing legitimacy. Beliefs and attitudes towards language can contest the legitimacy and also reveal contradictions between values attached to language use. We will look at the particular spaces where local languages and Portuguese are used and welcomed, and where values are assigned to specific languages, which are seen as tools for upward mobility or relationship building.

Local Languages and their Legitimate Spaces

In terms of social capital (Bourdieu, 1991), local languages serve as a resource for social networks and provide access to necessary information. My participants discussed how speaking local language permits connections for contacting and communicating with elders; it identifies them as Mozambicans, and allows them to make connections with neighbors and specific communities.

These relationships allow for shared understanding, and in Mozambique the ability to speak in a vernacular points to the ability to connect with a particular group, namely those in the older generation. This connection is useful social capital that provides opportunities to discuss

history, and access specific type of knowledge related to different domains. Even though Portuguese is most prestigious, the linguistic reality in Mozambique shows that the majority of the population actually speak local languages (INDE, 1999). This knowledge grants access to connections of traditional and local nature as well as for increased information.

Connections with the Past

Even though teachers highlighted Portuguese for future opportunities and preferences in speaking Portuguese to their own children and in school, many expressed guilt and sadness that their own children didn't speak local languages. Paulo, the youngest teacher of the study, who was also monolingual conveyed the negative impact of not knowing how to speak any mother tongues himself, not only limiting him in his job in terms of parental contact, but also limiting his ability to communicate with his grandmother. The reason was that in order to communicate with the older community, including grandparents, local languages were needed. It was widely accepted that elders spoke local languages and that Portuguese was connected to younger generations among the participants.

In our conversation, Tende, one of the oldest participants, describes characteristics that lead Mozambicans to communicate in local languages. There is an expectation that younger generations will have had access to Portuguese, in contrast to the older people who are not expected to communicate in the official language. Thus, being able to negotiate between generations is only possible via multilingualism.

> First, I greet in dialect, but only when I see that the person really understands it. The characteristics show... we know the characteristics. We know the characteristics. For example, a young person. A young person should naturally speak Portuguese, but if you find an elder, I won't greet them in Portuguese,

Portuguese they don't understand. They might understand, but they can't express themselves in it."[xxxiii] (interview, 02/07/11)

Making new connections can lead to the prioritization of Portuguese, but most agree that interacting with elders requires local languages for a meaningful interaction. This is due to the historical background of the country; many of the elders in Mozambique never received schooling (especially women) or were subjected to minimal rudimentary education, thus they did not learn Portuguese. It is accepted, therefore, that the different generations will have varying connections with local languages. Indeed, this aligns with census data that shows the high percentage of older aged individuals speak mother tongue as their L1, while the younger generation (school aged children) speak Portuguese as their primary language (INE, 1999).

Matos, who was 27 years old at the time of the interviews and was living in Chimoio while teaching at the bilingual school in Chibanda, admits to using and speaking Portuguese with the children in his household (nieces and nephews) but resorts to local language with his mother (who doesn't know other languages), "with my nieces I speak Portuguese, so they are more capacitated to speak the Portuguese language." [xxxiv](interview, 03/09/11). He reinforces Tende's opinion by stating " the new generation, in our homes we use Portuguese, the official language, much more. When you go to the grandparents house some speak dialect…because the child also should know her father's dialect"[xxxv] (interview, 03/09/11). Interestingly, Matos supports the learning of the family's "dialect" by stating "because the child should also know her father's dialect". Here, Matos alludes to the importance of knowing your parents' language, specifically that of the father, transmitting forward perhaps unconsciously (or explicitly) the male-dominated view of society.

Given the shift and priority towards Portuguese by the younger generations, many teachers expressed guilt and shame for not passing the language on to their children or for not learning it themselves. Noémia repeatedly suggested that classes should be taught only in Portuguese, though she simultaneously expressed guilt in choosing to speak Portuguese to her own children in her personal environment after she realized that they couldn't communicate with their grandparents.

Noémia chose to speak only Portuguese to her children, so that Portuguese could become their L1. However, she explains the she only realized the consequences of this choice when her father-in-law expressed distaste in their choice of language, angry that he couldn't communicate with his grandchildren. At that given moment she understood she had "made a mistake" and felt guilty about it, but said that it was too late to change, they were all accustomed to interacting in Portuguese at home (interview, 02/18/11). Though she labels her choice a "mistake", Noémia feels that it is too late to make the change towards interaction in local languages in the household. When asked why she didn't speak local languages with her children, Noémia responded:

> Noémia: I didn't have the initiative, I only realized later when my father in law came here, that's when I realized that I was guilty. I should teach Cimanika or even Cisena- that is the father's language- so [they] can communicate with grandpa. They were limited to looking and touching each other because they couldn't understand what they were saying. The grandpa couldn't understand what the grandchildren were saying.
>
> Sandra: Do you think you should have taught them?

> Noémia: Yes…I should teach…it was a mistake. Because normally when grandparents visit, they don't even talk to the parents, talk to the grandchildren, tell old stories, when the grandchild understands. Now, when they don't understand? Who are they going to talk to? They are limited.[xxxvi] (interview, 02/18/11)

Noémia feels guilty about the limitations her children and grandparents will have due to communication barriers. When asked if she should have taught her children the local language she agrees. I followed up and asked if her husband agreed with her and if they had changed the language in the house after the encounter with the father-in-law, but Noémia expresses that a changing is too difficult, in fact, "it is no longer possible".

Similarly, though Catalina is adamant in speaking Portuguese in the future with her children, she also states that it would make her sad if they knew absolutely no local language. According to her there will always be family members, specifically the elders, to whom Portuguese is not easily accessible, and they will have to communicate with them. In agreement, Kapomba states that though he prohibits the reading of the Shona Bible at home and encourages speaking in Portuguese, he states, "I say that when I say to speak Portuguese, that doesn't mean to forget the dialect, because later on an older person will arrive… for example my mother who is still alive…[xxxvii] (interview, 04/01/11). In practice, participants share a positive attitude towards the communication and interaction that local languages grants with the elder population. It is understood that local languages are needed to speak to elders, which can help with communication between the elders and the younger generations, making the connections stronger to the past. Establishing connections with them is crucial in maintaining cultural and historical identity.

As a final example, Paulo, who didn't speak any local languages, spoke of his wish to speak local languages in order to communicate with his grandmother and parents at the school. Besides the usefulness in dealing with certain students and parents, his desire stemmed from the wish to speak his parents' language to get in touch with his own history and to communicate with the older generations in his family. He tells of an anecdote when his lack of knowledge of the vernacular was very limiting in their interaction, "…one time my grandma came to my house. We were trying to communicate in Manhambane, but I couldn't speak. It was difficult, I want to know things of the past, I wanted to know about her."[xxxviii] (interview, 04/06/11). He gave various examples when he wasn't able to help his grandma or show her the city he lived in, saying that it was "embarrassing".

Though he is disconcerted by his inability to communicate, he hasn't asked his father to teach him their mother tongue because it embarrasses him as well. He hesitated in telling me that being embarrassed to ask his father about it was his reason. It is interesting to note his reaction in a time period that supposedly constitutionally promotes local languages; for Paulo there is still shame associated with learning a mother tongue or highlighting the fact that he doesn't know it. The cultural and financial capital granted to Portuguese remains present and though Paulo values local languages, he is not able to tell his father that he would like to learn his own. By lacking the ability to speak local languages, a connection to the past is broken.

Therefore, local languages are legitimate within those spaces of historical nature holding ties to the past, to the elder community, to the history of Mozambique. "My mom is already old, she only used Portuguese a few times. She always used dialect"[xxxix] (Kapomba, interview, 04/01/11). It is a way to stay in communication with a generation in the community that does not

know and speak Portuguese, or has never been to school. Teachers express guilt or shame for not speaking or using local languages at home, leading to limited interactions with elders.

In addition, there is a clear delineation of where participants expect children to learn the local languages. They should be used and learned in informal networks such as the home or community, not school. Noémia urges, "At home it's better [to learn]. Not in school, otherwise Portuguese becomes a second language while it has to be the first language to understand. Portuguese is the base to understand another subject."[xl] (interview, 02/18/11). Trying to explain why certain parents used local languages with their children while others chose not to, Noémia clarified, " for example, there are some grandchildren that speak Cimanika because the parents couldn't find employment. Yes, they [the parents] grew up, went to school but didn't find a job, they are home and always speak that language. They only do temp jobs, they didn't leave, so they could speak Portuguese"[xli] (interview, 02/18/11).

This quote reminds us once again of the mobility associated with the particular languages. Although I witnessed parents who had jobs choose to use local languages in the household with their children, Noémia reproduces the powerful belief that Portuguese holds the mobility for jobs; she insinuates that had the parents gotten jobs they might use Portuguese with their children.

Therefore, local languages are legitimized with the elder community and with family members, and have an informal space reserved for their use. It is an informal yet predominant space in the Mozambican reality, that of the social sphere. However, it becomes abundantly clear that views supporting Portuguese in the home are guided by a desire to succeed in school, thus limiting the interactions among the younger population in their local languages. I will return to the space of school and education in a later section.

Mozambican Identity: Origins and African-ness

Local languages are legitimized in spaces tied to the national identity and to being African. Teachers frequently spoke of the value of local languages in terms of the connections to their origins and cultural identity. When asked if local languages should be valued, Matos responds, "There is value (in knowing LL) because you should know your origin, recognize your origin…We are Africans, we have to first know and value our African-ness. We have to first value our African-ness, our dialect, our culture then we can go to the Portuguese language. First we have to value our culture" [xlii] (interview, 03/16/11). For Matos, local languages represent their origin, their background as Africans; they are emblematic of the African identity and culture. He goes on to say that it is also valuable to learn the mother tongue, to read, write and speak, not only Portuguese. He ties his identity as African to belonging to an African community, and directly to the linguistic identity of speaking local languages. Local language, then, allows speakers to maintain their cultural background, recognize their origin and be part of a larger African community, not only Mozambican.

Like Matos, Tende acknowledged a level of value to dialects, explaining that local languages are attached to Mozambican culture, where the Mozambican identity is embodied.

> For me all languages are valued. We use more dialect because it is our language. We have to consider it because it is part of our culture. It identifies our culture, because if I speak Chitwe to anybody from another country, somebody who understands will say Chitwe is from the Manica province. That says we are Mozambican, therefore it is part of our identity, part of it.[xliii] (interview, 02/07/11)

To Tende, local languages are valued because they are part of Mozambican culture. Using the language communicates to others that the speaker is from Mozambique and more specifically

from the region where your language is from. The "dialects" of each region are not only indicative of Mozambique, but others can pinpoint the province where they come from, a specific identity, and connection to the area, highlighting the cultural authenticity.

Hamid also understands the importance of local language knowledge and use. "I'm seeing that it is very important for the child to be able to know [LL], in the end the child at this time is Mozambican… the majority of our children are really peasants. As peasants, Portuguese is very far…Not all of them know Portuguese, and that is why Mozambican languages are good. We take the child from far and bring them close" [xliv](interview, 02/22/11). Hamid refers to Portuguese as very far, highlighting that many children are completely disconnected from Portuguese, especially in rural areas (where he lives). He refers to children as peasants, making reference to the high number of children living in agricultural areas, and outlining the reality of the majority of the Mozambican population.

Language therefore plays an important role in the construction and development of the Mozambican identity. Teachers relegate a legitimate space to local languages, emphasizing the ethnic and cultural identity (Rassool, 1999) attached to them. The drive for cultural solidarity and belonging into a larger African society maintains a group identity that recognizes a legitimate space for local languages. It is local languages that bond family and community, and maintain their ethnic and even their national identity. It is relevant and important to state the beliefs voiced by these teachers that local languages promote cultural heritages. It is a cautionary tale to the teachers who admit rejecting local languages in their home and then have a limited capability to sustain the heritage, cultural and historical connection to their identities, and those of their children.

Connections to Community and Rural areas

Another legitimate space for local language was within the community and rural spaces. In their daily life teachers, who were mostly multilingual, used their local languages with their neighbors and community members. In fact, learning of local languages also happened in that environment in order to establish communication in your surroundings. Local languages are predominantly used and exchanged in rural areas, unlike Portuguese, which is found as the common language of communication predominantly in urban environments.

Participants who self-identified as multilingual conveyed that learning of other languages and "dialects" occurred in order to communicate with different communities, due to travel and family connections.

Tende, who was multilingual and learned Portuguese in school, acquired local languages through the community, with the purpose of engaging with others in his social life. In this excerpt, he describes learning Portuguese in school and using Portuguese with his friends, but mostly for games and playing, in a way to compete with each other and to show off their language skills.

> During this time Portuguese was only spoken at school, it was really only in school. At home with others like in competition, you see? But with parents it was in the dialect. During our games with peers from school we would speak a little Portuguese to show off, to say that I could already speak Portuguese in first grade. Actually, in pre-school, in pre-school. In first grade we could already speak, speak well, well, we spoke well…Then I learned Masena, only speaking not writing. Cimanika I can speak not write, ok? Speak Cimanika, I know how to speak Cimanika, I know how to speak Mabarwe, I can speak Cisena… *I learned them*

> *for the social life, for the environment. To be able to meet with people that speak that language, to adapt to those languages.* [xlv] (interview, 02/07/11, italics mine)

Tende clarifies that his knowledge of the local languages is oral not written twice, establishing a difference between Portuguese and his spoken languages, and their primary role for social communication.

As we saw in the previous chapter, Catalina also learned languages in her communities, through her neighbors and travel between cities.

> I speak a little Ndau, I speak this Cibarwe. Cibarwe I learned because the neighbors where my home is now, well, those neighbors speak that language… I learned with them, the neighbors. We would talk, I began learning just like that. I would listen, sometimes I didn't understand something, then I would ask 'what is that?' and they explained. Now, I understand.[xlvi] (interview, 05/06/11).

Catalina welcomed learning other languages and picked them up by "listening to others". She explains that she adapted to the people and began learning through listening while her friends and family would explain unknown words to her.

Participants learned the languages with their neighbors, with the children, and with elders in order to belong to a community. "It was necessary to learn that language to better adapt to that environment. And to get better information in that community, and also facilitate creating bonds, creating friendship" [xlvii](Kapomba, interview, 04/01/11).

Hamid also referred to the importance of speaking local languages and did so on a daily basis at home. His commute to school was a one-hour bike ride or three hours by foot each way. He lived in a rural community that was tucked away on a dirt road from the city where he communicated in local languages daily.

> Yes these languages to me are a way to communicate in the places I live. I can live in Barue, I can find it in myself to understand Barue. As a teacher I can find a student who speaks Matwe, so I need to speak it, if it is Maniquese I need to interact with the children that speak this way. *This way I can get closer to the people I deal with closely*. [xlviii] (interview, 02/23/11, italics mine)

Hamid explains that he learns languages in order to relate to people, to be able to interact with them wherever he is, for example when he talks to the children in his classroom. Since he has moved during the war from his province, he has learned various languages and uses them for communication. "I know a lot of languages from here. I know a lot, Citwe, Mabarwe, Matonga, Manhungwe, Cimanika and Makua, oh many languages"[xlix] (interview, 02/23/11). He explained that when he lived Cabo Delgado he also learned other dialects.

> Hamid: My mother tongue is Manin. But the tribe is Makua.
>
> Sandra. Oh you are Makua and your parents spoke that language?
>
> Hamid: But the Makua people…my parents left that tribe and formed a clan next door.
>
> Sandra: That was Manin?
>
> Hamid: They spoke Manin in Cabo Delgado.
>
> Sandra: What were the languages?
>
> Hamid: So in Cabo Delgado I spoke Manin, Makua, Swahili and Maconde.
>
> Sandra: Which one are you most comfortable with?
>
> Hamid: I feel more comfortable with my own language, which is Manin. I can sit down and really talk to someone, tell stories. [1] (interview, 02/22/11)

Hamid believes that he needs to learn the languages that are spoken in his environment in order to communicate with others. When he lived in Cabo Delgado as a child he learned various dialects and now that he is in Manica he attempts to learn others. He is not proficient in all to the same degree, but knowing them allows him to connect with various individuals. Also, given that his wife speaks Mabarwe, he thinks he is required to learn it. In his opinion, he needs to accommodate to those that are around him and adjust to his environment.

> Since I am in Manica I have to learn many languages to coordinate with the children. I speak that language with my son, his mother is from here Mabarwe. Sometimes I have little time, you know, children know the language because of the milk, right? My son is like that, so I have to adjust to him…to all the children. Sometimes I speak Portuguese in order to teach, in teaching mode, 'do that do this'.[li] (interview, 02/22/11)

Though I rarely encountered Mozambicans who didn't speak at least two languages, Hamid's philosophy viewed learning other languages as an act, of obligation. It is part of communication, and learning others languages permits interaction with those who are part of your life. The burden was not placed on others to learn Portuguese; it was up to him to learn the other vernaculars. Just like Tende, Hamid learns other languages for communication within his community.

While Portuguese is a fixed entity in urban areas, participants learn local languages within "comunidades" or communities, particularly in rural areas. As I have touched on, particular regions are dominated by and function almost entirely in local languages. Kapomba points out the reasons as to why he prohibited local language use at home, since his children live in the city. "Portuguese at home. I made this decision for my children, because they are in the

city, there in the city the most usual language is Portuguese" [lii](interview, 04/01/11). Santos reinforces this belief by stating that when he goes back to his community, everybody speaks local languages. He explains that in his region Portuguese wasn't used and especially back when he was growing up, many hadn't gone through formal schooling and only spoke Makua. In fact, he didn't know anybody that spoke Portuguese; everybody spoke Makua to each other. When he visits the area he says he leaves Portuguese behind and goes back to his mother tongue.

Being part of the community requires getting closer to other members. In order to reduce differences and avoid possible rejections, participants adopted and learned the new languages. Another example of the benefit of speaking local languages in the community is underlined by one of the teachers who moved to a different town after becoming pregnant, to live with the parents of her boyfriend. She retells that after moving to a different town, where they spoke a dialect different from hers, the other women would laugh at her attempts to communicate until she learned the local dialect. Most importantly, even though she knew Portuguese, speaking it was not an option, since the others didn't speak it and would find it offensive – as if she was trying to show off.

> They would laugh at me when I arrived at the pump. There was a water problem over there and it was full of people. How am I supposed to talk Portuguese? [They would think] you are cussing at them. I couldn't speak Portuguese; you are cussing [they would think]. I would stay there until another person said, she has been here a long time…I had to learn [the dialect] fast, my in-laws insisted. They didn't want me to [speak Portuguese], even if I wanted to speak Portuguese, they wouldn't respond, they wouldn't respond, it's like you are cussing[liii] (Luíza, interview, 05/12/11, brackets mine).

Because of the prestigious status of Portuguese and the limited understanding of the language in the village (rural), particularly by the women gathering water at the pump, Luíza was not able to use the official language, she had to learn the language of the community or remain silent. Just like the participants that moved to other communities, or met neighbors who spoke a different vernacular, learning to speak the language allowed her to build community, creating friendships and relationships.

Most participants in my study supported local language knowledge and use in certain personal, informal, traditional domains. While, these perspectives were fluid and contradictory at times, common themes connecting local languages to the Mozambican identity, elders and the community were apparent throughout our conversations. Teachers celebrated the fact that local languages tied them to their national, cultural and ethnic identities and helped in community and friendship building. Limited education for women and elders, movement and encounters with the linguistic diversity of Mozambique as well as differences in rural and urban areas have maintained strong and legitimate spaces for local languages within the community, making them necessary for relationship and community building. It is a space where Portuguese is overrun by the local legitimacy of dialects that have historically predominated in Mozambique. It is from this very local sense that local languages have been protected and preserved and still remain a constant presence in Mozambique.

Legitimate Spaces for Portuguese

In contrast, Portuguese was aligned with official venues, international currency and as the best viable MoI in schools. In addition, despite the variety of languages spoken in Mozambique all teachers referred to Portuguese as the language of unification- a political value instilled after

independence- and as the language of wider communication. Teachers spoke of Portuguese as a language granting wider access and employment through education, having unifying traits and being the only viable language with official powers.

Language of Official Status

When it came to the officialization of other non-dominant languages, teachers demonstrated resistance against local varieties and preferred Portuguese as the official choice. This was a common theme. Part of the difficulty in choosing multiple languages to be official was due to the diversity of languages and the prominence of Portuguese during the colonial period. Hamid explained that the variety of languages spoken in Mozambique made choosing a vernacular language the only viable option after independence:

> Hamid: There can be additional language in official status. Here in Mozambique that's not easy. Here in Mozambique that's not easy.
>
> Sandra: Why?
>
> Hamid: Here the problem is we were colonized and after the colonialism they looked for an official language that comprised at least four provinces. If it were Makua for example encompasses Nampula, Niassa, Quelimane [Zambezia], Cabo Delgado. Now, if it's four, that's a small amount. If there were nine provinces with four languages; at least one could be selected to be the national language. If it were that way, it could work. Now, in Mozambique eiiiii there are many languages, in one province you might have five to six languages, in one province! Now, to choose one single language to be the national language...ooooohhh, that would be difficult [liv] (interview, 03/23/11).

Hamid addressed a common concern in choosing a local language when there are multiple languages spoken in one country. As we saw in Chapter 3, the majority of the population in Mozambique speak local languages on a daily basis, nevertheless, there isn't one single language that is spoken by the majority (INDE, 1999). In fact, the *de facto lingua franca* ends up being Portuguese since 50% of the population speaks it as a second language. The highest percentage for a local language (Emakua) is 25%, spoken only in the north of the country. Choosing that language after independence with a looming civil war could have stirred up major conflicts between the North and South. This reality is also paralleled in other African ex-colonies, which maintained the colonizer language as their official choice. This choice, however, has consequences. The language chosen to be official is granted prestige and status, even if inadvertently, making the state's language a condition for full access to education and a number of other services and affiliations. These affiliations are tied to the major political discourses and to employment opportunities.

Including other languages at the same official level is usually contentious, but countries such as Tanzania, Zimbabwe and South Africa (among others) have designated multiple languages as official, serving to give local vernaculars special legal status as well. Using indigenous languages in an official status aids in empowering disadvantaged linguistic groups.

However, traditional standardized education and language policies, which promote one nation-one language ideologies or myths (Benson, 2004; Heller, 2007), face challenges when called on to promote diversity, pluralism and multilingualism. The importance of global languages capable of reaching wider audiences exists alongside the growing recognition of the importance of local language education; both issues need to be considered in language policy and planning. However, as we see in Hamid's statement, there is a belief that choosing a single

language in a country of multiple non-majority vernaculars is not a viable choice. This ideology stems from the belief or myth (Benson, 2004) that a nation's cohesiveness and power are unreachable without a unitary, shared, unifying, dominant language. This view presupposes that monolingual policies are the norm and better fit for nation-states. It is with this monolingual ideology that countries continue to support a single official language, and take political stances against multilingualism and bilingual education. The ties to monolingual ideology require individuals to posses the "right" linguistic competence, excluding and 'condemning to silence' (Bourdieu, 1991) when it is not achieved.

In addition, this ideology constricts language and identity as bounded and fixed, keeping languages as monolithic separate entities, with biased beliefs about languages and dialects and how standard language is constructed. This leads to a view that stigmatizes other types of languages considered sub-par and suppresses the need for bilingual education.

Language of Unification

After independence the political discourse in Mozambique shifted towards one of unification, like other ex-colonies opting for the colonial languages as a practical choice. Ex-colonial languages were perceived to be languages of integration, unification and modernization. Instead of the discriminatory role that they held during the colonial period, new citizens saw the language as one capable of unifying the country.

Santos, another participant who was close to retiring and had lived through the varying eras of political discourses associated with national languages, agreed that choosing to keep Portuguese after independence was a way to unify the nation. "They saw that in many parts of our territory, many people already spoke Portuguese. So, it was better if Portuguese unified us,

because introducing another language capable of unifying us, what language would that be? It was better if Portuguese unified us, that was the only reason"[lv] (interview, 05/06/11).

The belief that Portuguese unites Mozambicans has a parallel belief that empowering local languages to an official status creates discord and inequality between ethnic and linguistic groups in the country. This idea is in line with Achebe's view that the colonial language is able to provide wider communication and has the ability to unify many separate groups. "Let us give the devil his due: colonialism in Africa disrupted many things, but it did create political units where there were small, scattered ones before" (Achebe, 1975, p. 429). Like Achebe, Santos speaks about the unity that Portuguese brought to Mozambique, the ability of this language to perform the hard act of unifying a diverse country that had fought for many years for independence. He also qualifies Portuguese as the better choice, embedded within the ideology that places Portuguese as more valuable, and also the practical belief that the majority of the people had already been exposed to this language during the long colonial period thus it was already serving as the lingua franca of sorts.

There is a strong belief that nation-states require a single unifying language to be prosperous. However, studies have shown that it is a myth that being a monolingual country has prevented instability. Through examples in language-based conflicts in Canada, Belgium, and Sri Lanka, Ouane (2003) argues against the assumption that linguistic monolingualism ensures unity and instead fosters disunity, caused by the denial of legitimate minority language rights.

In favor of the discourse of unification lies the argument that bilingual education is a 'direct threat to the unity of the state' (May & Hill, 2005). May & Hill (2005) summarizes principal critiques of bilingualism, mainly focusing on the perceived constraints of the minority language to social mobility. The ideological stance attesting to the unifying qualities of

Portuguese was solidified within the constitution and curricula nationwide, granting Portuguese the title of "language of national unity," while local languages were conceptualized as "the seed source of tribalism and regionalism" (Chimbutane, 2011, p. 43). Frelimo's quest to create the " new man" maintained the same stigmatized ideas of tribalism espoused during colonial times, instead of acknowledging Mozambican language and values (Lafon, 2013). The choice of officializing the language and deeming it unifying reproduced the assimilation ideology of the colonizers.

The positive view of unification has then in turn had a negative effect for the other languages, placing them in the contrary field. As Santos states, it engenders the belief that there is no other language that could possibly unify them. In the Mozambican context Portuguese was thought to better serve as a unifying tool, as exemplified in Santos's rhetorical question "what other language would that be?" Portuguese had widespread power and lingering prestige from its colonial history. Portuguese is perceived to occupy still to this day the legitimate unifying characteristic.

Portuguese then, holds a prestigious place in Mozambican society and became the single language of official purposes; teachers reject the possibility of other languages holding official status. None of the participants questioned having Portuguese as the sole official language, instead was accepted by the teachers to be the norm, with explanations ranging from the number of languages present in the nation to the historical processes that shaped and limited vernacular languages of retaining a prestigious spot in the society.

As in colonial times, when indigenous languages were deemed inferior, teachers continue to hold the space for official functions for Portuguese. Without a true formal legitimate space,

attitudes that separate indigenous languages from Portuguese will remain at the forefront of the Mozambican mentality.

Language of Wider Communication

In addition to a view of Portuguese as a unifying force for a broken nation, Portuguese is also seen as the language of wider communication (LWC) and international currency. Daniela, a younger teacher who has been working at the school for a little over one year, sees many benefits to Portuguese, especially in terms of wider communication.

> Going to the north you find different types [of languages]. We have various types for communication. I don't understand Nyanja, there's Cibarwe. So, with the Portuguese language people communicate without any problems, they already use Portuguese as the official language that we can use to communicate with the north, center and south."[lvi] (interview, 03/04/11).

Because of the importance of the dominant language, Daniela explains, that there are more people today that are rejecting their mother tongues. "Others do not want to speak [mother tongue] at home, all Mozambicans have mother tongues, but they don't want to [speak it] anymore[lvii](interview, 03/04/11).

Though Daniela is a multilingual speaker and a bilingual teacher, she agrees that Portuguese grants access to the entire country and suggests that Mozambicans are rejecting their languages in order to learn Portuguese better. Daniela reinforces this belief by stating that Portuguese has more value, connection and prestige. Ultimately, when asked which language was more valued, Daniela responded, "Portuguese is more valued, because from Rovuma until Maputo it is only Portuguese"[lviii] (interview, 03/04/11). The possibility of communicating with a wider community, one that expands from the north of the country all the way to the south, makes

Portuguese more valuable and prestigious to Daniela within Mozambique. Most teachers agreed in the breadth that Portuguese reached, and this view was reinforced in their actions when they resisted incorporating the new bilingual practices introduced into the curriculum.

Kapomba, a bilingual teacher who lives in the rural community part-time while his family stays in Chimoio, also agrees with the access granted to those who speak Portuguese.

> We are always attentive to Portuguese. This is due to movement, due to movement. They start seeing that yes they are learning their language, Cituee, but when they go to the city they need Portuguese. In order to have better communication with others that do not speak their language they use Portuguese as the official language [lix] (interview, 03/23/11).

For participants, Portuguese grants access to communities beyond their own, and provides valuable connections. Similarly to Vavrus's (2002) study in Tanzania, the significance of the colonial language as a language of wider communication is apparent when participants discuss how this particular language would provide them with means to participate in the wider circles.

This choice of maintaining the ex-colonial language as the official languages is explained with notions of future possibilities. Vavrus (2002) contends that

> "…(t)he designation of English as the official language in Tanzanian secondary schools may be inconsistent with research on bilingualism and cognitive development, but it reflects the sociopolitical context, in which English signifies an orientation to the future for individuals in a transnational world" (p. 386).

Vavrus (2002) speaks of an 'imagined future', rooted in Norton's idea of identity (1997), as "how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future" (p. 379).

Vavrus also brings forth that the imagined future "derives largely from an imagined view of one's future place in the social world" (p. 379). As in Tanzania, where English is seen as a tool for creating future possibilities, Portuguese in Mozambique is seen as the language of social mobility and growth.

Choosing to adopt certain languages is directly related to the link between capital values and the ties associated with progress. Stroud (2008) argues, "an essential means whereby individuals and groups negotiate, manage and experience modernity is through linguistic practices and perceptions of different languages and their associated capital values" (p. 70). Speakers assign value to languages through reflecting on the capital markets and their relative "usefulness", based on their personal language experiences. Portuguese is the language that promises modernity and a better future for Mozambicans since it is still the dominant language and predominant in all official institutions. It also offers greater access to the international community.

Luíza, a teacher in a rural school, also reinforced this view while explaining the value that educators are placing on Portuguese due to the wider access given to Portuguese.

> Yes, they value it because, I think it's because you if you limit yourself to only speak local language, you might not have…let's suppose you wanted to travel, you arrive at a place where they can't understand that language. You opt for Portuguese in order to communicate. Here in Mozambique there exist a variety of languages. To communicate without discrimination you have to at least understand something. *To work at a business you have to know how to speak Portuguese. Local language is only interesting in your specific zone, but you will also want to travel to other provinces*. You arrive in Quelimane, they speak

Citonga, at least a little bit of Portuguese. That's why they value it. [lx] (interview, 05/12/11)

The forces of globalization make it a permanent struggle to recognize the less prestigious languages instead of the dominant one, such as English or Portuguese. Cummins (2000, 2001b, 2001c) has concluded that due to the dominance of English in educational, social and political policies bilingualism, multilingualism and minority languages are compromised. Cummins (2001a) advocates for a framework that enables minority students to succeed in a globalized world through the promotion of equity and multilingualism. Portuguese, though still overshadowed by English for its international grasp, is comparable to English within Mozambique for its global access and historical dominance in the country. Pennycook (1995) maintains that the notion of 'choice and the usefulness of English' (p. 37) is a misnomer in debates on the spread of English, as it does not take into account the social and political influences and constraints that are enmeshed in its usage. Just like Pennycook's (1995) claim that there is a lack of choice, given the social and political reality, for English usage, I argue that it is a similar case in Mozambique where the powerful connections are linked to Portuguese in the social, political and economic culture.

In addition, the social reality of Mozambique makes it so Portuguese lacks importance in several regions of the country. In those zones, Portuguese loses its importance for societal development, where in reality local languages are used for daily communication and work. In fact, fellow friends working on a project for agricultural development in the Manica province required surveyors to speak local languages as part of their job description in order to access the local communities. In addition to advanced university level education, surveyors were required

to have competency in local vernaculars, without which they wouldn't be hired (personal communication, Armando, 05/02/11).

In summary, participants shared that Portuguese is the only official language due to the access that it provides and to the unifying characteristics ascribed to a language that can be spoken throughout the various provinces. The idea that Portuguese can provide communication and reach distances far and near assure participants of the value of Portuguese. In a country where movement during the civil wars and current work needs are realities, Portuguese provides access to more communities and also provides social mobility, providing participants greater access nationally and unifying the country.

However, it is essential to consider that the view that supports Portuguese-only as the language of wider communication, international domains and unification rests on a monolingual, monoglossic view, contrary to multilingualism as the natural circumstance. Rather than seeing multilingualism as a norm it becomes the exception (García, O. & Torres-Guevara, 2010).

Language of Success in School

In addition to associating Portuguese with the language of wider communication, unifying purposes and for official domains, almost all of the participants, with the exception of a *pedagógico* (school director) at EPC Sandúa, who was in charge of the bilingual program and who had been raised in Zimbabwe with bilingual education, believed that Portuguese was a better alternative for school success. This was the universal theme across all participants. For them, Portuguese was the language that belonged in the educational domain, and learning it allowed students to participate successfully in this realm and to gain opportunities for and from education. Similarly to ideas that reserve spaces for the local languages in local, traditional and

cultural domains, Portuguese is the overwhelming choice among my participants for school environments.

The idea that the dominant language is the best option for the medium of instruction goes hand in hand with beliefs that Portuguese allows individuals to move up a social ladder, tying educational results to this success. There is a strong embodied perception that students should limit their learning to one language at a time, that the minority language will deter full comprehension of the dominant one. This set of assumptions, built on the fundamental myth of language and culture uniformity, has been coined *monolingual habitus* (Gogolin, 2002). Gogolin argued that there is a deep-seated conviction that monolingualism in a society is normal, and is a characteristic of the nation. In her study, Gogolin found that establishing monolingualism in the official nation was imperative in a teacher's professional ethos. The monolingual habitus is a condition to act routinely, built and secured through the educational system itself. Though her study took place in Germany, we can see in the Mozambican teachers' voices that Portuguese is seen as the appropriate medium of instruction.

In the following extract Catalina sustains Portuguese learning in the school setting for her children in the future. Though she is multilingual herself, she states that when she has children she would prefer to speak in Portuguese. She mentions that the children should eventually learn their mother tongue yet still gives priority to Portuguese.

> Sandra: Are you going to speak mother tongue or Portuguese with them? What do you think?
>
> Catalina: With my children, it will be better Portuguese so they don't have more difficulty in school. But, as the mother tongue, they will speak dialect, mother tongue, you know?

Sandra: mmhm

Catalina: But, Portuguese has to be the first because ay. Then the child gets used to that language and when they go to school it is just confusion.

Sandra: Does it, is it harder?

Catalina: It's harder because he got used to that, you want to say bring the notebook, they won't understand. Close the door, it's difficult from him to understand. So, when they grow up [with Portuguese] saying close the door, that's what I do, open, that's what I do, go get that, that's what I do, so it's easier.

Sandra: So you think it's better to speak Portuguese at home?

Catalina: Yes, speaking Portuguese, because it is our language, you know? Our official language is Portuguese, it will be better. [lxi] (interview, 05/06/11, brackets mine)

She doesn't reject the idea of mother tongue learning, as long as it isn't the priority. Note that, however, she insists that "…it is best to speak Portuguese because it is our language, our official language is Portuguese." Portuguese has been appropriated by many in the society as a Mozambican language and is not regarded as representative of the ex-colony. Instead it is part of who Mozambicans are, they do not associate negative aspects to it. It is then used within the society for local purposes and suits local culture.

Though she mentions that the children will learn their mother tongue, she still gives priority to Portuguese by stating that Portuguese will be a better option in order to facilitate learning in the school setting. She reinforces this view while expressing priority for Portuguese as a first option. To her, knowing more Portuguese before coming to school will help the student perform daily tasks, even repetitive ones such as opening and closing doors and books. Once

again the idea that speaking African languages deters from the successful learning of Portuguese is embedded in her beliefs. Notions that speaking first languages at home denies proper education in the second, dominant language are common myths against bilingual education. Using local languages, even at home, is associated with a negative influence on the child's learning. These attitudes stem from common beliefs that learning two languages confuses students and impairs their cognitive ability.

> Catalina explains that Portuguese is a necessary condition for school success: When the child gets used to that language [local language], when they go to school it is pure confusion…In class, no, they have to speak our official language to communicate better…We have to force the student to speak Portuguese.[lxii] (interview, 05/06/11)

She supports not using local language in the classroom because she believes they will do better in school if they suppress local language use, "To me it is a bit bad, to speak in mother tongue, that is not the way"[lxiii] (interview, 05/06/11).

Her support for Portuguese as the academic language and belief that it leads to better understanding doesn't align with her students' performance, but she is nonetheless still convinced that speaking the dominant language at home will only benefit students as an overall goal. When asked if she notices the differences between those students who are exposed to Portuguese at home versus those who aren't, Catalina tells me that there is only one student who has Portuguese-speaking parents and he shows no advantage over the other students at school. Even though she sees this example in her classroom, Catalina is still convinced that Portuguese should be used at home, and further exposure of local varieties is harmful for student achievement.

Like the other example in the previous section, Catalina expresses sadness about the possibility of her children never learning local languages, particularly in regards to connections with elder family members. "There will be family, our grandparents, Portuguese is hard for them… 'Grandpa I'm hungry', grandpa won't know what hungry is and the child will suffer. So, it's better to learn a little local language" [lxiv](interview, 05/06/11).

Catalina ultimately thinks that knowing both languages, mother tongue and official language, is a good thing, although she believes local languages will be learned automatically and not at school, just as they were for her. Achebe (1975) also chose to use the colonial language, with hopes that others would maintain the vernacular languages, "I have been given this language and I intend to use it. I hope, though, that there always will be men like the late Chief Fagunwa, who will choose to write in their native tongue and ensure that our ethnic literature will flourish side-by-side with the national ones." (p. 433). Because of her experience as a language learner, learning within her community by listening and observing, she believes that local languages will never shift away or die. She states, "It won't die, Mozambican languages won't. I think things will stay the same, speaking Portuguese, speaking both things, we will maintain both languages. They won't stop"[lxv] (interview, 05/06/11).

This passive attitude towards local languages and mother tongue maintenance is present in countries where those languages do not hold prestige or the same value within the economic structure of the society. Catalina is aware that many do not learn, like her own husband who is a monolingual speaker, but she hopes the children will learn them. She is aware of the culture costs, of the generational and historical loss that may result by only learning Portuguese, but the potential benefits of choosing Portuguese over the other languages dominates her choice of an imagined future for her children.

Daniela, who always dreamed of being a Portuguese teacher, is today a bilingual educator. She does, however, also give another example of Portuguese support and bolsters the outlook previously expressed that local languages belong in the home and community, "My opinion is that the child will play and have many difficulties in Portuguese. At home it is normal to speak mother tongue but he could also learn Portuguese at home so the teacher won't have a lot of work, it is a lot of work for the teacher"[lxvi] (interview, 03/04/11).

Daniela teaches at a school that is too far for her daily commute, therefore, she stays in teacher assigned huts during the week. Due to her work schedule, her daughter and son live with their grandma in the city who raises them using a local language, the only language she speaks. Daniela's daughter, however, has a lot of exposure to Portuguese in the city and in school. Her son, on the other hand, doesn't receive much Portuguese input since he is only 5 years old and stays at home with the elders who only speak local languages.

This situation is a big concern for Daniela who thinks her boy will be more unsuccessful in school due to this. Daniela speaks of the teacher's work, reflecting on her own personal experiences with transitional bilingual education as she works with students who use the local languages in their communities but must transition into an all Portuguese education starting in 3rd grade. Daniela sees speaking local languages at home as normal; she herself did this growing up and had to work hard to learn Portuguese in order to pursue her dreams, but according to her, choosing to do so has lasting consequences in the schooling environment.

Given the expectation teachers have of student failure in school, and their blaming of local language use for lack of educational success, it surprises many of the participants when students who hear local languages at home do well in the classroom setting. Just like Catalina, who admits that the only student in her classroom who lives in a Portuguese-speaking

environment is not a better student, Daniela is surprised by her daughter's positive outcome in school. Because of the local language influence, she expects her own child to perform badly in school and is surprised to see that the influence from home languages does not affect Portuguese learning in a negative way.

> I don't know how to justify it because that year I was in training and she stayed with her grandma (who speaks local languages), she was first in her class... The teacher sent a note to the guardian. My mom called me 'Epa, I don't know what your daughter did in school, but I got a communication.' 'Go over there and try to found out'…it was to compliment the parent and to keep letting the child stay in school. I don't know, I didn't teach her.[lxvii] (interview, 03/04/11)

Just like others, Daniela has fears regarding the exposure to local dialects, based on a long trajectory of a powerful Portuguese, and continues to prefer it in school. Daniela maintains the status quo, even when she sees that her child can be successful regardless of the language spoken at home and being fluent in local languages.

Kapomba, who is also a bilingual teacher, has a similar perspective regarding local languages. He is clearly in favor of prioritizing Portuguese in the school setting, though without completely rejecting the local languages at a later stage in life. According to Kapomba, the focus on other languages dramatically affects the learning possibilities for his children, which is why he prohibits the use of local languages at home. For instance, when Kapomba realized his girls were interested in learning Shona and other dialects, he quickly removed the one written source available to them at home. He believes his children will benefit from limited local language access.

> So I started to notice that there was this preoccupation to search out Shona. I had the bible at home in Shona and I would find that bible already on top of the table. I ended up telling the mother, take this bible from the table, hide it in a luggage, get the bible in Portuguese and put it on the table. That's what I did, until today. [lxviii] (interview, 03/22/11)

Kapomba explains that his priority lies in Portuguese because he wants his children to do well in school and believes that focusing in other languages harms their learning, to the extent of causing them to fail a school year.

> First I want them to speak Portuguese, this is because I am very interested in their development in their classes. I know that if they are too able in Shona something will be lost. Or they will be advancing in Shona, but Portuguese in school won't. For example last year, none of the girls passed, all four of them, two in 8th, in 7th another in 5th grade. All of them failed.[lxix] (interview, 03/22/11)

In his own words, Kapomba expresses his interest in Portuguese development as a mandatory skill in order to grant his children success. In his opinion, learning two languages at the same time limits full proficiency. He subscribes to the either-or myth, which states that you can either learn one language or the other. Though he is a bilingual teacher, seeing his daughters fail school makes him put the blame on their interest in local languages. Kapomba later explained that he felt this way because his daughters lived in the city, but for the children in the community he thought bilingual education was a positive alternative. He explained that he didn't want a total rejection of dialects, but instead preferred if his daughters focused on other languages after 7th grade. He was wary of the outcome of reinforcing local languages since his daughters had failed a grade. To him, it was due to the language. If, however, even bilingual teachers do not value

local languages as tools to improve educational achievement and personal success in the classroom, how can we embrace bilingual education to its fullest capacity? Kapomba transfers over to Portuguese more quickly in the transitional stages of the bilingual program, where his perspectives impact the lives of the children.

In addition to the teachers, the *pedagógicos* pay lip service to local languages in the classroom, but ultimately support the use of Portuguese. Heloísa, who works at EPC Chibanda, begins by defending the use of local languages as a resource in the classroom, stating that teachers should know the languages spoken by the children they are educating, and further expresses that the it is part of the curriculum. However, Heloísa quickly shifts her opinion and expresses her disproval regarding the use of local languages in the current policy, supporting instead using Portuguese as the only language in school and at home so there won't be contradictions from school. She also addresses the issue that parents aren't able to help the children with homework in the textbook.

> I think, in my opinion, it should be like before. All of us, we should speak the official language. Force the children in order to facilitate comprehension. Because we can work with the official language and if a child speaks 100% local language, next year they won't be able to even read. Because at home they [speak] one way and in the book something else is written, there's contradiction. That's why many children have problems. If you [parents] speak local language at home, not even the parents will be able to help. It's difficult. [lxx] (interview, 02/01/11)

Another *pedagógica,* Glória sees the curricular changes as positive, particularly regarding the local curriculum and the allowance of local languages. Glória claims that using local languages as resources is a better strategy for the learners, " No, they are not behind, I think it is better. The

student understands better. So, it's better. It's good."[lxxi] (interview, 02/01/2011). In addition, she talks about the need for the teacher to speak local languages in order to speak to the parents, many who do not know Portuguese.

However, the positive voice is quickly overshadowed by a permanence of Portuguese when she concludes that the teachers' roles is to always speak Portuguese," when [the child] speaks mother tongue it means they are not learning, we have the obligation to teach those who don't know….the official language is Portuguese[lxxii] (interview, 02/01/2011). The official status and prestige associated with Portuguese is persistent in their choice of language. The *pedagógica* stands by the ultimate role of education, the goal to acquire Portuguese regardless of any positive outcomes of using local languages.

The idea that Portuguese is the only language that belongs in education is deeply embedded in these teachers' minds, to the point of foregoing helping some of the students that enter school without knowledge of the official language. Classroom practices will be discussed more fully in Chapter 8.

Educational opportunities are intimately connected to the dominant languages, making teachers opt for Portuguese as the means of instruction instead of encouraging local language use. There is a push for functional literacy instead of local literacy, with an embedded belief that local languages will be learned automatically and thus no schooling is needed for their acquisition. Through teachers' voices, we can see a resistance towards learning local languages instead of Portuguese in school settings. It is important to consider this resistance to local literacy in school, if educated teachers and systems prioritize Portuguese literacy learning at the home as well, how will written forms of local languages survive? Also, will the shift towards Portuguese continue to grow, displacing local languages and relegating them to a lower status?

The issue that arises when populations claim the local, traditional, indigenous as the only legitimate space for local languages is that it continues to be treated as lacking modernity and progress for the civilization (Stroud, 2007). Moving away from the traditional connotations of the mother tongue can help change ideological systems, which support and view local languages as progress as well. However, if the promotion of bilingual education is successful one aspect that becomes possible is to revitalize the cultural roots.

Conclusion

Against this backdrop of Mozambican reality, Portuguese cuts across ethnicity and culture. Common themes among educators deem Portuguese the best language for the medium of instruction in school, the language for unification and wider communication, as well as the language that provides symbolic and social capital. Local languages, however, have a predominant use in particular informal networks of community and relationships.

Though local African languages are not necessarily the languages used in official functions, some educators see dialects as necessary tools for communities and rural areas. Others talk about the guilt and sadness of losing their mother tongues within generations, leading toward the potential intergenerational loss. In other instances they refer to local languages as part of their cultural identity and part of community connections, which at times allows for relationships to form. In sum, according to teacher perspectives there are legitimate spaces for both languages: Portuguese is valid in school, global and modern spaces, whereas local languages remain connected to the local, familiar and historical.

Major findings support the separation of formal and informal domains as legitimate spaces for languages. Attitudes and perspectives that purport to empower indigenous languages

have either not been implemented or partially implemented resulting in the local languages being limited to home and informal domains. Attitudes place indigenous, local languages in a domain limited for community, ethnic identity, home and traditional education as well as communication with the older generation, whereas the official language holds socio-economic value, official status, international currency, and an overwhelming support in school settings. I argue that this separation in legitimate spaces pushes local languages further into marginalization, preventing the true implantation of a progressive bilingual/multilingual nation- granting Portuguese the only true worthy status (especially in schools).

What are the effects of these attitudes and legitimizing spaces in practice at schools? Benson (2011) asks, how can we recognize and counteract the monolingual habitus? I add further, how can we appropriate (Canagarajah, 2005) and redevelop the curriculum to take learners' and teachers' translingual and cross-cultural knowledge into consideration instead of shunning it? I will look into educational practices and implementation next.

Chapter 7: Bilingual Implementation *In Practice*

Introduction

Numerous studies have touched on the complex process of curricular implementation, where intended curricular mandates do not reflect teacher classroom practices (e.g., Orafi,S & Borg, 2009; Smith & Southerland, 2007). The studies show that teacher beliefs interfere with the intended curriculum and, in turn, minimize the impact in their educational practices. Smith and Southerland (2007) show that when teacher beliefs were at odds with the educational reform, the policy had nominal influence in their practices. Breen et al. (2001) argued that successful innovations in the classroom had to be accompanied within the teacher's framework of teaching principles. Other studies have shown the importance of investigating the interactions between language and educational policy and classroom practices through the classroom teachers as agents and not only a top-down view (Breen, 2002; Silver & Skuja-Steele, 2005; Freeman, 1996). These studies show that the understanding of curricular implementation cannot be understood only by the investigation of educational and language policies; the role of the teacher and their beliefs is crucial to the exploration of curricular reform.

Probing teacher beliefs and attitudes is essential for the understanding and improvement of educational processes and practices. Fullan (2007) identifies that successful educational reform is not simply putting policy into place, it happens through the *reculturing* of teachers (p. 34). This *reculturing* needs to be coupled with other necessary conditions and resources within the schools and districts. Fullan (2007) suggests that what is needed is for teachers to question and change their beliefs or habits; if teachers are not given the opportunity to do so, there will be resistance in implementing changes in their teaching practices.

In addition to teacher beliefs and principles, factors such as access to resources and class size also play a role in planned implementation (Johnson et al., 2000). Though Fullan (2007) speaks of numerous factors (classroom conditions, limited resources, lack of training, unsupportive school environment) that have impeded implementation of curricular mandates in the context of the United States, the adverse conditions are further exacerbated in Mozambique, a country with limited funding, high levels of poverty and an historically oppressive past. In agreement with the previous research, the teachers in my study constantly referred to the slight resources, limited salary, and marginal work conditions that preoccupied them.

The studies discussed above identify the mismatch between new curricula and implementation—due in part to teacher beliefs and principles as well as other social and contextual factors. This literature informs this chapter, which aims to look at the gap between curricular goals and educator perspectives, as well as at how teachers are appropriating or resisting the language policy in their own classroom practices.

I investigate the gap between curriculum goals and teacher practices in both monolingual and bilingual programs. Specifically, I analyze how teachers interpret the changes from previous national curriculum to the recently adopted *novo currículo do ensino básico* (new curriculum of basic education) while using and or rejecting local languages in their classrooms. I find that although the educational system, teachers and administrators seemingly embraced the inclusion of local languages within the curriculum as one of the new adoptions to the curricular plan, teachers nevertheless continue to diminish the role of local languages (LL) and emphasize Portuguese within their school practices. My findings suggest that this gap between the adoption of local languages in curriculum and teacher practices manifested in six overarching ways:

1) Bilingual teachers' unenthusiastic attitudes toward L1 inclusion preclude an appropriate adoption of L1 education.
2) Bilingual teachers are infiltrating Portuguese into the mother tongue lessons prior to what is required within the curriculum, showing a preference towards Portuguese as the MoI in their practices.
3) The lack of training, resources and proficiency in local language education prevent a successful implementation of L1 instruction.
4) Monolingual teachers refrain from using L1 as a resource, disregarding the curricular change and intentions.
5) Many teachers in the monolingual modality using L1 as a resource abstain from speaking in Mozambican languages in the classroom environment unless it addresses: lack of response and desired participation, classroom management and/or specific translation.

I focus on the gaps between the educational objectives and teacher practices, which in turn can better inform adjustments to educational and language policies. Interviews on teaching practices and beliefs, as well as field notes from classroom observations on language use, language avoidance and the negotiation of Portuguese and African languages, demonstrate how teachers are incorporating strategies that reproduce the subaltern socio-political status and maintaining the hegemonic structure of Portuguese in the Mozambican society. In this chapter, I seek answers to how teachers are interpreting the language and educational policies in practice and the subsequent implications of this on the educational system as a whole. I answer the following research questions and bring forth suggestions for active participation by teachers and administrators at the local and national level.

1) In the postcolonial context of Mozambique, what language policies/practices are in place and being implemented? How have they changed?
2) How do educators' views and experiences shape their practices and implementation of curricula in the classroom?

O Novo Currículo: The New Curriculum

In 2004, the *novo currículo do ensino básico* (new curriculum for basic education) was introduced, bringing several changes from the previous curriculum that had been in place since 1998. Some of the major changes included the progression through learning cycles (primary school was divided into three cycles where students transitioned quasi-automatically until the end of the cycle), the addition of the "local curriculum" (adopted to bring topics of local importance to the forefront), bilingual education in three modalities (described below), and English instruction in 6th grade (an earlier adoption in place of 8th grade instruction).

An overview of the structure of the Mozambican educational curriculum displays a highly centralized organization. The standardization of curriculum occurs across the country; all of the provinces in the country receive the same textbooks, *agenda do professor* (teacher's calendar), *Plano Curricular do Ensino Básico* (PCEB) (Curricular Plan for Basic Education) describing the socioeconomic and sociocultural situation in Mozambique, the national educational system and the objectives of basic education, *Programa do Ensino Básico,* per cycle (PEB) (Basic Education Program), indicating the curricula for each grade level covering all aspects from classroom instruction and requirements, and *Regulamento Geral do Ensino Básico* (REGEB) (General Regulations for Basic Education), a notebook with rules and regulations for directors and teachers within the educational system. This level of centralization allows for a

national uniformity but also prevents more autonomy at the local level, which can give teachers a sense of a limited agency in their professions.

In terms of assessment, there are three exams during primary school: the first exam occurs at the end of 2nd grade, the first national exam at the end of 5th grade and a subsequent national exam after the completion of 7th grade. Students who have a global grade equal to 'superior' or 'good' (an average equivalent of 14 points on a 20-point scale) are exempt from taking the national exams (MEC, 2008). The 5th grade exam is the first national standard exam meant to assess all fifth graders in Mozambique, with the goal of testing the first part of primary schooling known as the *Ensino Primário do 1o grau* (EP1) (1st level of Primary Education), which consists of grade levels 1-5. *Ensino Primário do 2o grau* (EP2)(2nd level of Primary Education) is the second part of primary school and includes grade 6-7. After passing seventh grade students enter secondary education, which ends at grade 12. Secondary education is neither free nor mandatory in Mozambique and was not explored in this study.

As part of the research investigation, I asked educators about their opinions regarding the changes in curricula and the specifics of L1 implementation in the proposed plan. Then I observed their lessons to see how they were actually doing the implementing. We will first look at educators' perspectives regarding these programs versus the intended plan. This comparison helps to understand how educators interpret the curriculum and if their practices reflect the language policy and planning established by the government.

Local Language Policy in the New National Curriculum

In 1997, the government began changes to the national curriculum, diverging from the previous colonial standards. Following the successful PEBIMO (*Projecto de Escolarização Bilingue em Moçambique*) pilot project (1993-1997), major transformations to the national

curriculum plan resulted in the inclusion of Mozambican languages within the curriculum in three modalities (see below). PEBIMO shed light on the need for a curriculum that is more relevant to the students, and provided rationale for the creation of bilingual education in Mozambique (Benson, 1997, 1998, 2000).

In the current national curriculum Portuguese is the medium of instruction (MoI) and is taught as a second language (L2). The Ministry of Education acknowledges that Portuguese is, in fact, a second language for the large majority of the population,

> …in Mozambique the adoption of Portuguese as the medium of instruction imposes that we take into consideration the national linguistic reality, where Portuguese, the official language in education and society coexists with other languages and it is not dominated by the majority of the population.[lxxiii] (INDE, 2003b, p. 7)

Mozambique's diverse linguistic situation is foregrounded in the introduction of the Portuguese language curriculum, where Portuguese, "the official language and language of instruction coexists with other languages and is not dominated by the majority of the population" (INDE, 2003b, p 7). Due to this linguistic diversity in the country, the international shift towards local language appreciation and UNESCO's promotion of mother tongue literacy education (UNESCO, 1953), the government supported a controlled use of Mozambican languages in the educational setting. This response took into consideration the needs of the larger majority of children (L1 speakers of local languages) in the country and allowed Mozambican languages as auxiliary languages in the learning process. With the latest curricular change in 2004, local language education was finally incorporated and included in three modalities:

1) Bilingual Education: Mozambican languages (L1)/Portuguese-L2.
2) Monolingual program in Portuguese: L2 with local languages as resource.
3) Monolingual program in Portuguese: L2 and local languages as subjects. (INDE, 2003b, p. 112)

Bilingual education in Mozambique was adopted based on the linguistic reality of the Mozambican population. "In the reality of our country, where diverse languages coexist, including Mozambican languages and Portuguese, the introduction of Mozambican languages in education is justified"[lxxiv] (INDE, 2003b, p. 107). According to the curriculum, although Portuguese is spoken in the country, it is a child's right to learn in their mother tongue, contributing to the value associated to and the maintenance of both language and culture, identity, self-esteem and attitude towards school (INDE, 2003b). As part of the bilingual implementation in the country, Mozambican languages would be used as a resource and/or taught as a subject in monolingual programs. That is, for monolingual Portuguese classes that did not have access to bilingual programs, Mozambican languages would be incorporated as resources to aid in the learning of the L2 or as a subject.

Since the inception of bilingual education, the growth of bilingual programs in the country has been exponential and has seen a larger integration with a total of 16 Mozambican languages. During the first phase of the implementation 23 schools adopted the program, the second phase expanded to 66 schools. At its initial stages of implementation in 2004, there were a total of 1.350 students in 1st grade; by 2008, 21,516 students were taking part in bilingual classes in Mozambique. Table 5 is a chart of the provinces, districts and languages in place in the year 2011.

Table 5: Provinces, Districts and Languages Taught

Province	Districts	Languages
Maputo	Matutuíne e Boane	Ronga
Gaza	Bilene e Mandlakaze	Changana, Copi
Inhambane	Zavala, Jangamo e Homoine	Ciccopi, Gitonga, Citswa e Cindau
Sofala	Dondo, Nhamatanda, Búzi e Caia	Sena e Ndau
Manica	Gondola e Sussundenga	Ciutee e Ndau
Tete	Changara e Angónia	Nyanja e Nyungwe
Zambézia	Nicodala e Gurué	Chuwabo, Elomwé
Nampula	Ilha de Moçambique e Rapala	Emakhuwa
Niassa	Lagos, Ngauma, Mandimba	Yao, Nyanja, Emakhuwa
Cabo Delgado	Namuno, Mueda, Ibo, Mocímboa da praia, Chiuri, Mwedumbe	Emakhuwa, Kimwani, Shimakonde

INDE, 2008, p. 2

Also due to the diversity of languages in Mozambique, bilingual programs were only inserted into certain homogenous environments where the community used one particular language for communication. Thus, urban areas, considered primarily heterogeneous communities, were not included in bilingual education. Antonio, who is also a *pedagógico* at an urban school, *Escola Primária Completa Gómes*, states that local language education is not an option in his school due to the multiplicity of languages present, "there is too much mixture… it can't be Ciutee anymore"[lxxv] (interview, 02/11/11).

Ciutee is the language of the majority in my particular area of investigation in the Manica province, but given the urban aspects of Antonio's school there are multiple languages spoken on school grounds. As much as the director sees using local language as an advantageous and ultimately positive approach, the idea that the large number of languages makes the choice of one representative language untenable aligns with the curricular goals of providing bilingual

education solely to homogenous areas. It also supports the discourses asserted during the officialization of Portuguese after independence. These discourses of progress and unification were central in the movement towards the adoption of Portuguese as the official language of the nation, which had two consequences: 1) changing the association of Portuguese from the negative connotations that had been in place since the colonial rule, 2) contributing to the current perspective that Portuguese is the preferred language of instruction and of official nature.

Bilingual Model

For the bilingual modality that uses L1 as medium of instruction (MoI) the Ministry of Education adopted a transitional model, with "certain maintenance characteristics" and a stated goal of providing '*additive'* bilingualism to the students (INDE, 2003b, p. 133). Additive programs are those with an objective of supporting both languages, working towards bilingual proficiency and cross-cultural understanding. Traditionally, additive programs have a pluralistic goal of affirming individual and group language rights (Baker, 2006). The goal of maintenance programs is to promote bilingualism and biliteracy, transitioning students toward the dominant language yet with support for their L1, receiving content area classes in L1 as well. This is said to promote positive cognitive benefits (Cummins, 2000).

On the other end of the spectrum, assimilationist programs seek to assimilate minority languages into the dominant language and culture. Bilingual programs vary in type and characteristics; some (early-exit) reproduce an assimilationist goal transitioning students quickly towards the dominant language, while others (late-exit, developmental, two-way) strive to endorse bilingualism and biculturalism to varying degrees.

However, a large body of research has supported instruction in mother tongues and the benefits of bilingual education (Cummins, 2000; Thomas & Collier, 1997). One of the largest

longitudinal studies in the United Status context shows that students who have been taught through their L1 and English concurrently reach and eventually even surpass English native-speakers across all subject areas (Thomas & Collier, 1997). Pedagogically speaking, the use of the mother tongue provides a basis for comprehensible content and literacy skills development that can be transferred to the L2. In addition, in terms of the sociopolitical benefits, marginalized languages are valued, given a space and provide access to a wider population (Benson, 2005). Previous research has shown that more time needs to be spent on first language education, in order to see its benefits in student performance (Cummins, 2000; Thomas & Collier, 2002).

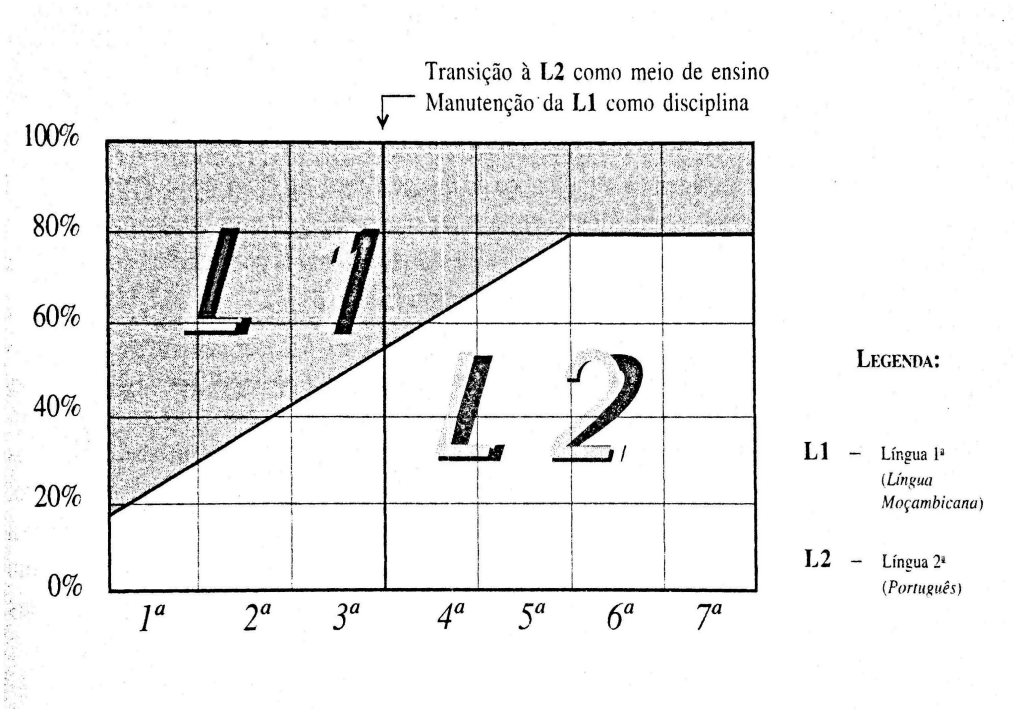
In the Mozambican educational system, bilingual education comprises a system of mother tongue education for the first two years, as part of the first cycle, where 70%-80% of the allocated time is given to the Mozambican language while Portuguese is taught as a subject. In third grade, students begin the transition into Portuguese, learning to read and write in the official language. By fourth grade, the L1 is meant to aid in the teaching-learning process of Portuguese and is maintained as a subject, all other instruction is done in Portuguese (INDE, 2003a, INDE 2003b).

According to the *Programa do Ensino Básico* (PEB) the L1 is the only MoI for the first cycle (1st and 2nd grade), Portuguese and the mother tongue are to be taught as subjects, though Portuguese is still limited to oral language, not written language. Writing development in Portuguese should only take place in the second cycle, starting in third grade. In third grade, Mozambican languages continue to be the MoI, the L2 becomes the MoI in fourth grade. Both Portuguese and local language are taught as a subject, where the L1 serves the auxiliary function in the teaching-learning process. The program justifies the early transition in third grade due to the national exam (INDE, 2003a, 2003b) "In 5th grade the students will undergo a national exam

with other students who will have followed a curriculum where the MoI is Portuguese and it is expected that in this stage, they have already obtained the necessary competencies for this exam. The relatively early transition in 3rd grade is justified due to this." [lxxvi] (INDE, 2003b, p. 113). By the third cycle, "the Portuguese language is the only MoI and it is expected that student will possess a good level in this language, as well as their L1"[lxxvii] (INDE, 2003b, p.114). The L1 will be then taught as a subject or used as a resource.

The image below shows the structure of the bilingual model included in the PEB.

Image 1: Bilingual Education Model (INDE, 2003b, p. 133)



According to this model, during first grade less than 20% of instruction is provided in Portuguese and the percentage gradually increases to provide closer to 70% of instruction in Portuguese by

the end of fourth grade, leaving the L1 to be taught as a subject. As previously mentioned, the Mozambican government opted for a transitional bilingual program "in order to guarantee the development of additive bilingualism in the students" [lxxviii] (INDE, 2003b, p. 113). However, in practice and reality, the bilingual program used in this school was closer to a subtractive model where students used their L1 for two years along with Portuguese, and quickly transitioned to Portuguese in the third year.

The Need for Reculturing Teacher Beliefs

Fullan (2007) has said that real educational change requires more than a given intention, "it is possible to change, 'on the surface' by endorsing certain goals, using specific materials, and even imitating the behavior *without specifically understanding* the principles and rationale of change" (p. 34, emphasis in original). I found that despite the awareness and partial agreement with the larger bilingual policies in Mozambique, the teacher rationales and classroom pedagogy did not reflect the proposed intention in curricular goals. In particular, bilingual teachers were keen on switching quickly towards Portuguese as the MoI even when the L1 was still assigned as the MoI.

As Fullan (2007) strongly highlights, the need for teachers to change and question their beliefs is essential for real change to occur in the implementation of new practices. *Reculturing* does not happen quickly or easily; it depends on a long-term commitment, access to supportive networks, and resources as well. Ultimately, the support for "reforming schools" relies on the teachers who provide learning, engage student interest, and safeguard academic integrity (Miller, 2005). In order to *reculture* teachers for bilingual education a shift from a monolingual bias- a pervasive colonial mentality, perspectives, attitudes, assumptions, behaviors- must take place and give way to a

multilingual, heteroglossic view supporting literacy in other languages beyond the dominant one: Portuguese.

Bilingual Program at EPC Sandúa

The particular focal school in this district for my study provided both a monolingual and a bilingual program for primary school students. In speaking with the director, Rapa, he explained that the government was still developing the programs and thus needed to include monolingual instruction in the schools for comparison. Though the bilingual program in this school had been adopted from the beginning of curricular change- it had been in place for 7 years- all of the teachers in the school emphasized that the bilingual program was a pilot program, giving a sense of trial and impermanence. The programs, in addition, were unevenly distributed. Only one of six 1st grade classes took part in the bilingual program; the remaining five others followed the traditional monolingual model with Portuguese as a second language. I also observed that the number of actual students in the bilingual program was very low (~20 students) compared to the number of students in the traditional classroom (~60 students).

When I inquired about the reasons for the lower enrollment in the bilingual program the Rapa (*pedagógico)* explained that being in the bilingual program was not mandatory at this school and parents were able to switch their children to the monolingual program if they wished to. Given Rapa's concern that the program wouldn't work with smaller number of students he placed the students there himself. In our conversation, he clarified that he selected who was going partake in bilingual education by prioritizing the students who lived closer to the location, avoiding longer travel distances. The bilingual class for the 1st and 2nd year was located in an annex five kilometers away from the base school, yet closer to the community. He believed that

some of the smaller children would benefit from a shorter distance to class, even though they missed out on the donated corn meal lunch offered at the base school.

The *pedagógico*'s goal was to ensure that there were enough students in the bilingual class and that it continued to thrive. He was a supporter of bilingual education based on his own background of growing up in Zimbabwe in an educational setting that encouraged L1 literacy. His opinion regarding using Mozambican languages in the household is unusual compared to many parents who fear local language education, "myself I do not believe, because I've got experience here and Zimbabwe. A child doesn't have problems speaking Portuguese, if he has got problems it is his own problems but not from speaking mother language at home" (Rapa, interview, 03/02/2011). Yet, ensuring that the bilingual classroom functioned properly also depends on the teacher's backing of the curriculum's vision and practices. However, no matter his intentions, the bilingual program had lower status by virtue of being in an annex, unconnected from the school, and given that the children did not receive food by attending this class.

Teacher Support Towards Increased Participation with L1

The three bilingual teachers (Daniela, Matos and Kapomba) I interviewed found that students had increased levels of participation in the L1 environment. Daniela was the first and second grade bilingual teacher at Sandúa.

> In regards to the mother tongue they understand faster and participate a lot more in the classroom. A student in the monolingual program doesn't participate, they rely on the teacher, while in the L1 the teacher doesn't have that much work, the child participates a lot, really a lot, in mother tongue they participate without any problems. In the exam they know how to write and know how to respond to what

> the teacher says. But when we go to Portuguese, the child doesn't respond, they are quiet, in mother tongue they respond [lxxix] (Daniela, interview, 03/04/11).

In her statement, Daniela speaks positively about the bilingual classes, specifically about the difference between levels of participation in the bilingual and monolingual programs. Just like Daniela, Kapomba, in charge of the third grade transitional class, states, "it is something that lifts you, in all the classes students speak, they participate a lot. It is truly their language"[lxxx] (interview, 03/23/2011).

The teachers recognize the L1 as a language in which students can communicate with ease, the language is part of their identity and permits them to better express themselves. It allows children to be more confident students and approach the topics without challenges in fluency when they arrive at school, which in turn, " lifts" the teacher's spirit by increasing student contributions and participation. Teachers appreciated and valued the interactions that occur due to the levels of engagement, yet, as we will see, continued to give preference to Portuguese.

Maintaining the Power of the Dominant Language and Resisting the Curricular Plans

The literature attests to benefits of bilingualism, particularly reaching a level of competence in L1 in order to transfer to the L2 (Cummins, 2000). This research has been key in the argument against the abrupt transition of MoI from L1 to L2. Despite a claim of developmental bilingual programs, teachers in my study embarked on a transition model that moved the children from the L1 to Portuguese quickly and abruptly. This matches a common trend in postcolonial sub-Saharan Africa (Alidou et al, 2006).

I argue that teachers' ideologies and views (see also Chapter 5 and 6) towards bilingual education and Portuguese prevent them from staying true to the proposed curriculum. A

permanent belief that Portuguese is essential for the success in school and beyond moves teachers away from bilingual education into a monolingual frame of mind.

Though Daniela enthusiastically spoke of the improvement in participation levels, this attitude is contradicted by the need to learn Portuguese to be successful in the upper grades. Daniela ultimately sees bilingual education as a disadvantage in respect to the Portuguese level the children achieve before the national assessment.

> In my point of view, the disadvantage exists for those children who leave the 1st and 2nd grade speaking Ciutee while they are not writing in Portuguese, only speaking… They begin to write in the 4th and 5th grade and then have exams… In 5th grade the child has difficulties in writing. In my opinion, they should let them write in Portuguese for the 1st and 2nd grade, and allow only speaking in Ciutee, that would be an advantage. This is a great disadvantage, they can't answer anything, they leave with her hands empty.[lxxxi] (interview, 03/04/11)

In this extract, Daniela maintains her positive view of a faster transition into Portuguese from the early grades, speaking directly about the difficulties encountered as children take the national exam. For her, two years of Portuguese writing development is not enough to excel in the national exam (given in Portuguese only). At this school, the bilingual program subscribes to an apparent late-exit (additive) transitional program as stated in the official documents, however this teacher disagrees with it, and believes that instruction in L1 can be a disadvantage to the students, particularly with a late transition.

Daniela believes in a faster transition to Portuguese because she sees Portuguese as holding many benefits, especially in terms of wider communication. "So, with the Portuguese language people communicate without any problems, they already use Portuguese as the official

language that we can use to communicate with the north, center and south."[lxxxii] She sees the rejection of mother tongues as more common now, "Others do not want to speak [mother tongue] at home, all Mozambicans have mother tongues, but they don't want to anymore,"[lxxxiii] seeing that "Portuguese is more valued" [lxxxiv] (interview, 03/04/11). As we saw in chapter 6, teachers hold the view that the dominant language is the best option for MoI, as a tool to move up a social ladder and achieve success. This is also reproduced among the bilingual teachers.

Daniela and Matos' favorable attitudes towards Portuguese influence their teaching practices through replacing the L1 for L2 instruction. Though Ciutee is meant to be the MoI for language arts and math in the first two years of schooling, Daniela teaches Math in both Portuguese and Ciutee, "… because it is much easier for them in Portuguese." For example, during a math lesson Daniela writes on the board 71, 71, and 73 following by an empty line to spell out the numbers in Ciutee. When she asks the class the answer a student replies "seventeen" in Portuguese. She corrects him in Portuguese "seventy-one" and later switches back to LL during the lesson (fieldnotes, 03/03/11).

When I asked her about why she switched to Portuguese, Daniela says, "Math in Ciutee is a problem. They are never tested in Ciutee for Math, which just brings difficulties" [lxxxv] (fieldnotes, 03/03/11). Even though in the first two years subjects are meant to be primarily taught in Ciutee, she believes that it is important to start with Portuguese early on, since they officially begin writing in Portuguese in 4th grade yet have a national exam in 5th grade entirely in Portuguese. She admits to frequently ignoring the other subjects and focusing on Portuguese instead.

It is understandable that teachers are less willing to commit to the late-exit program given the high-stakes exams through Portuguese, seeing that there is a significant reduction of time

spent in Portuguese. However, this fear is detrimental to the success of bilingual education and the true benefits in transfer that occur while developing L1 literacy.

It is important to note that Daniela refuses to maintain the curricular goals and dedicated time for L1 instruction. While she appreciates the increased participation gained by using the mother tongue, she ultimately resists fully endorsing the program as she incorporates more L2 than the requirements established in the PEB. As a result of the lack of deeper understanding of the benefits of bilingual education beyond a visual increase in participation and strategies, "*meaningful* reform escapes the typical teacher, in favor of superficial, episodic reform that makes matters worse" (Fullan, 2007, p. 28, emphasis in original).

Her practices are impacted by the stronger belief and attitude that Portuguese is more important as well as useful and should be implemented in earlier grades. Her concern for student success in national exams disrupts the structure and purpose of a developmental bilingual program, which reinforces literacy in both languages. Daniela maintains the oppressive mentality favoring and maintaining the status quo with a superficial support towards bilingual education that quickly loses power to the dominant language.

Limited Access to Resources, Training and Language Proficiency

Beyond teachers' views, it is the lack of resources available to them that further exacerbates this early transition. Chimbutane (2011) has also argued in his study focused on two bilingual programs in Mozambican schools that, "the quality of teaching and learning is being constrained by, among others, the lack of reference resources, the reliance on untrained and poorly trained teachers and, consequently, the use of inappropriate teaching practices." (p.72) Although there exist favorable views towards bilingual education in transforming practices and

improving the educational quality, this potential is not realized due to limited material resources in low-status languages.

Minimal training and lack of standardized teaching materials also affect the successful implementation of the bilingual programs in Mozambique. Just like Silver & Skuja-Steele (2005) found in their comparative study, teachers' immediate needs and practical concerns were often more relevant to the practices than the long-term policy goals, making the management of class and materials more important than other factors. "The immediacy of these social factors may have a more direct and pervasive influence on classroom teaching than policy statements or reforms" (Silver & Skuja-Steele, 2005, p. 124).

Shortage of Materials

The educators in my study frequently mentioned the shortage of materials for bilingual education; only one teacher had recently received textbooks for the L1 subject class by 2011 (1st and 2nd grade), even though the program had begun in 2007. Due to the minimal resources available teachers had to invest more time translating, planning and preparing for bilingual classes compared to their monolingual counterparts. Both Daniela and Kapomba expressed a preference for teaching the monolingual section because of the extra effort in translation and work required to prepare lessons without textbooks. "What makes me prefer monolingual is only because of the material," [lxxxvi]Kapomba says (interview, 04/01/2011).

Furthermore, Kapomba interjected Portuguese in the Ciutee class as well. When I asked him to further explain why he also used Portuguese in the local language class, Kapomba discussed his lack of knowledge of certain words and the lack of materials to help him. "For example I am teaching Ciutee, I don't have a Ciutee textbook, what do I do? I get the book in

Portuguese and start to translate. So, that makes me waste much time…it is a difficulty for me and the children"[lxxxvii] (interview, 04/01/2011).

The inability to use a textbook as a resource discourages Kapomba from dedicating the necessary time for L1 instruction. However, although the teachers preferred teaching the monolingual sections, they also didn't feel as if they had much of a choice in the matter, "Oh, but we can reject when you are given the bilingual class, we can't reject it. You cannot refuse, you accepted coming here [to the school], they trained you, you have to accept"[lxxxviii] (Daniela, 03/04/2011).

Training and Language Proficiency

In the above statement, Daniela makes reference to the bilingual teacher training conducted during a 10-day workshop for the teachers at Sandúa. The short training was offered to all of the teachers in designated schools with the goal of preparing them for bilingual implementation. When asked if they felt the training had been enough, Matos, the fifth grade bilingual teacher, shared his belief the training was sufficient even if Ciutee was not your mother tongue. "It doesn't matter, because even if you don't understand the Ciutee language, being in the classroom it's easy for you to learn. What is that called? [The students] know what it's called…You'll improve with the help from students[lxxxix]" (interview, 03/09/11). The three teachers I interviewed did not speak Ciutee as their mother tongue; they all expressed that they learned to say certain words in the classroom from the students. Thus we see that teachers are teaching the children L1 literacy without having proficiency in the actual language. In reality, although teachers claim that they can learn the L1 in the classroom and suggest that it is not crucial for L1 instruction, I witnessed a lack of language harmony and orthography in their classrooms.

The lack of training in the language of instruction and its orthographies has an effect on student learning. Even though teachers suggested it was not a problem, given the similarities between their languages (dialects), my observations showed that several words were consistently spelled differently in all the classes. There was no clear standardized form of Ciutee in the classroom; teachers varied in spelling, pronunciation and lexical choice. For example, even an everyday word on the board such as "subject" varied among all three teachers (i.e. Tsico, Tsiku, Ciku). Other examples were words like "date" and "months" of the year. When I brought this example to our interview, Kapomba agreed that this is a problem for both students and teachers:

> It's one of the problems, it is. Why? If the student saw [different spellings] in the first grade, when they sees another teacher they'll see this, the student will be mixed up. They can even end up not knowing the right way. They can speak, but writing, they won't know. This happens a lot. … We don't have a guiding program…there is not a place to correct oneself. That is a difficulty for the teacher[xc] (interview, 3/23/2011).

The lack of proficiency in the student's L1 can become a problem to the student who doesn't learn the standardized written form of their mother tongue and ends up without a useful and usable lexicon. In addition to that, the absence of guidance for the teachers and training in L1 proficiency limits the educational opportunities for the students, who end up suffering the consequences. Teachers express doubt, "Will the children understand? They will always have difficulties. I had difficulty in the writing of words in Ciutee" [xci] (Daniela, interview, 03/04/11).

Even beyond the spelling and grammatical issues that arise from teachers who do not have the proper proficiency, culture is not addressed. Yet, given how language is inextricably tied to culture, these teachers are also navigating a different culture from their own. This may say

something about the value they assign to the language and culture of their students, but also certainly speaks to their ability to make instruction culturally relevant.

For example, Matos, who grew up in the city and now teaches in the rural community, demonstrates a difference in value that resonates far away from the reality in the country. "There exists a different level of culture…Children in the city watch T.V., understand many things, they are more developed in reasoning. Not only in Portuguese, [in general] the rural child is behind. Boats, they only know boats in drawing…"[xcii] (interview, 03/09/11). Matos values an urban living such as television, boats, and cars instead of all the cultural realities of the rural areas. He doesn't consider the breadth of knowledge that a child gains in the country; he views children as incompetent compared to those in the city. Matos sees the students in a deficit view and fails to recognize the funds of knowledge that children have acquired in their home settings as valuable. The concept of funds of knowledge reinforces the role that both the community and families provide in the child's learning experience. Moll et al. (1992) characterize funds of knowledge as the skills and knowledge obtained in the household through everyday activities. Therefore, Matos ignores the funds of knowledge and creates a divide between what is culturally relevant and culturally sensitive for the students.

Thus the minimal support, training, language education and lack of standardized teaching materials strongly impact the successful implementation of this bilingual program. Ultimately, teachers are not eager to join the bilingual program. Daniela describes her fear when she was assigned to teach the bilingual class: "I said, Mr. DAP, I won't be able to, I'm accustomed to Portuguese without any difficulties. I can tell a story, how am I going to do that in Ciutee? 'You'll learn, you'll learn.' I had many difficulties"[xciii] (interview, 03/14/2011). This apprehension feeds into a continuous, cyclical preference towards Portuguese over mother

tongue education. “Even now I can’t teach a class without adding Portuguese, I even remember after having used it”[xciv] (interview, 03/04/11).

It remains true that at times teacher seem to support the program, referencing the increased participation in the classroom, the ability of children to tell their own stories in their mother tongues, the higher levels of comprehension. “The advantage of the bilingual is to help the children, it creates ease for the children”[xcv] (Kapomba, 04/01/2011). In order to move towards a positive structural change, more textbooks, and teacher training in both bilingual education and language proficiency are crucial to effectively promoting the bilingual program. Alternatively, investing and promoting local teacher teaching can invoke positive outcomes, providing teachers who are part of the local communities and familiar with the customs, cultures and language can teach first-hand.

In addition, for bilingual program to be successful, there is a need for a shift in mentality that favors Portuguese in bilingual instruction and practices towards one that promotes L1 instruction. We have seen that the bilingual teachers bring Portuguese to the classroom sooner than required, demonstrating a stronger support for Portuguese before the official transitory period, and reinforcing notions of superiority over the mother tongue.

Therefore, the successful implementation of the bilingual program is hindered by a series of factors: the persistent teacher beliefs in favor of Portuguese; teachers’ lack of proficiency in the students’ L1; lack of L1 resources; and the lack of implementational support. In order for bilingual education to work, genuine change must occur across several layers. School districts need to support the change in policies and curriculum, teachers need to be appropriately trained and informed of the benefits of bilingual

education, and bilingual teachers must be proficient in the language of instruction. The negative attitudes towards the mother tongue reinforce a cycle of oppression and discrimination. It is crucial that teachers' rationales and principles reflect the policy change, since education in L1 has been shown not only to provide access to comprehensible content area instruction and literacy skills that transfer to L2, it also provides a stronger sense of identity and self-worth for students (Benson, 2005).

Implementation of Bilingual Modalities in Monolingual Classroom

For the monolingual programs, local languages were incorporated into the curriculum in two ways: as resource or as a subject. The support for Mozambican languages as a resource modality came from the inability to introduce bilingual education in the entire country, thus using the L1 as a *recurso* (resource)(INDE, 2003a, 2003b). In the curriculum, the third modality of Mozambican languages as subject is suggested as a way to "establish and maintain contact with the Mozambican culture" and to increase communication and national unity (INDE, 2003b, p. 115). However, none of the schools I observed with monolingual programs offered Mozambican languages as a subject. I will therefore limit my discussion to the monolingual classes that were required to incorporate local languages as a resource.

Fullan (2007) has described innovation as *multidimensional*, citing three components at stake in the implementation of a new program or policy:

> (1) the possible use of new or revised *materials* (instructional resources such as curriculum materials or technologies), (2) the possible use of new *teaching approaches* (i.e., new teaching strategies or activities), and (3) the possible alteration of *beliefs* (e.g., pedagogical assumptions and theories underlying particular new policies or programs). (p. 30)

According to Fullan, for innovation to ensue all three aspects must be represented and must *occur in practice*. The change in the curricular material and specific methodological orientations for L1 and L2 instruction are presented in four pages in the PEB (INDE, 2003b). Within the materials, approaches that include L1 instruction and strategies are highlighted in the PEB, while particular beliefs and assumptions guide the changes made. In terms of L1, the PEB reinforces the use of the L1 as an auxiliary tool in the teaching-learning process. It states that L1 needs to be used to "explain difficult concept in disciplines like Math, Natural Sciences, Social Sciences" yet not to frequently "translate concepts that are difficult for the comprehension in the L2", in order to maintain a "clear separation" between languages (INDE, 2003b, p. 116).

Furthermore, included in the revised materials, the program highlights using the L1 as a resource to evaluate the level of knowledge the student has at the beginning or end of the lesson. It suggests the use of L1 through open-ended questions to help students truly understand the materials with ease. The curriculum recommends the use of open-ended questions to provoke elaborate and complete answers. It outlines a list of recommendations and strategies for open-ended questions in the L1 as a means to elicit: 1) students opinions and commentary in their L1; 2) questions that make connections from student learning to their life; 3) questions that help students predict what is going to happen from a text or illustration; 4) questions that ask students to retell, in their own words, parts of a text; and 5) questions that ask students to describe parts of a text (INDE, 2003b, p.116).

In terms of pedagogical *beliefs*, the program uses Krashen (1981) as a source for theories of language instruction, with a quick description of the affective filter and the need for comprehensible input in the L2, emphasis on communication, contextualized language, error acceptance and respect for the language acquisition stages (INDE, 2003a).

Thus, my goal was to investigate, at the classroom level, whether the materials, approaches and beliefs were *occurring in practice.* However, it is important to note that there are certain contradictions in the pedagogical recommendations within the written curriculum. The curriculum goes back and forth between stating that Portuguese should be exclusively used during class time while at other times (such as the example of open-ended questions above) includes models on using the L1 as a resource for instruction:

> For example, if the students already learned addition in the L1, the next class can be given in Portuguese… The students will translate the abilities that they learned through the L1 to the L2 instead of having to learn the same topic twice. In this way (it can be 1-2 days teaching Math in the L1 or 1-2 days to review the concepts in the L2) the teacher introduces Portuguese gradually as MoI [xcvi] INDE, 2003b, p. 119).

Just like the second example, others have also noted of the importance of developing L1 literacy and allowing students to use their L1 to scaffold their L2 learning (Brown, 2000; Cummins, 2009; Thomas & Collier, 2002).

Although the field of bilingual education has operated under the premise that there must exist a rigid separation between languages for bilingual education, Cummins (1991) has argued against the *two-solitudes* assumption, claiming that this assumption represents part of a broader monolingual instructional orientation and has minimal research basis. Instead, Cummins supports the interdependence hypothesis (1981, 1991) that posits that there is a common underlying proficiency (CUP) that is shared across languages. This allows for a possible transfer of cognitive or literacy related proficiency. The curriculum, on the other hand, sides with what has

become axiomatic in second and foreign language teaching: keeping a rigid separation between languages.

In addition to explanations regarding the use of L1 in the classroom, the program touches on what it considers appropriate methods for L2 instruction (for example, avoiding simultaneous translation since students will ignore the L2, expecting to hear the L1 shortly). The program recommends instead engaging in methods that use Portuguese *exclusively* yet also clarifying content with objects, drawings, gestures, actions and role-play.

These examples of methods and pedagogical suggestions are part of the new curriculum and the basis for the strategies teachers are supposed to incorporate into their practices.

Perceptions and Practice Regarding Language as a Resource

The comparison between the curricular guidelines and how educators, particularly those in charge of implementing the curricular changes, interpret the guidelines help inform the overall understanding of the new applications. In a previous chapter, Chapter 6, we looked at the reasons that reinforce the beliefs towards Portuguese and other Mozambican languages; some were due to the value that Portuguese holds in terms of social mobility, others for the cultural and symbolic capital associated with it, and finally as we saw in an earlier section, for the bare bones practical reason of aligning the medium of instruction with the language of assessment in the country.

In the bilingual program section we have looked at how these perspectives and also structural layers (conditions, resources, training, language proficiency) affect the successful practical implementation of the program. In this monolingual section, teachers' interpretations and enactment of the curriculum varied; many teachers refused to incorporate local languages as a resource, while others misinterpreted the meaning behind the curriculum and failed to

adequately use the L1 as a resource. The obvious goal behind the teacher practices became the learning of Portuguese, retaining similar beliefs as during the colonial expansion, in particular within the school space.

Even with the new inclusion of Mozambican languages in the curriculum, teaching and learning in Mozambique is generally conducted in Portuguese. Within the national curriculum, the discourse of Portuguese as a language for unification is repeated as it was during the independence movement. As stated in the curricular plan, the institution will "recognize Portuguese as one of the factors of unification and consolidation of national consciousness"[xcvii](INDE, 2003b, p. 9).

As Mozambique continues to use Portuguese as the sole official language, teachers tend to emphasize Portuguese in the educational setting for teaching, especially in more urbanized areas. In an interview with Noémia, a teacher at an urban school, Noémia explained that it wasn't technically prohibited to use local languages, but the tendency and the obligation was to use Portuguese. "Of course it almost still continues, because in the schools nobody speaks officially mother tongue, it means that it is still almost prohibited" [xcviii] (interview, 02/18/11). To her, it was understood that Portuguese was the language of schooling and of performance in the school setting; although not banned from the curriculum on paper, in her opinion it was forbidden in practice.

As we will see in the case studies in this chapter, overall, teachers are not adopting local languages by following the recommendations included in the PEB (INDE, 2003b) as the intended methodological guidelines. The use of local languages does not focus on improving their mother tongue literacy or bilingualism; instead it is used as a means of discipline and to support the primary objective of learning the official language. In addition, we will see that if

teachers use L1 as a resource they do so without following the strategies stated in the curriculum. Very little is said about *how* to incorporate local languages effectively and successfully in the classroom environment to empower students and help improve acquisition in both languages. In addition, given the top-down arrangement of the curriculum, teachers do not feel true investment and agency in dealing with classroom learning. This is a task that the Ministry of Education needs to improve, with more attention to teachers' experiences.

Unlike the goal stated in the national curriculum of using L1 to explain challenging concepts, or to evaluate the level of knowledge students had through open-ended questions, teachers commonly if not solely resorted to local languages as a form of classroom management (particularly with disruptive behaviors), and/or to instigate a response and increase student participation after repeated unanswered questions. However, many teachers simply refused to use the LL as a resource.

Refusal to Use Local Languages as a Resource

Though EPC Gómes did not have a bilingual program, it was part of the monolingual modality of using local languages as a resource. Students in Noémia's 1st and 2nd grade class spoke both Portuguese and local languages to each other, given that this school was located in an urban center. In contrast, Catalina's students mostly spoke L1, being that the school was located in a rural area (EPC Chibanda). All teachers communicated to each other in Portuguese, though while sitting at the administrative offices at EPC Gómes, I heard staff interact in local languages. In an interview with the director of EPC Gómes, Antonio, he stated that most students in this school spoke Portuguese in their homes, but Noémia disagreed, stating that the majority spoke local languages in their homes. It was at least apparent that these children spoke much more Portuguese than those in the rural schools, even those in 1st grade.

Noémia's views regarding Portuguese matched her teaching style. She aligned her practices with the notion that Portuguese should be the language of education and dedicated virtually of all the class time to Portuguese. In the classroom setting, Noémia reinforced the use of Portuguese by reminding students who spoke local languages as they entered the classroom to only speak Portuguese. During recess students were more prone to actively use African languages, though there were certain students who continued to speak Portuguese among themselves.

Noémia preferred not to speak in local language to her students; this remained true even when a child was demonstrating difficulty in completing and understanding a learning activity. She explained that even though she knew this lack of understanding in the activity stemmed from the lack of Portuguese knowledge, she would limit her language to Portuguese since their major objective was to have Portuguese speakers. In one example, Noémia was covering four new adjectives: healthy, unhealthy, big and small. After demonstrating and drawing some items on the board, she directed students in Portuguese to the task in the book. The task was to color a big pencil and circle the small pencil, distinguishing between big and small objects.

Once the students were done with the activity on their own, students crowded around the teacher's table while she systematically and silently put a cross or a check on their notebooks, without any explanation or comments to her markings. After her minimal feedback students sat back down and waited in their seats (or moved around) until the next period. Though many had circled the incorrect object, she didn't explicitly draw their attention to it. Instead, Noémia turned to me and said, "Look at these students, these that didn't do it, it's because of Portuguese, because of Portuguese. They didn't understand Portuguese because they speak dialect." [xcix] (fieldnotes, 02/18/11).

She continued to explain that if those students who were not able to complete the activity had been given instructions in their local language they would have been able to finish the task accurately. In reaction to her comment, I asked her why she didn't use local languages to explain some of the material for comprehension like the curriculum stated. She resorted back to the importance of Portuguese by stating that classes are to be taught in Portuguese regardless of this reality, even if it means that they will not complete a task successfully (fieldnotes, 02/18/11).

In a follow-up interview about the reasons to not engage in local language when she believes they could benefit from it to complete a task, Noémia explains that even if she wanted to use the L1 she would not be able to translate into local language on a regular basis due to the lack of time to cover all the topics of the day.

However, the beliefs and attitudes against local languages in the classroom can have severe consequences for students. Parents who do not speak Portuguese are incapable of helping their children with their homework in a language unknown to them, teachers can't communicate with parents about the student's progress and performance (see, for example, Paulo in Chapter 5). Finally, students are unable to develop full competencies quickly in a language that is foreign to them and their families.

In one of my visits to Noémia's classroom, I observed an interaction between a mother and her son. The mother attempted to get involved in her son's education, but couldn't achieve what she wanted for her son. I recorded these fieldnotes:

> I notice a mother, who seems, by her body language, to be exasperated and keeps trying to talk to her son and be involved in the classroom. She stands outside the classroom and looks through the wooden boards that make up the classroom. The teacher has little control over the noise level and activities given there are more

than 60 children talking at the same time, sitting on the floor. Since most of the classrooms had a noise level and chaotic feel the parent actually gets involved and calls her son outside to talk to him and show him what she thinks he is supposed to do. The mother literally pushes her boy to show me the task on the book. I have also started helping to correct the activities for the students since students and the teacher are more comfortable with my daily presence in class.

I model to the student what he has to do, holding his hand and helping him trace the dots. He doesn't speak to me since he doesn't speak any Portuguese and I can't communicate in his mother tongue. He stands there until his mother calls him again to go outside. The teacher in the meantime comes back (she had gone to the main office) and sits by me on the only desk in front of the class.

The child comes back and shows us the book with the lines drawn in, straight lines like a steady hand drew them. The teacher speaks in local language to the child to check to see if the boy did it. The boy shakes his head and the teacher continues to speak to him in local language and doesn't correct it again, pushing his book aside and moving on to the next student. I asked if she thought the mom had done the activity and she responded that the mother was always there, "ela é maluca" [she is crazy], já falei com ela, ela sempre está aqui e não pode, eu já insultei essa mãe antes, tá errado" [she is crazy, I've already talked to her, she is always here and she is not allowed to be here, I've already insulted her before, that is wrong]." The mother tried to get her son to come out through the back of the class where there are no wooden beams and was frequently talking to her child through the beams (fieldnotes, 02/18/11).

In a way that seems to reject all positive interaction, a desperate mother attempts to help her child in his education. The teacher told me that the child was failing and didn't know much and that his mother would often come and stand outside the classroom. However, the teacher disapproves of this interaction and rejects helping the boy or talking to the mother in local languages. I followed up this interaction and asked why she believed students struggled in class, Noémia explicitly states that it is due to the lack of Portuguese language, but she does not use the local language to help her students or communicate with the parent. I notice that the teacher only uses the local language to discipline and punish the student. No attempt at using the language to help the student was made, rejecting the curricular intentions to use local languages as a resource. She embodies the world of a monolingual teacher, with a monolingual habitus (Gogolin, 2002).

Noémia talks about the possible benefit of using local language for comprehension, but there is an overwhelming conception that Portuguese is the medium of instruction and the only viable and truly legitimate language, which prevents her from helping her students even when she believes they are specifically struggling due to language. Though the curriculum encourages teachers to engage in the local languages with students to help with comprehension, Noémia shows resistance and prefers to stick with Portuguese-only immersion.

Catalina is another example of a teacher who strongly believes in the mandatory use of Portuguese in the classroom. Indeed, Catalina is able to use local languages but refrains from doing so, always associating Portuguese as the exclusive medium of instruction. When students address her in local language as she walks around class, she simply commands in Portuguese, "write".

During my observations in Catalina's classroom, I only witnessed two moments where she switched to LL, once when a worker came in to class to fix the roof and she stopped instruction to ask the children to move, and once after a prolonged one-sided interaction with a student who would not respond to her questions in Portuguese. The one sided interaction is highlighted below and shows Catalina asking a question in local language only to immediately revert back to Portuguese, leaving the child speechless and inactive for the rest of the day. For the entire day, he otherwise sat on his desk silent, immobile, and did not engage in any of the class activities. It was evident to me that he was not able to understand her instruction, yet her refusal to incorporate L1 as a resource limits the student and ultimately frustrates the teacher.

> Catalina stopped next to a boy who had been speaking local language to his friends, "why are you talking so much? Who do you live with?" [c]. The boy didn't answer while she repeated the same question a total of six times. The boy was silent and didn't react to her questions. She finally decided to ask the entire class whether anybody knew where he lives. She leaned over him and told him in Portuguese that if he missed more classes he wouldn't be allowed back. He never responded and sat silently in his desk (fieldnotes, 05/09/11).

Catalina vehemently spoke against the use of L1 in the classroom and her attitudes towards L1 were exemplified in her practice. Even though her classroom was located in a rural area and most 1st graders did not speak Portuguese-- in fact, she mentioned that only one student in her classroom heard Portuguese at home-- she maintained that the objective was Portuguese and mirrored her attitudes in her practices.

> Later in the day, Catalina uses L1 for the first time in the classroom when she addressed the silent boy. Catalina approached the boy towards the end of the

> period, however, this time she did so immediately in local language, in turn he responded instantly. Nonetheless, instead of engaging in a conversation with the boy further or help him with his work Catalina returns immediately to Portuguese "ah, com a sua mãe, né? [oh, with our mom, right?]. She continues in Portuguese by telling him that he can't come to class without a pencil. She then walked towards the front of the class and told the whole class, for the first time switching from Portuguese to local language in the classroom environment, that they need their pencils when they come to class (fieldnotes, 05/09/11).

As an observer I could see clearly that a lack of mother tongue education had obvious consequences with students who never spoke Portuguese in the household. This specific boy sat in class without doing any of the activities the entire day. Catalina was able to keep an organized class, yet fails to include all students into the learning experience. For certain teachers there was a refusal to implement the new curriculum based on beliefs concerning Portuguese and L1.

Using L1 after Unanswered Calls

Certain teachers, as shown above, refused to engage with students that were struggling in the L1, even though it was stated in the curriculum that L1 should be used as a resource. In fact, their beliefs that Portuguese was the only language that should be used in the classroom prevailed while they rejected L1 use. Others, on the other hand, used L1 in a limited way. The two most common occurrences were: 1) after insisting on a question in Portuguese and not getting a response, or getting a non-desired response; 2) for classroom management- to speak directly to a particular student in response to disruptive classroom behavior.

Though minimal, many of the teachers would eventually use the L1 after numerous unanswered questions. As we saw in the example above, Catalina turned to LL after seeing that

the student would not or could not respond to Portuguese. In this case, the teacher's attitude towards Portuguese and L1 prevented her from using L1 to help guide her students.

In the extract below, Hamid engages in L1 after a lack of response from students. In this situation, Hamid is teaching prepositions and demonstrates their uses in the front of the class by placing himself in front of the table, to the right of the table, behind, next to, and left. He then calls two students to repeat the demonstration as he calls out the prepositions. He first asks them their names.

Hamid: What is your name?

S1: …

Hamid: What is your name, girl?

S1:….

Hamid: What is your name (holds the girl's head)?

S3: *A student sitting down says her peer's name.* Maria

Hamid: *switches to local language to address S1.*

S1: *responds in local language to teacher*

Hamid: *Then he looks at the other girl and asks her name in dialect instead of Portuguese.*

S2: Paula. (fieldnotes, 02/23/11)

Hamid needs to repeat the question three times and still doesn't get a response. He then switches into local language to engage with the student and maintains it with the other student, probably in an attempt to save face and prevent another uncomfortable set of silent questions.

In a follow-up interview I asked Hamid why he switched to dialect with the child. He explained that because of her lack of response to his questions he understood that she had difficulties with the language and wanted her to understand what he was saying.

Hamid consistently taught in Portuguese, but there were instances where he switched into local languages during activities. He did demonstrate pedagogical tools in making the L2 more comprehensible, modeling in front of the class and asking student volunteers to role-play in front of the class, as indicated in the curricular guidelines. Nonetheless, there were minimal occurrences of the L1. Those took place as a way to translate an expression he was teaching, which incited giggling both times I observed it, and when he insisted on a question and received no response.

Unlike Noémia who refuses to use local language with the students who are demonstrating difficulties, Hamid's intentions are to help students comprehend what he is asking of them. The lack of response indicated to the teacher that the student did not understand what he was saying to her. His switch to LL allows a response.

This excerpt also highlights the extremely limited L2 proficiency that certain students have who cannot answer a basic interrogation of their name. This is the reality for many students who begin 1st grade in Portuguese, and a significant reason to allow for L1 literacy and bilingual education to become more widespread.

L1 use in Rural Areas

Other examples of L1 use occurred with teachers who taught at rural schools. Tende and Luíza were more prone to communicate in local language during class time, frequently alternating between Ciutee or Cimanika and Portuguese. Both of them engaged with students in dialect during class breaks, and Tende at other moments when he was having a one-on-one

discussion with students. All of these students spoke Ciutee, unlike the classrooms in the urban area, which included a mixture of vernacular languages.

Tende: What is this? (points to his ears)

Ss…

T: Who remembers?

Ss…

Tende: Who remembers what this is?

S: *switches to local language*

Tende: What is this? Who remembers?

S…

An older student watching from behind the tree who is not part of the classroom:

Ear.

Tende: I didn't ask for your answer, Pedro. What is this? (pointing to his mouth and then to his eyes)

Ss: mouth (choral response)

Tende: What is this?

Ss: Mouth!

Tende: What is this for?

Ss…

Tende: *switches to local language*

Ss. *students respond* (fieldnotes, 02/01/11).

In this interaction, Tende asks a question to the group of students sitting in front of him in Portuguese. The students are quiet and do not respond to his questions. He doesn't immediately

resort to dialect, instead an older student from a different class who is watching interferes and gives the correct answer aloud. Tende looks at him and says, “I didn’t ask for you answer, Pedro”. Tende continues, “What is this” pointing to his mouth and then to his eyes. Children answer “mouth”, as a group in unison. They repeat this a few times until the teacher continues to another body part. An older looking girl in the middle participates at all times and the other students look at her for answers and sort of mumble with the group. Tende asks in Portuguese, “What is this for?” When there is no response, Tende repeats the question in local language until students react.

Because of their location and grade level, many of these 6 year old have just begun hearing Portuguese for the first time. Tende is beginning to introduce Portuguese instructions and phrases, but also resorts to local languages when he wants his students to understand a concept very well. For example, when I was taking a group photo, Tende asked the students to move backwards several times to no avail and then told me, “excuse me, I’ll use local language so they can understand” (fieldnotes, 02/09/11). He then told them the instructions in local language and the children moved backwards without any further delay.

However, Tende does try to incorporate Portuguese into the lessons, and when students are talking to each other in local language he also calls their attention to it and commands “Speak Portuguese! Write this at home, it’s homework.” He subsequently translated into local language. When children do not listen or respond, Tende speaks in local language. For instance, Tende asked, “and when you arrive at home, what will you say?” Students did not respond, so Tende repeated the question in the local language. Students then answered in Portuguese. This shows that students have accepted that school performances should be in Portuguese, but that they benefit from help in L1 (fieldnotes, 02/09/11).

In this particular school, more rural in nature given the common language between these students, mother tongue education could be extremely beneficial. Students speak their mother tongue to each other and require translation in order to understand what the teacher says. Tende, who has been in the educational world and undergone numerous socio-political changes as well as curricular adaptations, including local language prohibition in the classroom, resorts to speaking local language for explanation and clarification. There are times when students speak to him in local languages and he also responds. Regardless of stated preference, he is systematically using Ciutee after a lack of student response. Though progress has been made in support of Mozambican languages at the institutional level, the concept of using language as a resource is not really "understood" or adopted in ways that seem relevant.

Besides the attitudes that prevent teachers from using the L1 to help students, location was also a factor in the frequency and use of L1. In a stark comparison, teachers in EPC Santander, a school located within the city, didn't communicate in local languages with the children at all. Paulo, Amélia, Ana and Santos used Portuguese in the classroom at all times. Ana and Santos taught 7th grade classes in Portuguese and, similarly to Tino, a 6th grade teacher at another school, didn't use local languages in the classroom. At that level, students were learning complex aspects of Portuguese grammar and social sciences and had been exposed to Portuguese for several years. In addition, the national curriculum calls for Portuguese at this level.

Interestingly, Tende spoke of some strong beliefs against LL, yet he used it frequently in his rural classroom. Teachers who lived near the communities (with dialect speakers) instead of in town were more willing to incorporate L1 into their instruction and classroom interactions.. Additionally, teachers who communicated in L1 at home (typically those of older generations) were more prone to highlight positive attitudes towards local languages in general, given that

they had grown up at a time where local languages were more prevalent and for most of them, their female partners had not had schooling and did not speak Portuguese.

Using L1 for Classroom Management

Another example of recurring local language use by the teachers included managing classroom tasks. This was not an explicit use recommended by in the curriculum, yet it was widely used among the teachers, who used local language to establish discipline. For instance, in one of my observations Hamid and I were sitting by his desk and he looked behind me to a little girl sitting on the floor. He shouts, "hey girl" and continued in local language. I quickly asked him if he told her to sit correctly since she reacted by immediately crossing her legs. He replied that he had told her to do so, because her legs were open and she was wearing a skirt. In that instance, Hamid reverted to local language so that comprehension would be achieved and the child would behave herself in the way the teacher believed was necessary in the classroom (fieldnotes, 02/24/11).

Hamid speaks local language for classroom management, keeping students on task and behaved. Noémia, who refuses to use L1 to help students academically, resorts to it when she wants to be stern or clear. Examples of this occurred mostly during breaks and during down time. For example, when a group of students peeked through the door into her classroom, she asked them in Portuguese, "what are you doing there?" When none of them moved, she switched into local language to tell them to leave. The students reacted right away.

Teachers are resorting to the L1 for comprehension when students do not respond or react to their questions and statements. The purpose is to manage the classroom or provide meaning, yet with limited purposeful teaching. It is well-known by the teachers that students struggle with

the language; most students arrive at the school without knowing or speaking Portuguese and are faced with a Portuguese-only immersion curriculum.

Confusion in the Implementation and Understanding of Curriculum

Another reason to explain the lack of implementation was confusion in the interpretation of the curriculum. When I asked educators about the newly implemented bilingual modalities, many confused the modality of using local languages as resource with the criteria in the *Local Curriculum*, stating that 20% or 20 minutes of the classroom was dedicated to using local languages in the classroom.

The Local Curriculum (LC), called *Currículo Local,* was another change to the new curriculum of 2004. It was a measure to enhance learning by bringing content that is relevant to the local level in order to develop practices that are meaningful to the students' realities. The main objective of the LC is to provide an education that integrates the national curriculum and themes that are relevant in the provincial, district and local level (INDE, 2003a). "The local curriculum is a component of the national curriculum corresponding to 20% of the total prescribed instructional time in each discipline. This complement is constituted by content defined locally as being relevant to the integration of the child in their community"[ci] (INDE, 2003a, p. XVII).

To this end, the national curriculum allocated 20% of the time in a particular subject to include topics that deal with the local communities, gathering teachers, schools and community in the decision-making processes of the instructional time for the allotted percentage. Kapomba explains, "our children don't just end up with the history of Portugal, they begin with the history of their community, they begin to learn the situation of their community"[cii] (interview, 03/23/2011).

In discussing the curricular changes with the educators, there was an apparent confusion as to what was part of the LC. Educators often referred to the use of local languages as a resource as part of the LC interpreting the "local" part to mean a mandatory use of dialects in the area.

For instance, Heloísa, a *pedagógica,* explained that teachers were required to learn another language in order to adapt to their environment and include it in the curriculum. Her reference to 20% stems from the intended LC plan, not the intended plan to include Mozambican languages as a resource.

> Heloísa: For example, you are a teacher, you leave Maputo to work here with a first grader, you have integrate yourself on that because otherwise you will not be able to transmit anything that the child only knows in local language, with the official language. That's why it is mandatory that you know a little, right?
>
> Sandra: But it's mandatory?
>
> Heloísa: There's 20%.
>
> Sandra: Really? What is that?
>
> Heloísa: When you are teaching…
>
> Sandra: Where is this stipulated?
>
> Heloísa: It is in the curricular plan, it is. Even those who have training, PCEB… What is it?... I'm forgetting the name, for those who were trained in 2004-2005, they had that training.
>
> Sandra: It's new?
>
> Heloísa: Yes, it's new, that's why they offer Bantu languages in the training. When you are teaching, you have to calculate because otherwise you spend the entire class speaking local language. Yes, because children, when you are

> working right? They will force you to speak local language and not the official language. So, you have to know how to manage class so it's not 100% local language, that's why they say 20% [ciii](interview, 02/01/11).

Heloísa confuses the percentage guidelines for the local curriculum with bilingual modality. This confusion was apparent in several others interviews. Therefore, it is important to include clear expectations, guidelines and explanations for teachers.

The Case for L1 in Upper Level Classes

Teachers across the board agreed in theory that using local languages could help students who do not understand what is being said in Portuguese, even if they rejected their regular use in the classroom. However, I only witnessed teachers from 1st to 3rd grade using local languages in the classroom. All of the teachers who taught 6th or 7th grade did not use local languages during my observation period, given that most students at higher-grade levels are supposed to have a good grasp of Portuguese. The majority of my participating teachers taught the first two cycles of primary school, encompassing the first 5 years (EP1). Three taught the second cycle that includes 6th and 7th grade (EP2). After the second cycle students may continue on to secondary school, but it is no longer free or funded by the government. As exemplified below, using local language in the classroom can have real consequences regarding comprehension and learning, even at the higher levels where students' Portuguese is more fluent.

This example takes place in a 6th grade Visual Education class, taught by Tino on February 8, 2011. In this discipline students learn to draw, color (if there are coloring pencils available), discover shapes, etcetera. Topics vary and there is an initial lesson about the topic followed by an artistic design of the material covered. The topic of the class on this day was regarding HIV/AIDS and children's rights. That day the classroom was filled with 42 students,

with an even number of boys and girls. This gender equality is less common as students continue to the next grade, particularly in the rural areas, where boys continue attending school longer than girls. On this day, students sat separated, boys to the right of the class and girls to the left for no specific reason, other than student preference. Students were comparatively more active and responsive than in the previous class, raising their hands and speaking, even out of turn, to answer questions or to comment on a drawing explanation made by Tino, a Zimbabwean raised teacher. Tino is an English teacher and considers himself first and foremost to be that, though English teachers have to teach Visual Education and Musical Education as well, both conducted in Portuguese.

Tino started the class by giving some drawing tips and then moved into the topic of HIV/AIDS. He spoke Portuguese the entire time, while discussing possible ways of transmission and prevention of the disease. During the discussion, however, students were not participating or responding to the questions. In the extract below we see how a student reacts to the passive behavior of the other students and translates the word for condom into local language, which in turn arouses conversation and interest. It is clear that the use of local language, especially when discussing crucial issues to Mozambique (percentage of HIV infections) should be used when engaging with content of lessons is crucial.

Tino asks, “What can we do for prevention?” A boy raises his hand and suggests, “preservativo”(condom). The teacher follows up asking who has seen or heard of a “preservativo”, speaking in Portuguese. The class is slightly unresponsive with only a few pupils raising their hands. Thus Tino repeated the same question, “Who has seen or heard of it?”. The same boy that proposed the answer before states out loud that he has touched one. Tino insists with the same question in an attempt to get more students to participate. There is no response.

The student sitting next to the boy who answered previously exclaims to the teacher, "Não estão a ouvir em Português! Só em dialeto" [They are not understanding it in Portuguese! Only in dialect] and subsequently says the word in local language. This has an automatic and sudden change in the students' reactions. Some repeat the word to each other, there is an immediate elevation of talk level, students dialogue with one other. Tino, seeing the commotion, asks again for the last time, "Who has seen or heard it?" This time the entire class raises their hands without a single exception (fieldnotes, 02/08/11).

We can conclude that unresponsiveness probably doesn't mean a lack of interest, it might well be related to the comprehension of the topics at hand. In 6th grade, most students spoke Portuguese at a very good level, however, when the student associated the lack of response to the unfamiliarity with the word in Portuguese and translated it into local language, his action created an active reaction to the new word. In this interaction we see that speaking only Portuguese can be quite limiting, especially when we consider the importance of the subject in a place with a high percentage of HIV transmission. This is an example of the positive effect of using local languages in the classroom, and shows that using them should be reconsidered at the higher levels as well, allowing students to delve more deeply into topics such as HIV/AIDS. Even if the teacher doesn't know all of the local languages, students could have been put into groups and allowed to discuss the topic with each other in their mother tongues.

Conclusion

Although particular teaching approaches, a revised curriculum and specific pedagogical theories were mandated as part of the educational change, it is important to see if actual change has occurred. How teachers make sense of the curriculum, what they reject, and what is accepted

and incorporated can make a difference. It is therefore crucial that teachers' views and practices be explored, to determine the effects of the revision.

Findings from this chapter show that teachers are partially implementing the new curriculum. Bilingual teachers are incorporating Portuguese before the transitional period in their classrooms and maintain attitudes that do not benefit bilingual education. Also, teachers do not use LLs in the classroom as a resource for learning as intended in the curriculum. They are commonly using them as a form to manage classrooms or for ease in comprehension after repeated unanswered questions. Much can be attributed to a series of beliefs and attitudes that promote Portuguese over the local languages.

Most significantly, in my opinion, is the gap between the intentions and the conceptions or beliefs underlying the bilingual change, a tension that makes a meaningful reform a difficult reality. The attitudes and principles regarding the curricular changes are important factors in the overall implementation process. In fact, "changes in beliefs are even more difficult: they challenge the core values held by individuals regarding the purposes of education; moreover, beliefs are often not explicit, discussed, or understood, but rather are buried at the level of unstated assumptions" (Fullan, 2007, p. 36- check). The conceptual understanding of the benefits of bilingual education, of using the L1 in the classroom, is overshadowed by the pervasive beliefs of the advantage of the high status language. It is clear that a broader awareness and purposefulness, as well as proper training and material distribution, are essential components in the adoption of Mozambican languages in the new multidimensional curriculum.

In addition, in the case of the monolingual modality with L1 as a resource, particular teachers are adamant about only using Portuguese (Noémia & Catalina), even when they are fully aware that it is due to the language that students are struggling, while the other teachers

(such as Hamid and Tende) incorporate L1 for comprehension, but not in ways that adhere to the curricular strategies. Instead they occur as classroom management or as a response to students' lack of response. By limiting L1 use to those instances, we can show that the recommendations suggested in the PEB (INDE, 2003b) of open-ended questions in L1 as a way of provoking elaborate and complete sentences are being ignored.

As with Fullan's (2007) *multidimensional* framework for a successful implementation, the teaching approaches that were introduced and the revised materials are not being put to use in practice. Though the first step of change, revision of curricular materials, has been developed, teaching approaches are not changing accordingly. This is possibly a result of pervasive pedagogical beliefs anchored and sustained by an assimilationist mentality (Chapter 5 & 6). Unfortunately, the implementation of local languages as a resource is not happening in practice; teachers are ignoring the focus and benefits of bilingual practices.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This dissertation investigates the topic of language and educational perspectives, identity construction and classroom practices in the context of the educational programs and policies in Mozambique. In this conclusion I review the major findings and discuss recommendations and avenues for future research.

I first reiterate my four primary research questions.

1. How is the historical trajectory of the language and educational policies shaping social identities and affiliations of local teachers?
2. How do local teachers understand and legitimize perceptions about the role and importance of Mozambican languages, both in society and in the classroom?
3. What language policies/practices are in place and being implemented in postcolonial Mozambique, and how have they changed over time?
4. How do educators' views and experiences shape their practices and implementation of curricula in the classroom?

The research represented in this dissertation has been based on narrative inquiry and ethnographic methods, drawing on theoretical approaches that engage issues of language legitimacy, domination, resistance and identity construction as well as educational practices relevant to those themes in a postcolonial context. It is my hope that the data and findings presented here will contribute to the debate surrounding bilingual education and practices in multilingual societies, and in particular for nation-states whose linguistic diversity mirrors Mozambique.

Trajectories that Shape Identities and Perspectives

In chapter 5, I addressed the first question: How is the historical trajectory of the language and educational policies shaping social identities and affiliations of local teachers? In order to examine teachers' trajectories, I included data from interviews focusing on their experiences as students and teachers, as well as their movement during the particular time periods of Mozambican history. I examined the unique narratives recounted by the teachers themselves in the field of education and beyond.

I also highlighted the generational differences between teachers who grew up during colonial times and experienced the colonial regimen and its assimilationist policies in comparison to the younger generation who were not exposed to this oppressive power first-hand. This generational variation also underlined differences in professional experience. Many of the older teachers had been in the profession for over 25 years, while the younger teachers were much less experienced in the classroom (1-6 years).

Historically, Mozambique underwent several changes in the transition from colony to free state. Educational staff from the ex-colony left Mozambique abruptly after the independence in 1975, leaving the country in need of teachers. Due to this need, Frelimo began drafting teachers, several of whom were participants of this study. Santos, Tende, Hamid and Kapomba were sent to war zones during a time that Frelimo attempted to nationalize all educational services. Findings demonstrate that becoming a teacher was seen as an obligation, order and duty to the nation-state. This is in line with the goals espoused by then-President Machel, who sought to instill a new ideological framework for citizens, where "new men" did their duty to the newly independent Mozambican state.

The broader assimilationist view that separated Mozambicans into civilized and uncivilized categories had repercussions in the lives and trajectories of many teachers. Tende and Hamid had lower socioeconomic status and were unassimilated, lacking the financial stability and Portuguese culture, ideals, and religion. The advantages of speaking Portuguese played into the larger colonial discourse of a racial hierarchy, forcing people to *want* to learn Portuguese if they aspired to be civilized and solidifying the subjugated perspective of Mozambicans who didn't actively emulate Portuguese civilization. The ultimate goal of assimilationist policies was the creation of a type of person who would serve the Portuguese regime and exist under their control. Findings in this chapter show that teachers mimic a naturalized discourse propagating the status quo of discrimination towards Mozambicans who resisted changing cultural practices, continued to be poor, or spoke local languages.

Santos and Ana were assimilated, an uncommon occurrence among the black Mozambican population (Isaacman, 1983). For Santos, who transitioned from unassimilated to assimilated status in 4th grade, his categorization as 'different' evolved out of cultural capital he acquired in the rudimentary school, allowing him to serve as a helper to the other students in the official school. Students focused on that instead of his status and skin color. The co-construction of his identity as a valid and assimilated individual happened through a new categorization, one taken up by others. As he described, "I wasn't characterized as black, during lunch they invited me to join them" [civ](interview, 04/13/11).

The repressive policies put in place during the colonial times that prohibited local languages, that qualified them as inferior, continued to be felt even after independence. Teachers who grew up during colonial times shared the type of punishments they received when speaking local languages, participants who were students after independence also talked about

punishments for using local languages. No matter what generation or age, all of the teachers experienced a reproductive policy against local languages in schools, seeing them as a problem instead of as a right or resource.

The perspectives here are deeply ingrained and thus influence how local languages are treated in the school environment. Seeing African languages as debilitating to academic growth helps maintain views against bilingual education and delegitimizes the use of local languages as resources for student learning. The younger generation did not experience the separation of educational systems first-hand; after independence the vestige of rudimentary education was abandoned for a more equal education for all. For the younger generation being Mozambican was not qualified by categories of civilization, instead associations with the Mozambican identity carried a different meaning. And yet, while the creation of the "homem novo" shifted authority and emancipated the Mozambican population, the new generation replicated particular characteristics of assimilation, ones exalting Portuguese to a higher status, prioritizing Portuguese in education, and relating local languages to the poor and misfortunate. The "homem novo" was a principle promoted by Samora Machel (Machel, 1975) who sought to create a new nation with modern traits and to instill a new Mozambican identity, one of conscious, educated, rational natural leaders independent of foreign help. Machel appealed to knowledge and modernity of the society, emphasizing science and technological knowledge, which together came to represent Frelimo's ideology of modernity.

In short, the revolutionary reform maintained and even reinforced the assimilationist mentality established by the colonial regime. This echoes the findings of Fry (2000), who suggested:

> Despite the anticolonial discourse of the center and Frelimo, in general, it is impossible to ignore that the socialist project in Mozambique was, above all more <<assimilationist>> than the Portuguese ever dared imagine and it is tempting to suggest that this is one of the reasons why the Mozambican elite consider so attractive the socialist program.[cv] (Fry, 2000, p. 129)

One of the common principles of Frelimo was to create a common national identity (Sumich, 2008) while trying to destroy the vestiges of the old society. Abandoning the traditional cultural behaviors (Mondlane, 1995) was crucial, and in particular traditional structures were discouraged (witchcraft, ethnic separation, colonialism, polygamy, etc.).

Beyond the reproductive mentality and historical background associated with local languages, movement and displacement had repercussions in ways of identifying languages. During the civil war period, many Mozambicans were forced to flee or be displaced. Older teachers, who were working during that time, were assigned to rural and unsafe areas. Some fled Mozambique to Zimbabwe or other neighboring countries. The reality of movement did not only affect the participants with the major loses of property and materials (leaving behind books and notes), but also with their lives (losing cousins and siblings). For those who experienced fear and alienation during the civil war, local languages played a role in ensuring safety and a way to get information. When discussing the issue of modern children losing local languages, they referred to it as *dangerous*, seeing language as a way "to save [yourself] from danger" [cvi] (Kapomba, interview, 03/22/11). For example to Santos, the idea of fleeing to Zimbabwe was not a realistic possibility for fear of being alienated in a country where he didn't understand the language.

Other participants also discussed languages and movement, but the focus lay more on the communication and connections that local languages, as well as Portuguese, allowed them to make. For example, many younger teachers built relationships with spouses in Portuguese,

whereas the older teachers didn't always have schooled spouses and had to communicate in local languages on a daily basis. At the same time, others built relationships with their neighbors in local languages, giving importance to those languages with elders and community building, yet not at academic, institutional levels. On the other hand, for those living in the city, local languages seemed inadequate and presented a problem in school basing this opinion in the either-or myth consistent in voices against bilingual education.

Finally, there is the pervasive specter of intergenerational language loss, with Paulo serving as a demonstration of a younger generation growing up and living in city landscapes. Though Paulo was the only monolingual in this study, in the course of conducting research I met other monolinguals in Chimoio who also grew up in cities. Having grown up with parents that spoke only Portuguese to him and receiving exposure to Portuguese speakers in Beira (the third largest city of the country), and having only recently moved to Chimoio to teach, Paulo had not learned local languages. His monolingualism is not a source of pride however, and Paulo was keenly aware of the limitations it placed on his professional development and the real barriers he faces in terms of communicating with parents of students and within the local community.

Understanding teachers' professional, cultural, political and individual identities is essential in making deeper connections between trajectories and beliefs. The narratives examined in this study demonstrate how experiences, personal histories, and positionings over time and across changing landscapes show the reproduction of assimilationist practices despite an appreciation of local languages for communicating in safety and for forming relationships.

Perceptions of Legitimate Spaces for Languages

Chapter 6 responds to the second research question: How do local teachers understand and legitimize perceptions about the role and importance of Mozambican languages, both in society and in the classroom?

Legitimate spaces are carved out for Portuguese and other Mozambican languages. Attitudes and perspectives assigning legitimacy to particular domains and spaces shape the marginalization or promotion of Mozambican languages.

My findings show that local languages hold an informal space of social and community building, connections and historical attachment, as well as one for social capital and national identity. Elders, as connections with the past, and rural communities are predominantly associated with local languages, while Portuguese is considered the language of wider communication, an international medium, and the language of cultural capital associated with educational success and social mobility for employment. Thus, although many participants preferred to speak Portuguese with their children, nieces, and nephews in an attempt to improve their future cultural and economic capital, the awareness that local languages serve a purpose and are valued in the communication with grandparents and elders produces a level of guilt in their Portuguese-only stance at home.

Beyond communication with elders, local languages are legitimized in spaces connected to the national and cultural identity (cf. Rassool, 1999). I found that teachers associated local languages with Mozambican culture, representing their origin and connection to the African community and a source of cultural authenticity. Finally, local languages help connect to smaller communities and rural areas that have predominantly local language speakers. Participants frequently discussed the bond that local languages grant them in social life and in getting closer

to others. Specifically, local languages are useful in *communidades* or smaller town and rural areas, where speaking Portuguese can be seen as arrogant or even as an insult (Luíza).

Legitimate spaces for local languages are limited to an informal network, based on personal, traditional and historical ties. Educators attach local languages to the past (elders), to cultural identity, and to the community. At the same time, they reproduce the colonial mindset by associating local dialects as tribal and outdated, as languages that do not promote progress due to their rejection in schools. Local languages therefore, even after independence, are associated with a traditional ideology. Although local languages hold cultural value, after the government and curricular change the old mindsets were maintained.

Portuguese on the other hand, is legitimized in formal networks, holding both social and cultural capital, and is seen as the language of wider communication, social mobility and success in school. Attachment to official venues begins with the official status granted Portuguese in Mozambique. It is noteworthy that the official primacy of Portuguese was established after independence. In discussing this, teachers expressed their belief that the linguistic diversity within Mozambique was too large to pick any other language as official. However, I argue that the lack of prestige and status is at the foundation of a monolingual ideology that curbs multilingualism and diversity (cf. Heller, 2007).

Beyond its official status, Portuguese is seen as the language of unification both in teachers' mentalities and in educational policies. The unifying trait of Portuguese was solidified by the new government of Mozambique and incorporated into the curriculum. Achebe (1975) refers to the unifying force of colonialism creating "political units" in place of "small, scattered ones" (p. 429). This perspective underlies much of the opposition to bilingual education, seeing it as "direct threat to the unity of the state" (May & Hill, 2005).

In addition, participants discuss the value and access of Portuguese for its ability to reach far beyond specific communities and across the entire country. In this, participants are likely correct; Portuguese is a source of social mobility and employment. Because of this, even though language policies have shifted to include more bilingual education and local language promotion, a majority of teachers interviewed still believe Portuguese to be the appropriate language of school environments.

Educators in my study commonly linked the dominant language with its favorable aspects in both the personal and professional fields. This is in line with arguments made by opponents of using local language in education, who argue that encouraging the use of less prestigious languages limits social mobility otherwise available through speaking the dominant language. Critics of bilingual education often associate instrumental value to the majority languages while conferring only sentimental value to the vernaculars. This connects vernacular languages to a limited community in lieu of greater access among a wider group.

It is noteworthy that irrespective of age, teachers overwhelmingly favored Portuguese as the language of schooling, arriving at the same conclusion for the legitimization of Portuguese as the language of educational purposes. This may not come as a surprise given that their personal educational trajectories did not include bilingual education, and in general they did not approve of local language use even with the recent shift towards bilingual education. As students they had been themselves successful in learning Portuguese, which in turn granted them possibilities in life, such as becoming a teacher.

Unfortunately, when educators fail to see the local language variety as an educational resource, they maintain a subjugated view of other languages as not worthy of academic varieties and instruction, a perspective keeping local languages in a less prestigious position.

Policy Implementation and Teacher Practices

Chapter 3 provides background information and outlines the major language and educational policy changes in Mozambique's recent history. Chapter 7 addresses both changes in policies and implementation as well as how views are shaping teachers' practices in the classroom. The research questions addressed are: What language policies/practices are in place and being implemented in postcolonial Mozambique, and how have they changed over time? How do educators' views and experiences shape their practices and implementation of curricula in the classroom?

A large shift has occurred towards the valorization and promotion of local languages. This began with the amendment of the 1990 Constitution, which granted for the first time officially recognized value to national languages and their development. The Constitution was specifically revised in the following way: "(1) In the Republic of Mozambique, the Portuguese language shall be the official language. (2) The State shall value the national languages and promote their development and their growing usage as vehicular languages and in the education of citizens" (Lopes, 1998, p. 458). This was followed by the creation of a 4-year bilingual education pilot program supporting the broader incorporation of bilingual education in Mozambique. Finally, in 2004, bilingual modalities were incorporated into the national curriculum. At the time of my data collection 16 Mozambican languages were integrated into 66 schools in the country.

Acknowledging local languages in the Constitution was an important move towards the promotion of local languages, preceding policy and curricular changes that promoted local languages. These educational and language policy changes were promising in regards to the potential use of African languages in the classroom. However, national policy alone is not

enough to institute meaningful changes on the ground if it is not integrated at all levels. In other words, if those in charge of implementing change do not do subscribe to the intentions of the written policy, or if the government proposals are not clearly outlined and supported with training, materials, conditions, etc. (Johnson et al., 2000), implementation will fail.

Curricular implementation needs to be reflected in teacher classroom practices as well. Looking at teacher beliefs and attitudes in order to understand the educational processes and practices was a central piece of this dissertation. Teacher principles (Breen et al., 2001) and *reculturation* (Fullan, 2007) are essential for successful educational reform.

The data in Chapter 7 show and support previous literature documenting the mismatch between new curricula and implementation due to teacher beliefs (Orafi & Borg, 2009; Smith & Southerland, 2007). I suggest that bilingual teachers have attitudes and beliefs towards local languages that prevent their appropriate adoption into the curriculum, that bilingual teachers introduce L2 (Portuguese) into the curriculum prior to the requirement, and that the lack of teacher proficiency in the L1 (local language), minimal training (10 days of training to teach bilingually), and shortage of resources (only Daniela, a 1st and 2nd grade teacher received a bilingual textbook) are serious obstacles to the successful implementation of the programs.

Daniela, Matos and Kapomba were all teachers on the bilingual program, who agreed with the notion of increased participation and comprehension achieved with L1 education. However, their perspectives towards the importance of Portuguese in terms of success in school (advantages for the national exam and ease of learning in Portuguese) impeded proper L1 instruction. In addition, and a critical matter in the data, many teachers do not actually speak the L1 fluently. For most, the L1 is not their mother tongue, they were never educated in it (none of them have experienced bilingual education) and they do not have matching orthographies and

training in the L1. The historical and political flows in Mozambique, and the accompanying movement of people across the country lead to a lack of competency in the local languages and no particular allegiance to them. This was especially acute for teachers who commute to work from the city, where Portuguese dominates daily life.

While theoretically appealing, the monolingual modality with L1 as a resource is also problematic. The curriculum encourages particular pedagogical strategies and techniques with a goal to increase more meaningful learning. In practice, teachers often resist using them in class, and resorting to L1 primarily for classroom management and to coerce unresponsive students. I concluded Chapter 7 by detailing an instance in the upper level classroom where the use of local languages was used by a student to successfully engage and improve a meaningful conversation about HIV/AIDS.

Recommendations

It is through dissecting the teacher's lived experiences, beliefs, and attitudes towards Mozambican languages and educational practices that we can understand more deeply the circumstances and contexts behind implementation. Policy makers will have to think about how to bridge the gap between planning and implementation in the multifaceted setting of multilingual Mozambique.

The policy of local language advancement and bilingual education was put in place to counter high drop out rates, repetition and other factors affecting student success in Mozambique (Benson, 2000). However, the picture is complex. For example, the government sometimes places teachers in communities where they are unfamiliar with either the local language or the cultural contexts at hand, contributing to ineffective policy implementation. Thus, a serious look

at hiring local teachers in bilingual schools in their communities should be acknowledged and considered. In addition to changing local arrangements, there must simultaneously be broader ideological changes. Rather than legitimatization of Portuguese in formal spaces and local languages in informal spaces, efforts must be made to expand the functionality of local languages in official, public domains in order to grant local Mozambican languages a similar status as Portuguese.

In terms of pedagogical suggestions for teacher practices, full investment by those involved in establishing practices and those in charge of implementing them is needed in order for an intended policy to work. With respect to promoting bilingual programs, complete knowledge, training and understanding of the curricular plans on the part of teachers, along with adequate resources for implementation, are necessary. It is important that the government contribute with resources that help teachers implement the desired practices, such as textbooks in local languages at all levels.

Beyond the structural importance of training and materials, teachers need professional development, both to inform them of the multiple benefits of bilingual education, and to understand more fully strategies to incorporate the L1 into the classroom. The government should prioritize professional development that helps point out the numerous benefits accruing from a curriculum co-favoring the use of Mozambican languages in the classroom. It is only through a process of *reculturing* teacher's perspectives and attitudes towards bilingual education that actual change can occur. Changing the curriculum from the top down is insufficient without changing the pervasive belief that learning the L2 can only be accomplished through neglecting the L1. The fact that teachers reject full bilingual implementation and resist the particular methodological suggestions—in practice if not in words—needs to be addressed in all levels of

language policy and planning in Mozambique. It is not only the teachers who need to change in response to new policy; policy must take into account teachers' voices and experiences.

Bilingual education and L1 literacy are both socioculturally and cognitively beneficial. It is crucial that multiple steps are taken in various levels simultaneously to improve the current situation faced by teachers. Strides at the institutional and grass root levels expanding opportunities to see local languages in broader spaces nationally, working with the priorities in the communities, and considering teacher needs are necessary for establishing support in policy implementation. Foundational changes in beliefs and understanding are essential for lasting educational reform to occur (Fullan, 2007), yet if the contexts and conditions do not change, it is not possible that beliefs and understandings constructed within them will.

Future Research

As with all research, this study is limited in scope. First of all, the nature of qualitative study is not appropriate for generalizability; it is more specific to the participants and location it describes. This study reaches a small sample and focuses on teacher perspectives and practices. Due to this focus on teachers' perspectives, identities and practices, minimal information was gathered about student and family perspectives and significance for the students. Future research grounded on familial views, student outcomes and experiences would respond to many unanswered questions about the consequences of teachers' practices and views.

Future research investigating how local languages are negotiated in the bilingual modalities proposed in the curriculum is needed; researchers familiar with local languages should investigate practices and use in the classroom for a more in depth look at what is actually occurring when students and teachers negotiate meaning in local languages. Further analysis of

language use in other domains (outside of the classroom) merits further investigation as well, in particular within the familial domain, to explore how those experiences are shaping perspectives regarding language maintenance.

Other interesting venues for future research would be to focus on understanding language ideology and economic opportunities in Mozambique. For example, studies bringing empirical evidence to an exploration of the ubiquitous belief that Portuguese continues to convey economic benefits in postcolonial Mozambique would be valuable. More evidence needs to be gathered about what literacy practices privilege students and ultimately adults.

In order to strengthen and enrich the findings and claims presented in this dissertation, research into similar situated policies, educational practices, beliefs and language use should be carried out in other Mozambican communities. This would allow investigation into what is seen as 'Mozambican' and for comparisons between what was locally determined and the larger representative Mozambican reality. Finally, similar research in other postcolonial contexts can increase our awareness and comparison beyond the Mozambican context.

Concluding Remarks

At a macro-level, I researched the historical and linguistic background of Mozambique in an attempt to engage with issues of legitimacy and the adoption of new educational curricula. Understanding the background in both educational and linguistic domains was crucial for framing of teachers' individual perspectives, identities and practices. At the micro-level, I attempted to make connections between individual beliefs and attitudes, and the discourses that shape practical manifestations in the classroom. Participant beliefs and ideologies regarding language use and education are important for understanding how official policy and curriculum

are implemented; this is especially true for understanding how and why they converge or diverge from the proposed idea of local language promotion.

While this project cannot answer the question of whether or not the teachers are correct in their belief that Portuguese provides economic benefits, we can say that teachers have this belief and act on this belief in their teaching. In Mozambique, there is still an exaggerated focus on the dominant language in all levels of education, from pre-primary all the way to higher education and teacher training. This sends the wrong message to all stakeholders, causing more pressure to continue education in Portuguese and to begin it at increasingly lower grade levels, as we saw in the bilingual program. Instead of a developmental bilingual program, transitioning is occurring as early as first and second grades in classrooms with teachers who prefer using Portuguese in the classroom.

In concert with lack of training and ongoing professional development, materials, and resources, this focus sustains the belief that Portuguese-only education is the best approach in Mozambican schools. There is a failure to implement intentions appropriately and in a way that benefits students of varying linguistic and cultural background.

This study contributes to the multilayered analysis and consideration called for in SLA (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007) by revealing ideological spaces as well as practices on the ground. It supports Banda (2000) in the need to change attitudes towards the L1, and explores with care Varghese and colleagues' (2005) emphasis on understanding teacher professional, cultural, political and individual identities.

Most of all, it is my hope that this study will contribute to a more just educational policy and rigorous implementation of bilingual practices across Mozambique. It is my profound belief that a multilingual society with the history of oppression such as Mozambique will only benefit

from effectively designed bilingual programs that engage in communicative and culturally sensitive issues, and that value and endorse biliteracy, biculturalism and bilingualism.

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[i] A língua Portuguesa foi sempre entendida, pela Frelimo, como instrumento aglutinador da sociedade moçambicana. Neste aspecto, também a Frelimo, apesar das suas tendências inovadoras de cariz revolucionário, como a trans-etnicidade, não conseguiu fugir do desafio da euro-modernidade que caracterizou os países africanos após as suas independências nacionais. Em vez de enfrentar racionalmente o problema da multiplicidade das línguas faladas nos seus territórios, no âmbito geral do desafio da Modernidade-Tradição, os países africanos não hesitaram em adoptar as línguas de antigos colonizadores.

[ii] Nessa escola, estando assim até 4ª classe na escola, já era pós independência. Aquela povoação foi vingada pela guerra. Entrou Renamo, raptou os meus dois irmãos, foram embora. Quando foram embora, ficamos os dois irmãos pequenos a estudar então ficamos baralhado. E tentamos conversar com os pais, para arranjar outro lugar onde irmos, não houve saída. Só que eu e o meu irmão mais pequeno que estava na segunda, acabamos fugir.

[iii] Tende: então fui ficar em casa do meu irmão, comecei a estudar mas em péssimas condições. Sem cond-- comecei a ser assegurado pelo governo ação social já que me dava despesa então quando fiz a minha 6ª , passei para a 7ª quando fui matricular na escola para Joaquim Mara, escola industrial Joaquim Mara então veio o esse (?) com a lista, daqueles que dispensavam na 6ª e então começaram a chamar a chamar a chamar, e calhou saiu o meu nome.
Sandra: E foi, era uma obrigação?
Tende: Era uma obrigação então quando eu tentei resistir disseram assim olha aquele aluno que recusa tarefas do governo não terá direto a estudar a nenhum sitio de Moçambique. Estava interdito a estudar a nenhum sitio êee eu vendo aquilo foi pra casa, passei uma semana sem se apresentar no centro. Então alguém apareceu em casa e disse olha você, é bom ir, você é pobre, você não tem condições o governo já te ajudou a estudar fez 6ª classe. Vai lá tirar curso olha você começa a tirar curso e vai trabalhar e vai ganhar seu dinheiro mas tarde poderá continuar com os estudos. Tá bem. Arrumei a minha pasta de roupa, fui apresentei-me lá já em fevereiro nos quase quase no fim de fevereiro. Apresentei comecei a frequentar o curso, com sorte passei, quando passei fui colocado em Tambara em oitenta e um, nos princípios de 81 foi colocado em Tambara na zona de guerra. Já entre Frelimo e Renamo.

[iv] Para ajudar as nossas crianças, né? e por avante a educação.

[v] é bom terminar para ver o que faço né?

[vi] Eu não vi outras portas. Não vi outras portas. Apareceu essa porta, eu tinha que aceitar essa caminha. Eu queria muito fazer a medicina, enfermeira, mas opa não deu. Estou aqui, não estou muito arrependida. O importante e trabalhar não ficar em casa.

[vii] Tende: Tinha escola oficial para as pessoas civilizadas, chamadas pessoas civilizadas.
Sandra: Quem eram essas pessoas?

Tende: Aquelas pessoas que tinham o cartão do, como se chama? Tinha o cartão de assimilados. Assimilados eram pessoas que eram considerados mais ou menos um pouco higiênicos né? Se consideravam assim, pessoas que já conheciam bem português, pessoas que já tinham aquela vida civilizada, tinham uma casa, e vivia um pouco assim na igreja, tinham uma vida assim normal.
Sandra: Mas a sua família não era considerada assimilada?
Tende: Não, éramos pobres, vivíamos no campo mesmo e tínhamos a base da vivencia era agricultura e não tínhamos nada. Usávamos mal, as vezes eram uns calções com como se chamam? Com fitas aqui né?
Sandra: Ah sim
Tende: Exatamente... chamada calções ganga. A gente para poder ir a escola as vezes era, era vender uma galinha e comprar cadernos. Aqueles não, assimilados não. Era levar dinheiro e ir comprar alí. Tomavam chá, tinham casa melhoradas, então eram escolas oficiais. Esses eram contratados pelo governo.

[viii] Hamid: Ali era preciso para você entrar na escola oficial os seus pais ter pelo menos um dinheiro porque ali paga-se. Por isso não consegui como os meus pais foram pobres a questão foi esta...Eu não vi quem meu pai era…eu não vi. Só cresci com a minha mãe... faleceu, fiquei sozinho na tribo...Quem me criou mais ou menos foi um vizinho da minha mãe. Dai acarinhou, consegui crescer. Dai o Samora Machel, depois da independência quando me levou para Maputo. Graças a Deus…o que posso fazer? A não ser estudar e mais tarde o governo pode vir apoiar o que esta acontecer nesse momento.
Sandra: Então naquela época o senhor sabia que queria ser professor?
Hamid: Não sabia….isso mesmo calhou. É o que aconteceu, aí está.

[ix] Falar em dialecto, era chamado….no meu tempo, né? Dizia o que? Você é indígena…hahahahaha. Então fica daquele lado, fica do outro lado. E realmente éramos indígenas porque naquela altura, na escola até não tinha sapato.

[x] Era um assimilado, embora não falasse português, mas as habitudes, comportamento, etc. dizem que igualava, ou seja, seguia a civilização portuguesa.

[xi] Muitos falavam dialeto não se entendia bem com o professor. Nos vamos criar um bicho que se chama burro. Por isso tentar aprender português. Quem fala dialeto então nós vamos colocar no pescoço. Basta você ficar com o burro , tentar esforçar a pelo menos falar português. As vezes os pais que não conheciam, nos falávamos dialeto, ei este está com burro. Você tentava com alguém para que alguém possa ensinar alguma coisa. A coisa já mudou. Isso estou a ver mudou no tempo em que a guerra acabou e as coisas já eram do povo. Vamos aprender assim gradualmente a língua do povo. Esse currículo de dialeto já é agora, falar dialeto para uma criança já é agora...antes insistir em português.

[xii] Acabei dizer a mãe, tirar essa bíblia aqui na mesa, esconder na mala, levar a bíblia em português e colocar na mesa.

[xiii] Nasci em 82. Ah nesse contexto a mudança curricular ainda não vi a diferença, não havia dado bilíngue. Então ainda não vi a diferença curricular. Só que em relação a minha época quando eu estudei primário, era proibido. Você a ser ouvido até os outros te apontavam, "Sr. prof. estava a falar dialeto lá fora", então era chamboqueado, pelo menos duas varas.

[xiv] Eu também já começa a querer comunicar em português. Comecei bom dia, boa tarde.

[xv] Até a professora que deu segunda classe que nunca vou esquecer. Me bateu, por eu ter falado alguma coisa no errado na língua portuguesa. Me bateu, então eu com aquilo eu comecei a ter mais habilidade para falar a língua portuguesa em si. E consegui.

[xvi] Aprendi bem, nunca esqueci. Até em casa. Mama já me chamava em língua local. Ela falava em dialecto e eu respondia em português.

[xvii] claro ainda continua quase, porque nas escolas ninguém fala mesmo oficialmente língua materna, significa que ainda quase proíbe. Por exemplo na sala de aula você estar falar dialeto só com a crianças no primeiro tempo ao último tempo você a falar o dialeto, como ultimamente como a criança vai aprender essa língua oficial para comunicar com qualquer?

[xviii] Tende: Então eu fui para sede trabalhei, lá recebi uma arma chamada nguguda a gente chamamos nguguda, nessa altura eu quando punha atrás chegava aqui (laughs and shows on his body the distance below his hips).
Sandra: Passava o corpo inteiro...
Tende: Iii pra salvar as crianças quando o inimigo chegasse, mas depois o inimigo chegou de aproximar mesmo. Sim, quando já ninguém passava por via Tete por via Guru, já ninguém podia passar, pessoas já iam por via Chemba-Sena, então eu vi que a situação estava péssima tinha que fazer forma de como me retirar. Esquinei dali fui a pé de Tambara até Chemba acabei dois dias de andar. A pé! Começou a doer pernas em Chemba apanhamos cargo administrador e fomos até Sena, de Sena apanhamos comboio em via até Donga e em Donga apanhei outro comboio até Chimoio dali ficamos.
Sandra: Pra fugir ne?
Tende: Sim sim sim eu saí no dia 24 pra no dia 27 o inimigo ocupar o distrito, pensei bem pensei bem. Deixei tudo meus apontamentos de escola de formação, minha roupa, meus documentos tudo ficou porque era difícil carregar alguma coisa pra você viajar.
Sandra: Claro
Tende: Perdi tudo! Perdi apontamentos, perdi apontamento de de da 3ª 4ª 5ª classe 6ª e tinha melhores apontamentos que agora não existem, perdi tudo e depois o que acontece é que o gov— o administrador diz, epa pessoas de Tambara devem voltar.

[xix] Então começou aparecer esta guerra entre nos já. Obrigou o cancelamento de escola, nós tínhamos que estar acantonados, todos os professores tinham que estar lá, escolas tinham sido fechadas. Fiquei lá, 1º ano diretor da escola, assim como 2º ano, diretor da escola. A minha escola foi atingida pela guerra mas graças a população as crianças que vinham a escola disseram 'Seu professor não é bom ficar aqui, já estão perto', eu tive que deixar tudo, tive que correr. Saí para outra escola .... também estive por ser capturado, só que graças a colaboração que eu tinha

com os alunos, alguns ouviram movimento e eu saí naquela noite , dai não voltei mais. Aquela escola também foi encerrada.

[xx] Me lembro, o segundo ponto onde fui atacado. Eu acabava de sair dum treinamento com alguns militares. Nós também participávamos de trabalhos militares. Tínhamos que ser treinados e atribuídos aula...Então, as pessoas vieram informar, professor fica preparado eles estão aqui. Naquele momento de atraso de arrumar, já tinham chegado e já estavam a disparar, eu estava com um soldado no meu quarto, era um primo, ele quis ser o primeiro a sair e apanhou um tiro aí na porta, morreu ali mesmo. Eu ainda estava dentro a querer arrumar a minha...eu comecei a reparar ver faíscas aí fora, e aquele meu amigo, estava aí estendido na porta, morto já. Eu fiquei com aquela coragem, 'ficar aqui dentro, matar-me a baioneta? não vale a pena, talvez eu só apanhar tiro e morrer por alí.' Saí, como eu trazia calções, pensaram que eu era rapazico e disserem, foge foge foge. Então eu escapei. Eu saí mesmo assim, deixar-me passar. Uma distancia de 3 metros, houve um outro miúdo que estava noutra casa. Aquele miúdo, 'você estuda, sim. Estuda onde? professor está onde? Aquele apontou, eu estava para morrer. Começaram a disparar, balas a cavar ao meu lado [laughs]. Epa, graças a Deus corri, corri sim. Quando estava a disparar eu mantive-me no chão, esquivei outro bairro, fui apanhar outros colegas, 47 professores, saímos todos.

[xxi] Por exemplo quando eu falo Shona, representa-me mesmo a minha origem, a origem do meu pai. Então, é a língua Shona. A língua portuguesa já representa o desenvolvimento que eu tive da escolarização até a fase que eu tenho. Agora, as outras línguas Ciutee, por exemplo, já representa-me a mais preocupação, a mais dedicação no querer saber as outras línguas, assim como Cibarwe representa já é quase mesma coisa. Dedicação e preocupação de querer saber. É um momento da minha história, porque quando eu penso como aprendi a falar Cibarwe? Aprendi a falar Cibarwe através da movimentação do tempo da guerra. Do sofrimento, porque eu aprendi aquela língua aí, para se comunicar com aquele povo onde fui inserido naquele momento difícil. *Então, eu comecei ver que eu aqui para me salvar do perigo eu tenho que aprender essa língua para melhor comunicar-se com essas pessoas, para mais informação eu ter*. Então, Eu tinha que dedicar tanto, aplicar um esforço, até eu dominar aquela língua, conhecer, contactar-me com aquelas pessoas, e ter amigos já daquela língua mesmo.

[xxii] Problema meu era de comunicação. Eu sendo de Nampula não conheço primeiro o inglês. Ali não se fala Português e Shona e falada fluentemente pela população. E eu também não conhecia nenhum termo de Shona. Então foi difícil eu avançar para lá. Não podia, embora houvesse algum convite dos pais. Os pais disseram, professor vamos lá dentro. Epa, deixa-me eu fazer isto. Se eu ...por ser alienado lá dentro do Zimbabué e esqueço a minha própria pátria.

[xxiii] Falo pouco Ndau, falo esse Cibarwe. Cibarwe já aprendi porque os meus vizinhos onde estou lá agora, em meu lar, então, todos os vizinhos falam essa língua aí…Aprendi com eles, os vizinhos. Conversamos, fui aprendendo assim mesmo. Ia escutando, as vezes uma coisa não entendia, aí eu perguntava "isso aí? O que é mesmo?" e explicavam. Agora já entendo.

[xxiv] Eu aprendi escutando pessoas a falar. Eu ficava só assim, não respondia, ficava só a escutar.

[xxv] Meu tio não sabe falar Cimanika, ele é da Beira, é Mandau. Comigo é português sempre, com os filhos também português.

[xxvi] Sandra: Sabe falar a língua do seu marido?
Catalina: Se nem ele não fala.
Sandra: Ah, nem ele?
Catalina: Se ele não fala, ele, a gente é só português.

[xxvii] Já fala aquele de lá mesmo, aquele Zimbabueano puro que eu até não entendo.

[xxviii] Se chegar um hóspede que fala português? Pra ele é um pouco difícil porque as vezes homem tem ciúme e pode chegar um homem em casa. Nos falamos português e ele fala português, ele vai pensar que nos estamos a falar mal.

[xxix] Vamos falando a língua portuguesa, para não haver problemas, para comunicar com todos. Assim chegar alguém você vai entender, é preferível falar portuguesa do que falar a língua Shona…quando alguém chega de Maputo, então comecei lhe ensinando.

[xxx] Pode acontecer [que] zona norte e zona sul casa-se, para poder se entender homem e mulher, devem falar a língua portuguesa.

[xxxi] Mandei chamar encarregado. Quando encarregada apareceu hoje, ela estava a falar a língua, não estava a entender nada. Foi quando chamei aluno, senhora a falar , aluno traduzia. Mas é difícil, tenho que aprender mesmo.

[xxxii] Eu sou da opinião que a língua materna ajuda mesmo na compreensão dos alunos assim como professor.

[xxxiii] Primeiro cumprimento em dialeto, mas quando eu ver que essa pessoa conhece mesmo. Características mostra...nós conhecemos as características. Nós conhecemos as características. Por exemplo, um jovem. Um jovem naturalmente dever falar Português, mas se eu pegar um velho, eu não vou cumprimentar em português, Português pra ele não é não entendem. Pode entender mas não consegue expressar-se.

[xxxiv] Com as minhas sobrinhas falo Português, para estarem mais habilitadas a falar a língua portuguesa.

[xxxv] nova geração, nas nossas casa falamos muito mais Português, língua oficial. Quando vão em casa das avôs outras falam em dialeto...porque a criança também deve saber qual é o dialeto do pai.

[xxxvi] Noémia: Não tive essa iniciativa, só que pensei mais tarde já quando veio o meu sogro para ca, é quando fui ver que sou culpada. Devia ensinar Cimanika ou Cisena mesmo -que é língua do

pai- para poder comunicar com vovô. Só limitava a se reparar ou apalpar-se só, porque não entendia o que estava falar o vovô. O avô não entendia o que estavam a falar os netos.
Sandra: A senhora acha que deveria ter ensinado?
Noémia: Sim…deveria ensinar, foi um erro. Porque normalmente os avôs quando chegam em casa até não conversam com os pais não, conversam com os netos, contar histórias antigas, quando o neto entende. Agora quando não entende? Vai falar com quem? Ficam limitados.

[xxxvii] Falo que quando digo falar português, não quer dizer esquecer o dialeto, porque depois vai chegar um velho... por exemplo minha mãe que ainda vive…

[xxxviii] há uma vez que minha avó veio na minha casa. Estávamos tentar comunicar em Manhambane, não estava a conseguir falar. Era difícil, queria saber coisas antigas. Queria muito saber dela.

[xxxix] Minha mãe já é velha, ela poucas vezes usou português. Sempre usou esse dialeto.

[xl] Em casa é melhor. Na escola não, senão Português fica segunda língua enquanto tem que ser a primeira língua para entender. A base é Português para entender outra disciplina.

[xli] Tem netos por exemplo que falam Cimanika porque os pais não conseguiram emprego. Cresceram estudaram sim, mas não tiveram emprego, estão em casa e sempre falam aquela língua. Só fazem buscatos fora, não saíram, para poder falar Português.

[xlii] Tem valor porque você deve conhecer a sua origem, reconhecer a sua origem. Nós somos africanos, temos que conhecer primeiro e valorizar a nossa africanidade. Temos que valorizar primeiramente nossa africanidade, nosso dialecto, nossa cultura depois vamos a língua portuguesa. Primeiro valorizar a nossa cultura.

[xliii]Pra mim todas as línguas são valorizadas. A gente usa mais dialeto porque é a nossa língua. Devemos considerar porque faz parte da nossa cultura. Identificação da nossa cultura, porque eu falando Chitwe para um qualquer doutro país, Para aquele que acompanhou que Chitwe vai dizer é da província de Manica. Já diz que esse é moçambicano, portanto Faz parte da nossa identidade.

[xliv] Mas estou ver que é muito importante para poder as crianças chegar e conhecer, a final de contas, a criança neste momento é moçambicana…a maior parte das nossas crianças são mesmo camponesas. Como camponesas a língua portuguesa está muito longe…Nem todas conhecem a língua portuguesa, e por isso a língua moçambicana é boa. Levamos a criança de longe para ficar perto.

[xlv] Nessa época só na escola falava Português, era mais na escola, em casa em conversa com outros, competição né? Mas com os pais a gente era dialecto. Nas brincadeiras a gente com os colegas das escolar a gente falava um pouco de Português, né, para aperfeiçoar para exibir para dizer eu já sei falar português na primeira classe. Na pré primária perdão, na pré primaria. Na primeira classe já era falar mesmo bem mesmo bem, bem já falava-se bem. Depois aprendi

Masena, já falar só, não por escrito. Cimanika sei falar não escrever né? Falar Cimanika, sei falar Cimanika sei falar sei falar Mabarwe, sei falar Cisena...Por causa da vida social, do ambiente. Para encontrar com esse tipo de gente que fala essa língua , tentar adoptar-se àquelas línguas.

[xlvi] Falo pouco Ndau, falo esse Cibarwe. Cibarwe já aprendi porque os meus vizinhos onde estou lá agora, em meu lar, então, todos os vizinhos falam essa língua aí…Aprendi com eles, os vizinhos. Conversamos, fui aprendendo assim mesmo. Ia escutando, as vezes uma coisa não entendia, aí eu perguntava "isso aí? O que é mesmo?" e explicavam. Agora já entendo.

[xlvii] Era preciso aprender aquela língua para melhor adaptar-se aquele ambiente. E para melhor recolha das informações naquela comunidade, e também para facilitar aproximações, criar amizade.

[xlviii] Essas línguas para mim é uma maneira de nos comunicar no sitio onde eu vivo. Posso viver em Barue, posso encontrar a mim para entender aquele Barue. Como professor posso encontrar aluno que fala Matwe, que falam Matewe, eu devo falar, se é Maniquese eu devo me entender com os meninos que falam desta maneira. Para aproximação com as pessoas com que eu lido de perto.

[xlix] É mais muitas línguas daqui conheço. Muitas conheço, Citwe, Mabarwe, Matonga, Manhugwe, Cimanika, Makua, ah muitas línguas.

[l] Hamid: Eu a minha língua materna, é Manin. Mais a tribo é Makua.
Sandra: Ah o senhor é Makua e os seus pais falavam aquela língua?
Hamid: Só que os próprios Makuas…então os meus pais saíram daquela tribo formaram uma clã ao lado.
Sandra: Que é Manin?
Hamid: Falava Manin lá em Cabo Delgado.
Sandra: Quais eram as línguas?
Hamid: Então eu em Cabo Delgado falava Manin, Makua, Swahili e Maconde.
Sandra: Qual que o senhor se sente mais a vontade?
Hamid: Eu sinto mais a vontade na minha própria língua que é Manin. Posso sentar mesmo conversar com alguém, contar história, aí está.

[li] Já que estou aqui em Manica eu devo aprender muitas línguas para poder coordenar com as crianças. Eu falo essa língua com meu filho, a mãe é daqui, Mabarwe. Às vezes eu tenho pouco tempo com a mãe, sabe que a criança tem língua por causa de leite, né? Meu filho faz assim, então eu tenho que ambientar com o meu filho….com todos os filhos. Às vezes que eu falo Português de modo de ensinar, numa de ensinar, 'faz isso, faz isso'.

[lii] Português em casa. Eu tenho tomado esta decisão ao meus filhos, porque elas estão na cidade, ali na cidade a língua mais usual é Português.

[liii] Riam quando chegavam na bomba. Lá tinha problema de água, você apanhava cheio de pessoas. Como eu vou discutir? Português está a xingar. Não podia falar Português, está a xingar.

Eu ficava até uma ou outra pessoas dizer, ela está há muito tempo...Para eu aprender mais rápido, meus cunhados insistiam. Não queriam, mesmo querer falar Português, não respondem, não respondem, parece xingar.

[liv] Hamid: Pode haver línguas adicionais como oficiais. Aqui em Moçambique não está fácil. Aqui em Moçambique não está fácil.
Sandra: Por que?
Hamid: Aqui o problema nós fomos colonizados, com o colonialismo depois procurou-se qual língua oficial que abrange pelo menos quatro províncias. Se fosse Makua por exemplo abrange Nampula, Niassa, Quelimane [Zambezia], Cabo Delgado. Agora são quatro, são poucas. Agora se fosse nove províncias com quatro línguas pelo menos uma pudesse ser selecionada para ser nacional. Se fosse assim podia ser. Agora aqui em Moçambique eiiii há muitas línguas, numa província pode acontecer cinco à seis línguas, numa província! Agora vamos escolher uma única língua para ser língua nacional ...eii, há de ser difícil.

[lv] Foram ver que em muitas partes desse nosso território, muitas pessoas ja falavam Português. Então, era melhor que esse Português nos unisse, porque introduzir naquela altura uma outra língua capaz de nos unir, qual uma língua seria? Era melhor que o português nos unisse, foi só por causa desta razão.

[lvi] Indo pro norte você apanha diferentes tipos. Temos diversos tipos para comunicar. Eu não entendo que é Nyanja, tem Cibarwe. Então com a língua portuguesa as pessoas comunicam sem problema nenhum, já usam a língua portuguesa como língua oficial que nos podemos utilizar para comunicar com o norte, centro e sul.

[lvii] Outros até já não querem falar língua em casa, todos moçambicanos tem língua materna, mas já não querem.

[lviii] Português é mais valorado, porque de Rovuma até Maputo é só Português.

[lix] Sempre está preocupado com o Português. Isto porque, devido já a movimentação, devido a movimentação. Começa a ver que sim está a aprender Ciutee, a língua deles, só que quando sai na cidade já precisa de português. Para melhor comunicação com os outros que não dominam essa língua deles usam a própria língua portuguesa como uma língua oficial.

[lx] É, eles valorizam porque eu acho que porque, você só se limitando falar língua local , você pode não ter, supúnhamos que vai querer viajar, chega a um sitio que aquela língua não percebam. Opta por falar português, para poder se comunicar. Aqui em Moçambique existe varias línguas. Para se comunicar, para não haver discriminação pelo menos uma e outra coisa você tem que perceber. Trabalhar numa empresa tem que saber falar português.
Língua local é só interessante naquela sua zona só, mas você também querer viajar para outras províncias. Chega para Quelimane, saem com Citonga, então pelo menos um pouco de português. Por isso valorizam.

[lxi] Sandra: Vai falar a língua materna com eles, ou Português? O que acha?
Catalina: Com meus filhos, será melhor português para que não tenha mais dificuldade na escola. Mas como língua mãe, vão falar dialecto, língua materna, né?
Sandra: mmhm
Catalina: Mas Português tem que ser a primeira porque ai. Para já a crianças se habitua a essa língua ali e quando vai a escola é uma confusão.
Sandra: Fica, é mais difícil?
Catalina: Fica mais difícil porque ele habitou lá, quer dizer traz caderno, não há de entender. Fecha a porta, é difícil ele entender. Então quando cresce dizer fecha a porta, é fazer o que? abre, é fazer o que? vai buscar, é fazer o que abre, então fica mais fácil.
Sandra: Então você acha que é melhor falar Português em casa?
Catalina: Falar português, sim. Porque é nossa língua né? Nossa língua oficial é português, será melhor.

[lxii] A criança se habitua a essa língua ali, quando vai a escola é uma confusão... Na sala, não, eles tem que falar a nossa língua oficial que é Português para melhor comunicar... Temos que obrigar o aluno a falar português.

[lxiii] Para mim é um pouco ruim, falar língua materna, não é bem assim.

[lxiv] Há de haver uma família, nossos avôs, Português é difícil para eles...Vovô estou com fome, vovô não sabe o que é fome, criança vai sofrer. Então será melhor aprender um bocado a língua.

[lxv] Morrer também não, a língua moçambicana não vai. Acho que vamos permanecer assim mesmo, falando português, as duas coisas. vão manter falando as duas línguas. Não vão deixar.

[lxvi] A minha opinião é assim, a criança onde vai brincando vai ter grande dificuldade a língua portuguesa. Em casa é normal falar língua materna, mas ele podia aprender a língua portuguesa em casa também para não ter trabalho, é grande trabalho para professor.

[lxvii] Até eu não sei como se justificar né porque no ano que eu fui na formação ela ficou com a avó, ela foi na primeira classe...A professora escreveu um bilhetinho chamando encarregado de educação. Minha mãe me liga, 'Epa não sei o que que fez sua filha na escola, esta a receber comunicação.' 'Vai lá procurar saber' É para elogiar mamã continue deixar a criança estudando. Eu não sei, não ensinei.

[lxviii] Então comecei a ver já havia essa preocupação de querer vasculhar muito aquela Shona. Eu tinha bíblia em casa em Shona e eu já apanhava aquela bíblia já na mesa. Acabei dizer a mãe, tirar essa bíblia aqui na mesa, esconder na mala. Levar a bíblia em Português e colocar na mesa. É o que eu fiz, até hoje.

[lxix] Primeiro quero que falem em Português, isto porque estou muito interessado em desempenho delas nas aulas. Sei que se estiverem muito abalizado em Shona, as duas coisas haverá uma coisa que há de perder. Ou estará muito aproveitado em Shona, em Português na escola, não. Por exemplo no ano passado, não tive nenhuma que passou, todas as quatro, duas na 8ª, na 7ª , outra na 5ª. Todas chumbaram.

[lxx] Eu acho que pra mim, tinha que ser como dantes. Todos falar, devíamos falar a língua oficial. Obrigar as crianças para facilitar a compreensão. Porque nós podemos trabalhar aqui com língua oficial e se a criança fala 100% língua local, ano que vem não vai conseguir nem ler. Porque em casa dizem uma coisa e no livro tá escrito outra coisa, há contradição. Por isso muitas crianças tem problemas. Se você fala língua local em casa nem o pai vai poder ajudar. É difícil.

[lxxi] Não, não fica mais baixo, eu acho que é melhor. O aluno entende melhor. Então é melhor. É bom."

[lxxii] quando fala a língua materna significa que não está a aprender, temos a obrigação de ensinar este que não sabe….a língua oficial é a portuguesa"

[lxxiii] Em Moçambique, a adopção do Português como língua de ensino impõe que se leve em conta a realidade linguística nacional, onde o Português, Língua Oficial e de Ensino, coexiste com outras línguas e não é dominado pela maioria da população.

[lxxiv] Numa realidade como a do nosso país, em que coabitam línguas de diversas origens, incluindo as línguas moçambicanas e o Português, justifica-se a introdução de línguas moçambicanas no ensino.

[lxxv] há muita mistura...já não pode ser Ciutee.

[lxxvi] Na 5a classe os alunos serão submetidos a um exame nacional com o s alunos que terão seguido um currículo em que o meio de ensino é a língua portuguesa e espera-se que nesta fase já possuam as competências necessárias para fazer este exame. Justifica-se, deste modo, a razão por que a transição ocorre relativamente vedo, a partir da 3a classe.

[lxxvii] Neste ciclo a língua portuguesa é o único meio de ensino-aprendizagem e espera-se que os alunos já possuam um bom nível de desempenho nesta língua, bem como na L1.

[lxxviii] Por forma a garantir o desenvolvimento de um bilinguismo aditivo nos alunos.

[lxxix] Quanto a língua materna entendem em mais rapidez e muito mais participam na aula. Criança de monolingue não participa, tá muito muito com professor, enquanto na L1 a professora não tem muito trabalho, a criança participa muito, muito mesmo, na língua materna participa sem problemas. Na prova sabe escrever e sabe responder o que o professor fala. Então quando vamos na língua portuguesa, a criança não responde, fica calado, na língua materna responde.

[lxxx] É uma coisa que até que anima, todas as aulas as crianças falam, participam muito. É a língua deles mesmo.

[lxxxi] Para mim, no meu ponto de vista, a desvantagem existe para aquelas crianças que saem de 1ª 2ª aqui falam diretamente Ciutee, enquanto Português não estão a escrever, só a comunicar ... Começa a escrever na 4ª, 5ª tem exame...Na 5ª a criança fica com grande dificuldade em escrever.... O meu ponto de vista, podiam deixar 1ª 2ª até escrever... só falavam só Ciutee, era uma vantagem. Quando é assim uma grande desvantagem, já não conseguem responder nada. Vão com mãos abananado.

[lxxxii] Então com a língua portuguesa as pessoas comunicam sem problema nenhum, já usam a língua portuguesa como língua oficial que nos podemos utilizar para comunicar com o norte, centro e sul.

[lxxxiii] Outros até já não querem falar língua em casa, todos moçambicanos tem língua materna, mas já não querem.

[lxxxiv] Português é mais valorado.

[lxxxv] Matemáticas em Ciutee é um problema. Nunca tem prova em matemáticas em Ciutee, só traz dificuldade.

[lxxxvi] O que me faz a preferir monolingue, é através do material. Só.

[lxxxvii] Por exemplo estou a dar Ciutee, não tenho livro de Ciutee, o que faço? Pego livro de Português, começo a traduzir. Então, isto faz-me gastar muito tempo...É dificuldade para mim e é dificuldade para as crianças.

[lxxxviii] Aí não há nada de negar, quando e dado turma de bilingue não pode negar. Não há nada de recusar, você aceitou vir aqui, treinamento, tem que aceitar.

[lxxxix] Não importa, porque mesmo se você não entende bem a língua Ciutee, também vocês estando ali na sala é fácil você aprender. Como se chama isso? Eles já sabem como se chama...Vai ter que aperfeiçoar com a ajuda dos alunos.

[xc] É um dos problemas sim, é. Por que? Se este aluno aqui viu isto na primeira classe ,vai deparar com outro professor viu isto, viu isto, este aluno aqui fica baralhado. Pode ficar até não saber qual é a coisa certa. Sabe falar, a escrita já não sabem. Acontece muitas vezes....Não temos programa orientador.... Não tenho onde se corrigir. Isso é dificuldade para o próprio professor.

[xci] Será que as crianças vão entender? Então vai estar sempre com dificuldade. Para mim eu tive dificuldades nas escritas das palavras em Ciutee.

[xcii] Diferente nível de cultura que existe...Criança da cidade assiste televisão, percebe muitas coisa, está mais desenvolvidas no raciocínio. Não só em Português, criança do campo está um pouco atrasada. Navio, somente conhece navio no desenho.

[xciii] Disse, seu DAP eu não vou conseguir eu já habituei ao Português sem dificuldade nenhuma. Posso fazer uma pequena história. Ciutee como vou fazer? 'Vais aprendendo…vais aprendendo. Tive muitas dificuldades.

[xciv] Até mesmo agora não consigo dar uma aula sem pôr a língua portuguesa, até lembro depois de ter falado.

[xcv] As vantagens do bilingue é de facilitar a criança, cria facilidade na criança.

[xcvi] Por exemplo, se os alunos já aprenderam a operação de adição em L1, a aula seguinte pode ser dada em Português…Os alunos vão transferir as habilidades que aprenderam através da L1 para a L2; não têm de aprender a mesma coisa duas vezes. Desta maneira (pode ser 1 ou 2 dias a ensinar Matemática na L1, e então 1 ou 2 dias a rever os conceitos usando a L2) o professor introduz, gradualmente, o Português como meio de ensino.

[xcvii] reconhecer o Português como um dos factores de unificação e de consolidação da consciência nacional.

[xcviii] Claro, ainda continua quase, porque nas escolas ninguém fala mesmo oficialmente língua materna, significa que ainda quase proíbe.

[xcix] Veja estes estudantes, esses que não fizeram é por causa do Português, por causa do Português. Não entenderam o Português por falar em dialecto.

[c] "porque está a falar tanto? Com quem você mora?

[ci] O currículo local é uma componente do currículo nacional correspondente a 20% do total do tempo previsto para a leccionação de cada disciplina. Esta componente é constituída por conteúdos definidos localmente como sendo relevantes, para a integração da criança na sua comunidade.

[cii] nossa criança já não termina só por aprender a história de Portugal. Começa pela história da sua comunidade, começa a aprender a situação de sua comunidade.

[ciii] Heloísa: Por exemplo você é professor, sai de Maputo e vem aqui trabalhar com uma criança da primeira, você tem que se integrar naquilo porque senão não há de conseguir transmitir

alguma coisa que a criança conhece em língua local, com a língua oficial. Por isso é obrigatório até você saber um pouco, né?
Sandra: Mas não é obrigatório?
Heloísa: Tem 20% .
Sandra: Ah sim? O que que é isso?
Heloísa: Quando você está a dar a aula.
Sandra: Isso está estipulado onde?
Heloísa: Está no programa de ensino vem. Está no programa de ensino. Mesmo aqueles que tiveram capacitação de PCEB, né? Eh o que? Tou a esquecer o nome, pros que tiveram capacitação., 2004-2005 tiveram essa formação.
Sandra: É novo?
Heloísa: Sim, é novo. Por isso é que dão línguas bantu já nas formações.
Você quando estiver a dar, tem que calcular porque senão passa toda a aula a falar língua local. Sim, porque as crianças quando você está lá a trabalhar né? Vão obrigar que fale a língua local, não a língua oficial. Então você tem que saber articular dentro da aula e então para que não seja 100% a língua local, por isso que dão esses 20%.

[civ] Eu já não me distinguia que era negro, no lanche eu estava a ser convidados com eles.

[cv] Apesar do discurso anticolonial do centro e da FRELIMO, em geral, é impossível deixar de observar que o projetco socialista em Moçambique era acima de tudo mais «assimilacionista» do que os portugueses jamais se atreveriam a imaginar e é tentador sugerir que esta é uma das razões pelas quais a elite moçambicana considerava tão atractivo o programa socialista.

[cvi] para me salvar do perigo

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