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**LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY AND ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE OF
STUDENTS: THE CASES OF TANZANIA, NIGERIA AND MOZAMBIQUE**

GUID: xxxxxxxx

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the impact of language-in-education (LIE) policies in post-colonial contexts on the academic performance of students, focusing on Tanzania, Nigeria, and Mozambique. Using a comparative framework and situated within critical theory, the research identifies similarities and differences within each case, points out explanatory factors involved in shaping language policies in these countries. Factors such as language choices, government positions, resource constraints, and teacher training were considered, providing a comprehensive analysis of language policy formation and its impact on student success.

The findings emphasize the need to address teacher and student challenges, promote the use of native languages for students in both primary and secondary education, preserve linguistic diversity, and consider the standardization of indigenous languages. The research underscores the importance of tailored LIE policies, involving key stakeholders in decision-making processes, expanding the use of mother tongue or familiar languages in education, and monitoring policy implementation through regular evaluation. Future researchers are encouraged to consider the context-specific nature of LIE policies and conduct cross-country comparisons with attention to unique dynamics.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Throughout history, there have been issues with uniting multilingual societies under a single government. Today, there are only up to 200 independent states in the world, yet around 6,000-8,000 oral languages exist. This means that most countries are multilingual to some degree (Ricento, 2006). With multiple languages within a single state, deciding which language should be designated as the national one becomes a point of contention. In some cases, the language of the nation may not even be the mother tongue of the majority, such as in Ireland. May (2006) argues that the establishment of language hierarchies, where some languages are considered “majority” and others “minority,” is not a natural linguistic process in itself.

The choice of the language of instruction (LOI) in schools in countries which have large shares of populations not speaking the dominant national language is also a challenging task for education policymakers. UNESCO, for example, advocates for the multilingual approach in education, especially starting from primary school. In many post-colonial countries, there is a lack of recognition for the native languages, and the emphasis is given to the language of the past coloniser (UNESCO, 2021). Even in countries where the language of the dominant nation gets established, the languages of other minorities living there are often underrepresented in education (Marky, 2016; Tikly, 2016). This can lead to the suppression of native languages and the marginalisation of minority languages and their speakers.

Multilingualism in education in post-colonial countries is challenging to implement, because various institutional and cultural factors are involved. In addition to the chronic lack of resources, the provision of teaching in multiple languages (local, national, indigenous, as well as the language of past colonisers) requires a level of expertise that many teachers may not possess (Birgit Brock-Utne, 2010; Wiley et al., 2014). Finally, international development organizations and powerful donors push the agenda in a direction that does not always meet

the interest of students (Chimbutane, 2017; Johnson and Johnson, 2015; Brock-Utne, 2010).

The unique context of each post-colonial country should be considered when developing language policies, to ensure that they are practical, effective, and equitable. In this dissertation, I am comparing the language-in-education (LIE) policies in Mozambique, Nigeria and Tanzania to gain a deeper and systematical understanding of the broad range of factors that shape the LIE policy.

1.2 Research aims, objectives and methodology

This research aims to provide insights into the impact of these policies on academic performance and key explanatory factors and distinctive features shaping the relationship between LIE policies and educational outcomes in Tanzania, Mozambique and Nigeria.

To explore the topic, I identified the following research questions:

RQ1: How do LIE policies that prioritize using students' mother tongue (MT) or familiar language as the medium of instruction (MOI) impact academic performance in primary and secondary education in post-colonial countries with linguistic diversity?

RQ2: How do LIE policies that prioritize the language of the past coloniser impact academic performance in primary and secondary education in post-colonial countries with linguistic diversity?

The identified research questions have led to the establishment of the following objectives:

1. To investigate the relationship between LIE policies that prioritize the use of students' MT or familiar language and academic performance.
2. To assess the influence of LIE policies that prioritize the language of the past colonizer on academic performance in primary and secondary education.
3. To explore the potential benefits and challenges associated with these LIE policies.
4. To understand the factors that may influence the effectiveness of such policies in post-colonial countries with linguistic diversity.

Critical theory (McLaren and Giarelli, 1995) was chosen as the overarching theoretical basis to examine the power dynamics and social inequalities that shape the policies and their implementation, analyse how dominant language groups exert influence over decision-making processes and examine how language policies and practices reproduce existing social hierarchies.

In education, a critical social theory-oriented movement underscores the interaction between social systems and individuals, emphasizing their reciprocal impact and influence on each other, unveiling the contradictions present in social life (Leonardo, 2004). Critical theory also provides a lens through which to examine the impact of international development organizations and donors on the power dynamics involved in policy-making and implementation.

MSSD comparative framework is chosen as a complementary methodological toolkit. A comparative approach has already been applied in the research on language and education (Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat, 2017; Liu, 2019; Roumell Erichsen and Salajan, 2014). Language policies in African countries were also featured in comparative research by Arthur (2001), Odugu and Lemieux (2019) and Trudell (2010a; 2010b). A comparative analysis of different post-colonial contexts enabled me to identify common problems across different countries and those unique to each context.

Within the MSSD framework, key explanatory factors contributing to understanding the impact of LIE policies are the primary object of the study. Other explanatory factors include the MOI in primary and secondary schools, the pedagogical approaches employed in classroom, the underlying structures and ideologies related to ethnic diversity, language distribution, language policies, and governance, and lastly cultural beliefs regarding language and identity. The outcomes of interest are the academic performance of students, measured through indicators such as literacy rates, primary and secondary school attendance, and completion rates.

The chosen case studies for this dissertation are Tanzania, Nigeria and Mozambique, based on their shared history of being ruled or controlled by other imperial powers and gaining independence in the 20th century. The LIE policies in these countries are complex, given the ethnic and linguistic diversity within these countries. Debates around the role of the languages of the previous colonisers in education are also very acute.

1.3 Research value

Studying LIE policies in post-colonial contexts has a significant research value as language policies play a crucial role in shaping the educational outcomes of students (Gándara and Rumberger, 2009), as well as social and economic opportunities for individuals and communities (Shoba and Chimbutane, 2015). Within the African context, discussions surrounding language and education are highly contentious, especially for primary education (Trudell, 2016). In light of these ongoing debates, this dissertation aims to make a meaningful contribution by providing valuable analysis that can enrich the discourse surrounding language and education.

In settings marked by cultural and linguistic diversity, it is advisable to give importance to both the mother tongue (MT) or first language (L1) and the second language of instruction (L2) in LIE (Ssebbunga-Masembe et al., 2015). Research suggests that attempts to assimilate linguistic minority children into the dominant language can hinder their intellectual development and limit educational opportunities (Webb, 1999). It is beneficial for children from minority language backgrounds to participate in bilingual programs prioritizing the development of their MT to facilitate successful transfer to L2 (Ssebbunga-Masembe et al., 2015). However, political and ideological influences can complicate the implementation of LIE policies, making it crucial to address these factors and align policy practices with the needs of linguistically diverse learners (Agbozo and Rescue, 2021; Trudell, 2016).

Given the complex interplay of political factors, pedagogy, and parental preferences, further research is necessary to understand the impact of specific LIE policies on academic performance in post-colonial multilingual countries. Bridging this existing research gap will contribute to the development of effective policies promoting linguistic diversity, educational equity, and improved academic outcomes.

All cases chosen share a similar set of systemic issues, yet there are also important differences (language distribution geographically, language presence in education and the political factors involved). Thus, a comparative case study allows me to see the similarities and crucial differences (Porta, 2008), as well as previously unstudied patterns. By examining the LIE policies of Tanzania,

Mozambique, and Nigeria, this research provides insights into the challenges and opportunities associated with LIE policies in post-colonial contexts, as well as the role of external and internal factors in shaping them. The findings will inform policy development and decision-making in countries in other post-colonial contexts facing similar challenges around LIE policies.

1.4 Dissertation structure

In this dissertation, the research questions are explored first, with an overview of relevant academic literature, current debates and past attempts to analyse LIE policy design and implementation in post-colonial contexts (Chapter 2).

It is then followed by the methodological overview of the research (Chapter 3). This chapter also covers the approaches to data collection and analysis and further insights into the choice of cases.

Chapter 4 explores various aspects related to LIE policies in Tanzania, Nigeria and Mozambique. It delves into the government's stance on language, planning for vernacular languages and investigates the influence of donor agencies in shaping LIE policies. Furthermore, the chapter considers factors such as resource constraints, teacher training, parental attitudes and external factors ultimately impact students' academic success. By exploring these multifaceted elements, the chapter aims to provide valuable insights into the complexities of LIE policies and their implications for educational outcomes.

The final chapter serves as the conclusion, offering a concise recapitulation of the principal findings that have emerged throughout the study. Additionally, this section puts forth policy suggestions for policymakers.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.1 Language and Public Policy: A Theoretical Overview

The study of language policy in education and language management has undergone significant theoretical evolution since the 20th century. While the field boasts a variety of theoretical developments and conceptual frameworks, the interdisciplinary nature of the field is responsible for its fragmentation (Ricento, 2006, p. 17).

The studies on language policy went through certain stages (Ricento, 2000). Initially, language planning, also known as “corpus planning,” involved manipulating the forms of a language, i.e., switching between different alphabets. Kloss and Verdoot (1969) expanded this concept by introducing “status planning,” which focuses on macro-level public policy issues, such as selecting official languages in multilingual nations, LOI in schools, and language use in the media. The classical period in the 1960s was also characterized by the rapid emergence of new independent post-colonial states, which determined the growing demand for the study of language policy from policy practitioners.

In the 1970s, under the influence of post-structuralism (Johnson, 2013, pp. 32-33), the emergence of critical linguistics gave new impetus to the study and further conceptualization of language planning. The notion of power was central to the investigation of how linguistic action is shaped in society, while the interest in exploring social, political and ideological components of language planning increased among linguists and policy researchers (Johnson, 2013, p.33).

Ruiz's differentiation between discourse and power plays a pivotal role in critical theory and critical discourse analysis. Within critical language policy (CLP), it is emphasized that language policies' discourse can establish dominant modes of thinking, behaving, and educating, while simultaneously constraining alternative perspectives (Ruiz, 1984). One of the most influential founders of CLP, James Tollefson, distinguished between the neo-classical approach (dominated by the focus on the individual) and the historical-structural approach (dominated by the focus on the socio-historical factors shaping language policy). The latter approach later transformed into the key element of CLP.

CLP in Tollefson's conceptualization is still tightly connected with Bourdieu's (1991) writing on language and its symbolic power and Foucauldian concept of governmentality, which sees government not as a singular source of power, but rather a combination of governance of the state, governance within social institutions and governance of individuals (Foucault, 1982, p.790). This gave further rise to the debates about the role of power and agency regarding the formation of language policies, particularly regarding education.

Some researchers emphasized that power is not exclusively given to the state. For example, Cooper (1989, p.164) took an alternative route compared to his predecessors and pointed out that activities of language policy formation need to be viewed as the ones moving both upwards and downwards. Educators also can significantly influence language policy process, while their role is often overlooked and "undertheorized" in academic literature (García and Menken, 2010, p. 251).

2.2 Language Policy and Education: Terminological Overview

The objective of this research is to provide insights into the impact of different language policies on academic performance of students and highlight the explanatory factors shaping the relationship between language policies and educational outcomes. Before discussing the existing state of studies on language policy and education, it is necessary to address the controversy around the usage of terms in the field.

The obscure understanding of the term "language policy" (LP) itself (Spolsky, 2017) is illustrative of the lack of consensus in the academic literature on the usage of the term. Spolsky (2017) suggests differentiating between LP as a field and LP as a normative document produced as a part of language management (or language planning). Meanwhile, the researcher views language management as a "subfield of linguistics relevant to education" (Spolsky, 2017, p.10). Johnson (2013) provided a multi-component definition of language policy, which includes official regulations; unofficial mechanisms, i.e., language beliefs and practices constructed and maintained in certain social contexts or communities; "policy as a verb" meaning the diversity of agents impacting the formation of language policy; normative texts and discourses affected by specific context (p. 9).

Researchers also often adopt the compound term language policy and planning (LPP) (May and Hornberger, 2008). When it comes to education, Kaplan and Baldauf apply the term "language-in-education planning" (1997, p.122). The term is thus often used to study how minority languages can be marginalized in school settings and policies regarding indigenous languages in education. It is applicable in multilingual and multiethnic contexts, particularly in post-colonial countries where the choice of LOI is often an uneasy choice between vernacular, national and/or the language of past colonizers.

García and Menken (2010, p. 254) introduce "language education policy" (LEP) as decisions to go beyond language-specific matters but may not explicitly consider official language policy. LEP primarily concerns itself with the selection of language(s) for instruction (LOI) (Hancock, 2014). Meanwhile, Johnson (2013) defines "educational language policy" as both "official and unofficial policies created across multiple layers and institutional contexts [...] that impact language use in classrooms and schools" (p.54).

It can be concluded that LEP is concerned with the choice of languages to learn or the mode of their instruction when the primary LOI in the state is not questioned. Language-in-education (LIE) policy deals with the choice, teaching and effectiveness of LOI given the complications of sociocultural and political context. "Educational LPP" or "LPP in education" is an overarching term addressing both issues including the study of institutional factors, barriers and agents affecting the policy formation and implementation.

2.3. Education, Language Policy, and Planning in Post-Colonial Contexts

The study of LIE policy¹ in post-colonial contexts is a critical and complex area in language education (Lubinda, 2011; Wolff, 2017). Of particular contention is the selection of multilingual educational language policy, which involves considering the promotion of local or vernacular languages in contrast to prioritizing languages of past colonizers. Researchers analyze individual cases

¹ In this research, the term "language-in-education (LIE) policy" is preferred to encompass the broader scope of language policies that are specifically designed and implemented within educational contexts. LIE policy is defined as the set of guidelines, principles, and practices that govern the use and role of languages in educational settings. It involves decisions related to the language(s) of instruction, curriculum development, teacher training, and other language-related aspects within the education system.

to understand how these societies have formulated language policies and practices fostering multilingualism and embrace linguistic diversity in education. In African contexts, there is a prevailing belief that progress can only be achieved with European languages inherited from colonial history while African languages are viewed as less influential in driving modernization and advancement (Chimbutane, 2017, p. 356).

Another important area of research is the role of language ideologies in shaping educational LIE in post-colonial contexts. Language ideologies are defined as “the beliefs, attitudes, and values that people hold about languages and their speakers” (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994). These ideologies can influence language policy and planning, including decisions about which languages to teach in schools and how they are taught.

A crucial difference between most post-colonial countries and the European context is that European nation-states were predominantly shaped around single “national languages”. Coulmas (1988) highlights that the European ideal of “one nation, one language” cannot be directly applied to developing countries, especially in regions like Asia, Africa, and the Pacific. The notion that each nation has a single language clashes with the diverse demographic and political situations in these regions (p. 13). Additionally, language can serve both unifying and separatist purposes (Kelman, 1971, p. 21). The ideology of linguistic assimilation, which places one language (or the language of a dominant ethnic majority) above others risks evoking feelings of revivalism in other minorities (Gill, 2014, p. 25).

Researchers focusing on the situation in post-colonial space also discuss LIE policies in the context of development and globalization. Bamgbose (2014) contends that language and culture are crucial components for development and maintain that the disregard for African languages is one of the primary causes of the inadequacy of several continental and global development initiatives in Africa. Likewise, Tikly (2016) contends that the presence of inconsistent LIE policies can have adverse effects on the development of linguistic abilities among marginalized groups. Consequently, this hampers other educational achievements, including basic literacy and numeracy.

Tikly (2016) also criticizes two dominant approaches for understanding LIE policy which are instrumentalist and rights-based approaches. The

instrumentalist approach perceives language as a contributing factor to national development, often led by top-down state governance, reinforcing the significance of global languages for national progress. On the other hand, the rights-based approach, supported by UN agencies like UNESCO, considers LIE policy as crucial for achieving equal rights for disadvantaged and marginalized populations. In postcolonial developing countries, the practical implementation of a strong bilingual approach may not align with what is outlined in policy. To address this, an informed public dialogue on the use of MT or L1 versus a global language in early schooling, is necessary (Tollefson, 2013; Tikly, 2016).

Going back to the conceptual debate among language policy researchers regarding the plethora of agents affecting a certain policy, recent studies tend to agree that LIE policies are often affected by a wide range of institutions and agents, particularly in multilingual developing countries (Trudell, 2010b; Liddicoat and Baldauf, 2008). Spolsky (2017) indicates that the policy is affected both by regional organizations and national governments, their respective ministries, local governments, school administrators, teachers, parental committees, private sector, religious sector, and media can influence school language policy, as well (p. 3). Such a multilevel approach can be compared to the metaphor of “unpeeling the onion” involving various agents and factors influencing LIE policy (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996).

In this regard, the role of past colonizer states and development agencies is significantly understudied, since in the context of newly-born states, these agents possess a significant degree of influence. Their impact has only recently been mentioned in some of the studies, without profound conceptualization, yet policy decisions regarding LOI in many such countries are often influenced by various forms of international “aid” and foreign “expertise” (Liyanage, 2009, p. 734; Alidou, 2004).

For instance, Chimbutane (2017) discussed the role of international development organizations as “language policy arbiters” in Mozambique and Tanzania. Postcolonial theorist, Mazrui (2000), wrote how in the case of Tanzania the World Bank followed double standards in the official narrative in favour of Kiswahili and de-facto funding support for English and LOI in primary and secondary schools. Brock-Utne (2010) raises similar concerns, emphasizing that British and French donors utilize development aid to promote their languages as

LOI in African schools. Teachers are also forced to teach in English without a sufficient level which leads to the ubiquitous use of code-switching (Brock-Utne, 2010; Wiley et al., 2014).

The impact of different language policies on students' academic performance in developing countries with linguistic diversity has been a subject of considerable research and scholarly debate, with the underrepresentation of minority languages in education being a common issue (Marky, 2016; Tikly, 2016). LIE policies prioritizing both the MT and L1/L2 have been widely acknowledged (Ssebunga-Masembe et al., 2015). Research suggests that attempts to assimilate linguistic minority children into the dominant language, such as English, can hinder their intellectual development and limit educational opportunities (Webb, 1999). Bilingual children need to achieve a certain level of proficiency in their L1 in order to avoid cognitive disadvantages before transitioning to using L2 or L3 (Cummins and Swain, 2014).

Moreover, children from minority language backgrounds benefit from bilingual programs that prioritize the development of their MT (Ssebunga-Masembe et al., 2015). The use of the MT in early schooling positively contributes to the acquisition of English language skills, emphasizing the importance of establishing a solid foundation in L1 for successful transfer to the L2 (Njogu, 2015; Sakwa, Thuku Ndichu and Kaboro, 2019; Owu-Ewie, 2006). However, there is a preference for English as the LOI among learners and parents during the Foundation Phase, necessitating a campaign to change attitudes and raise awareness about the vital role of the MT in the early years of schooling (Phindane, 2015).

LIE policies in education are also strongly shaped by political and ideological factors, rendering language issues in education highly political and subject to disputes (Agbozo and Rescue, 2021; Ssebunga-Masembe et al., 2015). Bilingual education as an alternative may not receive universal support from influential government decision-makers, especially within the education sector (Ssebunga-Masembe et al., 2015). Discrepancies between national language policies and classroom practices further undermine the intended impact of local language policies, particularly in the early primary grades (Trudell, 2016). On the international front, evidence from various countries indicates that using MT as MOI can substantially decrease barriers to accessing equitable education

(Brock-Utne, 2010; Tollefson and Tsui, 2014). Despite the revitalization of local languages in some regions, African countries tend to neglect the inclusion of African languages in education due to concerns about unity and perceived high costs (Muzoora, Terry and Asiimwe, 2014).

In conclusion, the study of the LIE policy in post-colonial countries is a complex and multifaceted area of research. Given the political and social context, the large number of ethnic and language minorities, the persistent inequality issues, the need to address low literacy rates, and the imperative to improve the accessibility and quality of education, there is a growing need to address the understanding of different factors involved in shaping the LIE policy, which ultimately impacts the academic performance of students.

Chapter 3. Methodology

Studying the impact of LIE policies in post-colonial multilingual countries and their influence on academic performance is crucial due to the persisting relevance of this research gap and the lack of consensus on the effects of different LIEP on students in such countries. Existing language policies in education often disregard the realities and cost individual learners and their societies, leading to stagnant educational outcomes and worsening literacy and educational achievement in Africa (Muzoora, Terry and Asiimwe, 2014).

In this comparative policy research, LIE policies are explored in Mozambique, Tanzania and Nigeria using Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD). The study delves into two core research questions concerning LIE policies in post-colonial countries with linguistic diversity. The first question investigates the effects of prioritizing students' MT or familiar language as the MOI on academic performance in primary and secondary education. The second question explores the impact of LIE policies that emphasize the language of the past colonizer on academic performance in similar educational contexts.

This research employs a secondary data analysis approach to examine the selected cases. Secondary data, consisting of existing data collected by other researchers or organizations for different purposes, is utilized as the primary source of information. By drawing upon this secondary data, the research aims to gain insights and derive meaningful conclusions regarding the research question at hand.

3.1 Methodology Overview

3.1.1 Critical theory

The study I have identified uses a comparative framework and is situated within the critical theory paradigm. Critical theory aims to understand and criticize social structures, power dynamics, and ideologies that create inequalities and injustices in society. It focuses on examining the social, political, and economic factors shaping and perpetuating these inequalities (McLaren and Giarelli, 1995; Agger, 2006). Postcolonialism, situated within critical theory alongside

perspectives such as post-structuralism, feminism, and psychoanalysis (Ghandi, 1998; Spencer, 2010). Operating primarily as a mode of critique, postcolonialism investigates the specific legacies and mechanisms of imperialism, often refraining from providing prescriptive solutions (Ingram, 2018).

Critics point out several limitations and challenges faced by critical theory. Firstly, theory became too entangled in theoretical debates, diverting attention from practical solutions to concrete political problems (Hamati-Ataya, 2012). Furthermore, it faced criticism for being disconnected from the present historical context (Wight, 2018), discussing social justice issues in abstract terms, and overlooking the cultural complexities of particular political issues (Bowers, 1993). To address this, this research looks into the cultural factors involved, which is of particular importance in the debates around LIE policies in highly multilingual and multi-ethnic societies.

This research's questions and hypotheses specifically address the impact of LIE policies on academic performance, which can be seen as a critical examination of the educational system and its potential to reproduce or disrupt power imbalances. To investigate the key explanatory factors and outcomes associated with academic performance, I aim to also uncover the underlying power dynamics and socio-political influences that shape educational opportunities. By adopting a critical perspective, the study aims to analyze the social structures, power dynamics, and ideologies that contribute to educational inequalities and injustices. This critical lens allows for an examination of the specific legacies and mechanisms of imperialism, shedding light on the complexities and power dynamics surrounding LIE policies.

While critical theory has faced some criticisms, such as its engagement in theoretical debates and disconnection from the contemporary historical context, these limitations are acknowledged and addressed in this research. Cultural factors are considered to provide a nuanced understanding of LIE policy debates in diverse societies. The study adopts the MSSD framework to compare and analyse LIE policies, uncovering underlying structures and mechanisms contributing to educational inequalities. By investigating the impact of these policies on academic performance, the research critically examines the educational system's role in perpetuating or challenging power imbalances.

3.1.2 Comparative study

In an MSSD framework, the focus is on the correspondence between the dependent and independent variables on the basis of their variation across the cases under review (Pennings, Keman and Kleinnijenhuis, 2011). The MSSD approach assumes that the context across all the cases under review is (more or less) identical. This entails factors such as a single geographical area, a shared historical past of colonization, a similar level of linguistic and ethnic diversity within society, and the continued influence of the language of the past colonizer in both socio-political life and education. Meanwhile, looking into the outcomes produced by key explanatory factors is the main focus of the comparison. The independent variable should vary (Agbozo and Rescue, 2021).

In this research, the case features considered are the language of the past colonizer and the modern linguistic landscape of the countries being studied. The explanatory factors identified within the MSSD framework include: the MOI in primary and secondary schools, which determines the medium through which education is delivered; pedagogical approaches, encompassing teaching methods and strategies employed in the classroom, play a crucial role in shaping the learning experience; underlying structures and ideologies, including social, political, and cultural factors, influencing LIE policies (based on critical theory). These factors can encompass ethnic diversity, language distribution, language policies and governance, and cultural beliefs regarding language and identity among parents, communities and society at large.

The outcomes examined within this framework are centred around the academic performance of students. They are identified using the review of existing studies and available quantitative indicators, such as literacy rates and primary and secondary school attendance and completion rates. These indicators provide insight into the effectiveness and impact of LIE policies on educational outcomes over the course of time.

By considering these theoretical foundations, features, key explanatory factors, and outcomes, the MSSD framework offers a structured approach to analyse the complex dynamics and factors influencing LIE policies their implementation and outcomes in post-colonial countries with linguistic diversity.

3.2 Case Choice

The cases for this comparative study include Tanzania, Nigeria, and Mozambique. All three countries have a history of colonization and continue to grapple with the influence of the language of the past colonizer in their political and educational spheres. This commonality allows for a comparative analysis of the impact of colonial legacies on LIE policies. Additionally, these countries exhibit linguistic diversity (Simons and Fennig, 2018; Adebija, 2004; Lopes, 1998), with multiple languages spoken within their borders, providing a rich context to explore language policy implementation.

While these cases share certain features, they also differ in significant ways. Tanzania stands out for its use of Swahili as a national language, alongside English and local languages (Mohr, 2018), whereas Nigeria has a complex linguistic landscape with English, local languages, and Nigerian Pidgin English (Adebija, 2004). Mozambique's primary LOI is Portuguese, while the language itself serves as the language of national unity, most widely spoken by the population (Chimbutane, 2017). These variations present an opportunity to analyze the effects of different language policies on educational outcomes.

As for academic performance, each country has distinct indicators and outcomes. For example, Tanzania has faced challenges with literacy rates and primary school completion (Tibategeza and du Plessis, 2018), while Nigeria grapples with issues of educational access and quality (Salami, 2004). Mozambique officials have focused on addressing language diversity and national identity through its language policies (Adebija, 2004). By comparing these outcomes, it becomes possible to identify the factors contributing to differences or similarities in academic performance across the cases.

3.3 Research limitations

Limitations should be taken into account when interpreting the findings. Firstly, the scope of the study is limited to post-colonial countries with linguistic diversity, which may restrict the generalizability of the research to other educational systems or regions. Additionally, the selection of case studies may introduce bias, as it may not represent the full range of post-colonial countries with linguistic diversity. Furthermore, data availability and reliability could pose

challenges, as comprehensive and reliable data on LIE policies and academic performance may be limited, potentially impacting the depth and accuracy of the analysis.

Establishing direct causal relationships between LIE policies and academic performance can also be challenging because of the complex nature of educational systems and the multitude of factors that influence student outcomes. Moreover, time constraints may limit the study's ability to provide an in-depth exploration of the long-term effects of the policies on academic performance. Finally, the chosen methodology, relying solely on secondary data analysis, may overlook valuable insights that could have been gained through interviews, surveys, classroom observations, and longitudinal studies.

To address the limitations of this study, I am employing a diverse case selection. Most studies on LIE policies either focus on single-case analysis (e.g., Chimbutane, 2017; Liyanage, 2009; Tibategeza and du Plessis, 2012; Diallo, 2011; Khader, 2019, etc.) or explore the topic in multi-case studies across the whole region without a specific comparative framework in mind (Trudell, 2016; Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2018). By including countries with different colonial powers and socio-political contexts upon independence, the study aims to strengthen the generalizability of the findings.

This study is based on the interpretive approach. To ensure reliable and comprehensive data use, I utilize multiple sources such as government reports, academic studies, and data from educational institutions. This enables the triangulation of information, addressing limitations related to data availability and reliability. To gain a nuanced understanding of LIE policies, contextual analysis is included in a comparative framework. By considering external factors such as socioeconomic conditions and historical legacies, the study aims to uncover the complex influences shaping these policies, which is an advantage over studies relying on quantitative data within a single timeframe.

3.4 Data Collection and Analysis

The search strategy involves academic databases (e.g., UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Our World in Data), educational journals (e.g., Language Matters, Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, Language and Education, Universal Journal of Educational Research), policy documents, official

state reports, reports of UN agencies and other relevant sources. The search is conducted using key terms, such as *language-in-education policy*, *post-colonial countries*, *linguistic diversity*, *academic performance*, *language policy*, *the language of instruction*, *the national language*, and *indigenous languages*. Selecting studies that specifically focus on LIE policies in countries identified for the study, or studies looking at multiple countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and Eastern Africa. Including studies both from researchers in the countries identified and international researchers balances out the literature review.

Certain sources may be excluded to ensure the data collected aligns with the research goals. For example, information on cases of countries that are in the same region but were not selected for comparison. Research and results from the 1990s and earlier while not being totally excluded, are reviewed on a case-by-case basis with preference given to more recent sources.

Information on the official position of the government is also extracted from official documents (constitutions, education regulations, laws, etc). However, given the discrepancy between government position and policy implementation, these shall be evaluated against available empirical studies, reports of NGOs and development agencies, other relevant studies, etc.

The comparative analysis method chosen for this research involves systematically examining and contrasting the literature and empirical studies on Tanzania, Nigeria and Mozambique to identify similarities, differences, or unique aspects. I analyse the literature and findings from different countries, by following the comparative framework.

The framework analysis method involves using a specific theoretical framework or conceptual model to guide your analysis of the literature. In this research, I have identified the MSSD framework that incorporates explanatory factors such as LOI, pedagogical approaches, and underlying structures and ideologies that influence LIE policies. By using this framework, I structure the understanding of the literature and interpret the findings in a consistent and organized manner.

To apply these methods in practice, the following steps are taken: conducting a comprehensive literature review on LIE policies and their impact on academic performance in the chosen countries; systematically comparing the literature across the selected countries, examining the LIE policies, academic

performance indicators, and any other relevant factors; identifying similarities, differences, and patterns that emerge; applying the explanatory factors within the framework to categorize and interpret the findings from each country; synthesizing the findings from the comparative analysis and framework analysis; discussing the similarities, differences, and trends in relation to the research questions.

3.5 Ethical considerations

The present study entails a secondary-based research design, thereby presenting minimal risks to its participants. To be mindful of potential biases in the secondary data sources that I use and strive for objectivity in my analysis and interpretation, I openly acknowledge any limitations or biases inherent in the data. Respect for cultural and linguistic diversity is achieved by avoiding generalizations or stereotypes and aiming for a nuanced understanding of the specific contexts in which the research by other experts was produced.

As for inclusive representation, I actively incorporate diverse perspectives and voices from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, citing a wide range of sources that reflect the diversity of viewpoints within each country. Lastly, I engage with materials from local experts, scholars, or community members who possess in-depth knowledge of the cultural and linguistic dynamics within the chosen countries, as well as empirical studies involving local stakeholders. These insights and perspectives contribute to a more comprehensive and accurate interpretation of the data, helping to avoid misinterpretations or misrepresentations.

Chapter 4. Data Analysis and Discussion

The LIE policies implemented in post-colonial countries with linguistic diversity play a crucial role in shaping the academic performance of students in primary and secondary education. This chapter examines the relationship between LIE policies and student performance in the specific cases of Tanzania, Nigeria, and Mozambique. By evaluating each case against key features and explanatory factors, insights are gained regarding the impact of language policies on students' academic outcomes.

The MSSD comparative framework explained in the previous chapter guides the analysis of how these policies influence students' academic performance and shed light on the broader set of factors involved in shaping the policies and their impact on students. To conduct this investigation, I draw upon existing research and literature on LIE policies and their effects on student outcomes.

Furthermore, this chapter delves into the discussion of common and distinct features observed across the three countries. Comparative research allows us to identify patterns and systemic factors that shape LIE policies and their subsequent impact on students' academic performance. Through the examination of both similarities and differences, a comprehensive understanding of the intricate relationship between language policies and educational outcomes is attained.

4.1 Language, language policy and underlying features

4.1.1 Tanzania

Tanzania is a multilingual country with a rich linguistic diversity. There are approximately between 125 to 150 indigenous languages spoken in Tanzania, apart from English (Simons and Fennig, 2018; Tibategeza and du Plessis, 2012). Tanzania has a triglossic language situation, with Kiswahili as the national language, English as the official language, and a variety of indigenous languages.

The dominant position of English in Tanzania is based on a colonial ideology, which still views English as the language of civilization and progress (Neke, 2005).

During the colonial era, the colonial powers recognized Kiswahili as a suitable lingua franca for the entire East Africa region. Kiswahili played a significant role in the struggle for independence due to its widespread use. After gaining independence, Tanzanian government adopted Kiswahili as the national language and actively promoted it, especially during the Ujamaa na Kujitegemea (Socialism and Self-reliance) period. Since the majority of Tanzanian languages are Bantu-based, Kiswahili is generally easily acquired by the wider population (Barrett, 1994).

However, English has also been promoted as a language of education and development. In 1995, the government issued the Education and Training Policy that stated that English would be the MOI in secondary schools and universities. In 1997, the government also issued the Cultural Policy, which states that Kiswahili is the national language, and that English is an official language. Nonetheless, the policy fails to explicitly state which language should serve as the MOI in schools (*The Cultural Policy (Sera ya Utamaduni)*, 1997). This has led to confusion and inconsistency in language use in the education system.

Roemer (2023) argues that the language policy in Tanzania is a reflection of the country's history and its current political and economic situation. He notes that the socialist policies of Julius Nyerere, who ruled Tanzania from 1964 to 1985, promoted Kiswahili as a language of national unity and development. However, after Nyerere's death, the government shifted its focus to economic development and began to promote English as a language of international trade and investment. This could also be attributed to the failings in domestic policies in addition to external factors, such as the war with Uganda in 1978, oils crises of the 1970s and the famine of early 1980s (Barrett, 1994).

The current language policy in Tanzania is a compromise between two competing ideologies. Kiswahili is still the national language, but English is increasingly being used in education and other areas of public life. However, as Swilla (2009, p. 7) highlights, such language policies are crafted to perpetuate the privileges of those in authority. She advocates for the government to explicitly declare both English and Kiswahili as languages of education. The language education policy in Tanzania aims to produce young people who are primarily

English speakers and secondarily members of Tanzanian society (Roy-Campbell and Qorro, 1997, p. 115). However, this goal faces challenges as the majority of Tanzanians receive only primary school education (Neke, 2005).

Various policies and official pronouncements have contributed to advancing the role Kiswahili in Tanzania. These initiatives encompassed adopting Kiswahili as the national language in 1962 and proclaiming it the official language of the government in 1967 (Tibategeza and du Plessis, 2012). Despite these measures, English has persisted as the MOI at the post-primary level (Tibategeza and du Plessis, 2012). The latest language policy, the Education and Training Policy, was published in 2014 and reportedly put into effect in 2015 (Mohr, 2018), mandating the use of Kiswahili as the MOI across all levels of education and training.

Scholars have extensively discussed language policy and English language teaching (ELT) in Tanzania. Topics have included language attitudes, lack of English-language proficiency, and the negative impact of the policy on learning (Afitska et al., 2012; Brock-Utne, 2006, 2007; Vuzo, 2021). Some have labeled the system as “miseducation” (Ngonyani, 1997), while others have referred to it as “subtractive bilingualism” (Tibategeza and du Plessis, 2012). The debate over introducing Kiswahili as the MOI in Tanzania involves various perspectives. Critics contend that the promotion of Kiswahili is primarily motivated by nationalistic and cultural factors rather than pedagogical considerations (Rubagumya, 1986). On the other hand, proponents of Kiswahili often neglect the arguments associated with its applicability in pedagogical contexts and instead assume its advantages (Barrett, 1994).

The sociolinguistic context in Tanzania reinforces the ongoing usage of Kiswahili as a language of unity, as it is progressively becoming the primary language for urban children (Brock-Utne, 2006). While some may label indigenous languages as “minority languages,” a counterargument suggests that English is spoken by no more than 5% of the population and primarily by higher social classes (Brock-Utne and Qorro, 2015; Mohr, 2018). In contrast, Kiswahili is a widely understood and spoken language in Tanzania. It is extensively used in various contexts, e.g., newspapers or national institutions (Brock-Utne, 2006).

English enjoys a privileged position in Tanzania, perceived as a symbol of social status and influence among many Tanzanians (Roemer, 2023). The

continuation of English as a MOI favors the elite, as their children are often more proficient in this language. With the expansion of secondary schools and an increasing number of individuals vying for the same job opportunities, English becomes crucial in maintaining the position of the privileged. English serves as a gate-keeping device that ensures a significant number of students fail each year (Barrett, 1994).

However, recent studies indicate changing attitudes towards English, with positive perceptions no longer limited to the elites but extending to younger generations (Mohr, 2018). The language situation in Tanzania reflects the acquisition of vernacular languages at home, the use of Kiswahili for national communication, and the dominance of English in higher education, the judiciary, diplomacy, and international trade (Barrett, 1994). The view of English as linked to education, knowledge, progress, and modernity has resulted in a hierarchical classification of languages, where English is considered superior and advanced, while Kiswahili is often viewed negatively and deemed insufficient for education (Neke, 2005). Consequently, transitioning to Kiswahili as the MOI in secondary education needs to challenge prevailing monolingual ideologies.

4.1.2 Nigeria

Nigeria's linguistic landscape is incredibly diverse, boasting an astonishing number of over 450 languages (Adegbija, 2004). The Nigerian Federal Government acknowledges the existence of 774 regional governments throughout the country (Adegbija, 2004). These local governments are home to Nigerian indigenous languages, which can be classified into three language families: Niger-Kordofanian, Afro-Asiatic, and Nilo-Saharan (Agheyisi, 1984).

The language policies in Nigeria have a historical context rooted in the colonial era, which still influences the educational system today (Adegbija, 2004). The country underwent significant administrative changes with the creation of states in 1967 and subsequent restructuring in 1976, leading to the current nineteen-state system (Agheyisi, 1984). These changes impacted the language dynamics within Nigeria.

However, a significant number of these languages lack standardized writing systems, with over half of them having no written form (Adegbija, 2004). The constitutional recognition of three major Nigerian languages (Yoruba, Hausa,

and Igbo), sets a framework for language planning efforts. The National Policy on Education (NPE) plays a crucial role as a comprehensive document addressing language policy and planning in Nigeria, despite the absence of a specific "language planning legislation document" (Adegbija, 2004).

Within language policies in Nigeria, two main approaches stand out: the "mother tongue medium policy" (MTM) and the "multilingual policy," both of which implicitly emphasize the value of ecolinguistic diversity (Adegbija, 2004). The Nigerian Constitution recognizes English as the official language and advocates for Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo as co-official languages. Indigenous languages are initially used in education, but later transition to English (Mbah, 2012). There is also an encouragement to designate specific indigenous languages as co-official languages (Adegbija, 2004). However, policy attention is mainly directed towards English and major languages, resulting in insufficient planning for many minority languages. This neglect puts these languages at risk of language loss or extinction.

The Nigerian government has implemented various strategies to promote literacy, including the Universal Basic Education policy announced by President Olusegun Obasanjo in 1999. The objective of this policy is to offer high-quality and equitable basic education, resulting in a notable improvement in the overall literacy rate in Nigeria. To accomplish this aim, USAID introduced the Literacy Enhancement Assistance Programme (LEAP) in 2001, focused on enhancing literacy and numeracy outcomes for Nigerian students up to Grade Six (Adegbija, 2004).

The language policy in Nigeria, known as the "other tongue" policy, is part of the National Policy on Education of 1977/1989. This policy advocates for the learning of Hausa, Igbo or Yoruba alongside the individual's MT. However, it has faced criticism for assuming that the dominant language can effectively address communication challenges in multilingual societies. Additionally, it is perceived as a way to promote national unity by imposing the policy on non-members of the major language groups, unintentionally reinforcing the dominance of these ethnic groups and perpetuating exclusionary practices and inequalities (Salami, 2004).

Nigeria's language and education policies have had significant ramifications on the usage and status of different languages in the country. The Universal Basic Education policy's implementation has positively impacted the

overall literacy rate (Adegbija, 2004). Nonetheless, a discrepancy emerges when comparing this policy with the practices of the elites, who favor private nursery schools that prioritize early English exposure for their children. These elites believe that English immersion from an early age offers better opportunities for social mobility and educational success compared to learning in the indigenous languages (Adegbija, 2004). There are individuals who lack fluency in their native languages and struggle to communicate orally in those languages, particularly in official settings. As a result, there has been a noticeable transition from the use of indigenous languages to English in official domains (p. 239).

In the highly multilingual states of Nigeria, where indigenous lingua francas are not widespread, Pidgin English has emerged as a viable communication medium, particularly among the urban population (Agheyisi, 1984). It complements English in meeting communication needs. Nigerian Pidgin English, although not officially recognized, coexists alongside English and indigenous languages, serving as a significant grassroots language among people of low social status (Adegbija, 2004).

English has attained the position of a second language in Nigeria owing to its functional importance, official predominance, and role as a national lingua franca (Adegbija, 2004). It is recognized as one of the official languages in the constitution, alongside Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo. Nevertheless, despite its official status, English is spoken by only half of the Nigerian population (Oxford English Dictionary, 2022), with only 10 percent using it as their first language (Campbell, 2020). In contrast, Hausa and Yoruba have larger speaker populations, while Igbo is spoken predominantly in specific south-eastern states (Adegbija, 2004).

The impact of the internet and the prevalence of English as MOI, coupled with the limited institutional support for indigenous languages, led to a decline in the use and preservation of these languages (Adegbija, 2004). For example, in Ogu-speaking communities, the language policy has not been fully implemented, and English and Yorùbá remained as MOI instead of the native Ogu language. This has contributed to the gradual disappearance of the Ogu people and their cultural heritage (Senayon, 2021).

Although policymakers expect the indigenous languages to be used for fostering unity, in practice, they are primarily regionally based (Adegbija, 2004). Nigeria's linguistic landscape also includes various dialects within indigenous

languages, creating a naturally graded hierarchical structure for their usage at different levels of society. The language policies in Nigeria have been influenced by negative attitudes towards indigenous languages, a strong bias towards English, and elite domination in policy-making. English language promotion in Nigeria has been also heavily influenced by external actors such as the British Council, BBC, CNN, VOA, etc. (p. 225). As a result of these factors, a significant portion of the population has been excluded from participating in national affairs, leading to a transition from indigenous languages to English, even in official settings.

4.1.3 Mozambique

Mozambique exhibits significant linguistic diversity, making it challenging to analyze language classification based on concepts such as large-majority and small-minority. Emakhuwa, with 4,007,010 speakers, represents 24.8% of the total number of MT speakers in the country (Lopes, 1998). The choice to adopt Portuguese as the official language in Mozambique during the struggle for independence was driven by the vision of national unity pursued by Frelimo. Portuguese was considered a tool for social change and modernization, while multilingualism was seen as promoting tribalism and regionalism, conflicting with the goal of nation-state building (Chimbutane, 2017). As a result, Portuguese became the language of national unity and access to global development.

The colonial language policy in Mozambique also had significant consequences. Only the children of settlers benefited from the colonial education system, while many Mozambicans faced difficulties attending school or gave up due to the difficulty of mastering Portuguese (Ngunga, 2011). This policy deeply affected the education system and the mindset of Mozambicans.

Mozambique's language policies prioritize Portuguese as the dominant language for national development, marginalizing African languages, despite the government's claim of inclusivity. The lack of proper language planning and recognition of African languages contrasts with the government's alignment with the UN's Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 (Chimbutane, 2017).

The Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique acknowledges the value of national languages and promotes their development and usage in education. However, the constitution primarily emphasizes Portuguese as the official

language. Portuguese has enjoyed prestigious status and institutional support, while the promotion and recognition of Bantu languages still have a long way to go (Lopes, 1998). Mozambique primarily communicates with the outside world through Portuguese and English. Portuguese is used to interact with other Portuguese-speaking African countries, Portugal, and Brazil. English serves as the first foreign language used for international communication (Chimbutane, 2017).

However, the incorporation of bilingual education or its introduction in Mozambique has been instrumental in advancing African languages for development and transforming societal perceptions. The integration of African languages in education has generating a need for bilingual teachers, materials developers, translators, and other language-related experts. Additionally, African languages are now utilized in political and civic initiatives, such as HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns, which means that there is a potential to expand its usage in different spheres of life (Guissemo, 2018).

4.2 LIE policy and academic performance of students

4.2.1 Tanzania

Regarding implementation, Kiswahili was officially recognized as both a national and official language in Tanzania and was adopted as a MOI in primary schools. In contrast, English became a mandatory subject in primary schools, while also being used as the MOI in post-primary education. However, from the beginning, it contradicted the stated ideal as Kiswahili was not used as the MOI in post-primary education. This system remains in place today, with Kiswahili as the sole MOI in primary schools and English as the sole MOI in secondary schools and higher education institutions (Tibategeza and du Plessis, 2012).

The language policy in Tanzania presents certain contradictions when language policies and their practical implementation (Swilla, 2009). One major contradiction arises from the fact that while government directives emphasize Kiswahili as the MOI in primary education, privately owned primary schools, which cater to a significant number of Tanzanian students, opt to use English as the MOI. Consequently, a considerable proportion of Tanzanians have not attained sufficient proficiency in English (Gadelij, 1999).

The original vision of the independent Tanzanian state aimed to produce bilingual and biliterate citizens who were proficient in both Kiswahili and English. Although this objective envisioned an additive bilingual education system, it was not explicitly stated in an official document (Tibategeza and du Plessis, 2012). On the other hand, proponents of using English in Tanzanian education argue that restricting access to education through this language would result in the majority being relegated to second-class citizenship (Neke, 2005).

In this research I am exploring how LIE policies prioritizing students' MT or familiar language as the MOI impact academic performance in post-colonial countries with linguistic diversity. Several research studies provide insights and shed light on this topic in the case of Tanzania, discussed further.

Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa (LOITASA) project aimed to investigate language policies and experimental designs related to the LOI in Tanzania and South Africa. Despite the importance of such large-scale projects, the study highlights that the findings are often overlooked or not taken seriously by the government (Tibategeza and du Plessis, 2012). This lack of attention to research outcomes in policy-making suggests a disconnect between research and implementation.

Brock-Utne (2006) conducted an observation study focusing on secondary school students. The study examined the impact of using English as the LOI compared to using the students' familiar language. The findings revealed that teaching in English significantly slowed down the learning process, with teachers covering only about half (or two-thirds in some cases) as much material in English-medium lessons compared to lessons taught in the students' familiar language. In contrast, teachers teaching in the familiar language were more relaxed, followed their lesson plans more effectively, and observed increased student engagement. The study highlights the potential efficiency and positive outcomes associated with using students' MT or familiar language as the MOI.

In a recent investigation, Roemer (2023) examined the firsthand encounters of multilingual students in Tanzania with respect to the government's language policy, which prescribes Swahili as MOI at the primary level and English at the secondary level. The study provides a valuable perspective from the students themselves, exploring their views and memories related to language coercion. The research reveals that students often faced punishment, including

public shaming, for not speaking the mandated language, both Kiswahili and English, of their L1 was one of the indigenous languages.

The study also highlights that a significant number of students dropped out of secondary school due to the strict language policy and associated punishment. However, some students expressed gratitude to their teachers for pushing them to perform and credited them for their L2 acquisition. The findings demonstrate the need for inclusive language policies that prioritize students' native languages while teaching additional languages as subjects to foster a positive and supportive learning environment.

These findings emphasize the potential benefits of prioritizing students' MT or familiar language as the MOI, including improved learning outcomes, increased engagement, and a conducive learning environment. The studies also highlight the importance of avoiding punitive language enforcement and promoting the inclusion of native languages in education.

These findings also need to be put in the context of challenge reported by other researchers. In government secondary schools, English is intended to be the MOI, but, teachers often resort to using Kiswahili (Barrett, 1994). This is because many teachers are more comfortable teaching in Kiswahili and may lack proficiency in English, leading to a reliance on the vernacular language for effective instruction (Babaci-Wilhite, 2010; Marwa, 2014).

Similarly, students in Tanzania face difficulties with English proficiency. While some students admit to better understanding their teachers when instruction is carried out in Kiswahili, the majority still believe that English should remain as the MOI in secondary schools (Tibategeza and du Plessis, 2012). However, the overall lack of English language skills among students is evident (Barrett, 1994), and the low admission rates into secondary schools further highlight the limited opportunities for students to acquire English proficiency (Brock-Utne, 2006). The attitudes of parents also play a role in the language policy landscape. Parents view English as a pathway to well-paid jobs and socioeconomic opportunities, leading them to prefer enrolling their children in private schools (Swilla, 2009).

Insufficient resources further compound the challenges of implementing the language policy. Currently, there is a lack of appropriate Kiswahili textbooks for secondary schools, and the availability of English textbooks is limited, making

the learning process even more challenging (Barrett, 1994; Tibategeza and du Plessis, 2018).

4.2.2 Nigeria

Nigeria's language policy has historically rested on two main principles: either the adoption of the L1 as the MOI in primary education, known as the MTM policy, or learning one of the three dominant languages, alongside their native language and English, referred to as the multilingual policy. Currently, the prevailing approach in Nigeria involves employing the L1 as the MOI for the initial three years of primary school. However, from the fourth year onwards, there is a transition to using English as the MOI. Meanwhile, throughout the secondary school level, one of the major Nigerian languages is still taught as a subject (Adegbija, 2004).

The National Policy on Education, first introduced in 1977 and revised several times since then (1981, 1998, 2004, 2007 and 2013), includes provisions for the use of the vernacular languages. However, the implementation of this policy varies across different regions of the country. Minority language speakers may have a greater need to learn a regionally dominant language other than the three officially recognized languages (Hausa, Yorùbá, and Igbo) for cultural reasons. This can result in a heavier language learning burden for them (Agheyisi, 1984).

The belief that children learn better and faster when taught in their first language (L1) is widely held (Yahya-Othman, 1990; Clegg, 2007; Trudell, 2016). The implementation of language policies in Nigeria aims to enhance the use of Nigerian languages in education. However, the definition of L1 can be a contentious issue in the Nigerian context, as language spoken at homes are often neither of ones used as MOI in school (Senayon, 2021).

The existing policy has significant implications for speakers of minority languages. Like the MT education policy, it does not adequately consider the linguistic variations present in different regions of the country (Ndimele, 2012). Consequently, some minority language speakers may have a greater necessity to learn a regionally dominant language other than Hausa, Igbo, or Yoruba. While the policy advocates trilingualism in principle, it inadvertently places a greater burden on minor language speakers (Agheyisi, 1984).

Adegoju (2014) argues that the failure of many African states to achieve effective knowledge production can be attributed to a lack of strict implementation of language policies. He asserts that for significant development, particularly in the educational sector, African countries must prioritize the proper recognition and utilization of indigenous languages (Senayon, 2021).

Private schools, which are often better equipped and staffed compared to government schools, tend to defy this policy by providing early immersion in English to children of elites. These elites believe that such immersion in English from primary education provides their children with better opportunities for upward social mobility (Adegbija, 2004). The Nigerian government's support for English, through policies such as making English mandatory for university admission and employment, has led to the maintenance and shift towards English at the expense of local languages.

Overall, the implementation of language policies in Nigerian schools faces challenges such as regional variations, the dominance of English, the limited support for indigenous languages, and the preference for English among elites (Adegbija, 2004; Agheyisi, 1984; Senayon, 2021). The implementation of mother tongue medium (MTM) ranges from no implementation in English-medium schools to successful implementation in projects such as the Ife Six Year Project (Adegbija, 2004).

Researchers like Emenanjo, Igboanusi, Peter, Fadoro, and Igboanusi have extensively investigated the implementation of MT policies in Nigerian primary schools. They have identified concerns such as the overwhelming presence of English, limited availability of learning and teaching materials in indigenous languages, and a scarcity of adequately trained language teachers (Senayon, 2021). These factors contribute to the continued use of bilingual education, combining English and indigenous languages, especially in urban areas.

Fadoro's research on 35 schools in Southwestern Nigeria revealed that only a few schools strictly adhered to the directive, with English remaining the dominant MOI (Fadoro, 2013). This lack of implementation was attributed to government inadequacies in providing necessary facilities, including teacher training, learning materials, and policy loopholes that allowed for violations (Fadoro, 2013).

Salami's research explored the attitudes of respondents towards different ethnic groups in Nigeria and their willingness to learn their languages. The study found that positive attitudes towards the Igbo ethnic group correlated with a greater desire to learn the Igbo language, while no significant correlation was observed for the Hausa language (Salami, 2004). Additionally, respondents perceived the Yoruba ethnic group as marginalized, with the majority attributing this marginalization to the Hausa people (Salami, 2004). These findings underscore the importance of considering stereotypes and perceptions in language planning and implementation (Salami, 2004).

The Ife Six Year Project demonstrated the advantages of teaching in the MT. Students taught in Yoruba outperformed their counterparts taught in English in all subjects except English itself (Mbah, 2012). This highlights the ease of learning and understanding when instruction is conducted in the MT, providing a familiar learning environment for both teachers and learners (Mbah, 2012).

Overall, research suggests that LIE policies that prioritize the use of students' MT or familiar languages as the MOI can positively impact academic performance in primary and secondary education. Such policies address the difficulties students face when learning in a second language and allow for easier absorption of concepts in familiar languages (Jummai, 2012). However, challenges in implementation arise from government inadequacies, dominance of English, lack of learning materials, and insufficiently trained language teachers (Adegbija, 2004; Fadoro, 2013; Senayon, 2021). Cultural attitudes and perceptions towards different ethnic groups also play a role in shaping language learning preferences (Salami, 2004), which must be considered and addressed effectively.

In Nigeria, a significant challenge in implementing language education is the shortage of competent teachers. Merely being fluent in a language does not necessarily qualify a teacher to effectively teach it. Numerous primary school teachers face difficulties in reading and writing their native languages, resulting in semantic errors even in their spoken language. This issue is concerning as primary education forms the basis of the entire educational system in Nigeria (Jummai, 2012, p. 759). The main hurdles cited include the preference for the international language of communication, such as English or French, and the

lack of appropriate teaching materials in local languages (Iyamu and Ogiegbaen, 2007).

Insufficient resources further hinder effective language education. Trained teachers in indigenous languages are in short supply, and the availability and distribution of teaching and learning materials are inadequate. Many languages lack standardized orthographies, making it challenging to develop course materials and supplementary books (Jummai, 2012). The unavailability of these texts not only leads to a lack of student interest but also hampers the ability to engage and sustain their attention, ultimately hindering the achievement of educational objectives.

Despite the presence of various agencies designated in the National Policy on Education (NPE) as responsible for implementing the language policy, the lack of clear roles and coordination among these agencies has hindered effective implementation (Adegbija, 2004). The NPE fails to assign specific responsibilities to each agency, establish their relationships, or outline coordination mechanisms, resulting in a fragmented implementation approach. Consequently, most Nigerian states have not implemented the multilingual policy consistently, with each state adopting its own approach. Political instability in Nigeria has also significantly impeded the implementation of language policies. Changes in government often lead to the abandonment of previously agreed policies and disrupt implementation efforts (Adegbija, 2004).

4.2.3 Mozambique

The Mozambican government's emphasis on improving the quality of education has led to a reliance on the Portuguese language, disregarding the evidence that children learn better when taught in their MTs (Benson, 2004; Ngunga, 2011; Terra, 2018; Chimbutane and Benson, 2012). Instead of promoting African languages through bilingual education, there have been deliberate efforts to hinder the expansion of such programs. The implementation of bilingual education has faced challenges due to poor planning and limited resources, leading to calls for a return to Portuguese-only education (Chimbutane, 2017). It took three decades after independence, for Mozambique to realize that African languages would not develop unless they were used in all kinds of situations, including schools (Ngunga, 2011).

Mozambique has a youthful population, with school-age Mozambicans representing over 50% of the total population. Nevertheless, the national education system in Nigeria continues to face challenges in accommodating all students who should be attending primary education. The government tried to rehabilitate and expand educational infrastructure and train teachers, but there are still challenges to overcome in the educational sector (Lopes, 1998). To provide comprehensive primary education for all, the government has taken measures such as abolishing enrolment fees, providing free textbooks, constructing more schools, and expanding teacher training institutes. These efforts have resulted in progress in primary education (Chimbutane, 2017, p. 360), including increased enrolment, improved gender parity, and better-trained teachers.

In Mozambique and other post-colonial settings, language instruction often follows a “submersion” approach, where the L2 (Portuguese in this case) is the LOI but is not explicitly taught. This approach limits interaction and fails to provide systematic strategies for teaching skills in both languages (Benson, 2004). The exclusive use of the Portuguese language in primary education classrooms had a detrimental effect on academic performance, leading to dropouts, repetitions, and poor achievement (Ngunga, 2011).

Some bilingual education programs, such as the PEBIMO experiment, presented promising results. This program utilized Bantu languages as transitional MOI, providing students with the opportunity to learn in their MT. By using their MT, students exhibited increased classroom participation, greater self-confidence, improved bilingual skills (Benson, 2000). The qualitative outcomes were equally remarkable, with highly participatory classroom interactions, observable bilingualism and biliteracy among students, alignment of home and school values, increased self-esteem, enhanced participation of girls, and overall satisfaction among students, teachers, and parents (Benson, 2000).

The recognition of these positive outcomes prompted further considerations for educational reform in Mozambique. The Institute for Educational Development (INDE) proposed a comprehensive reform, taking into account the benefits of MT education through bilingual education modalities (Ngunga, 2011). This shift in policy had significant implications. Research in Guinea-Bissau, Niger, and Mozambique demonstrated that girls enrolled in

bilingual programs exhibited longer school attendance, performed better on tests, and had lower repetition rates compared to girls in submersion classes (Benson, 2002).

Despite recommendations and evaluations supporting the expansion of bilingual education, the government has been hesitant to significantly scale up the program. The lack of central-level support has led to a decline in local enthusiasm for bilingual education, with teachers and parents returning to support Portuguese-medium education (Chimbutane, 2017, p. 361).

Still, bilingual schooling was reported to be more successful in communities with functioning literacy programs in the L1. For example, in comparative research on Mozambique and Bolivia, Benson (2004) writes that shared literacy in L1 leads to shared values, skills, and abilities, and promotes the valorisation of the language. Communities with bilingual adult literacy programs have shown greater support for bilingual schools (Benson, 2004). The decision to study Mozambican languages and establish a specialized body represents a significant cultural measure, opening up prospects for communication, education, and professional training. It deepens the debate on culture and its role in society (Lopes, 1998).

These findings suggest that LIE policies that prioritize the use of students' MT or familiar language can have a transformative impact on academic outcomes and educational equity in post-colonial countries with linguistic diversity. By acknowledging and embracing the linguistic diversity present in these contexts, such policies create an inclusive learning environment where students can engage actively and develop their cognitive and linguistic abilities.

However, teachers in Mozambique face various challenges that impact the quality of education. In 2019, the average student/teacher ratio in primary schools was 65.1 (FMSI, 2020). Insufficient school books, teaching materials, and inadequate professional training for teachers further contribute to the quality issues (Lopes, 1998). The rapid expansion of schools has caused many teachers to become involved in bilingual education without adequate training beforehand (Ngunga, 2011). Unfortunately, the basic education teacher training institutes do not prioritize bilingual education.

Student learning outcomes in Mozambique have not shown significant improvement despite increased access to basic education. Primary education in

Nigeria faces challenges with completion rates falling below desired levels (MINED, 2012, 2013, 2014). One of the contributing factors is the use of curricular content based on foreign concepts and texts written in a foreign language, which renders primary education irrelevant to students' daily lives (Benson, 2004).

The compulsory use of Portuguese as the MOI poses challenges for rural children who take an average of three years to acquire enough Portuguese proficiency to understand the school syllabus. This delay in language acquisition results in older ages for successfully completing each grade compared to urban children who speak Portuguese at home (Ngunga, 2011).

Parents' attitudes toward LIE policies are influential, with many viewing Portuguese as crucial for their children's future success, including career opportunities, social mobility, and connecting with Mozambicans who speak different MTs. Moreover, some parents express a desire to introduce English at an earlier stage in the educational system, leading them to enroll their children in specialized schools to enhance their English proficiency (Chimbutane, 2017).

The availability of books and learning materials is another significant challenge. Bilingual education books have not been adequately produced due to difficulties and lack of tradition in publishing African languages in Mozambique. The government-sponsored books for bilingual education have not been released, forcing students and teachers to rely on photocopies that are shared among multiple students (Ngunga, 2011).

The government in Mozambique has not shown sufficient commitment to MT education, and its development has primarily relied on the efforts of local communities and non-governmental partners (Ngunga, 2011). In response to the government's inaction on bilingual education, communities are taking matters into their own hands by establishing bilingual schools and classes, even without proper resources or trained teachers.

Portugal's former colonies, including Mozambique, aim to maintain Portuguese as the primary language, following the concept of "Lusophony," which hinders support for bilingual/multilingual education initiatives (Chimbutane, 2017). However, international agencies such as the World Bank, UNDP, and other development cooperation agencies are now challenging the notion that Portuguese should be the exclusive language for education and development in Mozambique. This shift in perspective is evident through their financial support

for the bilingual education pilot project PEBIMO. This indicates a change in their approach towards supporting language diversity and inclusivity in education. Additionally, DANIDA and GIZ (formerly GTZ) have also provided support for various activities in bilingual education, with a particular focus on capacity building in certain provinces of the country (Chimbutane, 2017).

4.3 Discussion

4.3.1 Similarities between the cases

Each of the three countries, Tanzania, Nigeria, and Mozambique, acknowledge the significance of indigenous languages in education and support multilingual education to different degrees. They have adopted policies that recognize the importance of using native languages as a MOI, especially during the early stages of primary education. Each country has experienced shifts in their language policies over time. Tanzania transitioned from English as the dominant MOI to promoting Kiswahili, while Mozambique ended up prioritizing Portuguese as opposed to the indigenous languages. Nigeria has witnessed changes that recognize the importance of MT education and the gradual transition to English.

The current investigation found that all three countries have colonial histories that have influenced their LIE policies. English, as the former colonial language, holds a prominent position in the education systems of Tanzania and Nigeria, in the case of Mozambique, it is Portuguese. Efforts to balance the use of English or Portuguese with the promotion of the local languages spoken by the majority and also indigenous languages spread in specific regions and communities, reflect the ongoing negotiation of colonial legacies.

Each country faced similar challenges in implementing their LIE policies, such as limited resources, insufficient development of minority vernacular writing systems, varying proficiency levels of teachers in languages of instruction and qualifications to conduct teaching in them, rural/urban divide, and sociolinguistic complexities. There is also a similar tendency for parents to perceive English- and Portuguese-based education as more effective in ensuring professional success of students in the future or as an integral element of social mobility. Social class inequality also reflects the language issues, since elites in the

countries studies tend to maintain the privileged position of English and Portuguese in political life, while also preferring private schools for their children, where instruction is normally conducted in the language of past colonisers.

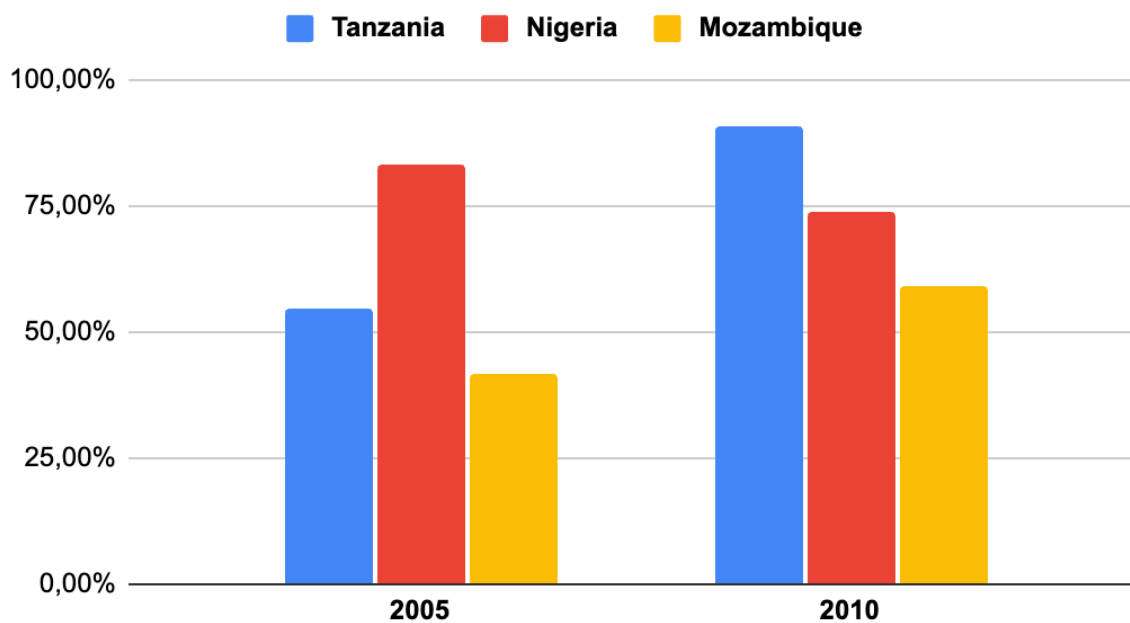
To bring about a change in language attitudes and promote indigenous languages, including Kiswahili, there needs to be an association of economic value with these languages (Kamwangamalu and Tovaes, 2016). Simply granting official recognition is insufficient in this regard (Mohr, 2018). This narrow perspective reflects a limited understanding of promoting bilingualism in education. Many students, whose L1 is neither English / Portuguese nor the language spoken by the majority, end up in a trilingual environment, where the language of the past coloniser is likely to be the least familiar language to them.

The debates around the instruction in L1 are also dominated by the debates around primary level education, while none of the country demonstrated significant progress in balancing instruction L1 and L2. Despite some attempts of reform in Tanzania, when it was discussed whether English can remain a subject taught in secondary school, while all other subjects are to be taught in Kiswahili, English remained the primary level of instruction. Graphs 1 and 2 illustrate the there is still a significant gap between primary school completion and enrolment in secondary school.

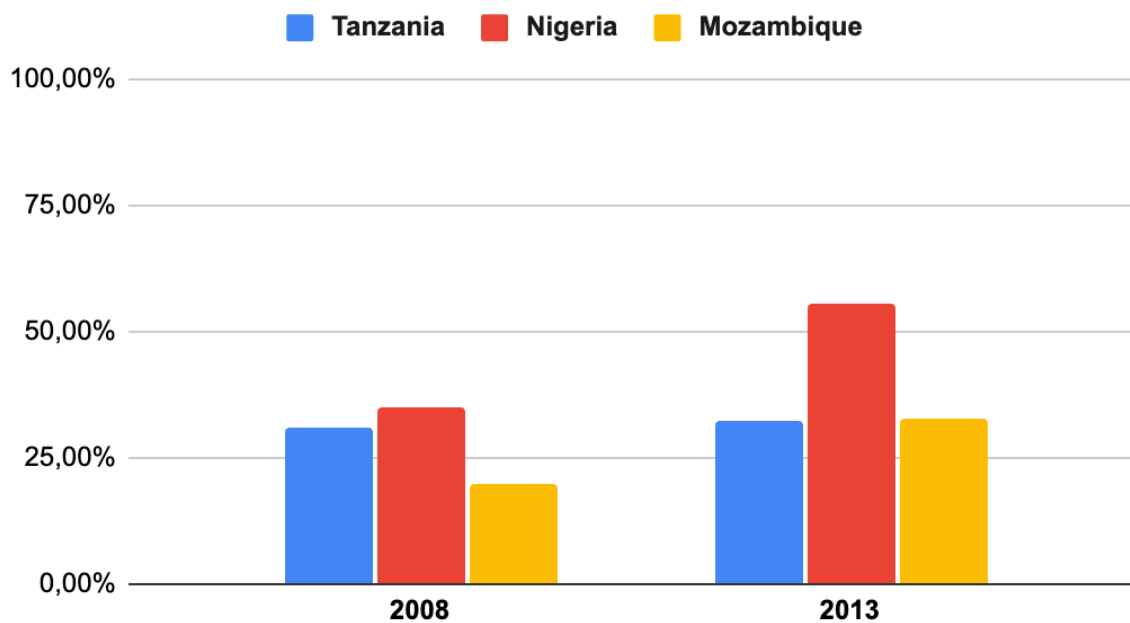
While no empirical research has provided evidence of a direct correlation between using L2 or L3 in secondary education and low enrolment rates in secondary schools, some researchers have suggested that using L1 (native language) could potentially enhance enrolment rates (Chimbutane, 2017; Brock-Utne, 2006; Benson, 2002; Jummai, 2012; Tibategeza and du Plessis, 2018).

4.3.2 Differences between the cases

The results of this study show that the language policy in Tanzania faces a lack of commitment from policy makers and politicians, hindering its effective implementation (Tibategeza and du Plessis, 2012). In Tanzania, although Kiswahili is extensively used in government offices and daily life, the government



Graph 1. Primary school completion rate, 2005 and 2010 (UNESCO Institute for Statistic, 2023)



Graph 2. Gross enrolment ratio in secondary education, 2008 and 2013 (UNESCO Institute for Statistic, 2023)

continues to prioritize English as the sole MOI at the post-primary level due to the language's global prestige (Tibategeza and du Plessis, 2012). The politicians are not determined enough to establish Kiswahili as the language of education (Neke, 2005).

In Nigeria, the impact of LIE policies that prioritize the use of students' MT or familiar language as the LOI in primary and secondary education is an even more complex issue. Language policies should take into account the various identities and language preferences of diverse groups within the country. However, ethnic and political biases hinder the process of selecting a national language in Nigeria. Promoting only the three "majority" languages may result in the socio-political exclusion of individuals belonging to other ethnic groups. It is crucial to be inclusive and considerate of all linguistic communities to foster a more harmonious and equitable society (Salami, 2004). The choice of a national language could be seen as an attempt to establish political hegemony, which might be resisted by those who perceive it as favouring one region over another. Language policies should aim to achieve consensus and spontaneous consent while recognizing and respecting the linguistic rights and preferences of distinct groups.

Considering these insights, the findings suggest that addressing linguistic diversity in Nigeria requires a comprehensive approach. Standardizing indigenous languages, developing grammars, dictionaries, and technical terminology, and promoting the use of indigenous languages in various domains are crucial steps (Adegbija, 2004). These processes take time and significant resources, which poses a challenge to policymakers in a country affected by political turmoils and instability. Further training should be provided to teachers to ensure that instruction in Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo is up to the standard to further compete with English.

Another finding that stands out from the results reported earlier is the influence of international development agencies on language policy processes, as they can play a significant role as "language policy arbiters" (Johnson and Johnson, 2015). These agencies can help foster language diversity, cultural preservation, and inclusivity, ultimately contributing to more effective and sustainable education and development outcomes in the region (Pennycook, 2000).

4.3.3 Key explanatory factors

The key explanatory factors based on the MSSD comparative framework are identified as follows:

1. In Tanzania, there is a clear dissonance between English as the LOI and the national language of Kiswahili. English is not a language of national unity, which puts a significant burden on students who have Kiswahili as their L1. With many students also having a native vernacular language spoken at home, English becomes an L3 for them, with Kiswahili often being L2. The lack of proficiency in English ultimately contributes to the low academic performance and high dropout rates in secondary schools.

2. Nigeria's LIE policies stem from its impressive linguistic diversity and no dominant language for national unity. The imposition of Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo presents a challenge, as many students do not have these languages as their L1 either. Moreover, English, the language inherited from the colonial era, remains a language understood by half of the population. The level of teacher training to effectively deliver instruction in Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo languages also raises concerns about the quality of education and its impact on student performance.

3. The key explanatory factor in Mozambique's LIE policies lies in the absolute lack of an alternative to Portuguese as the primary LOI in schools or the language of politics and media. Portuguese has been crucial in fostering national unity and supporting scientific endeavors for an extended period, making it challenging to promote education in local languages. Moreover, the presence of a diverse array of vernacular languages further complicates the implementation of policies aimed at advancing education in local languages. The slow progress in transitioning to MT-based instruction is influenced by the dominant position of Portuguese and the limited support for education in local languages.

4.3.4 Other explanatory factors

In post-colonial countries with linguistic diversity, the impact of LIE policies on academic performance is influenced by several key factors. Research suggests that instruction in students' MT or L1 can be an effective approach. However, in the context of secondary education, where there is often a lack of

clear vision and policy shifts, the use of L1 as the MOI may not yield significant long-term benefits for students. For this reason, the research questions discussed in this dissertation are approached by exploring the underlying socio-political and cultural context affecting the LIE policies in schools.

One significant factor affecting LIE policies in Tanzania, Nigeria and Mozambique is the lack of will among government officials to promote these policies. Additionally, parents may hold outdated beliefs that the language of the past colonizer should necessarily be MOI, despite the clear struggles faced by students in this approach. There is also a lack of trust among parents regarding the effectiveness of instruction in local languages. The government's efforts to shift public opinion in favour of indigenous languages while keeping English as a separate subject are often ineffective.

In the case of Mozambique, where Portuguese holds significant dominance, promoting and supporting indigenous languages is crucial. However, due to the prevailing influence of Portuguese, a genuine bilingual scheme in schools that combines Portuguese and local languages should be explored and promoted. The government should offer substantial support for the development and implementation of such a scheme.

4.3.5 Contextualizing the Findings

Prior studies that have noted that the MOI plays a crucial role in students' academic performance (Yahya-Othman, 1990; Myers-Scotton, 2009). Adequate command of the MOI is essential for effective learning (Yahya-Othman, 1990), while learners feel valued and motivated when they can use their own language within the classroom (Mariani, 2020).

However, LIE policies are complex, with various factors influencing students' academic performance (Spaull, 2011). Historically, African languages have been marginalized, limiting their role in education. Previous studies observed that students' lack of proficiency in the LOI, typically foreign to them, hinders their academic success (Tibategeza and du Plessis, 2012). Governments' implementation strategies can hinder effective language policies (Wolff, 2002). The costs associated with bilingual education, such as teacher training, materials, and language planning, pose economic challenges (Spolsky, 1977).

The research presented in this dissertation contributes significantly to the ongoing debates surrounding the complex issue of LIE policy and its ramifications for students' academic performance, particularly within highly multilingual societies. In contrast to merely examining dry parameters of academic performance or isolated variables, this study adopts a comprehensive approach by considering a broader array of societal, historical, and political factors that intertwine with language policies.

In addition to LIE policies, this research explores the intricate dynamics of multilingual societies. It is recognized that the effectiveness of LIE policies cannot be assessed in isolation, but rather necessitates an examination of the linguistic composition of the society itself. This includes understanding the diverse roles and functions that different languages hold within the social fabric.

Moreover, the results of this study provide further support for the hypothesis that the successful implementation of LIE policies relies on multiple stakeholders (Spolsky, 2017). Equally important are the preparedness and capacity of teachers to navigate the challenges inherent in instructing in diverse linguistic contexts. Additionally, the experiences and perspectives of students themselves, as active participants in the education system, must be taken into account.

Public policy officials play a pivotal role in shaping and enacting these policies. Language access inequalities contribute to educational disparities between urban and rural areas (Benson, 2004). Bilingual education programs offer pedagogical advantages, enabling better learning outcomes and personal empowerment (Baker, 2001; Cummins, 2000). However, decision-making processes may not always align with research recommendations (Baker, 2001).

In recognizing the multidimensionality of LIE policies, it becomes apparent that there is no singular, one-size-fits-all solution. Instead, the effectiveness of these policies is contingent upon a comprehensive understanding of the unique context and dynamics of each multilingual society. The complex interplay between linguistic diversity, societal attitudes, policy implementation, teacher readiness, and student experiences necessitate a nuanced and context-specific approach. The complexity of each case became apparent through the identification of key explanatory factors. By applying the MSSD framework, this research was able to unravel the interconnections between all factors.

Overall, the observations in this study support the hypothesis that there is a need for greater government commitment and public awareness to promote effective LIE policies. This includes considering the benefits of instruction in L1, addressing misconceptions, and providing support for indigenous languages in a bilingual education framework. Developing inclusive and equitable LIE policies is crucial for achieving quality education and promoting social justice in post-colonial contexts (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997).

Chapter 5. Conclusion

5.1 Research Summary

This dissertation has delved into the complex realm of LIE policies in post-colonial contexts, with a specific focus on the cases of Tanzania, Nigeria, and Mozambique. The study aimed to provide insights into the impact of these policies on academic performance and shed light on the key explanatory factors and distinctive features that shape the relationship between language policies and educational outcomes in these countries.

The research was motivated by the recognition of a significant knowledge gap and the absence of a consensus regarding the effects of LIE policies in multilingual post-colonial countries. It became evident that African nations have often neglected the inclusion of indigenous languages in their educational systems. This neglect can be attributed to various reasons, including perceptions of indigenous languages as factors of disunity or concerns about the feasibility and cost of implementing language policies that prioritize local languages. Consequently, educational outcomes in these countries have stagnated, and literacy rates and educational achievements have suffered as a result.

The research questions posed in this study sought to unravel the impact of LIE policies that prioritize the use of students' MT or familiar language, as well as the language of the past coloniser, on academic performance in primary and secondary education. A comparative framework was employed to investigate LIE policies in post-colonial countries with linguistic diversity. The study was situated within the critical theory paradigm. To facilitate the comparative analysis, the Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD) framework was utilized to do a systematic comparison of the similarities and differences in LIE policies across the selected countries.

The research also considered factors that shape language policy formation and educational contexts, e.g., the government's position on language, debates around national unity and language choices, the lack of effective planning for vernacular languages, and the influence of donor agencies. Additionally, factors such as resource constraints, teacher training, and parental

attitudes were taken into account, which ultimately has an impact on students' academic success.

5.2 Research Findings and Implications

The findings of this research unveiled crucial insights into the key explanatory factors and distinctive features present in each country under investigation. In the case of Tanzania, the burden imposed by English as a third language emerged as a major hindrance to academic performance. This burden is particularly pronounced due to the majority of students already speaking a vernacular language at home, making English an L3 for them. Consequently, many Tanzanian students struggle to pursue or complete their secondary education.

Nigeria, being the most multilingual and diverse country in this study, faces its own unique challenges. The imposition of non-native languages as MOI raises concerns about the adequacy of teacher training and proficiency in delivering education in these languages. Moreover, the political turmoil surrounding language choices further exacerbates the complexities of implementing effective language policies.

Mozambique, on the other hand, grapples with the absolute lack of alternatives to Portuguese, which has long been established as the language of national unity and science. Despite efforts encouraged by development agencies to promote education in local languages, the transition has been slow, primarily due to the entrenched position of Portuguese. This poses a significant obstacle to the realization of comprehensive language policies that would integrate indigenous languages into the education system.

Throughout the dissertation, it became evident that addressing the challenges faced by teachers and students is essential to bridge the gap between intended policy goals and the realities of implementation. Effective language instruction, promotion of bilingualism and biliteracy, and the preservation of linguistic diversity all hinge upon addressing these issues comprehensively. This calls for the standardization of indigenous languages, recognition of linguistic rights, and careful consideration of the potential consequences of language policy decisions.

5.3 Recommendations

This dissertation emphasizes the need for further research and attention to LIE policies in post-colonial contexts. By considering the impact of language policies on academic performance, policymakers can make informed decisions to promote educational success, preserve linguistic diversity, and empower students in diverse societies.

The recommendations produced based on the research include:

1. **Recognize the Context-Specific Nature:** It is crucial for policymakers to acknowledge that the LIE policies must be tailored to the specific linguistic and sociocultural context of each country, and even different linguistic and ethnic communities.

2. **Involve Key Stakeholders:** Policymakers should actively involve students, teachers, and communities in the decision-making process to foster a sense of ownership and ensure that policies are effectively implemented and sustained.

3. **Expand the Use of L1 in both Primary and Secondary Education:** Building upon the evidence that students benefit from education in their MT or familiar language, policymakers should consider extending the use of L1 in secondary education. This approach can facilitate better learning outcomes, allow students to develop their knowledge and skills in a language that they are proficient in while gradually acquiring proficiency in additional languages. In cases where a diverse linguistic landscape exists, policymakers should consider implementing balanced bilingual programs.

4. **Monitor and Evaluate Policy Implementation:** Scarcity of empirical research on the experiences of students demonstrated the need of regular monitoring and evaluation to assess the effectiveness and impact of LIE policies. Policymakers should gather feedback from stakeholders and make adjustments accordingly to ensure continuous improvement and address emerging challenges.

By considering these recommendations, policymakers can promote inclusive and equitable education in post-colonial countries with linguistic diversity. It is crucial to prioritize the well-being and educational success of students by utilizing the available linguistic resources and creating an environment where all learners can thrive.

The findings of this study have implications for future researchers in the field of LIE policies. The study highlights the importance of considering the unique dynamics and context-specific nature of each case in cross-country comparisons. Researchers should be mindful of the diverse socio-political, historical, and linguistic contexts that influence the outcomes and effectiveness of LIE policies.

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