



Osei Twumasi Ankrah

Education Experts' Perceptions of the Ghanaian Language Policy and Its Implementation

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

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In African countries, the indigenous languages have been shadowed by the English language, and even in post independent period, many African countries still use their colonizers' languages in their official transactions and deliberations, as well as media of instruction in their schools. Previous research suggests that academic achievement is improved when students learn in their local or native languages. The language policy in Ghana stipulates that local languages be used for instructions in basic school levels up to class three. However, in practice this is rarely the case due to various attitudinal, structural and logistical challenges.

The purpose of the study was to examine the historical and philosophical underpinnings that have influenced Ghana's language policy at the basic level of education according to the education experts' perceptions. Based on their experiences, the second goal was to provide recommendations to improve student learning in schools. The planning and implementation of the language policy in Ghana was explored to find out the education experts' perceptions of this policy at both the education administration, teacher training and basic education levels.

The study used a qualitative survey design, and a semi-structured interview guide to collect data for the study. Items in the interview protocol were drawn from language policies captured in the literature. After a multi-phased and regionally wide selection process of participants, stakeholders (N=66) from education administration,

teacher training, and basic education were interviewed. The interview data were complemented by secondary sources that included policy documents and journal articles.

This study has established that the mother tongue is essential for education, especially in the initial stages as it sets the pace for pupils to comprehend a range of concepts. Many of the pupils indicated that this would help them internalise the teachings. Still, the participants considered that learning of English was important to them for many reasons.

This study revealed that the continued use of foreign language has been justified on reasons for connectivity with the outside world due to the desire for many African countries to be globalised. Therefore, the attitudes of both the education experts and policy makers and the citizens is biased towards English which is the formers colonisers' language in Ghana. They advance arguments that they need to trade and develop and therefore have to speak a language that transcends their border. The study also found out that financial constraint, lack of logistics, supervision and monitoring provided a challenge to the implementation of the language policy.

This thesis concludes by recommending that the Ghana Education Service, and for that matter, the government of Ghana, should be committed to implement the policy. It is also recommended that local languages should be used as medium of instruction from kindergarten to Basic 6, while English is learnt as a subject to facilitate interaction with the outside world.

Additionally a recommendation made was that there must be a language policy department in the Ministry of education manned with experts in language planning and policy, including intensive preparation and in-service training of qualified teachers, as well as the provision of enough learning and teaching materials.

Furthermore, it is finally recommended that, the language policy should periodically evaluate and updated for the betterment of the

learners. Doing so would contribute to a better quality of education which, is the priority of any education policy and, therefore, important for national development.

Key words: Ghana, language policy, language planning, cultural imperialism, education, indigenous language

TIIVISTELMÄ

Osei Twumasi Ankrah

Kasvatusalan asiantuntijoiden näkemyksiä ghanalaisesta

kielipolitiikasta ja sen toteutuksesta

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Afrikassa omien alkuperäiskielten käyttö on jäänyt englannin kielen jalkoihin, ja vielä itsenäistymisen jälkeisenäkin aikakautena monet Afrikan maat käyttävät valtaajiensä kieliä virallisessa asioinnissa ja keskusteluissa sekä kouluopetuksessa. Aiempi tutkimustieto osoittaa, että oppimistulokset olisivat kuitenkin parempia, jos oppilaat opiskelisivat paikallisilla kielillä tai äidinkiellillään. Ghanan kielipolitiikka edellyttää paikalliskielten käyttöä perusopetuksessa aina kolmannelle luokalle asti. Käytännössä tämä on kuitenkin harvinaista moninaisten asenteellisten, rakenteellisten ja logististen haasteiden takia.

Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena oli kuvata, mistä historiallisista ja filosofisista perusteista ghanalainen kielipolitiikka koulutuksen perusasteella on muotoutunut kasvatusalan asiantuntijoiden näkemysten mukaan. Näistä lähtökohdista tavoitteena oli tuottaa suosituksia siitä, kuinka edistää oppilaiden kouluoppimista. Ghanan kielipolitiikan suunnittelua ja käyttöönottoa opetuksessa tarkasteltiin sekä opetushallinnon, opettajankoulutuksen että perusopetuksen asiantuntijoiden käsitysten valossa.

Tutkimus oli laadullinen ja aineistonkeruumenetelmänä oli puolistrukturoitu haastattelu. Haastattelun aiheet nojautuivat kielipolitiikkaa käsittelevään kirjallisuuteen. Tutkimushenkilöt valikoituivat monivaiheisen ja alueellisesti kattavan valintaprosessin jälkeen siten, että mukana oli henkilöitä niin opetushallinnosta, opettajankoulutuksesta kuin tavallisista kouluista (N= 66). Haastatteluaineistoa täydennettiin

lisääaineistolla, joka sisälsi kielipoliittisia asiakirjoja ja lehtiartikkeleita.

Tutkimustulosten mukaan äidinkieli koettiin olennaisena osana koulutusta ja sen painoarvo nähtiin erityisen suurena ensimmäisillä luokilla. Äidinkielen oppiminen heijastuu oppilaiden kykyyn ymmärtää todellisuutta ja sen käsitteitä sekä sisäistämään opetus. Silti englannin kielen opiskelua pidettiin myös tärkeänä monestakin syystä.

Vieraan kielen pitkään jatkunutta käyttöä perusteltiin mahdollisuudella olla yhteydessä ulkomaailmaan. Vieraan kielen vahvan harjoittamisen toivottiin tukevan Afrikan maiden globalisoitumista. Niinpä sekä kasvatusalan asiantuntijoiden että poliittisten päätöksentekijöiden ja kansalaisten mielipiteet suosivat englannin kieltä, joka on aiempien hallitsijoiden kieli Ghanassa. He nojautuivat väitteisiin vaihdon ja kehittymisen tarpeista, joiden mukaan on tarpeellista puhua kieltä, joka ylittää maan rajat. Tutkimus myös osoitti, että taloudelliset rajoitteet, logistiikan puutteet sekä puutteellinen ohjaus ja valvonta haastoivat kielipolitiikan toimeenpanon.

Tutkimuksen johtopäätöksinä suositellaan, että Ghanan koulutuspalvelut ja Ghanan hallitus sitoutuisivat noudattamaan ghanalaista kielipolitiikkaa. Lisäksi suositellaan, että paikallisia kieliä käytettäisiin opetuskielinä alaluokilla, kun taas englantia opittaisiin kouluaineena, joka mahdollistaa vuorovaikutuksen muun maailman kanssa.

Lisäksi suositellaan, että Opetusministeriössä olisi kielipolitiikan osasto, jossa työskentelisi kielisuunnittelun ja -politiikan asiantuntijoita. Tarvitaan myös pätevien opettajien tehostettua koulutusta sekä lisä- ja täydennyskoulutusta sekä riittävästi oppi- ja opetusmateriaaleja.

Lopuksi suositellaan, että kielipolitiikan tilaa pitäisi arvioida ja päivittää säännöllisesti oppijoiden oppimisen edistämiseksi. Näin voitaisiin tuottaa laadukkaampaa koulutusta, mikä on minkä tahansa koulutuspolitiikan perimmäinen tavoite ja siten myös tärkeää kansalliselle kehittymiselle.

Asiasanat: Ghana, kielipolitiikka, kielisuunnittelu, kulttuuri-imperialismi, koulutus, alkuperäiskieli

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In Vantaa, June 4, 2015

Osei Twumasi Ankrah

LIST OF ACRONYMS

CI	Cultural Imperialism
COE	College of Education
CPP	Convention Peoples Party
CRDD	Curriculum Research and Development Division
DG	Director General
ELT	English Language Teaching
ESL	English as a second language
GES	Ghana Education Service
GES	Ghana Education Service
GL	Ghanaian Languages
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
MOE	Ministry of Education
NLC	National Liberation Council
PP	Progress Party
PNDC	People's National Defence Committee
PRO	Public Relations Officer
QAC	Quality Assurance Committee
SS	Secondary Schools
UCC	University of Cape Coast
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
MTE	Mother Tongue Education
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the historical events and philosophical views that have influenced Ghana's language policy at a basic level of education and implementation of the policy as perceived by the education experts in Ghana. In addition, the views of other stakeholders such as parents and pupils were sought as they are consumers of the language education. The study factored in the theories of cultural imperialism (CI) and globalisation as possible reasons for the use of English as a medium of instruction in schools, as many studies conducted on this subject are limited and have not addressed these theories. Accordingly, this study seeks to show that it is still possible to use local languages as a media of instruction in schools in countries like Ghana, which have many languages even though the theories of cultural imperialism and globalisation are deemed to propel the use of the English language in education.

Many African states are considered to be lagging behind in their socio-economic development, unlike their European and Asian counterparts who have made significant progress in these areas. This has been attributed to Africa being bedevilled with a combination of rampant poverty and heavy debt burdens, both of which do not help with their development. Instead, there is a gloomy picture in the development of African countries even in the foreseeable future (Bruthiaux, 2002). Consequently, development has been slow and inadequacies still exist in the use of the indigenous languages for communication, another feature that distinguishes Africa as being different from other

continents (Bamgbose, 2011; Obanya, 1999; Prah, 2002). Therefore, many African countries communicate in languages that are not African in origin, with official languages being mainly foreign, having been inherited from their colonisers. Furthermore, the political class have made deliberate efforts to formalise these languages to the extent that many Africans have low regard *for* their own languages. The political class has also put forward various justifications for their preferences to use these foreign languages. Therefore, the commonly used foreign languages in Africa are French, Portuguese and English.

Paradoxically, despite African countries having gained political independence, they are yet to become economically self-reliant. This is because many African countries have failed to capture their multicultural context and much less their languages, opting instead to rely on colonial languages. At independence, many African countries made efforts to formulate a national policy on all spheres of development such as education, and in social, political and economic spheres. However, they failed to successfully formulate language policies that capture the multicultural contexts of their countries (Kashioki, 1993), and Ghana is no exception.

In Ghana, the wide usage of the English language in official communication and as a medium of instruction in schools, as opposed to the use of local Ghanaian languages, can be held responsible for the low level of development among the regions of Ghana. However, in some other countries, where the use of local languages in particular has been credited with developments such as Denmark, Japan and Finland, English is only taught either as a foreign language or in higher classes but not as medium of instruction in schools (Twum Barima, 1985). In Denmark, the Danish language is the first medium of instruction and English is only taught at the upper secondary school levels to the extent that English is only spoken well by educated professionals. In primary and secondary schools in Denmark, students with learning disabilities receive assistance to read in Danish and the teachers are trained to principally teach Danish and two other subjects of their choice.

Finland and Africa/Ghana has a similar long history of language policy and planning. However, the Finns have been able to develop their language and, now, the Finnish language is used in all aspects of their daily lives especially in schools as well as all their activities. This was achieved through patriotism, dedication and investing heavily in the language. “Finland is now a multilingual country with Finnish and Swedish as mother tongues. Finnish municipalities and administrative regions are either officially unilingual or bilingual, depending of the size of minority language community. In a bilingual municipality, the speakers of the minority group have the right to use their own language and to get service in that language according to certain rules and regulations” (Saukkonen, 2012, p. 5).

Most African governments continue to use the former colonial language as the official language, while indigenous languages are used in the informal sector. The reason most governments in Africa have chosen English is that the entire world is now a small global village. Thus, knowledge, skills, jobs, power, etc. could be gained through English. Books and other electronic media are in English and this has created a negative attitude in most Africans towards indigenous languages. In Ghana, most parents take pride in their children who speak fluent English. Moreover, all private primary school administrations in Ghana ensure that pupils speak only English while on the school premises. The elites in society, as well as African governments, pay much attention to and promote the use of foreign languages at the expense of indigenous languages.

In most African states, very few rural people are able to read and write in English or use English in their deliberations, yet their governments promote foreign languages. In Angola and Mozambique, less than one-tenth of the entire populations are able to use the national official language (Portuguese). In spite of this, English, French, Portuguese, and others still remain the official languages in most African countries.

In the West African sub-region, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Liberia, Ghana, and Nigeria, English remains the official language and is used

in the public sector. French and Portuguese are also used as official languages in other countries.

It is also interesting to note that while most African countries do not have major national languages, and as a result, use the languages of their former colonial masters as official languages, there are countries that do have national languages but still use foreign languages in education and as official languages. Even though Kiswahili is the national language in Kenya, English remains the official language. English and Kiswahili operate on a par in some situations, but in others English is given priority and greater prestige over Kiswahili (WaNjogu, 2004). WaNjogu noted that while English had been a compulsory and examinable subject in primary and secondary schools for decades, Kiswahili attained this status in 1985. In addition, similar to the situation in Ghana, many parents prefer to send their children to private schools where English is the medium of instruction from day one. Parents are doing this because Kiswahili, or a dominant language in any given area, is supposed to be the medium of instruction in the public primary schools.

A few countries in Africa however managed to pursue their language policy. In Tanzania for example, Kiswahili is both the official and national language, and widely used in administration, trade unions, courts, radio, newspapers, and education from primary to university level (Herbert, 2000). According to Herbert, the use of Kiswahili has enabled people to participate actively in the political, socio-cultural, and economic development of their country. English is used in situations involving international relations.

In Somalia, Somali is the only medium of instruction at the primary and secondary education levels, except for the last two years of secondary education (Bamgbose, 1989). English only becomes the medium of instruction from the last two years of secondary education and continues to university level, except for the teaching of Somali language and literature.

Since 1958, Guinea has added eight indigenous languages to its official national languages. These eight languages were introduced

in 1959 as media of instruction in the first grades of primary education. This was followed with the written form of these languages and distributed throughout the country. These languages were used for writing signboards, certificates and other documents. The languages depended on the respective region where the language is dominant. According to Traore (1997), French remains an official language for international relations while the national languages are used extensively in the political, cultural and economic development of the nation.

Sierra Leone is another African country that practices pluralistic linguistics. All sixteen languages spoken in the country have representation in the capital city of Freetown (Sengova, 1987). Four of these languages have been recognised as national languages and are used in the mass media and in literary and formal education. These are Krio, Limba, Mende and Temne. Kriol is widely used throughout the country. Mende, Limba and Temne are *linguae francae* in the Southern, Eastern and Northern regions respectively. The Kriol is the commonest language of contact business transactions. However, English remains the official language of Sierra Leone. English is used in formal education, government and administration, international relations, etc. French is also taught as a subject throughout the formal school system.

Similarly, in Japan, where there is no form of external evaluation like examinations but internal systems are used to assess pupils for advancement and certification to higher levels of school, the Japanese language is used at all levels except at lower secondary school where English is taught as a foreign language. Therefore, development in Japan is propelled by the Japanese who think in their language. Mazrui (1994; 2002) reiterates that when Japanese physicists meet they discuss the subject in words borrowed from European languages; and when discussing economics they discuss the nature of industrial change in Japanese regardless of whether they have to borrow a lot of words from European languages.

The same is done by other professionals such as neurologists, chemists and others even though some scholars like Amonoo (1989)

argue that incidences may arise where individuals can fail to find the appropriate words to express their feelings in their mother tongue or to obtain appropriate words to describe certain objects such as colours they perceive, such as violet or cream, and therefore may prefer to use the foreign languages. Nevertheless, it has been argued that in countries where there is a common language such as in Japan, it is possible to use that particular language because it is more informative than any second language (Awoniyi, 1976; 1982; 1995; UNESCO, 1953).

Research comparing pupils who attain their education in their local language with those using a second language has demonstrated that those who have acquired education through a second language underachieve while those using their local language gain significantly, except in courses like mechanics and mathematics. Collinson (1974) asserted that many pupils have been excluded from education, due to the use of English language as medium of instruction in schools which affect the rate of manpower production and has serious consequence on nation building since many school children who fail in the school system cannot have the opportunity to pay back what the nation have invested in them. In this regard, Collinson (1974) mentions Ghana as being a country where a higher percentage of pupils are affected. However, in some multicultural societies such as Singapore, which has people from diverse cultures such as the Malay, Indian, Chinese and Eurasian ancestries, and which does not have a common unifying language, the use of a foreign language, particularly English in the education system has presented a different development scenario. The use of English in Singapore was considered necessary due to this multiplicity of culture. However, even then the people of Singapore embraced the use of mother tongues in the early years of education, which has resulted in major socio-economic development. In Singaporean schools, pupils of six years of age undergo six years' of education in English as well as their respective mother tongues in addition to other subjects such as mathematics, music, physical education and

art and crafts. Consequently, most pupils are bilingual even though some may have a preference for the English language because they perceived it to provide good prospects for higher education and better jobs (Adegbija, 1994; Bamgbose, 1985; Oyetade, 2001).

This study was conducted in two out of the ten regions in Ghana, namely the Asante and Central regions. These two regions were chosen as they are metropolitan in nature and are hosts to centres of education and research for major institutions such as universities and government offices where the Ghanaian Language policies are formulated and implemented on a pilot basis. It was the conviction of the researcher that respondents from these two regions would have greater awareness of the Ghanaian language policies and their implementation than other respondents elsewhere in the country.

The other reason for selecting these two regions was for purposes of attaining efficiency with regards to both time and financial resources. The researcher is a native of the Asante Region and resides in the Central Region. These factors contributed to minimising both the time and finances needed so that the research could be conducted within a short time. Ghana is divided into ten regions with each region having one dominant language. The country, however, has more than forty languages in total and it would therefore be costly to draw one uniform code of language for instruction in schools.

The theoretical framework adopted for the study emanates from the two theories of Cultural Imperialism and Globalisation. Cultural Imperialism is simply a situation where countries impose their cultural values on other nations, such as languages, as was done to many African countries when they were colonised. Globalisation is deemed a virtue to increase contact between regions for trade, technology and travel, which necessitates communication and information sharing. Consequently, both theories are considered in this study to be complementary because the African countries have continued to use foreign languages and justify their use based on the need for globalisation. The two theories combine elements that stretch activities beyond

national borders for which language is crucial as well as the adoption of a language culture that is not African.

The continued use of foreign languages in Ghana, as indeed in many African countries and especially the former British or French colonies, is considered to be a form of cultural imperialism (Ngugi wa Thiongò, 1994). It is argued that people in these countries are constrained to communicate in languages that are not indigenous to them largely because education is conducted in foreign languages, which has in turn affected the quality of their perceptions, thinking, and therefore, impacts negatively on their development. Abdou Moumouni (1964), for example, asserts that the colonial education, which laid emphasis on foreign languages, influenced the thinking sensibilities of Africans resulting in them being filled with abnormal complexes. Onwuka (1973) concurs with this assertion saying that colonial education developed in the African a psychological complex of auto phobia, in which some educated Africans display slavish practices and admiration of foreign people and their ways of life.

The language policy adopted by many African countries to use foreign languages has nevertheless been highly criticised and has in some countries created civil strife, particularly in those countries where language is perceived to be closely linked with nationality and social stratification. In Ethiopia for example, insurgents insisted on the use of native languages as being the core of their demands for autonomy and self-determination. Similarly, resistance to Arabism has been observed in Sudan where the majority of the African population in the then southern part of the country had expressed resistance to the use of the Arabic language (Prah, 1990).

Moreover, the introductions of foreign languages in Africa by the colonial powers not only increased the multilingual collections but also created situations where the local languages were relegated to the informal sectors in those countries (Bodomo, 1996). For example, in Cameroon, the colonial government forbade use of local language in public as well as for official transmissions on national television chan-

nel by legally banning it. In addition, in 1920, the use of indigenous languages in education was also banned through the issuance of *Journal Officiel* according to Silue (2000). This ban gave clear guidelines to the American and British missionaries not to use indigenous languages as a medium of instruction in schools and threats were made that those using these languages instead of French would be denied official recognition. This trend in usage of colonial languages has persisted in many African countries even after independence. According to Silue (2000), many African linguistic scenes are still dominated by colonial languages as official communication while the local languages dominate the informal sector, reflecting the linguistic scene both prior to independence and post-independence. In Ghana, the study area, the continued use of English and the lack of the mother tongue in education is the missing link in all development attempts, and is the case for many of the African countries.

Undoubtedly, language is vital for a country's development (Okobia, 1986) and is therefore essential in any educational process, whether formal or otherwise. Language is the means by which information of all kinds, technical or social, is relayed within any cultural framework and within particular linguistic confines. Furthermore, language incorporates particular worldviews and directs ways in which individuals using the language perceive and understand their reality. Therefore, language influences its users through what they see, feel, think, talk and how they organise the world around them (Okobia, 1986). Consequently, language is at the core of any culture, and according to Okonkwo (1978) culture and language are linked to the extent that whenever there is a reference to a language, culture cannot be divorced from it (Okonkwo, 1978). Whorf (1956) also adds the dimension of nature into this discourse and observes that when people analyse nature, they do so along the lines of their native languages such that the language merely becomes a means for reporting the experiences:

“We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages. Language is simply reporting device for experience but defining framework for it” (Whorf, 1956).

Twum-Barima (1985) adds an aspect of development particularly to the cultural concept, which embraces language by referring to both Danish and Japanese scientific and technological developments. He observes that advances made in these two countries have arisen from them steadfastly clinging to their languages. He also argues that development originates from the mind, which in turn determines the quality of development, when he states that of all the members of the animal kingdom, man has culture. His actions are therefore best when they spring from his culture.

This study adopted a mixture of methodological approaches to accomplish the research. These approaches included multiple methods in which two sets of qualitative data were obtained through interviewing respondents and secondary data was collected as supplementary information from official government documents. Chapter four provides details on the methodology used for the study.

1.2 Overview of Ghanaian Language and Language Policy

1.2.1 Languages in Ghana

Ghana has no unifying language and much less a lingua franca that is indigenous to the country. Moreover, as noted by Albaugh (2005), the 1992 Constitution does not mention use of any language – official or national although some vernacular languages are taught in primary schools, but not all the local mother tongues.

It is estimated that about 74% of Ghanaian population are literate and 67% of those can speak and write in English; whereas the English only speakers are 20%. About 54% of the population can read and

write in at least one Ghanaian language while in respect of gender, more males (estimated at 80%) are literate compared to only 69% of females (Ghana Statistical Service (G.S.S), 2012).

Ghana, like many African countries, is a highly multi-lingual community located on the west coast of Africa. Between 45 to 80 languages are spoken in Ghana with some scholars unable to clearly distinguish between what should be considered a language or dialects of other languages. To this effect, different scholars (Bodomo 1996; 1997; Kropp-Dakubu, 1988) have all suggested different numbers of languages existing in Ghana. A more definite number has been given by Gordon and Grimes (2005), who mention the number of spoken languages in Ghana as 83, which include English and two sign languages. All the indigenous languages of the country have been classified as the Niger-Kordofanian language family belonging to the Gur and Kwa sub-families. In addition to the indigenous languages, there are also other West African languages such as Chadic, Hausa and Mande languages. These are spoken in Ghana but their status as indigenous is debatable.

In addition to the other West African languages spoken in Ghana, the other non-indigenous language that is widely spoken is English. Despite being foreign, English is an important language having been promoted as the official language during the British colonial periods. Consequently, it continues to be elevated also as the language of education and mass communication as opposed to the indigenous Ghanaian languages. English is widely spoken in the country in all forms including pidgin, Standard English and educated English. The proliferation of the English language is a combination of factors ranging from historical, linguistic, educational and political perspectives; factors that are discussed in the ensuing section on the shift in multilingual languages in this thesis. Nevertheless, some indigenous Ghanaian languages such as Akan (Asante Twi, Fante, Akwapem Twi, Dagaare, Dagbane, Dangbe, Ewe, Ga, Gonja, Gurenne, Kasem and Nzema) are now being promoted and beginning to challenge the

position of English in the respective regions where they are spoken, and indeed are beneficiary targets of language shift in their own right.

Likewise, other European languages are spoken in the country but these are confined to smaller communities. For example, French is taught in schools as a subject and spoken among educated bilinguals while Arabic is mainly taught in Islamic schools and spoken by few.

Let us now turn to the main discussion of the language shift in Ghana in the next section. From the foregoing, we can see there is the likelihood that a Ghanaian language spoken in one region may neither be spoken nor understood in another. This justifies the continued use of the English language across the regions and perhaps it being recognised as the official language. The English language is mostly learnt in schools, thereby putting at a disadvantage the proportion of the population who may not have the opportunity to attend school or are literate but can only speak in the Ghanaian languages.

1.2.2 Historical Perspectives of Language Policy Developments in Ghana

The widespread use of English in Ghana is attributed to the colonial influence, and especially the missionaries who promoted it at the expense of indigenous languages, thereby, relegating them to the margins. On the contrary, it is the Christian missions who were in the vanguard of promotion of African languages with the translation of the Bible into them and their use in education. According to Albaugh's analyses of Language Policies in African Education (2005) the Ghanaian language policy during the pre-independence period promoted the English language through the 139 mission schools established by the church. These schools had an enrolment of around 5000 pupils. Since then, there have been inconsistencies in the implementation of the Ghanaian languages based on the policies before and after independence, which date as far back as prior to 1925. The overview and chronology of these policies are that in 1882 an Ordinance was declared by the British, which they perceived would assist education

in the colony. The ordinance required that the English language be used and taught in schools and was referred to as the “Ordinance for the Promotion and Assistance of Education in the Gold Coast Colony”. In 1925, however, Guggisberg’s Ordinance changed this and called for the use of local languages as the media of instruction during the first three years of schooling after which English would be used and the local languages taught as subjects (Andoh-Kumi, 2002). The Governor at the time, Guggisberg, stated that “Whilst English Education must be given, it must be based solidly on the vernacular” since Educational Ordinance at the time stipulated that English be used as the medium of instruction at all levels of Education in the colony. The Educational Ordinance of 1925 therefore placed emphasis on the compulsory use of the Ghanaian Language as a medium of instruction in the lower Primary (PI-3) and as a subject of study in the Upper Primary (P4-6). In 1951, the election of the Legislative Assembly won by the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) introduced the Accelerated Development Plan, which also reiterated the 1925 Education Ordinance’s position that Ghanaian Languages be used as a medium of instruction in the Lower Primary and as a subject of study in the Upper Primary (McWilliams & Kwamena-Poh, 1975).

At independence in 1957, the Accelerated Development Plan underwent a review by the CPP government and Ghana adopted the use of English as a medium of instruction from the first year of schooling (Andoh-Kumi, 2002). At the same time, efforts were also made to develop important national languages, of which 9 were chosen to be taught along with French, another foreign language. The nine languages were Nzima, Ga, Kasem, Akuapem Twi, Asante Twi, Ewe, Dagbani, Fanti and Dangbe. As a result, pilot primary schools were selected in which English was to be the medium of instruction from Primary One (Boadi, 1976). In 1963, however, the CPP government asked the Bannerman Committee to review pre-university education in the country. This committee prominently placed Ghanaian Languages in the school system. Unfortunately, this recommendation was not accepted by the

government on the grounds that the country had more pressing educational needs and this change never saw the light of the day.

In 1966, Professor Alex Kwabong was appointed to head a committee set up by the National Liberation Council (NLC), which had taken over the government's job to review the educational system at all levels in the country. The committee reported that the "English only policy", as advocated for, was not being practiced in many regions and instead the local languages were being used in the entire primary school cycle. Therefore, it recommended that Ghanaian languages be used as the medium of instruction for the first three years of primary school education and that the English language only be used as a medium of instruction in the fourth year, while Ghanaian Languages be continued as any subject (McWilliams & Kwamena-Poh, 1975). There was however, a drawback in the recommendation as it was rejected by the NLC government, which proposed that Ghanaian Languages be used as the medium of instruction in primary class one only.

Fortunately, when the Progress Party's (PP) administration came to power under Dr Busia, the recommendation of the Kwabong Committee on the Ghanaian Language was adopted. Moreover, in 1970, local languages were re-introduced during the first three years of education, as was the case during Guggisberg's ordinance, and a Ghanaian Languages School was set up. Teaching of Ghanaian languages in teacher training colleges was also made compulsory including for the lower classes in secondary schools (SS). Regrettably, the Ghanaian language schools were not developed due to lack of time and funds in order to be able to reform the curricula. Consequently, schools continued to rely on British textbooks (Clermont, 1985).

In 1979, Reverend Dzobo headed a committee set up by the National Redemption Council the then ruling Government, which reviewed the Structure and Content of Education in Ghana. This committee, like its predecessors, also put emphasis on Ghanaian languages. The report proposed among other things that Ghanaian Languages be made compulsory from Primary One to university level and (Dzobo,

1979) among other things recommended that children at the basic school level should learn their own language and probably one other Ghanaian Language. English should be used as a medium of instruction from primary four to six as well as the Junior high school levels.

The newly proposed structure and content of education was then initiated on a pilot basis in some schools. In 1987, a new educational reform guideline was issued under the People's National Defence Committee (PNDC) in which the Government reiterated that pupils in primary schools would learn their own languages in addition to any other Ghanaian language. The local Ghanaian Language was to be used as medium of instruction for the first three years of the primary school and English be learnt as a subject from the first year at school and gradually become the medium of instruction in the fourth year of primary school (Bamile, 1995). This language policy was essentially implementing the recommendation of the Dzobo Committee with slight modifications on Education policy.

1.2.3 Current Language Situation in Ghana

The historical overview presented in the above shows the predicament created by the inconsistencies of the different regimes in the adoption of the Ghanaian Language policies. While some regimes supported the use of Ghanaian Languages as a medium of instruction during the first three years of school, others favoured the use of Ghanaian Language only during the first year of the primary school and English for the rest of the Primary School course. Educational reforms in Ghana have been ongoing since independence. To date, there have been four policy reviews all aimed at improving education to make it relevant and appropriate for working, rural development, modernisation of the predominantly agro-based economy and for promotion of national and cultural identity and citizenship.

The first review was performed immediately after independence, the "Accelerated Development Plan of Education". It resulted in massive enrolments into elementary and secondary education and led to a

fall in educational standards at both levels as well as high numbers of unemployed school leavers. Obviously, this was a bad result because the objective was to create an educated human resource base. The Kwapong Review Committee of 1966 was specifically requested to address how the majority of pupils from elementary schools would gain entry into the restricted number of places in secondary grammar schools. The committee which proposed the “Continuation School” policy was supposed to address the challenges of unemployed school leavers but failed, and earned the criticism of being elitist. The result was that Ghana’s teenage population was unable to continue through to post-primary training highlighting the ongoing need for further educational reform.

Similarly, Ghanaian language policies have undergone a series of formulations over the years but have lacked effective planning and implementation over the long-term, hence the inconsistencies highlighted. Notable cases of inconsistencies include Governor Guggisberg’s declaration that Ghanaian languages should be a medium of instruction during the first three years of basic school and used in teaching all other subjects on the one hand, while on the other, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) in 2002 changed the policy so that English replaced vernaculars as a medium of instruction in the first three years of primary school. This had been the case at independence when Ghana adopted the use of English as the medium of instruction from the first year of schooling, although with efforts also to develop important national languages of which 9 were chosen to be taught along with another foreign language, French (Andoh-Kumi, 2002).

Ghana also had a policy that Ghanaian languages are compulsory in junior secondary schools and elective in both senior secondary and teacher training colleges. The rationale behind the policy is that the teaching of Ghanaian languages at both senior secondary and teacher training college levels are minimal. In practice however, in teacher training colleges, Ghanaian languages are basic studies during the first year while during the second year the languages are elective rather

than compulsory. This state of affairs renders these future Ghanaian language teachers at basic school to be inadequately prepared to handle the languages. The impact of this is that the teachers may be unable to confidently handle the language or subjects and thus may not be effective at the basic school level. This, of course, is regarded as a drawback in the Ghanaian language policy and implementation. Furthermore, Ando-Kumi (1997) observed that there is no institutional framework to effectively monitor the implementation of Ghanaian language policies. Therefore, the shortcomings relate to inconsistencies between policy and implementation in which the policies have been declared in circumstances in such a circumstance that it cannot be implemented. The government has not taken action to ensure that what they proclaim is actually implemented. The government has been blamed for the failure to take action to ensure that the policies proclaimed are implemented in full because the language policy has never been monitored by the Ministry of Education. The lack of institutional framework for the formulation of coherent and realistic language plan for the country have rendered the language policies ineffectively embraced within any serious language plan. As a result, the policies have been haphazardly implemented without any strategy or supervision.

Based on these problems, this study seeks to identify the extent to which language policy has influenced the teaching of Ghanaian languages at the basic school level, as perceived by Education experts. Up until 2001, Ghanaian languages were widely used as the medium of instruction during the first three years of schooling and English as a subject only replaced Ghanaian languages as a medium of instruction during the fourth year of school as was the case in 1925. However, in 2002 the policy was changed to English only by the Minister of Education (Andoh-Kumi, 2002). The fact that English language usage continues is by extension a form of cultural imperialism. This was because despite the departure of the colonialists, the relics of Western educational culture obliterated many of the African cultures as the

medium of communication in schools, as scholars such as Prah (2002, 3) have decried as follows:

“Colonialism wreaked untold havoc on the fabric of African society and African humanity. It tore to bits the logic of African culture and trampled underfoot anything or anybody who stood in the way of the extraction of colonial produce or the benefits and profits of the colonial enterprise----.”

Therefore, the English language continues to dominate in Ghana despite several years of independence just as elsewhere in most of the former colonial countries that incorporated it as their official language. The poignant issue is why this still remains the case at the expense of other native languages (Bokamba, 2007; 2011). The persistent use of English is attributed to being part of a cultural imperialism. Culture has been argued to provide the best medium for development in all spheres, and therefore, in respect to education the students and scholars are deemed to be more creative and productive when their education is localised and are operating within a cultural environment. To the proponents of local languages, education ought to be both Africanised and outward reaching in order to connect and communicate with other cultures (Brock-Utne, 2000; Okonkwo, 1978), enabling learning within a familiar cultural environment.

1.3 The Content of the Thesis

This thesis has been divided into seven chapters, in which the first chapter gives a general background and states the purpose of the study. In addition, the first chapter also highlights the approaches, study location and theoretical frameworks upon which the study has been based.

Chapter two gives an overview of the Ghanaian language and policy highlighting the effect of cultural imperialism on the development of the language policy. The chapter also traces the origin and progression of the policy to the present language policy. A conceptual framework of language planning and policy in Ghana is presented and insights from Nigeria are given for comparison and general critiques are made of the language planning. The chapter further discusses language teaching and education as a means of achieving language planning. The development of language in relation to the theoretical framework discussed in the study, namely cultural imperialism and globalisation is discussed. In chapter three of the thesis, one research question and its complementary aspects have been explored to accomplish the research objective. The chapter also highlights the research objective.

Chapter four discusses the methodology adopted for the study and discusses the justifications for these approaches. The data collection methodologies, instruments for the data collection and procedures are described. The chapter also discusses the data analyses methods and the evaluation of the reliability of the research.

Chapters five and six respectively present the results and a discussion of the results in relation to the research questions. Finally, in chapter seven, the thesis presents conclusions that have been drawn from the study and some recommendations are given.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The aim of the study is to examine the historical and philosophical backgrounds that have influenced Ghana's language policy at the basic level of education. This chapter, therefore, reviews the various theoretical approaches which are related to this study. The literature review begins with the introduction and explanations of the concepts of cultural imperialism and globalisation, and how these concepts influence language policy and planning in developing nations. It also examines in detail the relationships between language planning and policy, as well as insights of language planning from Nigeria. This chapter goes on to introduce a number of critiques of the relationship between planning and policy. Literature on Ghana's policies of language teaching and education is also discussed in this section with respect to how languages are perceived by various stakeholders of education. Finally, this section reviews literature on reasons why Ghanaian language policies are not actively implemented in schools.

2.1 Cultural Imperialism and Globalisation

The foundation of cultural imperialism was conceptualised as a global framework used in the formulation of a new information and communication order of United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) with respect to flow of information between nations in which the medium is included. Boyd-Barret, 1977, p. 117 refers to this as a form of "media imperialism" and describes it as:

“The process whereby the ownership, structure, distribution or content of the media in any country are singly or together subject to substantial external pressures from the media interests of another country or countries, without proportionate reciprocation of influence by country so affected.”

This situation is most prominent in many of the developing countries, especially those that were previously colonised. This has drawn criticism because of the way in which such media have failed to consider multiple forms and power relationships among the various cultures within the host countries. Schiller (1976) particularly describes the roles of multinational corporations in the developed countries in influencing the developing countries by alluding to the fight for control and exploitation of the resources of the weaker powers, which subsequently annihilate their values and cultures including languages in many instances.

Cultural imperialism has also been described by Sarmela (1975) as the technical, economic and cultural domination by the industrialised nations, which determines how other cultures of the world develop. Therefore, cultural imperialism occurs in many forms including in languages, where it is referred to as *linguistic imperialism*.

Linguistic imperialism is the relationship between core English speaking and periphery English speaking countries being dominated by one language (Phillipson, 1975). This is particularly so where language policies have placed English as the major language to replace the local languages. In such circumstances, cultural imperialism arises because the world systems change other societies. This may be through coercion, force, as was akin to the colonial periods, or attraction and promotion of their values and structures (Schiller, 1976) under the guise that the society is being brought into modernisation. The other forms of cultural imperialism in the context of media have been referred to as “structural imperialism” by Galtung (1979) or cultural “dependency and domination” by Mohammadi (1995). In both of these

references, cultural imperialism implies an external force that exerts its influence. Linguistic imperialism, which is also a form of cultural imperialism, is associated with colonial governments particularly in Africa where the policies of the colonial imperialists meant that the European Languages of English, French and Portuguese were used for communication and incorporated as the medium of instruction in schools of the former colonies. In fact, not many African languages were used officially in any way (Alexander, 2006).

The use of foreign language as a medium of instruction in school has been criticised on account that when children attend school for the first time, they are confronted with a language which they are not accustomed to and much less to the educational materials that are used as teaching aids (Day & Bamford, 1998). Therefore, the child's learning is hampered by linguistic instruction since the languages used are neither well understood nor well used by both the teachers and the children. For this reason, the use of these foreign languages as media for instruction in schools has in fact been a deterrent to the socio-economic development of these countries. In Tanzania, for example, Brock-Utne (1975) observes that pupils are unable to learn English because they are taught bad and incorrect English and what they learn do not the subject matter because teachers prefer to use Kiswahili, which is a local language, as a medium of teaching. Therefore, the pupils are constrained and the use of a foreign language becomes a barrier to knowledge acquisition. In contrast, however, use of local languages as a medium of instruction in schools has enabled students to perform better and achieve good results. Mehrotra observes that "Students who have learned to read in their mother tongue learn to read in a second language more quickly than those who are taught to read in a second language" (Mehrotra, 1998, p. 497). In terms of attaining better education and learning a foreign language, studies in Sri Lanka (Mehrotra, 1998) and Nigeria (Bamgbose, 1984) have shown that use of a local language as a medium of instruction in schools is more appropriate than a foreign language.

The theory of globalisation is defined by Tomlinson (1997) as the uncontrollable natural occurrence of a mixture of economic, political and cultural influences, which underscore the significance of the driving forces mentioned above. In this process for example, the non-western cultures have been exposed to new ideas and ways of life, which Robinson (2004) specifies as facets of globalisation and which include globalised economy, in which there are new forms of production, finance, and worldwide economic integration; global cultural patterns, practices and flows referred to as global culture(s); global political processes, which have given rise to new transnational institutions in tandem with the spread of global governance and structures of authorities; new patterns of transnational migration, identities and communities; and new social hierarchies, forms of inequality, and relationships of domination around the world. Other than by reception that can be attributed to this form of globalisation (Crane, 2004), none of these would occur without a language, which is considered important. The proliferation and use of the English language for example has been justified as natural and beneficial to globalisation. Therefore, nearly over 60 countries in the world use it officially or partially. For example, most researchers write in English and it is noted that three quarters of the world's emails are written in English

The concept of globalisation on the other hand, has its foundations in historical, cultural, economical and philosophical sources, which are also its major driving forces. Globalisation has also been described as being a social process driven by the above-mentioned forces (Delhumeau, 2011). The historical foundation of globalisation relates to the old expeditions and trade routes for various commodities associated with early explorers. This emergence of globalisation is also related to trading between nations of the East, Mediterranean, Arabia, North Africa and India for goods (Osterhammel & Petersson, 2005). The cultural globalisation is referred to by Crane (2004) as the transmission across national borders of different forms of media and

arts while the economic foundation of globalisation is associated with products that get onto the market and the world as well as integration of world economies. Therefore, as a concept, globalisation depends on the benefits of the forces that drive it or opinions regarding its effects. Similarly, it is considered to integrate economies and societies for the purposes of exchange of goods, services, information and free movement and therefore is considered a form of modern imperialism. Whether globalisation is advantageous to Africa in regard to advancements in technology and market opportunities or disadvantageous as a result of the creation of economic inequalities and cultural adulterations have been argued by various scholars (Kabamba, 2008; Kwame, 2006). It is deemed however, that globalisation can create the risk of greater uniformity, which could endanger languages or other regional or local languages when there is an emphasis on acquisition of major international languages especially in the education system, media and public life.

With respect to languages, globalisation processes have impacts on the use, knowledge and preservation of languages while at the same time they have the potential to invigorate languages and nurture their use in society because globalisation connects institutions of the world and provides access to information, among other things. Bamgbose (2011) concretises globalisation by making reference to the increased contact between regions with regard to development that include communication, trade, technology, information, travel and culture. Therefore, globalisation entails the stretching of social, political and economic activities across frontiers to the extent that events, decisions and activities in one region of the world can have significant effects on individuals and communities in another distant region of the globe (Held et al., 1999). Globalisation has emerged in many fields, and has therefore shaped both the world and human cultures.

The theoretical implications of cultural imperialism and globalisation in this study are that they have influenced the development and use of local African languages. The coming of the Europeans to

Africa in all modes whether as merchants, missionaries or administrators influenced the cultures of the African countries they settled, furthermore, in Ghana, like most colonised countries, the colonial administrators introduced western formal education. Consequently, skills, attitudes and values taught were based on these foreign cultures (Fafunwa, 1967). As more of this formal education was perpetuated, more of the Ghanaian cultures were alienated.

Both cultural imperialism and globalisation are blamed for the detriment of Africa in all spheres including in the development of languages. The blame has been for the use of colonial languages in national and international communication, as opposed to the local languages resulting in maintaining “status quo”, “elite closure” (Myers-Scotton, 1993) or “language exclusion” (Bamgbose, 2000). All the terminologies entail aspects of separation. Elite closure, in particular, is a type of a social strategy where people in authority establish or maintain their powers and privileges through the choice they make regarding languages. Thus, “elites” use official policies and language patterns to restrict the use of the same by other non elites for political and socio-economic advancement (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Whatever reasons are advanced for the exclusion of local languages, they have bearings on both cultural imperialism and globalisation and are mere excuses. According to Myers-Scotton (1993) such excuses include that not all people in the same community can speak the same linguistic varieties; linguistic varieties in use in any community are generally used in different situations; and that linguistic varieties are either positively or negatively evaluated by community members according to their use in a specific type of interaction to perpetuate the continuation of elite enclosure. For this reason, African countries have been faulted for failing to implement appropriate policies for the development of the local languages (Bamgbose, 2000).

Other scholars view the rationalisation for elite closures as being political. Their argument being that the political class failed to act during the 1960s up to the 1980s, and therefore, continue to use co-

lonial languages and make justifications that such uses are essential for national unity, development and progress as well as for efficiency and cost effectiveness (Bamgbose, 1991; Bokamba, 2007; Bokamba & Tlou, 1977). The net effect of this has been that both cultural imperialism and globalisation have marginalised the African languages.

2.2 Language Planning, Policy and Power

2.2.1 Conceptual Framework of Language Planning and Policy

Language planning and language policy are concepts linked mostly to the post-colonial era and the ensuing problems associated with them apportioned to the colonisation by the African countries after gaining their independence (Ferguson, 2006, p. 1). Language planning includes activities often accomplished by governments to 'promote systematic linguistic change in some community of speakers' (Ferguson, 2006). Various literature give different interpretations and definitions of language planning. Baldauf (1990) for instance describes language planning as a complex series of processes, which entail the deliberate changing of a language in a system of languages by concerned planning bodies. Rubin and Jernudd (1971, p. xvi) suggest that language planning entails the channelling of numerous problems and values through some administrative structure and thereby necessitating mobilisation of a variety of disciplines. A policy, on the other hand as defined by Gottlieb (1995) and espoused by Tessa Carroll reference to specific strategies formulated and implemented by planners to achieve certain objectives. In such cases, policies would include official government legislation and executive and court orders, all aimed at achieving a specific purpose.

Language planning and policy concepts are considered scholarly because both are synonymously used to mean the same, or at times, to differ depending on the technical range they use. For instance, some scholars maintain that these two terms are used to describe distinctly two aspects of language change process (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. xi)

by defining “language policy” as “a body of ideas, laws, regulation, rules as well as practices that are intended to achieve a planned language change in a society, group or system” (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Other scholars consider that language policy and language planning are different. For example Spolsky (2006) considers ‘language policy’ to have two prongs. The first prong describes customary consensual judgments and practices of a speech in a community regarding its appropriateness among different choices such as those used in speech or writing. The second prong describes that the term ‘language policy’ refers to a policy specifically defined and adopted in a particular circumstance and place (Spolsky, 2006). However, others for example, William Mackey (1991) regard language policy to accommodate society through the inclusions of diverse languages that reflect the socio-economic and cultural environments of a nation as it co-exists with others in a web of different social, cultural and political contexts.

In this discourse, it can be argued that both language planning and policy and language policy and planning are interdependent and may conveniently be taken to encompass rules and regulations that guide the practices for inclusion of languages within a socio-economic context, and which also takes account of the political and cultural settings of the people.

Language planning in most African countries is done at national level and it is an integral part of development planning. Therefore, it is the government’s responsibility to reach out to the society. Language planning thus competes for resources just like other areas of development. As a result, at this level, language planning consists of both structures and bureaucratic systems (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997), which fall within the socio-political context of the planners (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). The governments therefore influence language planning through policies for the regulations, nurturing and development of appropriate skills to ensure the rights of individuals or groups to use and maintain languages (Le Page, 1971). In essence, language policy could be a precursor to language planning, because

in the policy, specific norms regarding language are stated as well as modalities for implementation. Crawford (2000) describes governments' interventions in Language policy as facilitation of clear communication, training and recruitment of personnel, guaranteeing due process, fostering political participation, and providing access to public services, proceedings, and documents.

In order to accomplish effective language planning, some scholars have identified four entities as being relevant. These entities are governmental bodies; the educational sector; quasi-governmental or non-governmental bodies; and individuals and organisations (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). The distinct roles played by these stakeholders are varied and may overlap at times. In cases like Africa, the roles of stakeholders are not defined because many governments are involved in decision making regarding which languages are taught within the curricula, allocation of funding or determination of financial sources to maintain language education. Therefore, the government's role includes equipping, preparation and training of language teachers at all levels; development of the curricula; determination of teaching methodologies; and definition of assessment procedures and standards for both teachers and students. Along with language planning, governments are also responsible for making language policies (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Language policies can vary, for example, Spolsky (2004) identifies language ideology also as a language policy, especially when it is intended to modify or confirm language practices (Blommaert, 1999; Joseph & Taylor, 1990). Nevertheless, to distinguish between language ideology and practice, (Shannon, 1999; Spolsky & Shohamy, 2000) state that language practice defines the ethnography of a community and how it is patterned to use its linguistic collections, while a language ideology is the consensus on appropriate use of a variety of linguistics for particular purposes. As an illustration, Shannon (1999) cites the case where, in the absence of a language policy in the south-western region of the USA, bilingual teachers patterned their teachings to a dominant language ideology.

The non-governmental and quasi-governmental bodies are other stakeholders in language planning and their roles are as varied as their numbers. They include agencies, national academies and language boards (Joseph, 1987; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). The language agencies have been distinguished from academies by Joseph (1987) in terms of the qualifications of their members and orientations. According to Joseph (1987), members of academies in many countries are selected based on their literary achievements and their orientation towards the belief that languages are decaying and need to be restored. The Boards on the other hand, are stakeholders who are committed to the principles of scientific research and focus mainly on providing an advisory role. Thus, national academies play the roles of spreading and preserving languages that are branded to be national or regional. Ghana, for example, has the Akan Orthography Committee, which is charged with standardisation and an orthographic writing system for the Akan language. However, this begs the question about other important regional languages. Such academies also exist elsewhere. In Spain the *Real Academia Espanola* was established in 1713, *Accademia della Crusca* was established in 1582 in Italy and *Instituto de Alta Cultura* was established in Portugal in 1992 (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 10). There are also language academies in the Middle East (Altoma, 1974). The examples of boards include those such as the Japan Foundation (Hirataka, 1992) for Japanese, and the Goethe Institute and the British Council for German and English languages, respectively (Ammon, 1992). The most common functions of these agencies are the regulation and standardisation of languages and are also concerned with spread and of the languages and cultures concerned and giving support to the teaching of these languages in other countries of the world.

Language planning also requires human resource planning, a component which comprises of language experts (Joseph, 1987). Unfortunately, this planning is missing in many countries. It is stated that globally, human resource plans are only found in Scandinavian

countries where permanent commissions or committees exist for this purpose (Haugen, 1976). In Africa, such committees existed in the past in East Africa for Kiswahili as the Swahili Committee in 1930 and in West Africa as the Hausa Language Board in 1955 (Paden, 1968; Whiteley, 1969).

Language planning is undertaken for the attainment of intended aims; however, criticisms have been levelled against the manner in which planning is done or the nature of the planners involved. Luke et al. (1990) argue that in any classical language planning, the complex theoretical relationship between language discourses, ideologies and social organisations needs to be explored. This is a view also held both by neo-Marxist social and post-structuralism theorists who argue that classical planning hardly undertakes any analyses of critical discourses in planning. The nature of planners is such that hardly any stakeholders are involved in language planning. Failure to include them in planning means that their concern, highlighted by Rubin (1971), about the need for extensive fact finding in good planning is not addressed. In her view, such planning would consider alternative plans of actions, decision making options and implementation of the decisions in some specific ways. Therefore, Rubin (1971) characterises language planning as an activity in which 'goals are established, means are selected, and the outcomes predicted in a systematic and explicit manner'. In this context, language planning hinges on offering solutions to language problems 'through decisions about alternative goals, means, and outcomes to solve those problems' (Rubin, 1971). In reference to the manner of language planning, Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971), like Rubin, highlights that language planning need to focus on 'problem solving' and should be characterised by the formulation and evaluation of alternative options to solving language problems for more effective decision making. In addition, Fishman (1974a) suggests that language planning should pursue organised solutions to language problems, which are particularly pertinent in multilingual societies of Africa and receive little attention. Proper implementation of language

planning depends on, among other factors, access to the right kind of information that relates to the sociolinguistic habits of the target population and social basis upon which the language policy is to be developed in order to reflect a productive change in direction. This is a feat that has hardly been achieved in many language planning programmes because the elites or technocrats who do the planning do so at the exclusion of other stakeholders such as pupils or parents. The importance of including stakeholders in planning is because of the differences in religion and social or economic dispensations of societies, which are essential in the incorporation of language policies in order not to affect languages negatively (Das Gupta, 1971; 1973). Due to the misgivings in language planning, scholars such as Rubin and Jernudd (1971) have wondered if any language planning can be done. However, Fishman (1974b) believes that it is possible because planning has been done successfully to the extent that languages have been modernised or developed into new languages.

Another factor to be considered in language planning is the notion that languages are not equal. This means that during planning for a language, such as in multilingual societies like Ghana, this should be taken into account and stakeholder participation is necessary. Hymes (1992) also believes that despite languages being structurally and potentially equal, they are unequal with regard to how they are evaluated and this is more evident in Africa where foreign languages are being promoted as being superior to local languages. Joseph (1987, p. 88) also disagrees with authors who say that 'all dialects are equal' and underscores the need for planners to consult widely prior to developing a language policy. In addition, Baldauf (1990) cites that despite constraints from bureaucracy, specific social, political and resources, language planning should be responsive to the real world and should not be only theoretical. Doing so would provide interdisciplinary solutions to immediate practical problems, therefore, stakeholder participation is crucial, and for countries like Ghana, the inclusion of the education administrators, providers and consumers of

the language, such as parents and pupils, would be relevant (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997).

Mainstreaming language planning in Africa is considered a projection of a European notion in post-independence African states because many language groups have been unified by one language (Ferguson, 2006). The obsession with ‘one language’ by African nations has been criticised by Bamgbose, because in his view, nearly all African countries aspire not only for one national language, including in politics, where there is a one party system. They hold the belief that such oneness would allow them to achieve socio-cultural cohesion and political unity despite them being multi-ethnic, multilingual and multicultural societies (Bamgbose, 1994). Indeed, many African countries use foreign languages as their official language apart from Ethiopia and Somalia where local languages are used. Countries of East Africa have also adopted the use of a local language, Kiswahili, as the official language although there is still widespread use of English, which is foreign. In situations where there is the need to select an official language for use, political considerations are essential. For a bilingual setting, Gafaranga and Torras (2001) observed that the decision of which language to use depends on the notion of traditional socio-linguistics, which defines groups of persons based on their standard social variables, for example, education or occupation (Fairclough, 2001). However, Joseph (2002; 2004) proposes that a language should be reconceptualised as a process that emphasises the dynamics of the semantics in a language and should also be considered within a political realm (Joseph, 2004; 2006).

The aspects of power in relation to planning are associated with social classes, which are deemed to be forces that occupy different positions in economic production and which have antagonising interests. These interests are depicted in the forms of class, ethnicity and always struggle with one another to gain power (Fairclough, 2001). In contrast, in conventional language planning, larger political and social problems such as class and power are avoided (Luke et al.,

1990). Like Fairclough (2001), Tollefson (1991) holds the opinion that language planning and policy are merely instruments of control and reproduction of power by the state therefore, certain language policies may lead to class relationships (Tollefson, 1991) where the more powerful class can make decisions on which language(s) are deemed to be politically correct and therefore be used (Tollefson, 1991). In this regard, languages can be rated as low, high prestige or standard languages and extreme cases of linguistic oppressions may arise where certain languages are criminalised, such as the use of vernacular or local languages (Tollefson, 1991).

In respect to language policy, Ruiz (1984) states that a policy can be both a problem and a resource. This notion compares well with Churchill's (1986) typology of language policies because the authors see government interventions of sidelining the minority languages, which result in such minority languages being seen as a problem rather than a resource. Consequently, they fail to plan appropriately for these minority languages and this affects the education status, especially in developing countries (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995).

2.2.2 Insights of Language Planning from Nigeria

In language planning, researchers have distinguished between the processes and functions. The planning processes are activities undertaken during planning while the functions are the goals to be achieved in the planning. Hornberger (1990) and Nahir (1984) made such distinctions with two examples from Canada where the planning process by the public service commission provides English or French training in order to achieve the goal of spreading the languages. This activity also functions to fulfil other goals of maintaining or reviving the languages and is done without any socio-political orientation, except for focusing on the aims (Hornberger, 1990).

Kloss (1969) and Neustupný (1974) also identified that the typologies of language planning are dichotomous. Kloss identifies language planning to be corpus and status while Neustupný has identified it

to be both a policy and a developmental approach. The two terminologies of status and corpus planning that Kloss (1969) introduced into language planning and policy have been adopted over the years by other scholars. This is because, in their view, status planning has been performed by politicians and not the language experts so that the languages attain the purposes for which they are planned. A case would be when legislation is made by politicians to formulate a policy on a particular language, as is often the case in many countries. Corpus planning on the other hand is done to change the codes, or for selection of languages, and it is accomplished by language experts who may nevertheless be driven by political considerations (Lo Bianco 2004) The outputs of these forms of planning are that, in status planning, clauses are inserted into constitutions, laws and regulations regarding languages to be used in social and public domains, whereas, the outputs from corpus planning are productions of literacy manuals, grammar, guides on guides on pronunciations and writing styles (Lo Bianco 2004; Ferguson, 2006). The concerns that differences in such planning would cause regard which entity between the two is dominant in any country.

In addition to corpus and status planning, Fishman (2000) introduced language in education planning and discourse planning, which are both pertinent in this thesis. Language in education planning is largely a domain of the education sector where the institutions are the arena for the implementation (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; 2006). It is at these educational institutions that individuals are introduced to languages of the dominant cultures and standard versions of languages are developed to form symbols of cultural unity akin to corpus planning. To accomplish education planning for languages, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) proposed five steps that include materials, personnel, community, curriculum and evaluation.

Discourse planning is an analytical category in language planning and policy, and like Fishman (2000), Lo Bianco (2004) indicated that discourse planning can guide the directions a policy can take,

especially when there are contentions from disputes or conflicts. This can arise when stakeholders are involved in language planning and the author suggests that such discourses facilitate the incorporation of the language of politics in language planning. This enables some linguistic issues to be adopted in policies and others to be disregarded. Similarly, it allows for policy making that takes into account the problems of language construction. Lo Bianco (2004) throws a caveat that despite discourse being inherently ideological, contestable and negotiable it is important for institutions and stakeholders to direct, shape influence its practices and patterns (Lo Bianco, 2004). This discourse planning can influence the way in which people behave and think about the language as well as the value they assign to it.

Another aspect of language planning is the recognition of national identity and politics, as scholars like Canagarajah (2006) and Haugen (1983) consider that languages are unequally placed in power relations. Therefore, some languages dominate as a means of public communication and are given official recognition. This is the trend in Africa where many newly independent countries opted to continue using colonial languages as their official languages despite the drawback that the majority of the population are not proficient in these official languages. Patten and Kymlicka (2003) refer to this as a norm-accommodation approach to the selection and use of an official language.

Nigeria, like Ghana, was colonised by the British and insights from Nigeria show similarities and contrasts with Ghanaian language policy and planning. Nigeria, again like Ghana, was administered as a British protectorate (Aguolu, 1979) and as a result many cultures and kingdoms were merged to form one nation. The Kingdoms of Oyo, Igbo and Benin existed in the south, while the Kanem and Hausa-Fulani empires were in the north (Attah, 1987). All of these kingdoms had their unique and diverse languages, religions and cultures, which have now been merged as Nigeria that has 250 ethnic groups. The dominant group of Yoruba are in the west, Igbo in the east and the Hausa-Fulani in the north (Aguolu, 1979). Greenberg (1963) identi-

fied four language families in Africa, and three of which are spoken in Nigeria with the exception of Khoisan. Thus, in total there are 510 living languages spoken in Nigeria, 63-65 of these languages are spoken widely but (English) has no native speakers in the country. The English language without native speakers is a result of the retention of colonial language, which is the case in many independent African countries.

The arrival of the Arabs from North Africa in the eleventh century to the northern part of Nigeria led to the introduction of Islam and subsequent conversion of the Hausa-Fulani. Meanwhile, Christianity became dominant in the south. Currently, the Hausa-Fulani make up 35% of the population of the country, Christians 45% and the rest are with the arrival of missionaries and the colonial powers, English was widely adopted and Nigeria has retained English as the official language to date. Ghana also adopted the same approach.

Criticisms of the policies and governing styles used by the British in their colonies, and the general perception that cultural and ethnic diversity hamper national unity, have been levelled against the colonial policies and attributed to inadequate national development (Peshkin, 1967). In Nigeria, therefore, the indirect rule made people shun Western education, especially in the northern part where the Hausa-Fulanis reside because they believed it had negative effects on their traditional beliefs.

A federal government system was introduced in the Nigerian constitution in 1954 and allowed the western and eastern regions, dominated by the Yoruba and Igbo respectively, to become self-governing in 1957. The North became self-governing in 1959 and the entire country in 1960. In 1967, however, the military government divided the country in twelve states through a decree (Afigbo, 1991). This was done, among other reasons, to protect the minority groups from being dominated by the more powerful ones.

In regard to education in Nigeria, there are differences in education between the north and south of Nigeria, which scholars such as

Aguolu (1979) attribute to ethnicity and Peshkin (1967) to broader social structures in the education system. The federal system adopted in Nigeria affected its language planning because dominant groups have maintained that their languages should be granted recognition in the constitution as national languages while others expressed discontent (Olowu, 1991). Nevertheless, in order to live up to the spirit of federalism articles in the constitution regarding language policy cover all languages spoken in the regions. For instance, article 5 states that arrested persons and those charged with offences should be communicated with in a language which they understand. It also states that indigenous languages should be promoted in line with article 53 while article 95 also stipulates that the business of the National Assembly be conducted in English and one of the three major languages: Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. (Olowu, 1991; UNESCO, 2007).

To some people, the use of English is considered to be a unifying language that symbolises cohesion throughout the country. However, opponents of the use of the language feel that the majority of the people are illiterate and therefore do not gain from this language (Wolf & Igboanusi, 2006).

2.2.3 Critiques of Language Planning

This section examines a number of critiques of planning and policy, especially those for language education. Criticisms have been made regarding both these aspects, which are often considered within one social theory instead of in a traditional language planning context that embraces broader social and political settings. In traditional language planning, some scholars have associated language planning with power and resource distribution in societies and as a result it has acquired a political perspective (de la Torre, 2002). Tollefson (1991), for example, argues that language policy is a mechanism by which a dominant group determines access to political and economic power to create language supremacy. Pennycook (2001), however, criticises this form of language planning and argues that it is not a natural entity

with fixed structural properties that cannot be influenced, while the proponents of post-modernism view it as a colonial construction (see also del Pilar García Mayo & Garcia Lecumberri, 1997; Pennycook, 2006). Harris (1996; 1997) moderates these criticisms by advising on how to avoid the notion that languages are fixed by suggesting that an integrated approach should be adopted for language planning in order not to isolate other languages. He also suggests this should be done within a wider system of multimodal signs and symbols. In multilingual societies, similar language groups that use similar symbols can emerge as well as common language among the groups.

In respect to English language planning, Fishman (1991; see also Green, 2007; Joseph, 2006; Walsh & McLeod, 2008) alluded to the attributes of linguistic imperialism in which an aspect of dominance is paramount as it has been embedded in the structure of education systems as well as in classrooms. This is mostly seen in formerly colonised countries of Africa where foreign languages continue to dominate in many sectors, including in education. In planning for developments in these sectors, different players call for different levels and types of language planning arrangements. Moreover, concepts of institutional and systemic planning have been mooted (Alidou, 2004; Attapol, 2010; Halliday, 1985; 1993) and distinguished these two levels of planning by defining institutional language planning as dealing with the relationship between a language and its users, while systemic planning is based on history and the connections between language materials, class, race and sex. For Halliday, in institutional planning, language is made accessible to the people who ensure that appropriate structures and systems are in place for successful implementation, and as such would include policies and educational measures, provide the institutional context for second language teaching, language maintenance and to provide settings that maintain the teaching of a second language together with any vernacular (Halliday, 1993; Spolsky, 2013). With respect to language teaching and education, institutional planning also provides a way in which ideologies form policies that

confirm or modify language practices (Blommaert, 1999). Spolsky (2004) cites a situation in the United States of America, where, in the absence of a language policy in the south-western region, the teachers resorted to using their bilingual patterns in language teaching, thus de-emphasising the importance of institutional language planning.

Systemic language planning is concerned with differentiation and the resources needed for a successful language planning process. This may be viewed as biased depending on which class or group is given priority because it is language planning based on particular class or purpose. A case in point would be the vast resources devoted to education in English or French, for example, in Africa as opposed to the vernaculars. This is the case in many of African countries that still continue to use foreign languages, (Castells & Cardoso, 2005). English Language Teaching (ELT) for example, which is linguistic imperialism, has been continued with the justifications that it is done for research rather than for political reasons (Donald, 2008). This is because when English was introduced by the British, they also promoted the use of vernaculars in contrast to the French (Joseph, 2004). To further the concept of systemic language planning still using English, Brutt-Griffler (2006; see also Cummins & Davidson, 2007) adds the view that the linguistic strategy used by the British Empire was a policy to separate the non-English speakers from English speaking elites to allow the local languages to continue as national languages. Nevertheless, he noted a problem in this planning, which was that eloquent speakers from the third world suffer and are portrayed as traitors or having false consciousness for their local societies, especially by the proponents of vernacular languages. Yet, in some cases, such eloquent speakers are admired and considered to be of a special class who need to be emulated to the extent that parents would go to great lengths to ensure their children attend the best English schools (Luming, 2008). Ricento (2006) another critic of linguistic imperialism, raises some moral issues regarding the teachings of international languages such as English in developing countries. His moral view is that this gives

native speakers an undue advantage for employment opportunities compared to non-native speakers.

In another view, Spolsky (2004) contends that the spread of English was not as a result of a direct conversion of language policy but simply the position English language has taken in the world. A view also held by Pennycook (2001) is that language is a reflection of global relationships and attributes it to 'post-colonial performativity' (Pennycook, 2000; 2001; see also Powell Davies, & Gunashekar, 2013), namely institutional actions after independence. Therefore, in his view, linguistic imperialism lacks the view of how English was adopted. Similarly, Canagarajah (1999a; 1999b) and Thirumalai (2012) have criticised how linguistic imperialism has been theorised. They argued that the terminology views people as being passive and converted to new languages and his contention is that "People are not always passive or blind to be converted heart and soul to new discourses". They also states that in a multilingual world, such as we have, languages grow and are mixed up, such as pidgin in the Caribbean, West Africa and the Pacific Islands, the Sheng-a Swahili and English language combination that is emerging in East Africa and Clinglish, the English and Chinese mixture in China. Rajagopalan (1999a; 1999b) adds that languages are driven by power inequalities such that languages become an arena of permanent conflict with losers and winners. For these reasons, he argues that English language teachers cannot control the loss of local languages because the English language is continuing to spread (Rajagopalan, 1999a; 1999b). In the foregoing discourse, language planning needs to scrutinize the influences that can be consciously exerted by manipulation due to power. It also needs to consider how much linguistics can change underlying and uncontrollable social forces (Haugen, 1983; Holsinger & Jacob, 2009).

2.3 Language Teaching and Education as the Means of Realising Language Planning

In this thesis, Ghana's policies of language teaching and education are discussed with respect to how the languages are perceived and implemented. The language policies in many multilingual, post-colonial countries in Africa aim to promote both the local and English languages. Therefore, language teaching and literacy are geared towards bilingualism for these target languages (Alidou, 2004; Hamish, 2013; Ouane & Glanz, 2004; Romaine, 1989; Wei, 2000).

Many reasons have been given for this approach such as the need to achieve development and for the purposes of globalisation. Therefore, a language like English, for example, has been supported ideologically and has become the dominant language of the world. English is used in many institutions and organisations such as the World Bank, by language experts, and by the media and other commercial firms (Brock-Utne, 2003).

Authors such as Fairclough (2001) and Del Pilar García Mayo and Garcia Lecumberri (1997) argue that the objective in language training should be to transmit knowledge and skills irrespective of the origin of the content. They also state that language education should focus on raising children's awareness of their environment and developing their abilities to participate and shape their social world. However, there are numerous impediments to effective education in the mother tongue in Ghana. These impediments are a result of a range of factors such as attitudinal logistical, issues such as linguistic/pedagogic, political and socio-economical.

The perception in Ghana is that educational standards are very low in both public urban and rural private schools compared to private schools, which are deemed to perform better at the Basic Education Certificate Examination (B.E.C.E). This prompts many parents to patronise private schools as a way of getting a quality education for their children. Consequently, enrolment in private schools has soared

by 36% since 2007 (Ampiah, 2010). The main reason is because private schools have superior English facilities for their pupils through greater availability and access to textbooks and extra tuition (Ampiah, 2008). Therefore, most parents prefer English as a medium of instruction in primary schools rather than the mother tongue since English is the official language. Furthermore, the parents consider that the use of English is the key to their child's personal development in this globalised world (Hamish, 2013; Naashia, 2013).

Similarly, those charged with implementing a language policy have failed to effectively ensure that the policy is implemented. In some public schools, some authorities discourage pupils from speaking local languages and some teachers utilise time allocated for teaching Ghanaian languages to teach other subjects (Kontra, 1999; Susan, 1997). In the administration, some headmasters and principals treat Ghanaian language teachers unfairly and fail to recognise that Ghanaian language teaching is a specialisation. As Boadi (1976) observed, they fail to consider a credit mark in Ghanaian language examinations for admission.

Proper teaching methods and the availability of learning aids are vital for education at all levels, and the same applies for the teaching of mother tongue languages. Furthermore, in many African countries, the limited teaching of African languages as opposed to foreign languages, particularly English, is due to the challenges faced by the recruitment teachers and the availability of resources for teaching (Aito, 2005; Awoyini, 1982). In Ghana, the situation is no different. There is limited development of the local language curricula including availability of adequate teaching resources and much less a system for evaluation for the languages (EdQual, 2010). The lack of appropriate materials and textbooks are a major hindrance in the development of local language studies. Previously (Boadi, 1976; Odugbemi & Lee, 2011) drew attention to the fact that "this is such a central issue that it desires the attention and combined effort of the government, educational authorities and publishing houses. Until the question of

up-to-date textbook production is examined, there is very little future for the mother tongue in any secondary education.” The reality in Ghana is that despite the country’s new educational policy, the senior high school programmes have no textbooks on Ghanaian languages even though some were available for junior high schools in 2007. The major reasons given by the administrators are the prohibitive cost of producing such materials for all the numerous languages existing in the country, as observed by Kathleen Heugh (2006).

This is a major reason why it has been difficult to train pupils to use local languages as a medium of expression and to meet the challenges of the fast changing world. This is also the view held by the Colonial Administration who acknowledged in the 1956 Minority Report that:

“It is pointless to teach any of the vernacular languages as a subject in schools; for such insignificant and uncultivated local dialects can never become so flexible as to assimilate readily new words, and to expand their vocabularies to meet new situations.... their absence of literature discredits them and the use of any of them as a medium of expression”.

This may be an overstatement because in most cases the colonial governments used such ideas to favour the teaching of English instead of Ghanaian languages. Furthermore, some likened this to prejudice by speakers of a major language and argued that it is a means to deny the rights of such language speakers to use their languages in important spheres of literacy and education.

Use of the mother tongue language in education is advocated by the proponents of human rights who refer to it as a linguistic right. Education in the mother tongue, they argue, would be beneficial to minorities and promote positive policies with added advantages such as prevention of genocide and conflicts; as well as promotion of linguistic diversity (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2001; 2006). Scholars such as Joseph (2006) state categorically that communities have a fundamental right

to use their language in public and it is only fair that they do so in a language they can naturally identify with and use. Therefore, to him languages should be reflected in constitutions and children should be educated in their languages. In order to guarantee language rights to their speakers, it is necessary to formalise the process and make it official; therefore, scholars have identified that it is through legislation that such privileges are bestowed (Paulston, 1997; Pennycook, 2006). Language policies have been considered as important for instilling justice and equality among different ethnic groups (Patten & Kymlicka, 2003; Schmidt, 2006), and in some countries such issues have been recognised and have licensed radio stations to broadcast in the local languages.

2.4 Barriers to Effective Education in Ghanaian Languages

In schools where the language of preference to parents is not met in terms of practice, children are often withdrawn and sent to schools where their desires are in vogue. A parent who was being briefed about the importance of the mother tongue in education replied: “It is not the skill in his mother tongue which makes a child succeed in life, but how much English he knows. Is it going to be one type of school for the rich and another for the poor? At the end of the day, we are expected to pass examinations in English (ADEA, 2004, p. 38). From the pre-independence period to date, many Ghanaian parents and scholars suspect that the introduction and attention to mother tongue education in place of the foreign international languages was a deliberate attempt by the colonial masters at giving the colonies an “inferior” type of education that is not comparable to the Western type of education. Many people in Ghana share the prevailing view that “English language is the Heaven-sent medium of religion and civilisation” (Odamtten, 1978, p. 115).

Bamgbose (1976) also recalls the experience of a researcher who was trying to investigate opinion at the grassroots about the need to revolutionise education and make it more relevant and functional. When this researcher got out of his Mercedes car and sought the views of a certain farmer, the reaction he got was “the white man’s education is alright. Is it not what you had that now makes you ride that beautiful car? I want the same for my child. I want my child to speak the same kind of English but not the Yoruba you are proposing.”

Private individuals who establish schools do so primarily for economic reasons. To yield maximum profit, they strive toward having high numbers of pupils to achieve their aims. Schools that use English as a medium of instruction and teach the mother tongue as a school subject are accorded much more patronage than schools that use the mother tongue as a medium of instruction and English as a school subject. The society believes that it pays to study English rather than African languages because it is the passport to white collar jobs and other posts in politics, administration, trade and commerce and even pastoral work. The use of the mother tongue in educating pupils is therefore frowned on by the school authority. This is in relation to the findings of Andoh-Kumi in Kumasi and reported in Kwapong (2007) when he remarked that private schools in the metropolis do not use mother tongue at all for teaching either at the pre-primary or during the first three years of primary education, but it is taught as a school subject. For easy patronage, schools focus on the demands of the parents and the English language is used as a medium of instruction from the first day of the pupil’s time at the school until the last day.

One of the reasons why Ghanaian languages are not actively promoted is in part due to the attitude of the elite who are the beneficiaries of a policy that promotes official languages such as English or French. It is interesting to note that three Members of Parliament from the Parliamentary Sub-committee on Education who participated in a discussion on medium in lower primary schools all felt that English should be used as medium of instruction from Primary One. They

claimed that the continuous use of one's own language in school would demean and reduce one's intellectual capacity. Given that those who share this view are those called upon to make policies, it is no wonder that Ghanaian languages will continue to be relegated to a position of inconsequence. This is affirmed by Awoniyi (1978) who reports that:

“Many members of the educated elite in the English speaking West African countries who take part in the formulation of policy are loudest in praising the virtues of education in the mother tongue. Yet when it comes to sending their children to school, they settle for the special private schools where English and French are taught (but not mother tongue).”

A clear example is the issue expressed by Mr. J. T. N Yankah, a member of the Bernard Committee under the Accelerated Development Plan of Education 1951 in the Gold Coast. He said that:

“It is pointless to teach any of the vernacular languages as a subject in schools, for such insignificant and uncultivated dialects can never become as flexible as to assimilate readily new words and to expand their vocabularies to meet new situations. Some of the dialects, besides not being yet properly standardised, have only lately been reduced to writing and their absence of literature discredits them and the use of any of them as medium of expression.” (Quoted from Andoh- Kumi, 1997, p. 117).

According to Ofofu-Appiah (1977, p. 328):

“Yankah became a force to reckon with in deciding on the choice of medium of instruction in primary schools. He stood firm in opposition to the Graduate Teachers' Association, the Association of Training College Teachers' and the Presbyterian Educational Unit, all of whom upheld the majority report of the

Barnard educational Committee of 1954, which recommended that African languages should be the medium of instruction in primary schools.”

There are also historical, social and political barriers to effective functioning of the Ghanaian Language Policy. The socio-historical nature of multiplicity and inherited colonial policies are some reasons advanced for the limited use of local languages. In municipalities, there are a number of smaller languages existing side by side with major languages and policy on language education provides that the mother tongue of an immediate community be used as a medium of instruction. Therefore, speakers of less widely used languages are often proficient in other more widespread languages, which in a way marginalise them.

The discrepancy between policy and practice is the political barrier to Ghanaian Language Policy implementation. The successive governments have in principle proclaimed the policy of using the mother tongue as medium of instruction but have failed to realise the same under the guise of national integration. The government has used the excuse that language differences are divisive and can encourage ethnic hostilities to the extent that governments actively discourage the implementation of Ghanaian languages programmes in the formal school system either as subjects or mediums of instruction. The fact of the matter is that such a position has not succeeded in eliminating ethnocentrism but contributed to a new ‘tribe’ of the educated elite (Ansre, 1976).

In Africa, the use of the English language is associated with colonial legacies and despite many years of independence, English still dominates, with most former African countries incorporating it as their official language. The poignant issue is why this remains the case at the expense of the other native languages (Bokamba, 2011). The proliferation and use of the English language has been justified as being natural and beneficial for globalisation. The language

is well established in all the continents except in South America, as researchers write in English and three quarters of the world's emails are written in English.

Culture provides the best medium for development in all spheres; and in education it is argued that students and scholars are more creative and productive when their education is localised and operated within their own cultural environment (Brock-Utne, 2000; Okonkwo, 1978). Therefore, if education is both Africanised and outward reaching, it can connect and communicate with other cultures better. Unfortunately, the departure of the African colonisers left a relic of Western educational culture that obliterated many of the African cultures, including the medium of communication in schools, which is now mainly through foreign languages. This has led scholars such as Prah (2002, p. 3) It is in light of this connection that the present study tries to establish how the culture of the colonisers continues to influence language policy and implementation, as perceived both by language experts in education who implement the language policy and other stakeholders of the language policy.

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Educational reforms in Ghana have been ongoing since independence. To date, there have been four policy reviews aimed at improving education to make it more relevant and appropriate for work, rural development and modernisation of the predominantly agricultural-based economy as well as to promote national and cultural identity and citizenship. However, these series of language policies have been deemed to lack effective planning and implementation (Okon, 1987). Instead the policies have been riddled with inconsistencies. For example, during the colonial period, Governor Guggisberg's supported the use of Ghanaian languages during the first three years of basic school as well as for teaching all subjects, while the National Patriotic Party (NPP) of 2002 changed this to have English replace vernaculars as a medium of instruction in the first three years of primary schooling. Therefore, the inconsistencies relegated the teaching of Ghanaian languages at both primary and junior secondary school levels to a minimum and by extension at the colleges of education. Therefore, teachers are inadequately trained to teach the Ghanaian languages and as a result fail to provide proper language education in the country. Subsequent governments have been blamed for failing to take action to ensure that the policies proclaimed are adequately implemented. Furthermore, the country has inadequate institutional frameworks for the formulation of coherent and realistic language plans. As a result, language policies are haphazardly implemented without any strategy or supervision. It is due to the foregoing that this study seeks to uncover the extent to which language policy has influenced the teaching of Ghanaian languages at the basic school level.

The aim of the study is to examine the historical and philosophical backgrounds that have influenced Ghana's language policy for basic level of education. The way in which the language policy has been implemented, including the planning for the languages in education, will also be explored in this study. Specifically, the study seeks to understand the education experts' perceptions of the Ghanaian Language Policy and its implementation at both the point of teacher training and in basic education. The study will address the following specific sub-questions:

- a. In the view of education experts, how does the Ghanaian language policy influence basic education and teacher training?
- b. In the view of education experts, which factors enhance the implementation of language policy?
- c. In the view of education experts, what factors impede the implementation of language policy?
- d. In the view of education experts, how can the implementation of language policy be developed?

This study will answer these questions within the context of both cultural imperialism and globalisation theories being the major drivers for the continued use of English language as medium of instruction in schools. It will take into account the views of language education experts as well as parents and teachers perceptions as they are the beneficiaries of the language policy and education.

Cultural imperialism is invoked on the basis that colonial powers imposed their language on whichever territory they occupied, and these languages enabled them to undertake administration, commerce and to introduce their style of education. In the process, they either assimilated these countries, as in the case of French, or selectively created a group of elites to be versed in their culture, as was the case with the British. The overall effect was that dominant languages became

secondary languages (Bamgbose, 2011). In regard to globalisation, it is assumed that a language for wider communication is necessary to facilitate access and participation in a global village. Therefore, stakeholders and experts alike believe, for instance that the ability to speak in foreign languages would increase opportunities for employment and better wages. Therefore, they continue to advocate to the use of such languages, particularly English.

4. METHODOLOGY

In order to obtain a profound understanding about the implementation of language policies in Ghana and education experts' perceptions, a qualitative study approach was considered the most suitable. In this chapter, the first section describes the select research design and methodological approach. Then, the description proceeds to the introduction of the data collection method, which is the qualitative interviewing method. As the purpose is to provide a multidimensional viewpoint from a range of educational experts, the selection of participants in this study follows a three-stage procedure which is described in detail, followed by information about the actual data collection procedures in Ghana. Finally, the description of the method of data analysis and evaluation of the reliability issues in this study conclude the chapter.

4.1 Qualitative Research Design

When selecting a research approach, the researcher has to define what kind of information about the research target or the phenomenon studied is important and how to provide an overall, comprehensive illustration of the phenomenon. The solutions are methodological because they determine what kind of data is needed and how to collect these data in the research. In other words, methodological solutions reveal what the researcher understands about the phenomenon, and what type of knowledge is considered significant. In this study, information is understood as relational and context-based as well as

based on experience and social interaction (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). To acquire such information, qualitative research approach appeared useful for the purposes of the study.

More specifically, I used a qualitative survey design in the data collection, presentation and analysis. “Survey research (also called descriptive research) uses instruments such as interview items and interviews to gather information from groups of subjects” (Ary, Jacobs, Razavieh & Sorensen, 2006). In survey research, investigators ask questions about people’s beliefs, opinions, characteristics and behaviour (Creswell, 2003). Surveys may also investigate associations between respondents’ characteristics such as age, education, social class and race as well as their current attitudes or beliefs about some issue. Importantly, survey research does not make causal inferences, but rather describes the distributions of variables for large groups (Creswell, 2003). Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) remind us that survey research involves collecting data to answer questions concerning the phenomenon under study and is used to describe the nature of existing conditions, identify standards against which existing conditions can be compared, and/or investigate the relationships that may exist between events. The design employed in this study is a qualitative survey because it involves collecting data to describe the nature of the Ghanaian Language Policy in basic schools, and to seek opinions and views from education experts about the policy with the aim of improving teaching in schools.

The research approach employed for this project was determined by the research questions, the conceptual framework for the research activity and the methods developed to collect and interpret data. The approach selected to investigate the complex issue of implementing the Ghanaian language policy was a qualitative case study approach with its interpretivist epistemology.

The purpose of a particular piece of research determines the mode of inquiry, and consequently the “set of basic beliefs that guides action” (Guba, 1990; Lincoln & Guba, 2011). The two main paradigms that

form the basis of research in the social sciences are the quantitative and qualitative approaches. The major differences between these approaches are in their underlying beliefs and assumptions in terms of either being a positivist or anti-positivist paradigm (Willis, Willis, Muktha & Nilakanta, 2007).

A positivist paradigm lends itself to an approach that relies exclusively on what can be observed (Denzin, Lynham & Guba, 2011). This paradigm begins with the assumption that an objective reality exists separate from subjective human knowledge, and that an objective reality can be understood through a scientific method of enquiry. Positivists believe in cause and effect; that one thing leads to the other. According to Willis et al. (2007), “the interpretivist theoretical perspective on the other hand, is a reaction to positivism, which maintains the worldview that what we see around us is a creation of the mind”. However, the interpretivist assumes that what is real is constructed by people through their social understanding and experiences. This approach privileges subjectivity over objectivity and examines multiple experiences and shared meanings held among groups of people. Furthermore, Creswell (2009) suggests that the way the interpretivist researcher and informants interact, their dialogue, and the context are critical aspects of data that influence the meaning that is constructed.

The interpretive epistemology advocated for this study is based on a constructivist perspective, which postulates that knowledge claims are made through interpretations and therefore the judgments and conclusions that are drawn by different participants and researchers will vary (Willis et al., 2007). The interpretivist approach used in the current study draws on the different perceptions of the phenomena from the vantage points of educational experts, including policy makers, implementers, headmasters, language teachers, head teachers, circuit supervisors, senior officers and all other personnel in the teaching profession within the Education Ministry. The interpretivist’s perspectives enabled the researcher to develop rich insights into the implementation of the language policy implementation initiatives,

and to triangulate perspectives thus enhancing the confirmation of findings. This study used a semi-structured interview protocol to elicit information from participants. Qualitative design employs detailed, in-depth data collection instruments from different sources and data derived from such sources are usually rich in contextual information (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

4.2 Participants and Data Collection Methods

4.2.1 Selection of Participants

The participants were selected through various phases which I will introduce in detail next. The selection of participants based on a multi-stage sampling technique was employed because according to Saunders et al. (1997) it is useful for overcoming challenges associated with dispersed geographic populations, as was the case in this study when using a sampling frame for a large area. The method helped to avoid a random selection of the population.

The multi-stage sampling was conducted in three stages. The first stage was the selection of the regions and districts for the study. The second stage was the selection of the colleges of education and Schools as well as the respondents. These first two sampling stages were based on purpose and convenience. The third stage (at the college and school levels) was a simple random sampling-lottery approach in which everyone had an equal chance of being selected. Therefore, two colleges of education and two basic schools were selected with the respondents chosen representing about 7% of the sampled population.

In other words, the study employed three sampling techniques to select participants for the study. One random sampling technique was used (multi-stage sampling) as well as two non-random sampling techniques- purposive and convenience sampling.

Purposive (purposeful) sampling, also known as “judgement sampling” (Ary, Jacobs, Razavieh & Sorensen, 2006, p. 174), is a non-

probability/non random sampling procedure used in data collection. In this procedure, the researcher handpicks the cases (participants or sample elements) to be included in his sample based on his own judgement of the participants' typicality (Cohen & Manion, 1991, p. 103). Judgement of the inclusion of the individual cases' typicality is based on the researcher's conception of the participant's position and expertise in the topic under investigation. The purpose of this procedure is to find people with in-depth knowledge about the topic under study who can provide the researcher with rich information.

Purposive sampling according to Kerlinger (1973) is characterised by making judgements and a deliberate effort to obtain representative samples that include presumably typical groups instead of random sampling across populations to be studied. Thus, small groups of people with specific characteristics, behaviour or experience are selected to facilitate broad comparisons between the groups that the researcher deems likely to be important (Walker, 1985). The purposive sampling technique was used to select the respondents from the sample population. This is a criterion-based selection, which assumes that the investigator wants to discover, understand and gain further insight; and therefore select a sample from which most can be learned. The logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in the selection of information-rich cases for study in depth (Gay, 1992); and these are the cases from which one can obtain information about great issues of central importance to the purpose of the research. The power of purposive sampling is to select information-rich participants (Patton, 1990). For purposive sampling to be effective, participants must be identified based on the qualifications and characteristics they possess, related to the study.

I used the purposive sampling technique to select the Minister of Education, the Director General of Education Service, Director Basic Education, Director Teacher Education, Director of the Institute of Education (University of Cape Coast) and Head of Department of the Department of Ghanaian Languages at Cape Coast University.

Furthermore, a professor of linguistics from Nigeria was interviewed to get additional viewpoints to the theme under investigation.

I also used purposive and convenience sampling procedures to select two regions out of the ten regions in Ghana for the study. In Ghana, there are ten administrative regions with thirty-eight colleges of education. Purposive sampling was used in selecting Ashanti and Central regions for the following reasons: they are metropolitan in nature; therefore they are the centres of education with many research centres and universities, some of which have hosted institutions where Ghanaian Language policies were formulated or implemented on a pilot basis. Therefore, the researcher presumed that the respondents from these two regions would have a greater awareness of the Ghanaian language policies and their implementation. Secondly, a convenience sampling method was used because the researcher considered these two regions because he is a native of the Asante region and a resident of the Central region. The researcher's familiarity with these regions helped him to reach the participants for this study.

The selection of these two colleges was based on their closeness to my place of residence. In each college, the principal was purposively selected, while one Ghanaian Language tutor and two students were selected by using a lottery method at that stage. Four respondents each were selected for interview in each college. Finally, two basic schools from each region were also selected by convenience sampling. These schools were selected on account of their proximity to my residence and the willingness and cooperation of the heads to participate. The head teachers in each school were purposefully selected, while a multi-stage random sampling procedure was employed to select three pupils from each school for the study. In each school, one class out of six classes was selected, and then three pupils were selected from that class to be included in the study. Five parents from each region who had children in the selected schools were also interviewed based on their willingness to participate.

As the description of the sampling techniques shows, the participants of this study were purposefully selected from various levels and

areas of education, and they were considered to represent a range of education experts. They were conveniently categorised into three categories, namely: education administrators, who were mainly officials from the Ministry of Education charged with policy formulation and general administration of education in the country. They were represented in this study by the Minister of Education (MoE) represented by the Public Relations Officer (PRO), and Director General of Ghana Education Service (DGES), who was represented by the Director in charge of Curriculum, Research, Development Division (CRDD) unit, Directors of Basic Education (DoB.E), Teacher Education (DoTE) and Institute of Education (DoIE) at the University of Cape Coast who are at the high echelons of the education sector. There were also heads of departments at the universities (HoD), principals of colleges of education (PoC) and head teachers (HT) who are charged with being the implementers of the policies directly linked with education.

The second category was the language education implementers who were represented by mainstream language teachers such as the Ghanaian language teachers (GLT), head teachers (HT), teacher trainees who were training to become teachers (ST), teachers in basic schools (TBS); and the third category was the language education consumers who were the beneficiaries of the Ghanaian Language Policy represented by students in colleges (SC), basic schools (BS) and other stakeholders who included parents and the media fraternity. The interviews were in two colleges of education in which either the principal or the vice principal of the college, the Ghanaian language teachers, two student-teachers and administrative staff were the respondents.

The rest of the respondents included teachers, pupils and parents: two basic schools in each of the two regions, headmaster or his assistant, one teacher each in every class from Primary One to Primary Three; and three pupils from each of these classes. The pupils' responses were analysed separately as were the other responses. The ages of the pupils ranged from six years for pupils in lower classes to nine and ten years in Primary Three.

I used a standardised open-ended (semi-structured) interview guide (Patton, 1990) to examine the perceptions of nine education administrators, one professor of linguistics, 18 education implementers (including two Ghanaian language teachers, four head teachers and 12 basic school teachers) and four students of Ghanaian Languages from two colleges of education. Twenty four basic school pupils and ten parents were also interviewed (see appendix, A). In all, 66 participants were interviewed. The category and number of respondents are shown in table 1.

Table 1. Category and Number of Respondents

Category	Offices	Gender M	Gender F	Total Number
Education Administrators	MOE represented by PRO	1		1
	DOGES represented by DCRDD		1	1
	DoB.d.	1		1
	D.T. E.	1		1
	D.I.E, UCC	1		1
	HoD	1	1	2
	Principals, COE	1	1	2
Consultant/ Professor	Linguistics Department, Nigeria	1		1
Education Implementers	GLT	1	1	2
	H T	2	2	4
	ST	2	2	4
	BTS	6	6	12
Education Consumers	Pupils	12	12	24
	Parents	5	5	10
TOTAL ALL				66

4.2.2 Qualitative Interviews

Open-ended interviews (a terminology used by some researchers for semi-structured interviews) were used for gathering the data. According to Jody Miller and Barry Glassner (1997), this form of open-ended interviews offers the interviewers a wide variety of information which, in addition to providing information about the individual, also gives in-depth interviews exclusively concerned with the subject being explored. Based on a description by Miller and Glassner (1997) regarding such interviews, the researcher selects a sample size from a population for the study of “key informants.” Key informants are people who are knowledgeable about particular issues and have insights that may be useful for the researcher to understand a particular situation that will enable them to critically examine and systematically examine the philosophical assumptions underpinning the objectives of a study. In this study, this interview sought to understand issues regarding Ghanaian Language policy at the basic school level, and also to assess meaningfully the extent to which the Ghanaian Language policy influences the training of teachers at the basic school level.

The interview method has the potential to provide insight into the respondents’ opinions and views on the use of Ghanaian language or English in teaching other subjects at the basic level. It was felt that interviews would provide the opportunity to probe further for explanations of the responses provided by participants. Furthermore, interviews were intended to provide additional information that would be difficult to capture using, for example, a questionnaire. Interviews are also appropriate because the participants cannot be directly observed, but when the interest is in the views and opinions of the interviewees (Creswell, 2009, p. 179). The interview method is useful in this study because it allows the researcher to make sure that the interviewees understand the questions and, if necessary, specify or explain them, which is impossible if the method of collecting data was questionnaires.

The standardised open-ended interviews consisted of a set of questions carefully worded and arranged with the intention of taking each

respondent through the same sequence of issues by asking them the same questions using essentially the same words to minimise variation in the questions being posed (Patton, 1990). I used this type of interview protocol because I had specific questions in mind and wanted to take respondents through the questions in a fixed order in order to avoid digression from the main focus (Ary et al., 2006). I chose this type of interview protocol because it is highly focussed and efficient. Even though an open-ended semi-structured interview allows less flexibility than an unstructured interview, it can reduce interviewer effect and facilitate data analysis (Patton, 1990). Questions used in this approach are the same and are guided to minimise variations, so the responses usually fall into their respective categories/themes, and thus facilitate fast data analysis. However, semi-structured interviews allow informants the freedom to express their views in their own terms, which was considered crucial in this study.

The data were collected personally by interviewing the respondents in order to obtain their viewpoints. Questions in the interview guides were used to elicit information from the respondents.

The interview guides sought information on the following: Background information about the respondents; the demographic characteristics of the respondents, which included gender, age, educational qualification, years of teaching experience and years in their current positions. The interview guide also sought to find out the interviewees' awareness of the language policy; pupil-pupil interactions in class; pupil-teacher interactions in class; attitudes of community members, parents, pupils, teachers, and supervisors towards the Language Policy; pupils' and teachers' preferences for the medium of instruction; availability of textbooks and other learning and teaching materials for Ghanaian Languages; teacher preparation and competence in the use and teaching of Ghanaian Languages and the supervisory role of personnel in the Ghana Education Service in effecting the implementation of the Ghanaian Language Policy.

4.2.3 Supplementary Data

Sometimes documents provide necessary additional information of the phenomenon under study (Creswell, 2009, p. 180). In this study, the interviews were complemented with some secondary data that were used for helping to make a comprehensive policy analysis. Secondary sources used for the study included policy documents, textbooks, international journals, quotations, materials and reports of research studies carried out by other investigators including encyclopaedias and related literatures. Policy documents describe intended actions and mainly constitute texts, which have to be read and interpreted.

According to Denzin and Lincoln (1998, p. 464) speeches are included in these. “While attempting to perform a policy analysis, a researcher needs to include other data derived from different collection methods such as interviews. This will allow them to analyse the policy context and make meaningful assessments such as linguistic character, as suggested by Carmines and Stimson’s (1980).”

4.3 Data Collection Procedures

The fieldwork was carried out between 1st of June and 31st of July, 2010 and covered a period of two months. The interview guides for all categories of respondents were received by hand delivery. Appropriate appointments were made with respondents depending on their work schedule, especially those in the Administration category such as those from the Ministry of Education and Ghana’s Education Service who included the principals of the colleges of education.

The researcher was introduced to both the Minister of Education and Director General of GES by an introductory letter from University of Lapland to conduct the research in Ghana. After presenting the introductory letter to both the Minister and the Director for Basic Education in Accra, the researcher further introduced himself to the Municipal Directors for Basic schools in both the Central and

Asante regions of Ghana. It was the Municipal Directors who finally authorised the researcher to conduct the research in the basic schools within their jurisdiction, including the interviewing of the supervisors and other stakeholders in education. The Director, Teacher Education Division in Accra also granted the researcher permission to conduct the research in the two colleges of education in the selected regions of Central and Ashanti. Permission was granted on condition that it did not affect the daily routines of the institutions as attested by some of the introductory letters, which were written as “However his work should not interfere with classroom teaching and learning”.

The data collection process was started with a pre-test of the interview schedule. I pilot-tested the interview instrument at Wesley College Complex in Kumasi in the Ashanti Region of Ghana. This was to ascertain the suitability of the instrument before I carried out the main survey. The pre-test was conducted on five participants: one head teacher and one classroom teacher at Wesley College Demonstration Basic School; and, the principal, one Ghanaian Language teacher and one student teacher at Wesley College of Education consented to take part in the pre-test of the interview protocol. Those who took part in the field test had characteristics similar to the study participants as recommended by Ary et al. (2006).

The pilot study was found to be helpful for the main study, in that, after obtaining responses from the pilot studies, the structure of the items in the research instrument were revised. The process also revealed that some items in the interview guide needed further explanation. The results showed the appropriateness of the questions and the type of responses expected from the interview schedules. The pre-test also provided the researcher with valuable experience in conducting interviews. In the main study, I used probing techniques to ensure that the interviewees understood the questions, which ensured that no item was ambiguous.

Prior to each interview, the researcher re-stated the rationale of the research study and assured the informants of confidentiality.

Furthermore, permission was sought from participants to record the conversation by using a tape recorder. The recording enabled the researcher to describe accurately what transpired during the interviews in order to eliminate bias. Further, as Cohen et al. (2007) suggested, the participants were made aware that the research report could be accessed locally and abroad. To ensure that the top executives included in the study, such as the Minister of Education and Director, Basic Education could not be identified, their data were reported in an aggregate form. In reporting the data, the researcher has indicated who the informants are, but it is not possible for the reader to track which comments were made by a particular informant. In this way, the researcher has maintained the level of anonymity required by the ethics.

In appreciation of the participants' "time and involvement in the interviews, each was given a small gift. This supports DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree's (2006) concept of acknowledging contributions that informants make towards the success of the research activity. The basis for this exchange is respect for the participants "time and efforts and the risk of exploitation".

A date and place was scheduled for the interviews based on the convenience to the interviewee. In the case of the policy officers, interviews took place in their offices, while at the colleges of education and basic schools, some interviews took place in the principals' and head teachers' offices or other places of convenience.

The interviews were audio taped to ensure a more accurate picture of the questions and answers (Patton, 1990) and therefore to enhance validity (Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell, & Alexander, 1995). Similarly, recording the interviews allowed me to give full attention to the interviewee rather than pausing to take notes (Elliot, 2005; Patton, 1990). I tape-recorded the interview sessions for all the participants. In addition, I had a paper-based interview guide that I followed for all the interviewee. Since semi-structured interviews often contain open-ended questions and discussions may diverge from the interview guide, it is generally best to tape-record interviews and later transcribed these tapes for analysis.

While it is possible to try to jot down notes to capture the respondents' answers, it is difficult to focus on conducting an interview while making notes. This approach would have resulted in poor notes and also detracted from the development of rapport between myself and the interviewees. Development of rapport and dialogue is essential in semi-structured interviews.

In this study, whenever I found that a respondent had misinterpreted a question, I tried to paraphrase it to make the question clearer and put the participant on track in order for him/her to provide straightforward responses (Ary et al., 2006). Even though the interview questions were standardised open-ended items, I probed further for more detailed information when interviewees provided responses that I thought were incomplete or needed clarification, as suggested by Minichiello et al. (1995).

At the end of each session, I played back the recorded conversation to the interviewees to make sure they agreed to what had been shared. Additional recordings were made of three interviews in which respondents wanted to add a few comments. I used this approach to ensure that the respondents felt the information provided by them was accurate. Some stakeholders were also contacted later to ensure that the data summaries accurately reflected their opinions.

Out of the estimated 100 interview guides that were to be administered to various categories of respondents, 95% of the respondents willingly accepted the invitation for the interviews. However, all the "key informants" were contacted for the study. The "key informants" were identified as respondents who are knowledgeable about particular issues and mainly included the staff from the Ministry of Education and Ghana Education Service. These were the respondents, whose insight enabled the researcher to understand particular situations, allowing the researcher to examine critically and systematically the philosophical assumptions underpinning the objectives of the Ghanaian Language policy at the basic school level. Their insight also helped the researcher examine the extent to which the Ghanaian Language

policy influences the training of teachers at the basic school level.

In the final analysis, the researcher was able to interview 66 key informants within the Ministry of Education and Ghana Education Service. The respondents were sampled from the headquarters (in Accra), regional and municipal level of both institutions. The originally estimated numbers of interviews planned for these institutions (Ministry of Education and GES) were achieved giving a response rate of 100%. For the other stakeholders in education, out of the estimated 30 interviews planned, 25 were actually conducted giving a response rate 90%. This was mainly due to the time and work schedules of the participants. In addition, the researcher consulted a linguistics professor from Nigeria. The discussion impacted positively on the analysis of this study.

During the data collection, it was possible to explore the participants' understanding of the Ghanaian language policy in detail. This is because the questions in the semi-structured interviews focussed on research questions while also opening up opportunities for further probing into the questions. As Ary et al. (2006) suggested, the semi-structured interview provides an opportunity to ask different respondents the same questions in a more conversational way and it even allowed the questions to be rearranged in any order that was appropriate. The face-to-face interviews were held with all of the participants and this improved the reliability of the data because it ensured consistency in the approach used for the data collection.

The duration of the interview sessions varied between the categories of the respondents. The interviews with the head teachers and the teachers lasted between 15 and 20 minutes while those with the Administrators lasted between 20-30 minutes. The duration was largely dictated by the structure of the questions. In particular, the open-ended questions (semi-structured interview guide) were fairly straight-forward and therefore allowed some flexibility. In addition, the number of respondents was few. The interview guide can be found in the Appendix B.

The general design of the research is presented in Table 2 which presents the research questions and the respective respondents interviewed.

Table 2. General Overview of the Research Design

Research Question	Participants	Instrument(s)	Type of Data Collected
How does the Ghanaian language policy influence basic education and teacher training?	3 GES, directors, 2 principals of colleges, 4 head teachers (n=10) and Policy Officers (n=1)	Interviews: (standardised open-ended)	Qualitative: (interview transcripts) 12 8
What factors enhance the implementation of language policy?	Head teachers (n=4) and teachers (n=12)	Interviews: open-ended Interviews: (standardised open-ended) Tape recording	Qualitative: (interview items) Qualitative: (interview transcripts)
What factors impede the implementation of language policy?	Head teachers (n=4), Teachers (n=12) and Policy 4 Officers (n=5) Students 4 Pupils 24 Parents 4	Interviews: (open-ended items) Interviews: (standardised open-ended) Tape recording	Qualitative: (interview items) Qualitative: (interview transcripts).
How the implementation of language policy can be developed?	Head Teachers (n=4) and teachers (n=12)	Interviews (standardised open-ended)	Qualitative: (interview transcripts)

4.4 Data Analysis

I used a cross-case analysis procedure (Patton, 1990) to analyse the interview data. This method was chosen because the purpose was to make comparisons between each respondent's interviews (Khan & VanWynsberghe, 2008). This was expected to bring out needs for development and themes to further consider regarding the education of Ghanaian languages in Ghana, and thus to move deep into understanding the data gathered to find answers to the research questions (see also Creswell, 2009, p. 183).

In the cross-case analysis approach, responses to a common question from all interviewees in each category are analysed together. Thus, each question was analysed separately for all interviewees. Patton (1990) posits that it is easy to perform a cross-case analysis for each question in the interview when a standardised open-ended (semi-structured) interview approach is used. In a cross-case analysis, the participants' responses to a particular question/item are combined. Common themes across participants (cases) are then identified, analysed and interpreted item by item.

I analysed the interview responses from all the groups of interviewees (Education Directors, the Education Minister, Director of the Institute of Education- UCC, Head of Department of Department of Languages- UCC, Professor of Linguistics from Nigeria, Principals of Colleges of Education, Headteachers, Teachers, Parents and Basic School Pupils) after transcription.

The interview data for all the groups of respondents were analysed in a systematic manner. First, I replayed the audio recordings of each respondent and transcribed them by hand on to paper. I transcribed sentences and phrases directly to avoid misinterpretation of the sense or meaning of information participants provided as suggested by Patton (1990). I read through the responses for each item across all the policy officers, implementers and parents and pupils separately and recorded the key ideas.

Since I used a standardised interview protocol, questions were framed around specific ideas drawn from the literature. For each interview item, I looked for common phrases or statements, and organised them under the pre-determined themes based on the literature.

The data obtained from the interviews which were transcribed (Flowerdew & Martins, 2005) and placed into six categories in order to answer the research questions, as follows:

- Preparation of teachers and their competencies with regard to the local language
- Implementation of the policy
- Impact of policy on teaching and learning of the language
- Teachers' views and attitudes towards the language policy
- Attitudes of pupils towards the language policy
- Challenges in implementations and suggested solutions

The categorisation and the content analyses of the data were deemed appropriate to provide the basis for the determination of certain concepts, words and sets of text that are of relevance to this study. Such concepts were then analysed to obtain the relationships and to make inferences with the consumers and even cultures of the audience to understand better of the research outcomes.

The sets of text include a variety of items from the interviews, discussions, and informal conversations or some forms of communicative language. For example, such varieties have been used by scholars such as Carley and Palmquist (1990) who analysed teachers and students' interviews, journal writings, classroom discussions, lectures, and out-of-class interaction sheets by undertaking content analysis.

In undertaking context analysis, texts are coded into phrases or themes and then examined either by conceptual analysis or relational analysis. Along with data obtained from interview items including field observations and informal discussions held with respondents, these are regarded as primary data source. However, other scholars

such as Bereday (1964; 1966) consider that other documents with unanalysed data also constitute primary data sources. Researchers have a view that primary sources of data are authentic. This is the reason why researchers need to ensure that the context and the validity of the data is authentic (Best & Kahn, 1998; Gay, 1992).

The reports from government departments of education and other offices or agencies such as census data were regarded as secondary data. In addition, documents published by non-governmental agencies regarding language or nationalities and speeches by individual in public debates were also considered as such. The data and information from secondary sources were mainly from government offices even though Cohen and Lawrence (1988) espouse the views of Best and Kahn (1998) that such secondary sources of data are of limited value on account of errors arising from information being passed from one person to another. This warning was also stressed by Hill and Kerber (1967) who observed that researchers should not derive satisfaction from using data obtained from copies of documents when data can be obtained in their original forms. The contention of these scholars is that using secondary data can introduce errors arising from additive and multiplicative effects during the processing of information and in the production of the final output, rendering the published data untrustworthy. To avoid these limitations, the use of primary data as far as possible in research studies has been stressed.

In the present study, the primary data was relied on to a great extent. The analyses took into account the multi-lingual and cultural differences of the respondents and analysed language policy also at the basic level of education. This allowed the researcher to establish if the language policy is appropriately applied to promote national cohesion while also facilitating education of the people. The data analyses also included observations made and conversations held with respondents in line with Heritage's (1984), argument that "The social world is a pervasively conversational one in which an overwhelming proportion of the world's business is conducted through the medium of spoken

interaction". Thus, conversation is another way in which data can be accessed and it includes stories obtained through informal interviews in which respondents may describe their experiences or relate their stories (Gubrium & Holstein, 1995; 1997). The proponents of the use of stories also argue that while not treating the respondents' accounts as potentially "true" pictures of "reality", it offers an opportunity for opening up, which facilitates the analysis of culturally rich methods used by the interviewers and the respondents (Gubrium, 1993; Voysey, 1975). However, Silverman (2000a) observes that when dealing with conversational analysis, the researcher should try to identify sequences of related discussions try to examine how speakers take on certain roles or identities through their discussions (e.g., questioner/answerer or client-professional and also to look for particular outcomes in the discussions e.g., a request for clarification, laughter) and work backward to trace the trajectory through which a particular outcome was produced.

Similarly, Silverman (2000a; 2000b) advises how to deal with common errors in conversations and states that explaining a turn at speaking by reference to the speaker's intentions (except insofar as intentions are topicalised in the conversation), explaining a turn at talk by reference to a speaker's role or status (e.g., as a doctor or as a man or woman) and finally trying make sense of a single line of transcript or utterance in isolation from the surrounding discussions.

The method of analysis is consistent with the views of Punch (2005), Glaser (1999) and Silverman (2011) who suggest organising excerpts from the transcripts into categories and searching for patterns and connections within the categories to identify themes. In the present study, the volume of data was reduced during this process enabling the researcher to focus more on the main themes. However, additional themes emerged from the interviews as the educational experts mentioned further ideas about what impacts the effective implementation of a Language policy. As a result, additional themes were developed. For example, in the discussion with the district level

stakeholders, monitoring, supervision and community involvement in the implementation of language policy emerged as important themes. During the process of data analysis, the researcher also made notes and recorded his/her thoughts as he identified common concepts within the data and as he recognised links between ideas (Miles & Huberman, 2002). These notes helped in formulating themes and making sense of the data.

Creswell (2009) suggests member checking as a method of validating the accuracy of data interpretations, and some stakeholders were later contacted to ensure that the data summaries accurately reflected their opinions.

Yin (2009) is of the view that the skill and competence of the researcher gives credibility to the study and suggests that researchers take advantage of their expert knowledge to advance the analysis. The researcher brought practical knowledge of the current junior high school environment in Ghana and considerable insider knowledge. This provided an advantage in examining the current issues confronting the Ghanaian language policy and its implementation.

4.5 Evaluation of the Validity of the Research

Yin (2009) is of the view that the skill and competence of the researcher gives credibility to the study. The researcher has practical knowledge of the current junior high school environment in Ghana, and has considerable inside knowledge. This provided an advantage in examining the current issues confronting the Ghanaian language policy and its implementation

The researcher had considerable professional experience as a teacher in the GES and had taught in both advantaged and disadvantaged schools. The researcher had enough experience of the Ghanaian language policy and its implementation after several years of teaching the language at the basic school as well as Senior Secondary school

levels. During this period, he was a teacher and tutor of the language at these levels of education and as a member of the Association of Teachers of Ghanaian Languages (ATL), attended most of their annual workshops that enabled the researcher to update his academic and pedagogical knowledge of Ghanaian language policy and its implementation. The researcher was also a Ghanaian language coordinator at both the District and Regional Education offices in GES. His research background at the Master of Philosophy in Education degree includes a philosophical examination of some curricula issues at the basic education level in Ghana. It also includes an assessment of the attitude of teachers towards the implementation of the basic education reform, and a case study of the Afigya-Sekyer District.

According to Creswell (2009), insider experience of the researcher is a great strength of this research paradigm, because the researcher shares some knowledge with the participants, while also having knowledge outside of the group as the researcher.

In this sense, the researcher had a better understanding of the phenomena he was studying than if he was only an insider, or only an outsider. The researcher, accordingly, has made assertions about the current situation by interpreting the views of the respondents. The conclusions the researcher reached are based on the data gathered and the interpretations made. Denscombe (2007) suggests that precautions should be taken as an insider to ensure that preconceived prejudices did not overly influence the data interpretations. This suggests that personal collection and analysis of data by a researcher who is an insider who has in-depth knowledge of the problem under study removes prejudices, and thus ensures reliability, trustworthiness and credibility.

To enhance credibility, I tried as much as possible to remove my personal feelings, preferences and attitudes from the process of interpretation and analysis. I also looked for and tried to explain any discrepant or contradictory data. Ary et al. (2006) posit that researcher bias may result from selective observations by allowing personal attitudes, feelings and preferences to affect interpretation of data. For

the data interpretation and analysis process, I sought validation of my interpretations of the participants' responses from peers and other professionals. This resulted in enhanced dependability and credibility of findings.

It is clear that qualitative data need to be tested for trustworthiness (Denzin et al., 2011; Fenton & Mazulewicz, 2008; Gary, 2006) to identify the credibility, transferability and dependability as key aspects of the trustworthiness of qualitative data. In testing for the credibility of findings, the question as to whether the data really represents and means what it claims should always be in mind. Corroboration of all the approaches makes a qualitative survey research more convincing. However, Gary (2006, p. 22) suggests that "validation is more than corroboration; it is a process for developing sounder interpretations of observations".

The data revealed that the various sources yielded similar results, and therefore suggested the results to be trustworthy. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) consider that triangulation assists the elimination of bias so as to obtain trustworthy data. Furthermore, this is facilitated by the use of multiple data sources to cross-check information gained from, for example, interviews with key personnel at national, regional and district levels of an education system. Creswell (2006) and Creswell, Vicki, and Plano (2008) share the view that when contrasting sources of data collected produce similar results, the credibility and dependability are instilled in the findings.

Additionally, Flyvbjerg (2006) suggests that the use of a tape-recorder removes another aspect of bias as accurate transcripts rather than summary notes can be taken. The results were also credible because the use of audio-recording of the interview process ensured accurate data in their original form. As mentioned earlier, to ensure the accuracy and trustworthiness of the data, I played back the audio tapes for participants to check to what extent they considered the interview sessions to reflect their views since it was not possible to return the transcripts to them for confirmation. However, during the interview

session, I used probing questions to check my interpretations of their statements were their intended descriptions of the phenomenon under study. I also used direct quotations (low-level descriptors) to help readers experience the participants' world (Ary et al., 2006, p. 506).

Furthermore, qualitative researchers can promote trustworthiness through member checks, which enable the researcher not just to play back what the research participant said, but also to “clarify and interpret the significance of their self-understanding in ways that the participant may not have been able to make meaning” (Tuckett, 2005, p. 30). Flyvbjerg (2006) affirms that member checks ensure that appropriate interpretation of the data has been made. To further ensure objective interpretation of data, Flyvbjerg (2006) suggests peer review of data interpretations through reading and critiquing. Such critiques from academic supervisors and fellow PhD students challenged this researcher on choices and data interpretations as a further step in strengthening the data trustworthiness in this thesis.

The reliability of the research was evaluated from different levels. In particular, the interview items were subjected to pilot testing to ensure the suitability of the instrument in both the content and process of administration. The ensuing findings from the testing were incorporated to revise the interview items that were finally administered. According to Gyekye (2001), pilot testing of the research instrument can provide feedback regarding the clarity of the questions and the overall presentation of the questionnaire.

Furthermore, the interview items were designed largely based on relevant literature review, which enabled the researcher to formulate the relevant questions. Secondly, colleagues and the experts (supervisors) who have adequate knowledge of the subject were requested to assess the content and construct and the validity of the interview items by reading through the interview items. During the testing of the interview items, an internal consistency check was performed to ensure the reliability of the test items. This is the most widely used method to estimate reliability and it indicates the degree of homogeneity

among the questions in an instrument. Again, it is suitable when the questions are asked item by item to establish that the same question has been posed to all respondents (Gay, 1992). Another measure of reliability in this study was that the findings received were found to be consistent or similar for both regions.

According to Kerlinger (1973), when semi-structured interviews are administered in standard forms, they present a minimum variance. As this study employed these techniques, it was assumed the same would apply. To enhance the validity of the results, the interview responses were checked against other sources of data. These other sources of data were the researcher's personal experiences and observations as a native and a resident of the two regions of Ghana where the study was conducted.

This study investigated the opinions of education policy personnel, implementers and stakeholders about the philosophical assumptions underpinning the objectives of the Ghanaian Language Policy at the basic schools in Ghana. The study also sought to ascertain the extent to which the Ghanaian Language Policy has been able to influence the teaching of Ghanaian Language and other subjects at the basic school level. The main rationale for the study was to use its results to inform policy makers, implementers and stakeholders' about current views and likely relationships between policy and practice in the use of Ghanaian Language as a medium of instruction in the first three years of basic education. This might, in time, help improve the planning and implementation of policies regarding language use in schools and possibly help improve student outcomes.

The validity of the study was improved remarkably in various ways. Recently, new standards for evaluating validity in educational and policy studies were published (see *Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing*, 2014), and although, it discusses the validity of testing, it includes usable aspects to evaluate validity of the study at hand, too. According to the standards, policy studies contribute to judgments about plans, principles, or procedures enacted to achieve

broad public goals (Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing, 2014, p. 203). Likewise, in this study the purpose was to analyze how the implementation of the Ghanaian language policy had succeeded in practice. Policy studies may address policies at various levels of education (Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing, 2014, p. 204); indeed here the focus extended from education administrators to teachers and students. The aim was to acquire a profound understanding about the implementation of policies. As emphasized in the new standards, it is crucial to avoid making inappropriate conclusions about the progress, impact, or overall value of policies under review (Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing, 2014, p. 204). Therefore, the diversity of participants was regarded to improve validity of the research.

In addition, it is important to clearly describe the population that the policy is intended to serve and to discuss whether the participants of the study represent the original population adequately (Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing, 2014, p. 209). To ensure the validity in this sense, the background of the cultural, linguistic, and historical situation in Ghana was described in Introduction. The participants represent various groups influenced by the policy, and they are introduced in Tables 1 and 2. In a qualitative study like this one, the participants appeared to represent well the target group because they constitute the various stakeholders of education who are directly or indirectly being affected by the policy.

Another way of improving validity listed in the Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing (2014, p. 213) is to use additional information to validate overall interpretations. This was the case in this study as well. The education experts' interviews were complemented by secondary data, such as policy documents, textbooks, and other materials.

The Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing cited by Ary et al. (2006, p.244) indicate that 'content-related evidence' can be used to improve the validity of educational achievement tests. The

Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing define content-related evidence as “The degree to which the sample of items, tasks or questions on a test are representative of some defined universe or domain of content. Similarly, logical validity, or content validity, stems from the logical/judgmental analysis of items and instrument format. As Goodwin and Leech (2003) explain: “...this type of validity evidence is based on logical analyses and experts’ evaluations of the content of the measure, including items, tasks, formats, wording, and processes required of examinees. In general, it addresses questions about the extent to which content of a measure represents a specified content domain.” (p. 183). Brennan (2001) also states that “In Educational achievement tests, content-related validity evidence is absolutely essential. If the content cannot be defended, little else matters” (p. 12). This was true in this study.

In this study, the items on the interview protocol for the various participants covered a wide spectrum of the theoretical and empirical domains. The interview questions were sufficient in number and contained a balanced set of statements for and against the policy as suggested by Ary et al. (2006, p. 244).

As stated earlier, another way of improving validity is the wording of test items as well as the adequacy of the sample of items (Ary et al., 2006, p. 244; Brennan 2001, p. 12; Goodwin & Leech 2003, p. 183). According to them, ‘easy to read and understand’ items promote maximum response from participants, therefore, improving validity. In this study, interview questions were in simple statements.

Ary and colleagues also lay emphasis on evidence-based validity. They state that one way of improving validity of a test is that test items should be validated by ‘qualified experts’ (evidence-based validity). According to them, for a test to have evidence-based validity, qualified experts would have to look at the questions to judge the appropriateness and representativeness of the items making up for the test. This was the case in this study. In this study, the researcher sent the interview items to his supervisors (qualified experts) for scrutiny

to determine whether they were appropriate, as well as being representative of the theoretical and empirical domains.

Notwithstanding these aims, the study also has its limitations. Firstly, the education experts and administrators who were interviewed gave their opinions, which in some cases could be a reflection of the official position. This suggests that their views might have been compromised by their official positions.

Secondly, the study used a convenience sampling technique as one method to invite participants for the interview. There is the possibility that people with in-depth knowledge about the problem under study might have been left out. The idea that individuals willingly consented to be interviewed through this method could compromise their responses.

Thirdly, at the basic level, this study focussed mainly on teachers and heads, and it should have included the district heads of supervision and their circuit supervisors. The perspectives of district heads of supervision and circuit supervisors in the municipal district would have provided additional information about the influence of the Ghanaian Language Policy on teaching and learning. These officers directly assess the teaching performance of heads and teachers. Their views would have served as triangulation to the responses provided by the respondents.

It is unlikely, however, that these limitations, which are related to the data collecting and analysis process, seriously affected the conclusions and interpretations of the study. This is because the study collected data from diverse sources including education policy personnel, policy implementers and stakeholders. These various sources complemented and provided corroboration for one another by providing explanations and confirmation to the responses in each section.

5. RESULTS

5.1 The Influence of the Ghanaian Language Policy on Colleges of Education and Basic Education

Both the education administrators and implementers were asked about preparations for the teachers and how the language policy is implemented to improve the competencies of language teachers in implementing the language policy. Specifically, the study explored how the Ghanaian policy influences the basic education, and education experts were asked questions regarding how the policy is being implemented in the country.

Furthermore, respondents from both the Ministry of Education and the institutions conducting teacher training were asked about how well the teachers are prepared to implement the language policy. Questions regarding their competencies and how well they are facilitated to conduct the Ghanaian language training were asked.

The respondents interviewed were Ministry of Education officials and colleges of education personnel. The respondents from the Ministry of Education which included DG and PRO asserted that institutions have been set up to implement the policy. In particular, they mentioned the universities where teachers are trained and colleges of education for training of Ghanaian language teachers who are subsequently posted to the basic schools to teach the Ghanaian languages. There are nine public universities and 27 private universities according to a Government (1991) white paper on the proposals for the restructuring and reorganisation of tertiary education in Ghana, excluding thirty-eight public colleges of education and six private ones

(source, National Accreditation Board (NAB) website, 1993). At the universities, the respondents, who were mainly lecturers, mentioned that both the teachers posted to the colleges of education and basic schools and senior secondary schools are in their view adequately prepared. The respondents stated that at the universities there are departments and centres e.g. the Language Centre, Legion, Dept of Ghanaian languages Education UEW, Dept of Ghanaian Languages, UCC, to train both teachers of colleges of education and teachers of senior schools. In addition, the respondents mentioned that there are provisions for offering induction and in-service training in Ghanaian languages to teachers already working in schools.

When asked about how well Ghanaian languages teachers are prepared, both the educational administrators and tutors stated that admission of students to these Ghanaian Language courses is based on the most qualified and interested students who select Ghanaian languages as elective subjects in the Second Year. In addition, the respondents stated that preparation includes remedial teaching for students who may be deemed weak in the subject because in senior high schools, the Ghanaian languages are only taught as elective subjects. Therefore, in colleges of education, credit contact hours have been increased to 40 hours per week as opposed to 18, which is specified by the Institute of Education, the examining body charged with improving the teachings of Ghanaian languages.

One of the Principals of the two Colleges of Education responded to a question about teacher's selection and preparation in the Colleges by the following:

"Students are interviewed and screened to get the most qualified and interested ones."

When probed further, he explained that:

"Since Ghanaian languages are elective subjects in the Senior High

Schools students are given the necessary remedial classes for the handicapped ones in the subject.”

The Principal further indicated:

“Teachers start from the scratch by helping weaker students to read two letter words, construction of simple sentences, basic grammar and phonology in the language through the organization of extra classes for the students. This procedure is also seconded by recommending prescribed books and also giving special assignment for the students to make up for the lost in the Senior High School (SHS) level.”

The Principal’s choice of words “most qualified” should be further analysed. To what does the term “most qualified” refer if the selection is based on knowledge of the Ghanaian languages? It seemed that now teachers are starting from the scratch with these students considering that the language teaching—should have been done already in the Senior High School and Junior High School (JHS) levels.

According to my analysis, one problem is that Ghanaian languages are elective subjects. Furthermore, they are studied only during the first two years, while the entire third year is meant for out of campus teaching practice. The ultimate question therefore is: how many years are devoted to the study of Ghanaian languages in terms of both the content and methodology in the Colleges of Education (COE) to enable teachers to serve as qualified teachers at the basic school level?

Another dimension of the problem is who pays for the recommended prescribed textbooks and the extra classes for the students? This problem does not exist for the English language students, for whereas Ghanaian language is elective at both SHS and COE levels, English language is a core subject at both levels of Education and this may account for the reason why the Ghanaian language students are not good in the subject, hence the remedial classes.

Based on the aforementioned major problems, the situation can be interpreted to manifest linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992) when the term is used to mean a situation where the education experts gives preference to English language as against the study of the Ghanaian languages due to the symbolic power of the English Language (Bourdieu, 1991). There appears to be incoherence in the Principal's assertion that "*students are interviewed and screened to get the most qualified and interested ones.*" If they are the most qualified based on their knowledge of the language, then, there would not be any need for remedial classes for the most qualified students. In Ghana, students who do not get admission to the public universities due to their weaker grades, find their way to the COE. Additionally, even in the COE those with weaker grades find their way into the study of Ghanaian Languages based on the negative attitude towards the study of these languages.

At the colleges of education, the respondents mentioned that teachers are well prepared to handle the teaching of Ghanaian languages both in content and pedagogy at the basic levels of education. Specifically, they stated that teachers are trained in both content and methodology for all the eleven selected Ghanaian languages so they can effectively implement the language policy. These languages are Twi, Mfantse, Dagaare, Dagbani, Gonja, Kasem Gurune, Nzema, Ga, Dangme and Ewe.

When asked about their views regarding the competencies of the Ghanaian language teachers to handle language teaching at the basic schools, the respondents at the colleges of education expressed some reservations. In particular, most of the respondents felt that the teachers are not well prepared to effectively implement the language policy. First, they suggested that the trainee teachers in colleges of education read Ghanaian languages as the core subjects for only one year. Secondly, during the second year, these language courses are offered only as elective subjects. Thirdly, the students have to undertake their teaching practice during the third year. Furthermore, the respondents

indicated that many of the students who enrol in colleges of education are from senior high schools who did not select Ghanaian languages as elective subjects. This meant they were only able to read the languages without any in-depth knowledge of the subjects.

When asked to describe the characteristics of a competent teacher, a teacher in one of the basic schools remarked that:

“Competent teachers should do research, used appropriate teaching-learning materials and should also know the subject matter including methodology.”

When asked whether teachers in the basic schools are adequately prepared, the teacher replied:

“Teachers have only one year to prepare students who are offering Ghanaian languages as core subjects and two years in the case of elective students to go and handle the language in the basic schools. In view of this, tutors are forced to rush the students through the course outline in order to enable them complete the syllabus. Additionally, majority of these students read Ghanaian languages as elective subjects in the SHS level and had little knowledge in the subject. What compound the problem is that syllabus are drawn for the tutors from CRDD Accra, without the appropriate recommended textbooks and teachers including students, are forced to comb the open market for the books at their own expenses. On the last note students in the college buy teaching and learning aids from their scanty allowance during on campus and out of campus teaching practice, in order to perform in the basic schools”.

Where the language of instruction (LOI) is the same as the mother tongue/home language, it not only affirms the developmental capacity of the mother tongue to grow as a language of culture, science and technology, it also gives confidence to a people, with respect to their

historical and cultural baggage. LOI in the home language or mother tongue is an instrument for the cultural and scientific empowerment of people. Its denial signifies the social and cultural inferiority of the culture and people whose mother-tongue-use is denied (Prah, 2003) and therefore, in free societies knowledge transfer takes place in the language or languages of the masses; the languages in which the masses are most creative and innovative; languages which speak to them in their hearts and minds. Cultural freedom and African emancipation therefore cannot be cultivated, expanded or developed where the LOI is different from the languages or language the people normally in their everyday lives speak. Where the language of instruction is different from the languages of mass society those using the language that is foreign from the languages of the masses, become culturally removed and alienated from the masses. Indeed, where the language of instruction is different from the mother tongue of the people there is almost always a history and persistence of patterns of dominance, over-lordship or colonialism.

On the basis of the above Agyakwa in his unpublished PhD dissertation (1975) asked “what happens when an individual who has internalized the indigenous habits of thought attempts to learn the Western concepts?”

Agyakwa argues among other things, that the attempt by the western educators in the past to introduce western ways of knowing to Africans who evidently have significant ways of knowing without a bridge to link the two, has resulted in the creation of epistemological gap between the two different ways of knowing. Consequently, our educational experts are putting the cart before the horse by expecting education to contribute towards our economic development without first bridging the gap.

What epistemological gap is Agyakwa talking about? Alidou (2004) observed that before the advent of colonialism, the different ethno-linguistic groups in Ghana did not have a language of instruction problem. Traditional education was not necessarily in the mother

tongue. The language part of traditional education was in the form of memorization and recalling, solving of riddles, etcetera; and the non-language aspect included the transmission of knowledge in the form of farming, buying and selling, measurement and the rest. This informal education was described as multi-purpose, multivalent, in that it was able to serve the needs of Ghanaians because what the child was taught was useful to enable him contribute his quota to his society and his environment. The arrival of colonialism, including the colonial elite and their educational experts turned the tide. The refusal of this group of colonialists and cultural imperialists, who never saw anything good in the traditional educational practices of the Ghanaian society and without critical examination of the knowledge has resulted in what Agyakwa (1975) pointed out.

On the competency of teachers' of Ghanaian language at the basic level one of the teachers remarked:

“Teachers are not adequately prepared due to fact Ghanaian Language is not giving the needed attention it deserves at the JHS, SHS and Colleges of Education”

On the other hand another basic school teacher pointed out that:

“Teachers are trained in both content and methodology for all the selected eleven Ghanaian languages in the Colleges of Education”

The respondent seems to suggest that, in principle, basic school level teacher's should be very knowledgeable in the Ghanaian languages in order to function well in the basic schools, but her response suggests otherwise due to some of the reasons I will explain next.

First, it seems that basic school teachers are not adequately trained to teach the language (Andoh-Kumi, 1997) in the COE to enable them handle the subject at the JHS level, the Ghanaian educational system demands that teachers of Ghanaian languages must be native

speakers or have the necessary competencies in the subject however, the study revealed that there are few basic school teachers who can read or write their mother tongue.

Secondly, the language is an elective in the SHS level, which means that not all students study the language.

Thirdly, at COE level, tutors spent most of their time on what should have been studied at both the JHS and SHS levels. However in the COE only two years is used for content and methodology of the language, leaving most of the entire syllabus uncovered.

The contradictory finding was that most of the respondents in both the JHS and COE shared the same sentiments like the first respondent. It seems that this problem has come about due to the lack of a clear cut policy for the study of Ghanaian languages at the COE level including the attitude of the educational experts and the general public towards the study of Ghanaian languages.

Additionally, the student allowance for the teacher trainees in the COE has been abolished, leaving the students to fend for themselves, hence students with good grades prefer to enter the Universities, instead of applying to study the Ghanaian languages at the COE, since in the Universities students are entitled to apply for student loans.

However, the respondents at the Ministry of Education mentioned that there are incentive packages provided to help teachers of the Ghanaian languages prepare to become language teachers. The incentives mentioned included study leave with pay for teachers to train as language teachers.

5.2 Factors Enhancing the Implementation of Language Policy

Questions were asked regarding aspects that enhance the implementation of the language policy, such as teaching and availability of teaching materials including frameworks for supervision, monitoring

and enforcement of language policy, and the respondents gave their views as described in the following paragraphs.

5.2.1 Teaching of Ghanaian Languages

According to the policy formulators at the Ministry of Education (PRO, DG), the Ghanaian Language policy states that Ghanaian languages have to be taught from Kindergarten, Grade 1 to Primary 3 and therefore it has several advantages. Specifically, they stated that pupils would be able to freely express their opinions when they speak in the local Ghanaian languages unlike when using foreign languages, which distract the pupils because of lack of vocabulary to express themselves. In particular, they indicated that concepts are better explained in the local languages and the use of foreign languages confuses pupils such that they end up failing to grasp spellings. This means that corrections have to be made as the pupils' progress into other classes.

In their view, the use of local Ghanaian languages as media of instruction in Grades 1-3 in Basic Schools is important for other reasons, for example, it promotes healthy interaction between students and teachers in classrooms because the pupils are already literate in their languages. As an example, the PRO asserted that use of local languages facilitated free interaction and stronger relationship between pupils and the teachers. This strong interaction was reported to occur among the pupils themselves. The respondents stated that the use of local languages make pupils feel they are still linked to their parents even when they are in school because the local languages are what the pupils use at homes. Furthermore, the respondents mentioned that the use of Ghanaian languages creates a conducive atmosphere in which teachers and pupils relate cordially since children can interact in the languages they are conversant with and this reinforces the concept being enhanced by proceeding from the known to unknown.

Furthermore, the vice principal in one of the colleges of education argued that sociological, psychological and educational benefits are

derived when mother tongues are used in education, making it more important to use local languages as media of instruction in schools (UNESCO, 1953). The vice principal described the situation as follows:

“Students or pupils come to school already literate in the Ghanaian languages so there was the need to build on it in order to facilitate that interaction. Children bring out their views, share ideas, make the class lively but do not ask questions when English language is used, sometimes we used Ghanaian Language to explain certain terminologies to enable the children to understand them.”

The teachers in the basic schools (KG 1-P3) reported that they are comfortable with the use of the Ghanaian languages as a medium of instruction and with the policy, and therefore, they feel proud to teach the Ghanaian languages. The teachers expressed that the use of Ghanaian languages makes the pupils feel more comfortable when being taught than when English is used as the medium of instruction. Their assertion is that the pupils are more familiar in these languages as they are widely used in their homes. Therefore, according to the respondents, the use of the English language makes the pupils uncomfortable and this force the teachers to use local languages to explain the lesson further.

Pupils interviewed in public schools showed a preference for the use of both English and Ghanaian languages as media for instruction. The pupils in Class One preferred Ghanaian languages because they understand the teachings better when they are taught in these languages. Class two and three pupils on the other hand stated that they preferred English for instruction even though the use of Ghanaian languages may have helped them understand the lessons better. Overall, the pupils reported that their participation during lessons is higher when Ghanaian languages are used for instruction. For the pupils who preferred the English language, when asked further why they preferred English to be used for instruction, their response was

that they would like to know how to speak English as opposed to the local language, with which they are already familiar, saying that *“this is the language we need to learn”*.

One pupil stated that he cherishes English because it makes him proud when he speaks with his friends while another preferred to be taught in English because it would help him secure a white collar job even if the Ghanaian languages enabled them to understand the lesson better, especially when teachers blend the two languages when teaching. In addition, during extracurricular activities outside the classroom, such as playing, the pupils mentioned that they interact in English. Next, I will introduce pupils’ opinions on teaching in three primary classes that participated in this study.

Primary Class 1

Four pupils would like to ask and answer questions in class in Twi. However, two of them said they would like their teacher to teach them in English whilst the other two would prefer being taught in both Twi and English. Specifically, they would like to be taught Maths in Twi.

The main reasons are as follows:

“I understand her in the local language more than in English. When teacher teaches Maths, I feel uncomfortable, but much more at ease when it is done in Twi.”

When the pupils were asked what language they think their teacher should use to teach, three of them said they would like English. One gave no reason, the other two said:

“I would like to be taught in English, because I want to learn English.”

“I want to learn English like my teacher.”

The pupil who indicated preference for Twi said:

“I want to understand the lesson thoroughly.”

Pupils who opted for early English medium, said they like the teacher to teach in English, but when asked about Mathematics lesson they had just completed, as many as half of the pupils said that they would have preferred Twi, because they will understand the lesson better.

Irrespective of the fact that pupils’ and teachers’ were aware that pupils understand better when taught in the local languages, the majority of the pupils were influenced by their teachers and parents that English is preferable. Results from the two selected regions suggest that the majority of pupils preferred to be taught in English because they were taught that this is the language that would help them to get ahead in the world and secondly, and this is the medium of language their teachers recommended:

This is an indication that teachers’ decisions have influence on not only pupils’ attitudes toward English, but their very low regard for the Ghanaian language as well.

Primary Class 2

Three out of four pupils say they would prefer their teacher to use English when teaching. Two of them would like to ask and answer questions in English; one in Twi; and the fourth, Twi and English. One pupil prefers that the teacher to handle Maths in English; one pupil likes both English and Twi and a third claims to understand better in Twi. Three pupils think their teacher should use English to teach. Their reason was:

“We want to learn English.”

Interestingly, the pupil who claims better understanding when Maths is taught in Twi indicates that the teacher should use English to teach

and says “*We are happy*”. One pupil would like the teacher to use Twi to teach. She says:

“I just prefer Twi.”

Primary Class 3

In the third primary class that participated in this research, one pupil told that he enjoys the English lesson and says he cannot speak Twi well. The other three claim they enjoy the Twi lesson. One of them says:

“I enjoy because I understand what is taught.”

A combination of Ghanaian languages and English is used during teaching and this was reported to be necessary when explaining concepts that pupils do not understand. This is particularly the case for teaching science and Maths (See also Wilmot, 2002), where teachers have to use both Ghanaian Languages and English as media of instruction on a daily basis. The pupils confirmed that they understand the lessons much better when taught in both languages although they would prefer that English be used because some pupils cherish it. All pupils interviewed said that they are taught in both the local language and in English. The pupils in Class One however, preferred Ghanaian languages, while the Class Two and Class Three pupils preferred English. However, they all concede that the majority of pupils understand better when taught in the local language and their participation and contributions during the lesson are better when Ghanaian languages are used.

5.2.2 Availability of Training and Teaching Materials

The research also explored the aspects of content and methodology used for training of the Ghanaian languages by asking questions relating to the availability of Ghanaian languages materials available for both teacher preparation and for use in basic schools. The responses

obtained from the universities indicated that the content and course structure of the training included: grammar, linguistics of the language, literature and cultural aspects of the language which, in the view of the respondents, prepares the Ghanaian language teachers to handle language training at all levels namely basic, senior high and at the colleges of education.

Concerning the availability of teaching/learning materials, the respondents mentioned that there are inadequacies in the teaching materials, especially textbooks and syllabi to facilitate effective training for Ghanaian language teachers. A case was cited regarding syllabi for training teachers that was drawn from the Curriculum and Research Development Division, (CRDD) Accra where no appropriate textbooks were used. Therefore, the respondents mentioned that teachers and students are forced to obtain teaching materials themselves from markets, which are not only procured at their own costs but are inadequate to effectively prepare the teachers and students. Therefore, inadequate teaching and training materials are available to train teachers and teach the students. No single government has approved any textbooks on Ghanaian languages, although some were provided for the senior high schools or colleges of education after the introduction of the New Educational Reforms in 1987. The participants took up the following:

“Teachers were not fully prepared in the colleges because there was lack of teaching learning aids, books and materials”.

“Ghanaian language is taught as a compulsory subject only in the first year and becomes elective in the second year. This means that there are not enough periods for the teachers to handle the subject”

“Teachers are less prepared as little is done on the teaching of the subject in the colleges of education. Ghanaian language is only a core in the first year and additionally, it is also an elective in the Senior

high school level. Students buy their own books and teaching learning materials during on-campus and out of campus teaching practice.”

An Ewe student asserted that she was admitted on the condition that she would pay for her own tuition since her mother tongue was not offered in the college, she was also taught by a part-time tutor, and whilst her fellow students were given tuition for 4 hours in a week, she was taught only two hours in a week, and even on Sundays. This situation was not the best for the student, as to this was that she was made to purchase her own textbooks and other teaching-learning materials.

EdQual 2010 study in both Tanzania and Ghana reveals similar problems. According to the study, “teachers used a wider range of teaching and learner involvement strategies when they taught lessons in Kiswahili. However, the teacher-development interventions there improved teaching practices and learner involvement in lessons taught both in Kiswahili and in English. In Ghana, teachers used some teaching strategies more frequently when they teach in African languages, but higher fluency in English enabled them to use others more easily in English” (Qorro, 2004, 2009).

An additional finding in both countries was that textbooks written in English were difficult for learners to comprehend. The findings confirms the argument of Qorro (2004, 2009) that high quality mother tongue education in Africa schools. MTE should be the engine for the development of education in African languages and should also create an awareness of the value of school achievement (Heugh 2006; Ouane & Glanz 2010). The authors also recommended the need to improve the effectiveness of initial teacher education for both teaching in African and European languages, and the need to provide short term professional development, and also provide the needed textbooks that are comprehensible for learners who taught in a European L2 language (Alidou et al, 2006).

It was established in Tanzania that teachers used a wider range of teaching and learner involvement strategies when they taught les-

sons in African languages than in English and it was also found out in Ghana that teaching and learning were hindered by the lack of textbooks in African languages.

In both countries textbooks written in English were reported to be difficult for learners to read. There is an urgent need for educational experts to correct this problem of teacher preparation and the lack of teaching aids, materials and textbooks for Ghanaian languages in the Basic Schools. If the textbooks play a key role in bringing pupils to the academic literacy which eventually leads to the development of subject concepts, they cannot be expected to attain these skills without provision of educational materials and textbooks. The few available textbooks in Ghanaian languages were also difficult to read, even for the exceptional students. Therefore, guidelines for textbooks written in European languages and translated to African languages are needed.

In order to successfully implement the declared policy, it was pointed out that there is the need to train teachers in the use of local language as the medium of instruction and to have vocabulary to use the language, and to make this goal attainable. According to the interviews, there is an urgent need to train teachers in the methodology of using and teaching Ghanaian language. Other areas that need attention include methodology for teaching English, using English as medium of instruction.

The respondents asserted that there were not enough textbooks for Ghanaian languages; not even the teacher's copy. Where they existed, there were no handbooks for the teachers. The books were not enough for the pupils. To make implementation of the policy succeed, textbooks — such as ones of Mathematics — should be available in Ghanaian languages so that the subject can be taught in the local Ghanaian languages. The available textbooks are in English, and therefore the teacher is forced to translate materials into the local language. According to the data, this situation is a hindrance to the successful implementation of the language policy because resources do not exist to support it.

EdQual (2010) also suggests that learners talk more when using African/Ghanaian languages and that professional development can assist the learner to talk in both African and English languages. Indeed, the study also showed that there is an urgent need for Ghanaian educational experts to provide an effective teacher training and professional development for both teaching in African and European languages. This would enable teacher trainees and basic school teachers who attend in-service training learn how to use language in the classroom.

5.2.3 Supervision and Monitoring of Language Policy Implementation

The research also asked questions regarding how the policy is supervised and implemented. In regard to supervision, the respondents from the Ministry of Education (PRO, DG) mentioned that there are trained circuit supervisors and Ghanaian Language organisers who visit basic schools to ensure that all subjects are taught in local languages in Grades 1-3 while English language only is taught as a subject. They also ensure that Ghanaian languages are taught as subjects from Grade 4 as well as in teacher training colleges to ensure that the language policy is implemented. There is no consistent policy for the teaching of Ghanaian languages in the colleges of education. It is only a core subject in the first year and elective for the second year.

According to *one of the Principals* of the two Colleges of education, there were problems in the realization of supervision:

“Supervision is a major setback in the Colleges of Education due to its current status.”

All the Colleges of Education in the country are supervised only in paper but not in practice. When they were Training Colleges, the heads were Assistant Directors, and the supervision was placed under the District Directors of GES, but their current position as Colleges of Education do not permit the District Directors to carry out su-

pervision there anymore, since their status of the Principals has been raised to the same rank as the Director in the District offices of GES. Currently, in view of this, the Colleges of Education supervise themselves through the Quality Assurance Committee. The Committee has the Principals of the Colleges as Chairpersons, assisted by the Vice Principal academic with departmental heads as members. This committee has a duty to supervise individual tutors in all the subjects on the College curriculum in terms of content and teaching methodology in the subjects including punctuality and students' and tutors' truancy. However, according to my estimation, internal supervision is not as effective as external one.

In terms of Ghanaian languages in OLA college of Education where four different languages are taught, namely Ewe, Ga, Fante and Akan, the Quality Assurance committee find it difficult to do proper supervision since all the four subjects areas are taught in their respective languages which the head of department may not be able to read and understand, including the other Committee members. The Quality Assurance Committee only supervises by observation (principles and methods of teaching) how the tutor distributes his questions, student participation in the lesson without understanding the language used.

The tutor asserted that, there was lack of qualified Ghanaian language personnel to carry out this function in the colleges. Where even they exist, hardly do they frequent the colleges for supervision. They supervisors sometimes complain about lack of transport and unpaid transport allowance by the government. Additionally the Ghanaian language tutor lamented that there was no supervisory team that monitors the teaching of the Ghanaian languages in the colleges of Education. Supervision in the college was solely the responsibility of Quality Control Team. The Institute of Education a department of University of Cape Coast has a supervisory role over the Quality Control Team in the College.

According to the *student* in the following data excerpt, there has not been any supervisor since she was admitted into the college.

“Supervision is a problem in the training colleges.”

This situation means that the students are not well prepared in the subject. Hence the majority of them find the teaching of Ghanaian languages difficult to handle even at the basic level schools.

The inability of the student to handle Ghanaian languages effectively at the basic level is not their fault since most of them never read the subject at the senior high school. Notwithstanding this handicap of the students in the Ghanaian Languages, all teaching students are expected to teach it in the basic schools. The supervisors are trained on policy guidelines so they can guide the teachers and ensure that they implement the policy including at the colleges of education.

Supervision at the basic schools levels is done by Circuit supervisors and Ghanaian language organisers who are trained as supervisors to inspect lesson notes and teaching materials when they visit the basic schools. Head teachers monitor as well. The Institute of Education at the University of Cape Coast sends a monitoring team to each college of education to monitor the third year of practice teaching and also check the teaching and learning in the colleges. The schools are provided with sufficient teaching materials, which are also inspected. In colleges of education, on the other hand, principals and heads of departments supervise the Ghanaian language teaching within the colleges. In turn, the Municipal Directors of Education supervise both the college of education and schools because they are empowered to inspect compliance.

Despite supervision being provided, the Principal mentioned one major drawback as being that there are no clear distinctions on the roles of supervisors for the colleges of education. The Principal further stated that previously in colleges of education, supervisions were done by the District Directors (DDs) of GES. However, these DDs of GES

have been transformed into colleges of education and therefore can no longer adequately supervise the training colleges because the status of the DDs of GES are now similar to that of principals of the college. This means they are not allowed to undertake supervisions. Instead, the colleges are being supervised in-house by a Quality Assurance Committee (QAC), which consists of principal, vice principal and head of departments.

The role of the QAC is to supervise individual tutors in all the subjects with respect to content and methodology internally, including Ghanaian Languages. Therefore, in the colleges of education where more than one language is taught, such supervision is less effective because the QACs supervise all the subjects. This is more difficult for all the languages since QAC (or heads of departments) may not be able to speak or understand all of the languages. Consequently, the level of supervision is reduced to assessing the principles and the methods of teaching and student participation rather than the understanding of the languages.

5.2.4 Views and Attitudes towards Language Policy

The policy formulators, implementers and consumers of the language policy had varied perceptions and attitudes regarding use of local Ghanaian languages. The DG who represents the formulators of the language policy had a positive view on the language policy. This respondent considered the language policy to be good for the country's development mainly because in his view it would enable the country to achieve the national goals, and therefore, regardless of the difficulties that may be encountered, he felt it should be adhered to and people need to develop a positive attitude towards it.

The researcher explored the views and attitudes of the respondents regarding the local languages as factors in determining the enhancement of implementation of the language policy. Due to the varying views and attitudes about learning Ghanaian languages among the implementers and consumers of the policy, the impact of the language

policy, and by extension the learning of the language, varied in how much it could influence the teaching and learning of the language.

A *Principal* of one of the College asserted the following:

“There is cordial relationship between pupils and teachers when Ghanaian languages are used as medium of instruction, secondly since teachers are sometimes native speakers of the language they are able to express themselves very well which facilitate learning and teaching in the lower primary. – In multilingual class teachers find it difficult in applying the policy. – Most students do not understand the teacher when the English language is used as a medium of interaction in the classroom. This is due to the fact that at home, our parents communicate with us in the Ghanaian languages. Students are thus very fluent in the Ghanaian languages and it’s imperative that they must be taught in the Ghanaian languages for effective interaction in the classroom. – Interaction is very attractive and interesting when Ghanaian language is used because it is our local language. Students contribute effectively and Ghanaian language is more effective than English language when both languages are used as a medium of instruction in the lower primary, (P1-P3).”

Some *students* of Ghanaian languages had conflicting views regarding the use of Ghanaian languages and the English language in teaching

“Ghanaian language medium helps students to contribute effectively to the teaching-learning process in the classroom than the English language, because English is a foreign language, and the children have to analyse what is taught in English in L1 before they are able to respond in L2”.

Responses from the *schools* where the language policy is used indicated a generally positive attitude of teachers and pupils towards the language policy. The Ghanaian language teachers and students were

positive particularly when the language policy means using them as the medium of instruction in the basic levels. Nevertheless, they indicated that there are some other teachers and students who have negative attitudes towards the local languages.

At the *colleges of education*, the teacher trainees stated that use of Ghanaian language as the medium of instruction allowed students to interact better with teachers and to have better student to student relationships.

“There is good interaction between pupils and teachers and in the classroom when Ghanaian language is used as a medium of instruction than English language.”

Students and teachers of Ghanaian languages have positive attitudes towards the Ghanaian language however; they are not allowed to use the language outside the classroom and sometimes punished when they go against this rule. The belief is that the Ghanaian languages would have a negative effect both on their spoken and written English, and this was one of the reasons given for the change in language policy (Ameyaw-Akumfi, 2002a) when there was a switch from Ghanaian language medium to English medium in the Lower basic school level.

However, the respondents also reported that there are some parents and teachers with positive attitudes towards Ghanaian languages. These parents feel proud when their children can read, for example, the Bible and listen to sermons in Ghanaian languages.

Community involvement in the implementation of language policy was pursued in this study. Through the interviews, it was established that pupils communicate with their parents naturally in the local languages while at home. The pupils and students are also encouraged by schools to attend community events such as local festivals where local languages and culture are promoted. In addition, schools invite professionals to give talks about their professions in local languages to encourage the pupils and also to remove the stigma associated with

the use of local languages. The local radio stations encourage and use regional languages in their broadcasts and because they employ local language speakers, this has added impetus to the importance of using local Ghanaian languages.

The general view regarding the impact the language policy has had on the teaching and learning of the Ghanaian languages is that it has made teachers learn different aspects of language teachings such as grammar, composition, writing, phonology and syntax. Therefore, according to the respondents, the policy has positively impacted on the teaching and learning of the Ghanaian languages.

5.3 Factors Impeding the Implementation of Language Policy

The challenges encountered while implementing the language policy in colleges are varied. The first problem is that Ghanaian languages are not core subjects in senior high school. A Ghanaian language tutor in one of the colleges of education described that:

“At the SSS level, Ghanaian language is an elective and is also taught only in the 1st year in the colleges of Education which makes the student in the colleges ill prepared to handle the subjects at the Basic School level.”

In the first year, all the students are given the rudiments in the language, including content and teaching methodology to enable them to handle the language in the basic schools. As to how effectively they are able to handle the language is another side of the issue, since it is only second year elective students that study the language, and even not the 2nd year. The problem is that all students in the colleges of education, whether elective or core students in the Ghanaian languages, are supposed to teach the language in the basic schools where it is a core subject of

study. Additionally, at Senior High school level (SHS), the study of the Ghanaian language is elective, and students proceed from SHS to the colleges of education without sufficient knowledge in the subject, and it seems students are not given enough preparation in the colleges, either.

During the preparation of the teachers, the students undertake teaching practice in the surrounding areas depending on their languages. This enables them to teach and be supervised, guided and counselled in teaching methodology by their head teachers. When asked for their views on the Ghanaian languages, the respondents felt that Ghanaian languages should be compulsory at both senior high school and colleges of education including universities in order to stimulate interest in the languages.

The second problem mentioned by the respondents in teacher training institutions impeding the Ghanaian language policy was the inadequate number of qualified language teachers in basic, senior secondary schools and colleges of education. Examples were given for some languages, such as Ewe and Ga that lack permanent teachers in colleges.

The *Principal* of one of the Colleges pointed out that:

“Apart from Asante Twi, Akwapim Twi and Fante, the rest of the two Ghanaian languages namely Ewe and Ga has no permanent tutors, coupled with the fact that there were no Government prescribed books for the languages, students use their scanty allowance to purchase reading materials to enable them pass their internal and external examinations in Ghanaian languages.”

Based on the problem, a question was posed to one of the Ghanaian language tutors in the Colleges as to who is competent Ghanaian language tutor:

The tutor remarked that ‘teacher competence’ refers to a Ghanaian language teachers’ ability to deliver in content and methodology of

the subject, however, he was of the view that student teachers in OLA College of education are not adequately prepared in order to handle the Ghanaian languages in the basic schools.

Thirdly, there is a general lack of government prescribed books for the languages and inadequate teaching and learning materials. Most respondents mentioned that less effort has been made to provide teaching and learning materials such as textbooks or Ghanaian languages than for English language teaching as alleged by one of the respondents.

The books that had been previously written in the Ghanaian languages are no longer in production and the government prints only those for other subjects such as math and science.

In addition to the lack of textbooks, one respondent mentioned that all Ghanaian language syllabi are written in English because of the decisions that are made centrally, while teachers and communities are hardly consulted. This state of affairs impairs effective teaching, learning and the development of the languages. An example given of the efforts of the Ministry of Education to enable pupils to learn Ghanaian languages was the workshops organised by GES within the NALAP programme. This programme was sponsored by United States Agency for International Development (USAID) for teachers of Kindergarten to Primary 3 to promote bilingual literacy in both Ghanaian languages and English, which was considered to be inadequate. Another drawback mentioned regarding the preparation of teachers was the inadequacy of textbooks. A case was cited about the Syllabi being drawn by officers from Curriculum Research and Development Division (CRDD) Accra, which have no corresponding and appropriate text books. Therefore, teachers and students are forced to obtain materials in the open market and at their own cost, which affected the preparation of the teachers.

The fourth factor impeding the implementation of the language policy was the derogatory attitude towards the subject of Ghanaian

languages and their students and teachers. According to the respondents, some head teachers scorn the local language teachers. In addition, the teachers and students of other subjects are quite condescending toward Ghanaian language students. This decreases the motivation further. In particular, they mentioned teachers of other subjects and students who do not study the Ghanaian languages and view the use of local languages as a reflection of “*less intelligence*” or inability to teach or learn other “*difficult*” subjects like Science and English. They reported that these teachers and students often refer to Ghanaian Language students as “*Rural Students*” and “*sons of the village Chiefs*”. The impact of such derogatory remarks is that students of Ghanaian languages are discouraged from taking up the Ghanaian languages. Ultimately, this affects the teaching of Ghanaian languages because of a lack of language teachers. The student respondents indicated the negative attitudes they have towards the Ghanaian language policy because of the sentiments of some of their colleagues and the name tagging of Ghanaian languages students as “*Enti fante nso wodze ye degree*” meaning “*so, can we attain a university degree education in Fante a Ghanaian language even at university levels* and being “*inferior*” respectively.

When asked about the general attitude towards the local language training, they mentioned that other teachers and students from other departments look down upon the local language as a medium of instruction as well as the policy. As a result, teachers of the Ghanaian languages feel frustrated and hide their identities when studying the languages. Such attitudes have led some teachers to ban the use of Ghanaian languages in classrooms and some parents have banned the use of Ghanaian languages at home. Even at the University level, where they are supposed to be more enlightened, students of other departments looked down on Ghanaian Language department students and some of the students make derogatory remarks against the language medium as described earlier. The attitude of these students sometimes forced these Ghanaian languages students to hide their

identities when offering the language. The tutor however remarked that these name calling or name tag is no so glaring in the colleges:

Some tutors believed that the use of Ghanaian language medium in the COE greatly affected students' proficiency in the use of English, due to this, the principal had instituted various punishments for students found using Ghanaian language as a medium of interaction in and outside the classroom.

Some tutors said that during on-campus teaching practice students are encouraged to use Ghanaian language as medium of instruction (MoI), but others said that the principal and vice principal have asked students to use both English and Ghanaian language as MoI.

When probed further regarding which language they would prefer, one student mentioned the English language. The main reason cited was that it is a global language that would enable them to interact with people from other parts of the world. To this extent, the respondents reported that many parents have opted to send their children to international schools, which use English language as the medium of instruction.

In addition, the poor attitude regarding Ghanaian languages among students and teachers was mentioned. The respondents gave examples where some students and teachers of Ghanaian languages do not respect the Ghanaian languages as much as they do the foreign languages. This means the teachers are not motivated enough to undertake further courses to update their pedagogical skills.

Other factors mentioned in the data included, among others, poorly-arranged teacher postings and realization of supervision. Ghanaian language teaching in basic schools was reported to be of low quality because after training, teachers are often posted to areas in which the local language differs from theirs.

"Teachers are not posted to areas where they are literate in the Ghanaian languages."

As a result, they fail to teach the local Ghanaian languages effectively in the areas where they are posted. The problem of teaching the language was reportedly compounded by poor supervisions due to inadequacy in logistical support, namely, transport and allowances as alleged by one of the respondents.

“The supervisors sometimes complain about lack of transport and unpaid transport allowance by the government”

This was highlighted as a factor that hampers implementation of the policy, particularly because it affects supervision in areas where there are supervisors, making them to fail to visit colleges. They felt that this has discouraged many teachers and also portrayed a poor image about the teaching of Ghanaian languages.

5.4 Developmental Opportunities of the Implementation of Language Policy

When asked how the language policy could be improved to enhance implementation, the respondents made several suggestions. I will introduce them next.

Unsurprisingly, the lack of learning and teaching materials was viewed as a major impediment to the implementation of the policy, and therefore, the respondents suggested that publications of the text books should be provided in relevant local languages to suit local situations and for the furtherance of the local languages as reflected in the following suggestion by one of the Principals of the Colleges.

“There should be expansion of trained and qualified teachers, including publication of textbooks to suit local conditions”

The publication of textbooks and relevant learning and teaching materials written to suit local conditions is necessary conditions for the development and study of Ghanaian languages in Ghana. However according to the respondent not much has been done in this direction. Hence (Boadi, 1976, pp. 109-110) asserted that:

“This is such a central issue that it deserves the attention and combined effort of the government, educational authorities and publishing houses. Until the question of up-to-date textbook production is examined, thoroughly, there is very little future for the mother tongue in any secondary education.”

This has been an age-old problem towards the development of Ghanaian language studies in Ghana and needs attention by the educational experts, including the publishing houses. Until the question of up-to-date textbook production is examined, there would be no meaningful development of Ghanaian language education at the basic level in Ghana.

It is no wonder that since the establishment of JHS and SHS programs in 1987 not a single government textbook has been written and published on Ghanaian languages. However, there are some textbooks written for subjects like English and Mathematics. This is a reflection of the attitude of the educational experts towards Ghanaian languages, who are always influenced by linguistic imperialism due to the symbolic power of the English language (see Bourdieu, 1991).

Actually, around 1990-1991, teachers of Ghanaian languages were contracted to write books for Ghanaian languages. The manuscript has become a white elephant, since nothing concrete has been done about the publication of these books. JHS and SHS students and teachers of Ghanaian languages still rely on pamphlets produced by non-experts who have taken advantage of this situation to make money. The policy makers always justify their inability to provide teaching and learning materials, including textbooks for the development of Ghanaian

languages, on the grounds that there are too many languages, and producing materials for all of them would be costly. Still, these students are supposed to be at the basic schools as Ghanaian language teachers.

The second developmental suggestion was that there should be motivational packages for teachers and teacher students, such as study leaves allowances. Teachers are not motivated to study. The following statement highlights the concerns raised by some of the teachers:

“Provision of learning and teaching materials including motivational packages for both practicing teachers and students of Ghanaian languages like study leave with pay and increasing student allowances”

The *teachers* in particular suggested that

“There should be motivational packages for Ghanaian language teachers, including study leave with pay and supervisor’s allowance”

Teachers should supervise the implementation of Ghanaian languages teaching. However, according to the respondents, supervision was lacking. This was because the teachers of Ghanaian languages were not motivated enough to carry out their function as teachers and supervisors towards the development of the language policy. To increase the motivation to carry out supervision, the supervisors should be well facilitated with transport and allowances which was considered important for the implementation of the policy.

Hence, there was reported to be an urgent need to develop a set of incentives and motivational packages for supervisors, including the payment of transport allowances and provision of transportation. According to the respondents, it would be good to reward those who implement the Ghanaian languages well, and to develop a plan that acknowledges the present range of non-implementation by establishing a timeline and resources allocation plan for effective implemen-

tation. There should be guidelines with incentives and sanctions to Assistant Directors of Education and Circuit Supervisors and finally there should be an establishment of Ministry that would be responsible for monitoring language policy implementation.

The third developmental task mentioned by the respondents focused on the subject of Ghanaian languages. The education experts, mainly the Principals and teachers, stated that Ghanaian languages should be considered as core subjects through senior high school and college levels. This would make it easier for the Ghanaian language teachers to understand better the languages than was the case during the study as stated by one of the respondents:

“The Ghanaian languages should be a core subject throughout the SHS level and the colleges of education.”

Teachers are less well prepared as little is done on the teaching of the subject in the colleges of education. A Ghanaian language is only a core in the first year and additionally, it is only an elective in the Senior high school level. Students buy their own books and teaching learning materials during on-campus and out of campus teaching practice. The numbers of credit hours do not augur well for the preparation of students in both methodology and content of the subject to enable them handle the subject at the basic level.

The above analysis indicates that successful implementation of the Language Policy depends on adequate teacher preparation. The study has established however, most of the teachers were not given adequate pedagogical skills in the Ghanaian language as medium of instruction. These teachers may lack the confidence to teach the Ghanaian Language. To correct this deficiency, it is necessary to train the students in the methodology for using Ghanaian Language as a medium of instruction and teaching Ghanaian Language as a subject in the Colleges of Education. The study has also established that limited evidence suggests that some Colleges of Education in

the past did not adhere strictly to the requirements on teaching the Ghanaian languages. Additionally, it has also been established that students were permitted to skip the Ghanaian language requirements, which has affected the competence of the students in the Colleges of Education for using Ghanaian languages as a language medium, and this has adversely effected the implementation of the policy.

The study revealed that a majority of the teachers lacked in-service training in the Ghanaian language as a subject and medium of instruction. Most teachers had received no training in using Ghanaian language as MOI in Teacher Training Colleges due to the short period in the Colleges and lack of proper attention in both JHS and SHS levels. Some expressed discomfort even in teaching a Ghanaian language as a subject. The language should be a core subject at the SHS to raise the competency level of the students. In sum, when teachers are giving the needed support, in terms their competency level, it will therefore help them feel more comfortable to use the language as a medium of instruction and to teach it effectively as a subject. This can be seen at the foundation of the proper implementation of language policy.

6. DISCUSSION

6.1 Cultural Imperialism in the Ghanaian Language Policy

The results showed that there was persistent use of the English language in Ghana by both teachers and pupils in institutions of learning. Teachers in colleges of education perceived English as being superior to Ghanaian languages based on the expressions they used and their perceptions of the local Ghanaian language (Brock_Utne, 2001; Garcia, 2009; Makelela, 2005; Quedraogo, 2000).

Parents and pupils perceived the use of the English language as being useful for job acquisition. Such perceptions have made them develop an attitude that employment signifies forms of power and wealth (Kamwangamalu, 2004) both to the society and by extension to the state. This state of affairs is typical in many post-colonial era regions of the world where foreign languages are perceived as superior (Ansre, 1976; Bamgbose, 2001; Crystal, 1997; Murra, 1985; Mutasa, 2004; Regalsky, 2003). To this extent, the English language is associated with elites (Myers-Scotton, 1993) while the local languages are associated with the less educated and lower achievers. For example, in a place like Hong Kong, where schools are dichotomised, the use of English as the medium of instruction is considered to be first class as opposed to Cantonese (Tang, 2006). This trend was also observed in the present study.

The extent to which this cultural imperialism has been entrenched in many of the British colonial empires is also evident in Ghana, where the attitude towards Ghanaian languages is poor compared to

that of English. In this study, both teachers and students considered the use of Ghanaian languages as being *inferior* and not useful for attaining any university degree. The English language and the teaching profession, which promotes English, both have imperialistic tendencies (Bamgbose, 1985; Chimhundu, 1997; Heugh, 2006; Phillipson, 1992; Prah, 2005) because they have imposed on local languages therefore, relegating them to secondary status including in the local cultures. As seen in Tanzania by Brigit Brock-Utne (2002), some fallacies were held by parents about the use of English in education to the extent that pupils preferred to be taught in local languages more than in English as they were able to understand the teachings better (Alidou, 2004; UNESCO, 1992).

Nevertheless, the continual spread and the manner in which English is being used in the political, educational, social and economic spheres in many countries is considered as a historic legacy of colonialism (Mammino, 2000; Webb, 1996). Thus, the extent to which many countries have succeeded in warding off threats of neo-colonialism as reported by Pennycook quoting Burns and Coffin et al. (2001, pp. 78-87) is doubtful. Instead, the English language has been authenticated (Kirkness, 1998; 2002; Phillipson, 1992) on the basis that the teaching of other languages is inferior. In this study, however, it was established that some concepts had to be explained in local languages. Therefore, the study showed that use of local language improved the educational outcomes possibly because students are less likely to be discouraged from pursuing their education or fail the national exams that are used for evaluation. This also supports the assertion by the proponents of the use of local languages that students learn well in a language they best understand (Battiste, 2000; Collinson, 1974; Herbert, 2000; UNESCO, 1951; UNESCO, 1972; UNESCO/OAU, 1968) and for that reason, the use of a foreign language would not be ideal. In respect to cultural imperialism, the use of local African languages is deemed to have the symbolic power of representing African culture by casting off colonial chains and entrenching African culture even

if it is used in official communications such as employment and lead to changing daily wages (Eleuthera, 2007).

As many African countries are multilingual, they face a major dilemma in choosing a local language that may be considered ethnically neutral for instruction in schools (Bamgbose, 1991; 2011). This is because making a choice to use a particular local language would suggest such countries are favouring a particular ethno-linguistic group at the expense of others. Thus, African countries have tended to stick with use of foreign languages for instruction in schools, except for countries like Tanzania and Ethiopia where Kiswahili and Ahmaric languages have been successfully used for teaching in schools, respectively (Herbert, 1992; WaNjogu, 2004). In the case of Tanzania, the Germans are credited with the spread of Kiswahili as the lingua franca because their intention was to equip the citizens to be employed in their administration using a language in which they were more conversant (Roy-Campbell, 2001, p. 42). However, when the British took over the administration of Tanzania, they preserved the use of Swahili only as the medium of instruction during the first five years of primary school but not for the last three years of primary or any years of secondary school (Rubagumya, 1990). According to Roy-Campbell (2001), the reason the British maintained the use of local language was because they conducted their business in English, and therefore, they planned to train only a minority of elite Tanzanians to assist their colonial administration while maintaining very low levels of education for the majority (Simpson, 2008; Muthwii & Kioko, 2004).

The “Ten Year Development and Welfare Plan for Tanganyika” stated that ideally 100 percent of the population would attend primary school but only 4 percent would attend secondary school (Roy-Campbell, 2001). This shows the extent to which the British in their colonies wanted the English language only to be spoken by a few elites (Bokamba, 2007; Myers-Scotton, 1978). It also shows how they wanted to create a notion that the English language is superior. However, Bamgbose (2011) cautions against ignoring the use of mi-

nority languages such as local languages because doing so denies the speakers of these languages the opportunities to speak and participate in important sectors such as education and literacy. He considers such denial as prejudice and deprivation of people's culture. Kwesi Kwaa Prah (2003; 2005) also argues that when the language of instruction in schools is different from the languages used in the society, the people using such foreign languages become culturally removed and alienated from the masses and this is almost a perpetual persistence of patterns of dominance or colonialism (Brock-Utne, 2000; Makalela, 2005).

Therefore, the continued use of foreign languages that many of the African countries have adopted is considered as a form of cultural imperialism. It has also been used as an excuse that as many countries are multilingual they lack a unifying language (Ansre, 1976). Consequently, many of the countries have faced the challenges of formulating language policies that would foster national unity. However, this failure in formulating a language policy on account of the minority of the population being unable to speak in a foreign language has been criticised by some scholars who argue differently. For example, Bamgbose (2011) suggests that a policy approach that advocates for a departure from foreign languages to incorporate a local language as an official language can be adopted even in African countries where English and some other local languages are in use. Other reasons for the use of English have been due to both historical and political situations in which many of the African countries find themselves. As a result, many countries continue to provide education in English which has no roots in any of the local languages.

Cultural imperialism is still being perpetuated through neo-colonialism in Africa and languages. According to Brock-Utne (2001), in places like Namibia, the younger generations of the Khoekhoegowab speakers do not want to speak their own language but instead want to speak English. This includes their desire to imitate the manner in which Americans speak when they watch TV, and therefore, look down on their own culture. In this study, it was established that despite the

positive attitude that both students and teachers have towards the use of Ghanaian languages as a medium of instruction at basic levels schools, some teachers do not allow their students to speak Ghanaian languages outside the classrooms. This was based on the belief that speaking the local languages would affect both the spoken and written English. This implies a notion of inferiority and a form of cultural imperialism, prompting the switch from using Ghanaian languages to English as a medium of instruction in lower basic schools (Ameyaw-Akumfi, 2002b; 2002c).

6.2 Globalisation and Language Policy in Ghana

In many countries, there is an assumption that globalisation requires a language for wider communication and English has been deemed to be the language that aids the most access to participation in a global context. This has led to the roles of other local languages becoming limited. Using the case of South Africa, Levinson (2004) shows how through switching to English helped the country gain access to the global economy, thereby benefiting through improved wages and employment opportunities, especially for the white population. And in Madagascar, where the French would go at any length to protect their language, the development of the local Malagasy language has been suppressed under the guise of improving the economic well-being of the country. As a result, the use of French has continued even when the country is using Malagasy in schools.

In Africa, however, this is exacerbated by the dilemma that national aspirations and the perceived needs of countries are geared towards scientific and economic development, resulting in the belief that the two can only be achieved through the use of the English Language as a medium of instruction in schools (Jegede, 1998; Kayambazinthu, 2000; Mazrui, 2002; Phillipson, 1992). In countries like Ghana, the government has the notion that Ghanaian languages are not well

placed for fulfilling the scientific and economic needs of the nation, a view that was also ascribed by Yankah in (Andoh-Kumi, 1997, p. 117) in his Minority report of (1957) to the government, stated that:

“It is pointless to teach any of the vernacular languages as a subject in schools, for insufficient and uncultivated local dialects can never become flexible as to assimilate readily new words and expand their vocabularies to meet new situations....”

Similarly, the society, as represented by both the parents and students, perceive Ghanaian languages as being local and without any place in globalisation since most of the languages end at the borders of the country. Therefore, competencies in these languages would not help them at an international level. Phillipson (1992) points out how the British not only conquered the territories and economies of their colonies but their minds as well. Brock-Utne (2002) suggests that the British promoted the English language in the transition to the post-colonial era, and globalisation was therefore an exercise in mind conquering. Thus, the use of local African languages as opposed to foreign languages is increasingly considered to compromise the international positions of African countries in globalisation, particularly in the academic and business worlds. Consequently, many African students feel left out of the labour market when local languages are used, as is the case in Tanzania where Kiswahili is more prominent than English. The use of Kiswahili is deemed to render the students less competitive compared to their counterparts in countries where the English language is used as the medium of instruction in schools. Examples of these countries are Uganda and Kenya (Abdulaziz, 1971).

McArthur (1998b) places the use of English into many categories among which is the *Outer Circle*, which he describes as the use of English as a second language (ESL). He states this is a continuation of the language by countries that had a long history of institutionalised functions such as the former British colonies. In these coun-

tries, English is used as the official language even though it is barely spoken by majority of the populations. Moreover, according to some scholars, English is the only colonial language that is considered to have both the necessary economic and military prowess to become the international language (Davies, 1996; McArthur, 1998a; 1998b) with its spread and placement as an international language also being attributed to the role of the British Empire as well as the support of organisations and other governments and it is now regarded to occur “at the right place at the right time” (Phillipson, 2000, p. 105). The causes of the spread of English language is regarded by Pennycook (2000, p. 108) as the “structural power of English” and a subtle type of imperialism, contentions that have also been theorised in the present study.

In Ghana, it has been estimated that there are between thirty and seventy-nine indigenous languages but English is acknowledged as the official language of the country. In the context of globalisation, the great variety of the African languages has been used as an excuse that restricts communication because of the lack of any shared language. However, languages such as Hausa, Kiswahili, Yoruba and Zulu are spoken by many people and are associated with the affluent. This makes the advancement of multilingual nature of African languages obsolete. Furthermore, many people are able to speak more than one language. In some countries such as in East Africa, the Kiswahili language has been adopted as the official *lingua franca* despite the many languages existing in those countries. Unfortunately, though, this local unifying language and other local languages are still considered inferior to English because of the dominance of English in many areas. A case in point is IsiZulu, which is widely spoken in South Africa and yet it is still regarded to be inferior to English (Webb, 1996, pp. 143-144).

According to Bgoya (1999, pp 288), the impact of globalisation on languages is the “constant bombardment of societies in the South with European languages, and the aggressively marketed notion of superiority of things and ways Western, which can only lead to pressures on

the societies in the South to accept to abandon their cultures and to adopt the American way.” This notion was also observed in this study because some pupils preferred to be taught in English because they felt it would help them secure jobs. One pupil asserted that the use of English makes him proud when he speaks with his friends. After independence, African countries embarked on economic development that required contact with international markets and use of technology. This drive relegated the use of local languages and promoted the use of foreign languages in the belief that these languages are widely used, including in science and technology. Furthermore, because these languages are not widely used in education, they are relegated to low status and it is deemed they would require expansion in their terminologies or vocabulary in order to be used widely and in some cases they are altogether lacking in adequate expressions in certain domains. Nevertheless, some countries have been able to use their languages effectively in education, such as in Somalia and Ethiopia. Bamgose (2011) argues that languages are dynamic and should be used, even as they develop further. Bamgose also argued that experiences gained from use of a particular language can be copied through technology.

6.3 Implementation Strategies for the Language Policy

Ghana faces a dilemma in implementing the Ghanaian language policy, which in part is attributed to the attitudes of policy makers, because the language policies are stated ambiguously (Bamgose, 1976). Specifically, there are inconsistencies between the policy and practice. This is because many policy makers prefer to craft safety valves in order not to be held responsible for the consequences for not implementing such policies should anything worse happen. This is because some policy makers erroneously fail to recognise the effectiveness of Ghanaian Languages as tools for education due to their

belief that the use of English as an official language is the best medium for imparting knowledge in education (Atakpa, 1993, p. 2). However, Brigit Utne-Brock's work in Tanzania shows that education provided using the learners' mother tongue as the medium of instruction boosts understanding of what is being taught. This is based on the principle of learning proceeding from the known to the unknown. The general attitude of both teachers and pupils towards the use of Ghanaian languages for instruction was poor and as such would not encourage the effective implementation of these languages in education. The study revealed remarks that make Ghanaian language students shy away from their peers including hiding their identities when studying these languages. The poor attitudes towards Ghanaian languages were observed to be erroneously based on the perception that society develops through only the English language and that the mother tongue is inferior (Atakpa, 1993).

This study showed that the country has established institutions for the preparation of teachers of Ghanaian languages. However, the level of preparation for these teachers was deemed inadequate due to several shortcomings, including the time allocated for teacher training in the Ghanaian languages, capacity of the candidates enrolled for teacher training and the lack of adequate teaching materials, such as textbooks. A study by EdQual (2010) identified that the lack of textbooks affected the preparation of Ghanaian language teachers because it hampers the use of Ghanaian languages for instruction in schools, as well as for teaching and learning of Ghanaian languages. EdQual (2010) also found that in both Ghana and Tanzania textbooks written in English were difficult for learners to read. Furthermore, Kwesi Kwaa Prah (2003) has identified some technical challenges when planning the teaching and learning of languages, such as inappropriateness of technical terms in the language of Instruction (LOI), complexity of syntactic patterns in textbooks, the poor quality and irrelevance of textbooks and outdated teaching methodologies. In this study, the inadequacy of textbooks was a challenge because there were

no standardised textbooks in the country. This makes teaching of the Ghanaian languages difficult and therefore they were mainly taught as elective courses, like many subjects taught in European languages.

The posting of teachers did not take into account where the teachers came from and much less their capacities to speak the regional languages in the schools where they were assigned. This not only affected their proficiency but also their capacity to teach the Ghanaian languages in the areas to which they are posted. Language proficiency is a standard against which one's intelligence, literacy and cultural pride is usually measured (Dei & Asgharzadeh, 2003; Mfum-Mensah, 2005; Saah, 1986). Therefore, posting teachers to regions where they are not proficient in the languages impacts on their teaching skills and affects their teaching and learning of the local languages. EdQual (2010), which compared teaching and learning in Ghana and Tanzania, has shown that this is exacerbated because teachers would not use a wide range of teaching methods nor involve the learners. The finding was that teachers frequently used only some teaching strategies when teaching in Kiswahili, an African language. However, in Ghana, fewer and less frequent strategies were frequently used due to higher fluency in English than the local languages. This lends credence to the calls for high-quality mother tongue education (MTE) in Africa and justifies support for policies that prioritise the development of education in African languages and raise their awareness in an increasing number of schools (EdQual, 2010).

In addition, this study found support for the view that the language policy supports the use of mother tongue languages in lower primary schools. According to Kwesi Kwaa Prah (2003), studies and experiences gained from six African countries of Botswana, Kenya, Mali, Nigeria, South Africa and Tanzania have shown that when mother tongue languages are used as the LOI in the early years of basic education, the pupils' capacity to acquire knowledge improves faster. Moreover, LOI based on the mother tongue, also facilitates better acquisition of second and third languages. The study also showed how

pupils preferred the use of Ghanaian languages as media of instruction because they were able to understand the teachings much better when these languages were used. In addition, they participated more during the lessons and this is similar to the findings by Kwesi Kwaa Prah (2003; 2005). This is because Ghanaian languages are spoken at home and outside of the classrooms most of the time and hence are more natural than English. Therefore, use of English may make the pupils feel uncomfortable due to their poor oral skills and low confidence. This is espoused by Brigit Brock-Utne (2000) who described a quote by a student regarding their preference for the local Kiswahili language than for English as follows:

“I do not like to speak in English because I cannot speak fluent English. When I am speaking English, which is not my everyday language, I speak very slowly and therefore, first I feel uncomfortable, I do not enjoy speaking and secondly I may not succeed in communicating what I want to say” (Puja, 2001, pp. 133-134).

Therefore, the opinion that the use of the local language for instruction is ethnically divisive is questionable and instead, hampers the acquisition of education.

This study did not discover any involvement of the locals in the formulation of the language policy. However, their subtle participation in the implementation of the policy was recognised. The community participation included encouraging pupils to be involved in cultural festivals and promotion of radio stations that broadcast in local languages. It was hoped that these steps would show them the importance of the languages since the use of Ghanaian languages in schools is limited. Although the community had good intentions, the cultural events limit the extent to which language exchange occurs between students and leads to less participation with the radio stations. This, in turn, makes these events and stations less useful. Regardless of the

subtle involvement of people in the development of Ghanaian languages and the unchallenged perception about economic development being tied to English, make most parents prefer the use of English in education. This is a state of affairs that does not augur well for the development of Ghanaian languages, unlike Japanese, which Mazrui (1994) noted is able to develop new words by the continued use of the language across all disciplines.

7. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Evaluation of the Contribution of the Study

This study revealed that there is some impetus to promote Ghanaian languages, and therefore, an appropriate policy to this effect has been formulated. The policy places emphasis on teaching Ghanaian languages at lower levels of education, which is the best time to start language education because it has the advantage of helping to introduce pupils well to school as they can continue to use the same language they speak at home. This helps pupils learn better at school (Alidou & Garba, 2003; Bamgbose, 2005; Battiste, 2000; Chekaraou, 2004; Dzinyela, 2001; Herbert, 2000; Keskitalo, Määttä, & Uusiautti, 2013; UNESCO, 1992). However, it seems that educational policies in Ghana are tilted towards the European languages resulting in the marginalization of African/Ghanaian languages in official domains (Day, 1985; Kirkeness, 1998; Philipson, 1992). To ensure that the language policy is implemented, the government has placed a relevant system in place. Moreover, institutions have been established including nine public universities and 27 private universities according to a Government (1991) white paper on the proposals for the restructuring and reorganisation of tertiary education in Ghana, excluding 38 public colleges of education and six private ones (National Accreditation Board (NAB), 1993) for the preparation of language teachers and systems are in place to provide supervision and support of language teachers even though they face a number of challenges (Bamgbose, 1990; 2000a; Wolff, 2004). However, these challenges can be overcome by encouraging Ghanaian language teachers to work in schools and

motivating them to enrol as teachers of these languages despite the poor attitude displayed by other subject teachers. It was also found that Ghanaian languages can be engines of development and majority of the respondents agreed that development could not achieve without serious consideration for Ghanaian languages. These languages, according to the respondents, should be the basis for Ghanaian development and children should be allowed to use the indigenous languages in the development of science and technology.

A language of instruction which is the mother tongue is an instrument for the cultural and scientific empowerment of people (Prah, 2003) hence Ghanaian emancipation cannot be achieved on a borrowed language. This can be achieved by development of corpus planning, training of teachers and helping them to update their pedagogical skills, including adequate teacher training facilities as well as teaching materials to be used in the classrooms for the long-term benefits of producing learning materials in mother tongue languages outweigh their high initial publishing costs (Grin, 2005; Heugh, 2006; Prah, 2003; World Bank, 2005). This will prompt the development of the necessary textbooks that will support implementation of the Ghanaian language policy and overcome the challenges currently being experienced. This assertion was supported by (Grin & Vaillancout, 2000) in a study of unfavourable educational and social indices for Maori and Pasifika students.

This study has found support for the view that the mother tongue is essential for education, especially in the initial stages as it sets the pace for pupils to comprehend a range of concepts. Many of the pupils indicated that this would help them internalise the teachings, even though they had other reasons for learning English (Baker, 2001; Cummings, 1996; 2001). This conclusion is affirmed in a study by Ramirez et al. (1991), comparing English-only programmes with transitional/group maintenance bilingual programmes with Spanish-speaking students.

7.2 Prospects of Ghanaian Language Education

Three main conclusions can be drawn from this study. Firstly, the use of the English language as a medium of instruction in Ghana is tied with the historic relics of British rule, which is associated with the cultural imperialism (Anaya, 2011; Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Secondly, the perceived globalisation and the need for economic development have negatively impacted the use of Ghanaian languages and instead have perpetuated the use of the English language (Kloss, 1977; May, 2002; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). This has affected the attitudes of the policy makers and implementers as well as society such that the use of Ghanaian languages is considered to be inferior. Thirdly, the use of Ghanaian languages as a medium of instruction during the first three years of basic school is a ratified policy in place. However, its implementation is affected by challenges that arise from both cultural imperialism and globalisation (Bgoya, 1999; Bhabha, 1993; Clinton, 2004; Fanon, 2001; Mazrui, 2004; Negash, 2005; Said, 1995; Wa Thiongó, 1997), the latter of which is perceived to be vital for development. Therefore, the teaching of local languages is affected by such attitudes, including the inadequacy of logistical support exhibited by a lack of teaching materials and ineffective supervision that exacerbates the problem (Awoyini, 1982; Boadi, 1976; Dzinyela, 2001; Edqual, 2010).

English is the former colonial language and it is prominently used internationally in all spheres of development and trade. Therefore, the continued use of English may be necessary to allow people to interact with the international community and for other development ventures. Nevertheless, that does not preclude the use of local Ghanaian languages as media of instruction, as stipulated in the policy. This is because the use of local languages arguably enhances learning, including that of the English language (Baker, 2000; Cummins, 2000) and it allows pupils to comprehend the teachings better compared to when English is used strictly as the medium of instruction, especially in the

lower classes. When local languages are used, they contribute to better quality education, which is the priority of any education policy, and therefore, is important for the country's development (Alidou, 2004; Batibo, 1990; Brock-Utne, 2005; Sahlberg, 2004; 2006).

It is the contention in this study that when local languages are used in education, a country can still effectively participate in the global environment and not be subjected to cultural imperialism, as would be the case if English is exclusively used. In education policy, the English language can be considered just as a subject like any other. Therefore, Ghana should implement the policy in its current form but also provide the necessary support for its implementation. The Ghanaian government ought to prioritise and provide logistical support for Ghanaian languages just like it does for other subjects in schools. This would help develop the capacities of the pupils. Similarly, awareness needs to be increased among communities so they can appreciate the value of local languages and their use in schools as a way of promoting education. Doing so would ensure that both parents and students embrace the Ghanaian languages and invest in the development of the languages as opposed to spending resources on foreign languages.

7.3 Recommendations

Recommendation 1

For implementation of the Ghanaian Language Policy to be successful, teachers posted to the various communities should be able to teach the native languages, as pointed out by Oko (1987) who stated that language policies over the years have never been based on any effective planning. The language landscape in Ghana has never been systematically planned in such a way as to facilitate the appropriate strategic steps to be taken. Aminarh (1992) points out that in Ashiedu Keteke, a suburb of Accra, all the PI-3 teachers in the primary schools were Akans and could not speak Ga. However, the language

policy states that Ga should be used as a medium of instruction in Primary 1-3. It is disheartening then that there was not even one Ga language specialist in the schools. The questions one would like to ask here are: Who posts the teachers to the schools? Are they aware of our language policy? Are our language policies based on effective research? And, what are the solutions to these problems?

Based on these weaknesses in the language policy and implementation, Ando- Kumi (1997, p. 115) observed that there is no institutional framework to effectively monitor the implementation of the language policy. In addition, the implementation of the language of education policy has been fraught with difficulties leading to marked inconsistencies between policy and implementation. This is because the policy has been declared in such circumstances that it cannot be implemented effectively and the government has not taken any action to resolve this. Moreover, the language policy has never been monitored by the Ministry of Education and there is no institutional framework to formulate a coherent and realistic language plan for the country. It is based upon this weakness that I make this recommendation.

Recommendation 2

Ghanaian languages should be used as a medium of instruction from kindergarten to Basic 6. Currently, Ghanaian languages are only a language medium from kindergarten to Basic 3 and become a subject in Basic 4. The situation where the Ghanaian child is forced to learn in a foreign language in which he is not competent at the basic school level produces poor results (Bamgbose, 2011). However, when Ghanaian children can learn in their own indigenous languages it helps them to develop enough confidence in the languages. In addition to this, Webb (2004), Grin (2004) and Heugh (2006) are of the view that bilingualism is less expensive than an English-based medium of instruction.

Recommendation 3

Ghanaian languages should be a core subject at the senior high school and colleges of education and should be made a requirement for entry to universities and the civil service.

Recommendation 4

There should be provision of enough textbooks and teaching materials and incentive packages for the teachers of Ghanaian languages, for example study-leave with pay.

Recommendation 5

For language in education policies to achieve the desired results in multilingual/multi-ethnic communities such as Ghana, they should be based on sound theoretical constructs (e.g. perspectives from multicultural education. Banks (2008) states that the sociolinguistic realities of such communities take into account and see multi-ethnic/multilingual societies as pluralistic. Cummins (2000) has suggested that language in education policies in such communities ought to be based on dialogues that are informed by both insider and outsider (teachers, researchers and policy makers, respectively) perspectives, as both perspectives are important to the articulation of understandings.

In Ghana, a greater collaboration between the Ministry of Education (the policy maker), the Ghana Education Service (the policy implementer), the Ghana Statistical Service and the Linguistics Association of Ghana (researchers) may be valuable not only for the formulation of implementable policies but also in the successful implementation of such policies. For example, given the level of linguistic diversity and the country's economic circumstances, teaching every child in its own mother tongue may appear somewhat unrealistic. Even then, however, it is possible to offer a mother tongue education through decentralised language planning that is based on a theoretically sound national policy, as has been done in Ethiopia, which is a much poorer country (Skutnabb-Kangas & Heugh, 2012).

In this regard, demographic information from the Ghana Statistical Service may be useful; for instance, in ensuring that the selection of a mother tongue for each decentralised area is a reflection of the actual sociolinguistic situation on the ground – that the pupils are, at least, familiar enough with the chosen language to receive instruction in it. In addition, the Ministry of Education and the Ghana Education Service could work together with teacher training institutions across the country to ensure that primary school teachers are trained and equipped to teach in the mother tongue or community languages of the schools where they are posted to teach. This is important if the current language in education policy is to work.

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APPENDICES

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REPUBLIC OF GHANA

Metro Education Office
P.O. Box 1918
Kumasi – Ashanti
Ghana

12th July, 2010

**HEADS OF BASIC
SCHOOLS CONCERNED
KUMASI**

INTRODUCTORY LETTER
RE: MR OSEI TWUMASI-ANKRAH

This is to introduce to you Mr. Osei Twumasi-Ankrah, a doctoral student at the University of Lapland (Rovaniemi, Finland).

Mr. Osei Twumasi-Ankrah wants to embark on data collection in your school.

Kindly accord him the necessary assistance and co-operation he needs to carry out the exercise.

Thank you.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'D. Adu'.

**DANIEL VINCENT ADU
DEPUTY DIRECTOR (SUPERVISION)
For: METRO DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
KUMASI**

OSEI TWUMASI-ANKRAH.
UNIVERSITY OF LAPLAND
FACULTY OF EDUCATION

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

RESPONDENTS' SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE.

This study is meant to examine the philosophical assumptions underpinning the objectives of the education experts' perception of the Ghanaian Language policy and its implementation. It is also to ascertain the extent to which the Ghanaian Language Policy has been able to influence the teaching of Ghanaian Language at the basic school. The study is being conducted with the view to improving the teaching of the subject. Your objective views in the matter will contribute immensely towards achieving this goal. You are assured that your responses would be kept confidential.

Thank you.

SECTION A

PERSONAL DATA

INSTRUCTIONS: Please supply answers to the following questions.

Position/Status

Date of birth

Sex

Marital status

Occupation

Rank/Status

1. What is the nature of interaction between?

(a) Teachers and pupils and

(b) Among pupils

In the classroom when Ghanaian Language is being used as a medium of instruction in schools?

2. (A) what are the attitudes of teachers and pupils to using Ghanaian Language or English Language as a medium of instruction in the schools?

(b). What are attitudes of teachers and pupils to using Ghanaian language or English as a subject of study?

(c) What accounts for those attitudes?

3. What do you know about the Ghanaian language policy?

4. What are teachers' and pupils' attitudes towards the language policy in? Ghana?

5. (A) to what extent are teachers prepared to teach in the Ghanaian languages?

6. What behaviors or actions show teachers' competence in the teaching of Ghanaian Language?

7. How often do supervisors visit the schools to make sure teachers are adhering to the rules and regulations concerning the implementation of the language policy?

8. (A) what is the attitude of the community toward the use of Ghanaian language as the language of education? (Do the people support and encourage it or are they against it?

(b) What is the attitude of the community toward the use of English Language as the language of education?

9. Would you say that the teachers are adequately prepared to handle the Ghanaian Language at the basic School level? If yes or no! Why?

10. Is there any institutional framework to monitor the Ghanaian Language Policy?

11. Would you say that the policy has been implemented without taking into consideration the policy document? If yes or no! Why?

12. Is there any institutional framework to formulate coherent and realistic language plan for the country?

13. In your view, to what extent has/have the Ghanaian Language Policy/Policies been able to influence positively the teaching and learning of the subject? a greater extent or to a lesser extent? If to a greater extent or to lesser extent, why?

14. In your view what are some of the specific problems facing the implementation of the policy?

15. What recommendation would you make for the improvement of the policy?

16. What recommendation would you make for the improvement of the learning of the Ghanaian Language in the basic schools?

Interview guide for pupils

Class

Sex

Age

Parents Occupation

1. How many languages does your teacher use to teach in class?
2. Which of the languages do you want your teacher to use in the classroom?
3. Which one of the language helps you to understand your lessons well?
4. What language is use in teaching English and Ghanaian language?
5. What language does your teacher use to teach Science?
6. What language is used in teaching other subjects?
7. Does your teacher sometimes blend the two languages in the classroom?
8. Which of the languages helps you to understand your lessons better?