

Quantitative and qualitative benefits of translanguaging pedagogic practice among first graders in multilingual classrooms of Lundazi district in Zambia

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Abstract

The aim of the paper is assess the pedagogical benefits of translanguaging using a quasi-experiment where two literacy classes with similar sociolinguistic composition were taught differently. In this case, the control class strictly followed the 'monolingual' language policy while the experimental class was taught using translanguaging. The idea was to see whether translanguaging could lead to any measurable literacy development benefits on the learner. Through interviews with the class teacher and classroom observations, the paper also sought to bring out the qualitative benefits which were observed or experienced throughout the experiment. A total of 82 pupils participated in the study with one teacher who taught both classes. Quantitative data was analysed using SPSS and a Levene's test of variance was used to analyse the test results while thematic analysis was used for qualitative data analysis. Post experimental test results showed higher average mean scores for the experimental group ($M=15.10$) than the control group ($M=11.71$). The Cohen's $d=0.98$ for the post-test showed the large effect size above .8. The performance of learners in the experimental group was significantly different from the control group [$t(52.960) = 4.454, p < 0.001$]. Thus, the difference in literacy performance can be attributed to the translanguaging practices which were used to teach literacy in the experimental class. Additional results showed that as a result of translanguaging, there was increased learner classroom participation, multiliteracy development, cultural preservation and learners' identity affirmation. The study concludes that when the curriculum is decolonised and the classroom is liberated through recognition of learners' linguistic repertoires, learning outcomes improve. The paper makes a unique contribution to knowledge by providing objective data from an experiment to show the educational benefits of translanguaging.

Key words: Translanguaging, Pedagogical practices, Multilingualism, Coloniality, Decolonisation

INTRODUCTION

Zambia is a multiethnic nation with 73 ethnic groups. Arising from this, Mambwe (2014) argues that although the 73 ethnic groups may represent dialects, the actual number of languages is between 25 and 40. Within this context, seven Zambian languages were selected out of the 73 dialects to be used for the educational purposes and on the national broadcaster to represent the many languages (Mwanakatwe, 1974 and Kashoki, 1990). The seven regional official languages used in schools are perceived to be representing the zones in the country hence they are referred to as 'zonal languages'. MOE (2013) observes that, the seven (7) zonal languages are used in the regions geographically demarcated for educational purposes. Cinyanja for Eastern and Lusaka regions, Chitonga for Southern and part of Central regions, Ibibemba for Copperbelt, Luapula, Northern and parts of Muchinga and Central regions while Kiikaonde, Lunda, Luvale are for North-western region and Silozi for western region. In these regions, there are other ethnic groupings whose languages are different from the language of instruction, yet the regional languages are used for the purposes of teaching in schools.

It must be mentioned from the onset that the regionalisation of language has its colonial origins. When Zambia was under colonisation, it was divided into regions for administrative convenience. However, these administrative regions were later viewed to represent ethnicity which was correlated to languages. Ironically, after Zambia got independence in 1964, the colonial legacy has been maintained and now perpetuated by Zambian leaders and administrators. This explains why even when some languages are not mutually intelligible to the seven designated

regional languages, Zambia continues to formulate policy and develop literacy teaching materials premised on this ideology whose result is the continued marginalisation of unofficial languages and symbolic violation of those who speak other languages beside the seven. In independent Zambia, it is not only English (from grade 5 to University) which is used as a tool to include and exclude others but Zambian local languages too. It is therefore the case that speakers of the seven Zambian languages have a head start in education while their colleagues without prior exposure to these languages have to start by learning the language of instruction before they can comprehend the content being taught.

In terms of language policy in Zambia, there have been a number of policy changes which have taken place since the coming of the missionaries to Zambia (Banda and Mwanza, 2017). The teaching of literacy in the mission schools which were set up by the various missionaries did not start until the missionaries first learnt the language of the people in that community. After the language learning was complete, that was when they started to teach literacy and Bible readings to the locals. Kelly (1999:36) noted that,

One of the missionary's first task was to learn the language of the people of the area around the mission station and put it down in writing. The next step was the opening of the school in which the reading and writing, first in the local language and then in English, could be taught.

The local language was used as a language of instruction to the local people so that the missionaries could have the human resource to help translate the Bible into the local languages. The cardinal point was that the community language was the language of instruction used to teach

literacy with was a local language common to the area where the school was located. After being literate in the community language, children transitioned into the regional language and later into English language. Although the missionaries are credited for bringing formal education to Zambia, their major motivation was to teach literacy so that the target audience can read the bible. Regardless, their point of strength was the recognition that both schooling and converting people to Christianity needed to be done through the language which people understood best. Mwanza (2016) observed that the missionaries' work proved successful because they used familiar languages for both literacy teaching and evangelization.

Today, Zambia is more multilingual with the growth of more language varieties including informal forms. The current language policy recommends that the 7 regional official languages are used as media of instruction from grades 1-4 and English becomes medium of instruction from grade 5 onwards (MOE, 2014). Thus, Zambia follows a transitional bilingual Education system where "When it is assumed that students have attained sufficient proficiency in the school language to follow instruction in the language, home language instruction is discontinued, and students are transitioned into mainstream classes taught exclusively in English." (Cummins, 2009:161).

Arising from the argument above, Banda and Mwanza (2017) argue that the Zambian language in education policy is premised on monolingual language ideologies which Cummins (2011) refers to as 'two solitudes' which are not cognisant of the sociolinguistic compositions of most classrooms of Zambia today. In fact, studies conducted in Zambia have cited the monolingual teaching practices to be responsible for the continuing low literacy levels

in the Zambian schools (Mwambazi, 2011; Phiri, 2012; Kamalata, 2016; Simachenya, 2017; Bwalya and Mwanza,). Banda and Mwanza (2017) recommended translanguaging as the most suitable language practice in the multilingual classrooms of Zambia. They argued that translanguaging would liberate the classroom by connecting the home and the school. In fact, based on similar findings, Mwanza (2020) argues that while several factors account for the low literacy levels in Zambia, the symbolic violence which is reproduced in the classrooms is the major explanation for the low literacy achievements in Zambia.

By definition, Translanguaging is "the purposive pedagogical alternation of Languages in spoken and written, receptive and productive modes" (Hornberger and Link 2012:262). Hesson, Seltzer and Woodley (2014) also explain that translanguaging as pedagogical practice refers to any instance in which the students' home language practices are used to influence learning in classroom. Translanguaging enables children maximize their potentials in the learning of literacy by employing their linguistic repertoires to access knowledge.

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY: LUNDAZI DISTRICT

Lundazi is a district situated in eastern province of Zambia. It is 182 kilometres away from Chipata town which is the provincial headquarters of Eastern Province. By 2010, the district had the population of 236, 833 people. Although the national census did not take place in 2020 due to the Covid 19 pandemic, it is estimated that the population has risen from the 2010 figure. Linguistically, the dominant language in Lundazi is Citumbuka while the official language

of instruction in schools for the first four years is Cinyanja. Studies have shown that Tumbuka has very low mutual intelligibility with Cinyanja. Therefore, Cinyanja has been documented as being inappropriate as a sole medium of instruction in Lundazi (Zimba, 2007; Mwanza, 2012; Banda and Mwanza, 2017; Banda and Mwanza, 2019). Apart from Citumbuka, other languages spoken in Lundazi as Cisenga, Icibemba, Cinsenga and Cinyanja. This state of multilingualism is brought about due to migration informed by job deployment both by the government and the private sector. There is a deliberate system in Zambia where civil servants are posted to work in areas without consideration of one's mother tongue in order to promote ethnic cohesion and integration. Linguistically, this has resulted into areas especially urban spaces to become multilingual. In this context, the curriculum recommendation of using one language for classroom instruction invites research interest. Already, Zimba (2007) found that teachers used Cinyanja to teach and learners could not understand what teachers were saying and they could not participate in the classroom. According to Zimba, the mismatch between the policy and language practices in communities explained why pupils were failing to break through to literacy. It was from this background that we opted to carry out an experiment in Lundazi to analyse what impact translanguaging would have in this sociolinguistic context.

The Purpose of the study was to assess the impact of translanguaging on the literacy performance of first graders.

1. Hypotheses

The study was informed by the following two hypotheses:

H0 There is no difference in literacy performance between a

translanguaging and a monolingual grade 1 multilingual classes of Lundazi District

H1 There is a difference in literacy performance between a translanguaging and a monolingual grade 1 multilingual classes of Lundazi District

METHODOLOGY

The study used a mixed methods approach and employed a multiphase sequential design. The total sample comprised 83 participants. These were 82 grade one learners and one teacher who taught both classes. Purposive sampling was used to come up with one multilingual district and one teacher of literacy. Random sampling was used to come up with the school and the grade one classes. The characteristics of the sample was that one class was treated with translanguaging pedagogical practices while the other class continued with the monolingual practices of literacy teaching as prescribed by the Zambia language policy. The grade one teacher was trained for one week on translanguaging before the school term opened. At the beginning of the term, the two classes were pre-tested. This was important to know the literacy performance of the two classes before the intervention, against which the results of the post-test were going to be analysed to tell whether or not, translanguaging had any impact on learners' performance. As part of the control measures, the same teacher taught the two classes so that issues of teacher characteristics do not contribute to the possible differences in the results. The Ministry of Education Standardised test was used to test learners' literacy skills both in the pre and post-test. Further, interviews were conducted with the teacher to establish what she found to be the qualitative benefits of

using translanguaging. Analytically, the data was analysed using SPSS and a Levene's test of variance while thematic analysis was used on qualitative data. Ethically, ethical clearance was obtained from the University of Zambia Ethics committee. Participants were informed about the study and their role before commencement of the intervention. They were told that their participation was voluntary and that they were free to withdraw from the study for any reason at any time.

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

The following section presents results of both the test and interviews. It begins with quantitative results which show the quantitative benefits of the practice. Thereafter, interview data is presented which provides additional benefits based on the experiences of the teacher and classroom observation.

Quantitative benefits of translanguaging among first graders

As hinted earlier, the study was meant to experiment translanguaging pedagogical practices and confirm if these practices were better than the monolingual pedagogical practices. The learners in the experimental and control classes were given a pre-test in literacy at the start of the term before the translanguaging practices were introduced to the treated class. At the end of the term, a post test was also administered to the two grade one classes and the scores were analysed using a Levene's test to see if the scores were significant or not. In the two classes, 41 learners from each class wrote both the pre-test and the post test. The following are the results from both the pre-test and the post-test:

Table 1: Mean results for the two Group on pre and post test

| | Group | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean |
|-----------|--------------------|----|-------|----------------|-----------------|
| Pretest | Experimental group | 41 | 9.83 | 3.081 | .481 |
| | Control group | 41 | 11.83 | 3.162 | |
| Post-test | Experimental group | 41 | 15.10 | 1.841 | .288 |
| | Control group | 41 | 11.71 | 4.512 | .705 |

Results in table 1 presents the mean differences between the translanguaging group (experimental group) and the monolingual group (control group). From the pretest, the mean for the experimental class was 9.83 while the mean for the post test results was 15.10. The results show an increase of 5.27 in mean between the pretest and post test results. Meanwhile, the mean for the

control group's pretest was 11.83 while the mean results for the post test was 11.71 with a difference on -0.12. While the mean difference between the pre-test and post- test for the experimental group showed an increase and the mean difference for the control group showed a reduction. In order to assess the impact of the translanguaging teaching practices, the Levene's test for

equivalence of variances was run to test the equivalence of variances to check for equal variances. The findings in the table

below revealed performance of pupils in the experimental and control groups in the pretest.

Table 2: Mean. Standard deviation and t-value scores of pretest

| Group names | | N | M | SD | df | t | p | d |
|-------------|--------------------|----|-------|-------|----|--------|-------|------|
| Pretest | Experimental group | 41 | 9.830 | 3.081 | 80 | -2.901 | 0.005 | .640 |
| | Control group | 41 | 11.83 | 3.102 | | | | |

The t and the df were not adjusted because the variances were equal, $F=2.238$, $p>0.627$ (>0.05)

Table 2 shows that the average mean scores for experimental group was significantly different from the control group [$t(80) = 2.901$, $p=0.005$]. The average mean scores for the experimental group ($M=9.830$) while the control group was lower ($M=11.83$). The Cohen's $d=0.64$ for the pretest

showed the medium effect size between 0.5 and 0.8. Since the effect size was on the medium, the groups started at the same level of achievement.

The table below also compared the performance of pupils in the experimental and control groups in the post-test.

Table 3: Mean. Standard deviation and t-value scores of post-test

| Group names | | N | M | SD | df | t | p | d |
|-------------|--------------------|----|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| Post-test | Experimental group | 41 | 15.10 | 1.841 | 52.96 | 4.454 | 0.000 | .980 |
| | Control group | 41 | 11.71 | 4.512 | | | | |

The t and the df were adjusted because the variances were not equal, $F=31.175$, $p<0.0001$ (<0.05)

Table 3 shows that the post test results for experimental group was significantly different from the control group [$t(52.96) = 4.454$, $p<0.001$]. The average mean scores for the experimental group ($M=15.10$) while the control group was lower ($M=11.71$). The Cohen's $d=0.98$ for the post-test which showed the large effect size of above .8. Therefore, the intervention in the experimental group (translanguaging class) led to improved learner performance in literacy as evidenced in the post test results. From the results in table 3, we can reject the null hypothesis (H_0) which stated that there is no significant difference in literacy performance between a translanguaging and a monolingual

grade 1 multilingual classes of Lundazi District. Therefore, the results confirm the alternative hypothesis (H_1) that there is a significant difference in literacy performance between a translanguaging and a monolingual grade one.

Qualitative benefits of translanguaging practices among first graders

The teacher realised that as a result of teaching grade one learners using the translanguaging practices in a multilingual class, there was improved learner participation in the classroom. This was because learners were able to

use their languages without restrictions. The teacher said:

The first benefit I saw was that learners were in a free environment which supported the learning of literacy. After I provided the freedom for them to actually interact and share their answers with others at their desks and then give me the answer to the question in their languages. This encouraged every child to participate and talk about the sounds of the day in their languages freely.

If I compare how the learners in my translanguaging class were participating this term to last term, I can simply say learning was taking place in a conducive environment in a multilingual class. I say so because learners in my class are able to provide answers in their languages where they know the sounds and objectives. Even the quite learners are active in the translanguaging class which is encouraging.

The learners also become literate in their local languages as well as the language of instruction. This was observed from the answers they gave when they were asked to give words which corresponded to the sound of the day. They provided many answers in line with the sound of the day which existed in their languages. The teacher said:

Multiliteracy was actually taking place in the translanguaging class because learners were able to differentiate between a correct word in Tumbuka and Cinyanja according to the sound of the day. They also translated the words between languages to enable the other learners realise what the word was in their language.

This was also seen from the scripts which the learners wrote in class as below in figure 2:

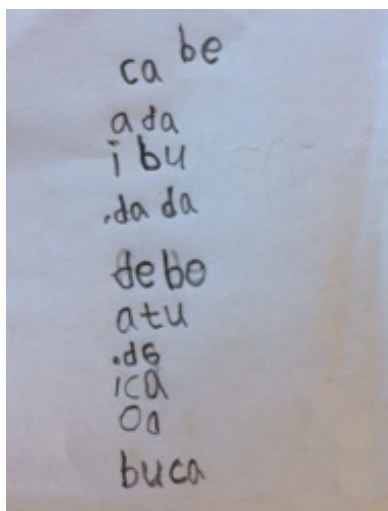


Figure 2: Multiliteracy Development

In figure 2, learners were given a word chart which had a list of sounds which they learnt in term one as a form of revision in class. The teacher asked the learners to write words on a piece of paper in their groups. The groups presented words which were well written and were common in the classroom languages. The words are written in different languages which included Cinyanja, Citumbuka and English. The teacher further stated that:

Further, learners were able to make use of their emergent literacy to make sense of what the teacher was teaching about. The learners were able to correct each other in class and agree on the answer using Tumbuka and respond either in Tumbuka or Cinyanja.

The benefit was that learners were able to actively participate and identify words according to the different languages which were written on the board. Learners were able to identify words from the different languages through matching using a cue cards are presented in figure 3:

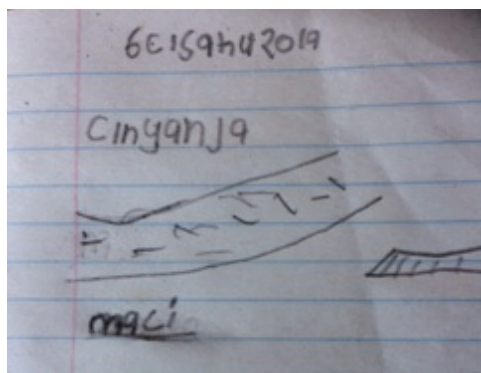


Figure 4: Biliteracy Skills Development

Figure 4 gives evidence of biliteracy skills development as a result of translanguaging in the literacy class. The instruction was for the learners to draw a river and show water in it. Thereafter, the learners were supposed to write water in Cinyanja which is 'madzi'. However, the learner drew the river and water in it but wrote a Tumbuka word 'maji' to mean water.

The other benefit was that learners developed language proficiency in their familiar language. This resulted into learners reading level in their familiar language improve and extend from the academic circles to the social setting of the children. The teacher also said:

Also, learners were able to read Tumbuka words away from class unlike the learners from the monolingual class. The learners even read the Tumbuka Bible in church to the congregation which made me get amazed. I did not realise such can manifest in learners at such an early stage in their academic life.

The other benefit which the teacher realised in learners was that the minority learners were able to participate and use their languages to give responses to the classroom learning situation. This

enhanced social interaction amongst learners and increased their academic power in class. The teacher said:

The benefit for the learners in my translanguaging class was that learners from Senga, Nsenga and Lozi speaking homes were able to give answers using their languages. Learners were able to give the names of the objectives using their languages to show that the syllable existed in their languages. The teacher and the class welcomed such responses and encouraged them as the class and teacher learnt from them.

The findings have shown that there was improved literacy performance in the test by the translanguaging class. It has also been reported that translanguaging resulted into increased learner classroom participation, relaxed classroom and development of multiliteracy and biliteracy in learners.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The study established that using translanguaging pedagogical practices resulted in improved learner performance in the grade one literacy multilingual classes in Lundazi district. These findings are in line with Wei (2011) who also found that translanguaging helps students to acquire and use accurately a range of general academic and domain-specific words and phrases sufficient for reading, writing, speaking, listening and use in class. Further analysis of the study findings between the pretest and the post tests of the control class show that learner's performance dropped by -0.12 as a result of the continuous use of the monolingual class. The findings are confirmation that monolingual practices

in multilingual classes account for low literacy achievements in the Zambian schools (Chinyama (2016; Simachenya, 2017; Kamalata, 2016). The strict use of one language in the control class resulted into symbolic violence in which learner's cognitive powers were disabled. It these colonial language ideologies and practices which have consistently made the majority of children in Zambia to score low in national and regional literacy assessments.

Improved literacy performance by multilingual learners was characterised by the linguistic freedom and learner speech freedom which accounted to learner understanding of the content being taught in class. Similar findings were reported Jiménez et al., (2015) who found that translanguaging through translating English text into Spanish enabled students to collaboratively construct meanings at the word, sentence, and text levels while developing more understandings of the forms and functions of language. Learner achievement increased from the pretest scores to better scores in the post test. Clearly, there is a link between translanguaging, learner participation, motivation and understanding of the content which eventually result into improved learner performance. Thus, the liberating effects of translanguaging and the counteraction of marginalisation of languages and their speakers become cognitively empowering. In the experimental class, learners had the power to socialise and build on their social and cultural knowledge which resulted into improved content assimilation and participation in the lesson. The foregoing is also supported by Creese and Blackledge (2008) who asserted that using two languages in the classroom has been a valuable resource that contributes to performance, lesson

accomplishments and participation of learners. Therefore, the results of this study dismiss assertions by Arafin (2016) who argued that multilingualism was a source of confusion and resulted into learners not improving in their academic performance due to cognitive overload in any classroom. The findings of our study have shown that such coloniality and language ideologies informed by linguistic imperialism do not correctly depict the reality of multilingual classrooms in sub-Saharan Africa and Zambia in particular. Notions of language as bound entities are not only outdated but unrealistic. Rather, languages should be viewed as resources (Ruiz, 1984) which co-work in meaning making during classroom interaction.

The other benefit which this study established was the fact that there was multiliteracy development in the classroom. Learners became literate in their individual languages which existed in the classroom. This can be seen from figure 2 where learners wrote different words according to the sounds which were given to them. The figure has Cinyanja words like 'cabe' (only), Tumbuka words like 'dada' (father), 'ica' (come) and English word 'buca' (butcher) among others. These findings resonate with what Garcia (2009) meant when she argued that the use of bilingual pedagogy will help the learners to use their emergent literacy to learn. Further, Garcia and Kleyn (2016) observed that through including all participants in a collaborative, culturally and linguistically valuing space led to development of metalinguistic awareness, cultural consciousness, and new understandings of participation and voice.

In this study, translanguaging is in tandem with the view of considering classroom languages as a right which schools and teachers should not neglect.

The realisation of the learner's rights to their languages in classrooms brought about multiliteracy development. Translanguaging is a drive to multiliteracy development in multilingual classes and should be encouraged. The study established that there was literacy development in the learner's familiar language (bi-literacy). This was realised near the end of the term. Learners were able to write concepts and words using their local language (Tumbuka) in place of the target language (Cinyanja) as shown in figure 4. This was an evidence of learners developing writing skills in both the target language and the home language. The findings are supported by Palmer (2008) who noted that the positioning of learners also has the potential to move initially marginalized individuals into empowering spaces. Literacy development in the learner's languages was an indication of cultural sustainability as the learners were preview to their cultural literacy development which later increased their access to knowledge in the classroom. This is in agreement with Cummins (2005) who argued that using translanguaging enables students to create bilingual text and translate from one language to the next.

Building on Makalela's (2019) notions of hearer centred perspective and speaker centred perspective to languaging, what one observes in the data is that while the translanguaging (experimental) class used hearer centred languaging, the control class (monolingual) employed the speaker centred perspective to meaning making. Thus, the results of the experiment confirm the idea that epistemic access rests on hearer centred perspective to languaging. In fact, the rationale for translanguaging as premised on the recognition of learners' linguistic

repertoires point to the fact that teachers should decolonise the curriculum and employ language practices which resonate with the learner. It is the provision of this learner centred pedagogy which works hand in hand with hearer centred languaging. On the other hand, the monolingual class recorded a drop in performance because classroom communication was speaker centred. In this case, the speaker is the teacher who does not recognise the languages represented in the class and the corresponding language abilities/inabilities of the learners. This practice externalises learning and access to knowledge in which case, the learner is excluded and discriminated from the leaning context. Hence, the argument for translanguaging in classroom practice is informed by its inclusivity and cognisance of everyone present in the classroom regardless of the linguistic and cultural background. As Makalela (2019) puts it, translanguaging works in tandem with the Ubuntu logic where fairness and equity is central to pedagogy. The teacher is because learners are. Similarly, learners are because the teacher is. This demonstrates that the teacher is inadequate in transmitting learning because both teaching and learning only take place when both the teacher and the learner are involved in a mutually engaging classroom interlocution. Linguistically, Makalela (2019:240) argues that "it is useful to use the ubuntu logic to point that one language is incomplete without the other" especially in African communities where multilingualism is a norm. Therefore, the simultaneous co-working of the languages on one hand and teacher and learners on the other hand translate into significant learning as the results have shown in this study.

Further, it has been deciphered from the data that for children to acquire literacy skills in African multilingual classrooms, there is need for what Makalela (2019) calls discontinuation continuation. In this study, this involved the constant disruption of orderliness as enshrined in the curriculum and language policy which is premised on monolingual/monoglot conceptualisation of language. This disruption was characterised with a simultaneous recreation of new discursive ones through translanguaging. We therefore argue that if African teachers of literacy will implement curriculum with the coloniality which informs it, there will be sustenance of low literacy gains in education. Hence, discontinuation continuation is a call for the decolonisation of the curriculum in which learner centred pedagogy will be practiced through recontextualisation of education knowledge context by context. Since curriculum implementation and classroom language practice is informed by power and hegemony, teachers must realise that they too, have the power to negotiate the curriculum for the empowerment of their learners through epistemic access. In fact, Gort and Sembante (2015) contends that bilingual teachers become agentive social actors within their classrooms and schools despite prevalent structural constraints in dual language education around bilinguals' language choice and use. The benefits are that it provided a chance for teachers and learners to engage into multiliteracy development in class and beyond through the free social interaction in class. Muntigl et al., (2000) recognises that the teacher's classroom position and power is signalled not only by grammatical forms within a text or speech, but also by the teacher's control of a social occasion, by means of the genre of a text, or by

access to certain public spheres. The teacher's multilingualism status extends to the learner's through the provision of powers to make them interact and use their linguistic powers to learn from each other using the familiar language. Learner's benefits are as a result of the teacher's extension of the linguistic olive branch to them so that they benefit from their home languages and literacies.

Finally, the data has provided evidence to the fact that when the identities of the learners have been recognised in the school and classroom, learner self-confidence and cognitive powers flourish. Makalela (2019) makes this point poignant when he explained that in Africa where most people grow up speaking more than one language "input and output alternation is the only way to become, gain epistemic access and develop a higher sense of self in education". This is particularly crucial in urban areas such as Lundazi urban where translocal mobility has resulted into linguistic mobility and language contact. Therefore, provision of education in such environments require a context sensitive pedagogy which recognise rather than impose identities on the learners. When this happens, the school and the education sectors realise both qualitative and measurable learning benefits as evidenced in this study.

Arising from the preceding arguments, it can be concluded that translanguaging practices brings about increased learner achievements in multilingual literacy classes while monolingual practices did not improve learner performance. Translanguaging practices in multilingual classes also leads to multiliteracy development, cultural preservation, cultural building and builds learner's individual linguistic repertoire while also building literacy in a target language.

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