

Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education in the Philippines:
Studying Top-Down Policy Implementation from the Bottom Up

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Dedication

To my husband and best friend
Robert Burton

You are the unsung hero of this process.
Others may never know the extent of your support.
I will always remember.

Abstract

There is a growing trend around the world to support mother tongue instruction in the early years of a child's education. In Southeast Asia, this is apparent in a rising number of educational programs that utilize this approach. However, the Philippines is the only country in Southeast Asia to have instituted a national policy requiring mother tongue-based multilingual education (MTB-MLE) in the primary school years. While studies have long supported the use of mother tongue as the language of instruction, they have primarily been conducted in community rather than national settings. As such, little is known about how a national policy for MTB-MLE can be disseminated into contextualized local environments.

This study examined how teachers and parents in one school district in the Philippines understand and enact MTB-MLE. Teachers' and parents' knowledge, beliefs, and practices were studied to identify how national language policy is appropriated at the ground level. In addition, the challenges to policy implementation were explored and analyzed. Utilizing a case study methodology, this research included focus groups, surveys, classroom observations, and individual interviews. Data were collected during a three week time period in June and July 2012, which was one month after the beginning of MTB-MLE implementation in the schools.

Results from this study indicated that teachers' and parents' views of MTB-MLE focused on the short-term benefits of the policy and the long-term disadvantages. While both groups were overwhelmingly satisfied with the increase in student understanding, they expressed concern about the future implications for learning in Bikol rather than in

English. They overtly supported the policy in terms of complying with the requirements, yet covert resistance was observed in their words and actions. The implications of these findings revolve around the way in which language policy is managed. Rather than a top-down approach that does not consider the local context, language policy must be implemented through interactions between the top and the bottom.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The linguistic and cultural diversity in the Philippines brings much complexity to the issue of language policy in education. With more than 7000 islands and 181 distinct languages (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2013), the Philippines offers a challenging environment for implementing a language policy that can serve the whole country. Consequently, language policies for Philippines' schools have fluctuated greatly over the last century with a different policy for nearly every generation. Until recently, the 1974 and 1987 Bilingual Education Policies determined the language of instruction in schools to be Filipino and English. This is despite the fact that about 80% of the population does not speak either of these as a first language.

In 2009, the Department of Education (DepEd) challenged the Bilingual Education Policy by issuing an order that called for institutionalization of mother tongue-based multilingual education (MTB-MLE). This order requires use of the learners' first language as the medium of instruction for all subject areas in pre-kindergarten through grade three with Filipino and English being taught as separate subjects (Philippines Department of Education, 2009). Another order was issued in 2012 that offered more specific guidelines for MTB-MLE and embedded the reform in the newly adopted "K to 12 Basic Education Program" (Philippines Department of Education, 2012). This order shifted from the original mother tongue approach by specifying twelve major regional languages to be used as the languages of instruction. Under this order, teachers are

provided government-issued materials in their regional languages but are expected to adapt them to reflect the students' first languages.

Until recently, the MTB-MLE policy resided solely within DepEd. However, in January 2013 the Philippines' Congress officially supported this effort by passing the Enhanced Basic Education Act. In addition to shifting toward a K-12 educational structure, this legislation requires instruction, teaching materials, and assessments to be in the "regional or native language of the learners" from kindergarten through grade three with a "mother language transition program" from grades four through six. Despite the fact that President Benigno Aquino has not yet signed the bill into law, nation-wide implementation of MTB-MLE has begun. Gradual implementation started with grade one students in 2012 and will be followed by grades two and three in 2013 and 2014 respectively.

This shift in language policy is part of a growing trend around the world to support mother tongue instruction in the early years of a child's education. In Southeast Asia, this is apparent in a rising number of educational programs that utilize a mother tongue approach. Examples can be found in Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Timor L'Este and Vietnam (Kosonen, in press; Kosonen & Young, 2009; Taylor-Leech, 2013; UNESCO, 2007). In all of these cases, the programs are being piloted at the community level with support from international non-governmental agencies (INGOs). While the use of non-dominant languages in education is allowed in each of these countries, the Philippines is the single country to institute a national policy requiring their inclusion in the early grades. As a result, the implementation of MTB-MLE in the Philippines is being looked at as an example for the rest of the region.

The move by DepEd and Congress to adopt MTB-MLE was based on the outcomes of previous quantitative, longitudinal studies that highlighted the benefits of using the mother tongue as the language of instruction. Two studies in the United States (Ramirez, Yuen, & Ramey, 1991; Thomas & Collier, 1997) and one in the Philippines (Walter & Dekker, 2011) concluded that minority language students who gained literacy in their first language experienced higher academic achievement than students who learned in a second or third language. They suggested that second and third languages can be acquired more easily if a foundation in the first language is established early.¹ In addition, these studies pointed to the importance of late-exit programs in which the mother tongue is utilized until grade six with other languages taught as separate subjects.

These findings are apparent in DepEd's policy statements about the objectives and outcomes of the MTBE-MLE reform. Three outcomes cited in the 2009 order focused on the speed in which students will gain literacy skills under the MTB-MLE reform:

- 1) Learners learn to read more quickly when in their first language (L1);
- 2) Pupils who have learned to read and write in their first language learn to speak, read, and write in a second language (L2) and third language (L3) more quickly than those who are taught in a second or third language first; and
- 3) In terms of cognitive development and its effects on other academic areas, pupils taught to read and write in their first language acquire such competencies more quickly (Philippines Department of Education, 2009, p. 1).

¹ This is the case for language minority students who have limited exposure to their mother tongue in the outside environment. The literature suggests language majority students can learn in a minority language and still gain literacy in their mother tongue due to the availability of majority language resources in society (Cummins, 1981; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Johnson & Swain, 1997).

The 2012 order included objectives that more broadly emphasized the influence of MTB-MLE on four areas of development:

- 1) Language development which establishes a strong education for success in school and for lifelong learning;
- 2) Cognitive development which focuses on Higher Order Thinking Skills (HOTS);
- 3) Academic development which prepares the learner to acquire mastery of competencies in each of the learning areas; and
- 4) Socio-cultural awareness which enhances the pride of the learner's heritage, language and culture (Philippines Department of Education, 2012, p. 3).

While the DepEd orders called for the learners' first language to be phased out after grade three (i.e., early-exit model), Congress supported a late-exit model that allowed for a transition period from grades four through six. The late-exit model aligns with past research but has not yet been discussed in terms of logistics.

The ideological and implementational spaces (Hornberger, 2002) for MTB-MLE appear to be opening at the national level in the Philippines through the support of DepEd and Congress. However, less attention has been given to the perspectives of those at the community level where implementation will actually occur. Teachers and parents are two key stakeholder groups that are often forgotten in the policy process despite the fact that they hold much power for carrying out a reform (Fullan, 2003; Shohamy, 2006).

Examination of the ideological and implementational spaces at the ground level must be considered in addition to those at the national level. These perspectives about MTB-MLE are necessary for successful implementation of the reform.

Problem Statement

The DepEd MTB-MLE policy objectives and expected outcomes are comprehensive and based on research, but the challenge arises in implementation. As noted above, mother tongue education initiatives in Southeast Asia have been primarily implemented through community-based pilot programs. Similarly, this is true in other countries around the world where students' first languages are utilized in classrooms as part of small-scale efforts rather than national reforms (e.g., Cameroon, India, Mali, Nepal, Papua New Guinea). A few countries have attempted to implement national multilingual education policies but have struggled with the enormity of the task (e.g., Bolivia, Ethiopia, Peru, South Africa). Scholars argue that top-down approaches do not consider the contextualized nature of language in communities (Kaplan, 1990; Martin-Jones & Saxena, 1995; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). Therefore, implementation of MTB-MLE in the Philippines is questioned for its feasibility as a national approach. It is unclear whether the academic outcomes identified in the research will be extended to top-down policy scenarios.

One faulty assumption of top-down policy approaches is that the mandate will be followed simply because the order was issued. This belief was apparent in a conversation with a DepEd supervisor in February 2010 during a visit to the Philippines for pre-dissertation research. When the supervisor was asked whether teachers and parents would support the new reform, she responded with a surprised voice, "Of course. They will just do it. It's an order." The centralized system in the Philippines has fostered strong power differentials between local stakeholders and government officials. This has created

assumptions from those at the top that individuals at the bottom will comply without question.

While top-down policy approaches hold the potential for large-scale change, Matland (1995) suggested that they should be reserved for policies with low ambiguity and low conflict. Policies with low ambiguity are easy to interpret, and policies with low conflict have little chance of creating resistance for implementation. Matland compared a policy of this nature with a machine in which explicit information flows from one level to the next. He argued that top-down approaches are best suited for policies that are technical and administrative in nature. They must essentially be assured to succeed as long as the appropriate resources are allocated.

Counter to Matland's (1995) guidelines, the MTB-MLE reform in the Philippines contains high ambiguity and high conflict. In terms of ambiguity, the DepEd orders specified *what* should be done but offered little support for *how* it should be done. For example, the orders called for instruction in the mother tongue, yet government-provided resources are only available in the twelve primary regional languages. As such, it is unclear how to implement the policy in a way that aligns with the desired mother tongue approach given the lack of suitable materials.

In terms of conflict, language is inherently a sensitive issue ripe with tension. This is particularly the case in today's world where English is a globalizing force that is associated with power and economic growth. Previous studies have pointed to the challenge encountered when mother tongue education programs confront local ideologies favoring English (e.g., Iyamu & Ogiegbaen, 2007). This stands in contrast to the goals of MTB-MLE and creates potential for conflict to arise over its implementation.

Policies with high ambiguity and high conflict may require more involvement from the ground level to be sustainable and effective (Darling-Hammond, 1990; Elmore, 1983; Matland, 1995). In the case of MTB-MLE, very little consideration has been given to the perspectives of those at the ground level, namely teachers and parents. Rather, they are more frequently viewed as “soldiers’ of the system” carrying out the orders given to them (Shohamy, 2006). Despite assumptions that the reform is being implemented in alignment with explicit policy statements, previous research has suggested that policies are interpreted and appropriated differently depending on the context (Johnson & Freeman, 2010; McCarty, 2011). While the national MTB-MLE policy statement (i.e., the *de jure* policy) aims to integrate mother tongue instruction throughout the country, the actual implementation (i.e., the *de facto* policy) likely differs across communities. This points to the importance of teachers and parents in the policy process because, in essence, their actions are the policy (Sutton & Levinson, 2001). Counter to the claim made above by the DepEd supervisor, they may not “just do it” when it comes to implementation.

Purpose of the Study

This study examined the ways in which teachers and parents understand and enact MTB-MLE in one school district in the Philippines. It provides a comparative look at the differences between teachers’ and parents’ knowledge, beliefs, and practices at the local level and frames them in the context of the national policy statements. This research addresses the calls in the literature to provide local perspectives on language policy (Shohamy, 2006; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996), which are frequently absent from discussions on this topic. While the findings cannot be generalized to other contexts, they provide a revealing look at the experiences with this policy in one school district and may

inform language policy development and practices in other circumstances. The following research questions will be addressed in this study:

1. What do teachers and parents know about MTB-MLE? To what extent does their knowledge differ?
2. What do teachers and parents believe about the outcomes of MTB-MLE? To what extent do their beliefs differ?
3. How do teachers and parents demonstrate support and resistance for MTB-MLE? In what ways do their actions differ?
4. What challenges exist related to implementation of MTB-MLE?

Significance of the research

This study fills both theoretical and practical gaps around MTB-MLE policy. It addresses theory by directing the focus of the analysis to the bottom-up perspective of teachers and parents amidst the national top-down reform. Language policy theory suggests that language management occurs when external forces make decisions for those at the ground level (Spolsky, 2004, 2011), but there is a need to understand how language management might occur from the bottom up. While a growing number of scholars have recognized the importance of involving local stakeholders in the language policy process (Shohamy, 2006; McCarty, 2011; Mohanty, Panda, & Pal, 2010; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996), relatively few studies have examined language policy from the perspective of those in the community. Analyses of explicit policy statements do not yield accurate representations of how policy is being carried out on the ground.

Previous studies have included teachers' or parents' attitudes toward language or particular language policies (Iyamu & Ogiegbaen, 2007; Silver & Skuja-Steele, 2005).

These are important for understanding local stakeholders' perspective of a national reform and can help guide policy development. Even more significant is the growing number of studies that have focused on teachers' agency in language policy implementation (see Menken & García, 2010). This moves beyond the mentality of policy as something that is done *to* people but points to the power of those at the ground level to make change. Ironically, many of these studies have focused on teachers' resistance to language policies that prohibit using local languages in the classroom in favor of national or world languages. The current study differs because it considered the ways in which teachers acted in the midst of a policy that supported the use of the mother tongue. In addition, it examined parents' active roles in the MTB-MLE policy process, which is something currently missing from the literature (for an exception, see Ambatchew, 2010).

In terms of practical significance, this research on MTB-MLE policy addressed a current and controversial topic for multilingual countries struggling to define their educational language policy. Since the Philippines is the only country in Southeast Asia to require mother tongue instruction in elementary school, little is known about the implications of this national decision on a community level. While hundreds of pilot programs for mother tongue education have been implemented throughout the region and the world, it is uncertain how they will transfer to a top-down policy environment. This study's examination of local stakeholders' knowledge, beliefs, and practices around language-in-education was a first step at discerning the feasibility of such a large-scale reform. Greater understanding for the perspectives and actions of community members amidst this reform can provide guidance for the next steps in improving the policy

process. In particular, since this study was conducted at the beginning of the first year of implementation, there is plenty of opportunity to learn from the experiences to inform future decisions regarding MTB-MLE in the Philippines.

Definitions and Terminology

Language Policy. No standard definition of language policy exists, as it differs depending on its context. Tollefson's (2008) definition is frequently cited for its generality and simplicity. He stated that language policy is the "deliberate efforts to affect the structure, function, and acquisition of languages" (p. 3). This relates to three commonly referred to concepts of language policy: corpus planning (Kloss, 1969), status planning (Kloss, 1969), and acquisition planning (Cooper, 1989). Corpus planning identifies the approved structure of a language, often thought of as spelling, terminology, or grammatical rules. Status planning determines the appropriateness of certain languages in specific situations (e.g., proclaiming an official language for a country). Acquisition planning sets requirements for learning language, such as identifying a curriculum to teach a country's national language.

Official and national languages. Official and national languages are designated within a nation-state. The official languages are typically the language of government and legal activities. They are commonly world languages, such as English or Spanish, and often the language of a former colonizer. In the case of the Philippines, English was specified as the official language despite more than 400 years of rule by Spain. This may be because English was used most recently and for a longer period of time in their education system.

National languages are usually selected as a way to bring unification to a country and to promote nationalism. They are frequently used in the education system and sources of media throughout the country, but in many cases they are a symbolic representation of a nation. Filipino was adopted as the national language of the Philippines in 1939 and is nearly identical to Tagalog, which is the language spoken in and around the capital of Manila. For the purposes of this paper, Filipino and Tagalog will be used interchangeably.

Language of instruction. Language of instruction (LOI) refers to the language designated for teaching in schools. It is sometimes called the medium of instruction. Education systems may designate the official and/or national language as the LOI in schools. Authorities commonly appoint particular LOIs for each subject area. Until recently, the LOIs in the Philippines for primary grades were Filipino and English, depending on the subject area. The new language reform introduced mother tongue as the LOI as well as a separate subject area. This is referred to as mother tongue instruction. The current policy promotes this approach for all subject areas except Filipino and English from grades one through three. Under the 2009 and 2012 DepEd orders, Filipino and English return as the LOI in grade four for all subjects. While the late-exist method has passed in Congress and may be signed by the president this year, the logistics of its implementation are unclear.

Mother tongue. The term “mother tongue” has been widely used but is heavily critiqued. It can refer to a variety of situations, including the language one identifies with, knows best, or uses the most. It could also refer to one’s first language (L1). The mother tongue terminology is often used in educational policy statements but has been criticized

as neglecting to distinguish between the many variants of a single language. This is problematic, particularly when selecting the mother tongue to be used in a single classroom, much less a whole community. Despite its shortcomings, it was utilized in this study because of its prevalence in the policy statements and other documents. It will be used interchangeably with L1.

Multilingual education. Multilingual education refers to the use of more than two languages as the medium of instruction in schools. Much of the literature includes multilingual education under the same heading as bilingual education. For this reason the literature review for this study may include references to both. Multilingual education often includes the L1, the national language, and a language of wider communication (LOWC). In the context of this study, the languages included Bikol, Filipino, and English. It should be noted that various versions of Bikol exist depending on the geographic location. Based on the 2012 DepEd order, the regional language of Bikol is utilized as the mother tongue but can be adapted to fit the local context where possible.

Mother tongue-based multilingual education. Mother tongue-based multilingual education (MTB-MLE) is described by Diane Dekker (2010) as being “more than just using the learners’ first language to explain curriculum content” (p. 23). It emphasizes the importance of curriculum rooted in the local culture, as well as teaching methodology that promotes cognitive development and higher order thinking skills. While the LOI is often the most referred to aspect of MTB-MLE, the concept in its entirety is much broader. This study aimed to move beyond the confines of LOI to include the larger framework, but in many cases was limited by the discussions held at the ground level where awareness for its scope did not exist.

Background: Language Policy in the Philippines

Following almost 400 years of colonialism by Spain and the United States, Philippine independence in 1946 resulted in strong ideological debates around language of instruction in schools. Massive fluctuation in language policy characterizes Philippines history, and the country continues to struggle with the approach that will best serve the country and its citizens. Therefore, it is important to consider the historical and local contexts in which a policy is situated. Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, and Henry (1997) stated:

[I]t is not possible to understand any of the stories [about policy] in isolation... There is always a prior history of significant events, a particular ideological and political climate, a social and economic context... which shape the timing of policies as well as their evolution and outcomes. (p. 16)

This section provides background to the study by examining the history of language in Philippines' schools and their current language-in-education policy situation.

History of Philippines' language policy. During the period of Spanish colonization (1565-1898), Spanish was the primary language of government but not widely spoken around the country. The Educational Decree of 1863 established the beginning of a formal education system and called for the use of Spanish in schools. At this point in history, the education system was highly elitist and targeted a small population of people, resulting in very few people who attained Spanish proficiency. By 1898, it is estimated that only two to four percent of the Philippine population were fluent in Spanish (Gonzalez, 2003). Local indigenous languages remained dominant in most regions of the country.

The American colonial period (1898-1946) caused a shift from Spanish to English. English became the language of government, which meant that proficiency was required for advancement in civil service careers. Although President McKinley initially ordered local languages to be taught in schools, he later decided that English should be required in order to teach about democracy and the American system (Gonzalez, 2003). This shift toward an English monolingual system was also necessitated by the high rates of foreign teachers in schools. Beginning in 1900, all schools in the Philippines used English for classroom instruction; the use of Philippine languages was prohibited (Sibayan, 1985).

The 1935 Philippines Constitution mandated the adoption of a national language. The original intent was to create a new language based on various Philippine languages, but this proved to be a difficult process. Instead Tagalog was adopted as the national language given its status in the capital of Manila. This occurred despite the fact that Tagalog was only spoken by about 20% of the whole population. In 1940, an executive order was issued requiring the teaching of Tagalog as a subject in all schools, regardless of native language. Since English continued to be an official language of the Philippines, it remained as the primary language of instruction.

When Japanese forces began to invade the Philippines in 1942, the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Imperial forces prohibited the use of English. Despite this proclamation, English continued as the language of government, business, and education. While English and Tagalog continued to be taught in schools, Japanese became a mandatory foreign language until 1945 when World War II ended (Gonzalez, 2003).

Following Philippine independence in 1946, English returned as the primary language of instruction with Tagalog taught as a separate subject.

In 1948, the Bureau of Public Schools began experimenting with local languages as a solution to the language issue. This period was marked by a focus on self-reliance and indigenous values, and as a result, language experiments sought to identify ways to achieve greater educational attainment for all sectors of society: the poor, the middle-class and the elite (Aguilar, 1961). One experiment that continues to be referenced today is the “Iloilo Experiment in Education through the Vernacular” from 1948-1954. The regional language of Hiligaynon was used as the primary means of instruction. Results suggested that learning in the home language supports future learning in English.

The Revised Education Program (REP) of 1957 drew on the results from the Iloilo experiments and included local languages as a primary component in early grades. The REP gave school administration and teachers the freedom to select and develop their own curriculum to best suit the needs of local circumstances (Gonzalez, 1998). Within this policy, local languages were used as the media of instruction in grades one and two. English was taught as a separate subject beginning in grade one and became the medium of instruction in grade three. Local languages were auxiliary languages of instruction in grades three and four, with the national language being the auxiliary medium in grades five and six. The complexity of the language approach and ambiguity of implementation led to harsh criticism, partly because of local limitations to produce educational resources in local languages (Dekker & Young, 2005). As Aguilar (1961) commented, “It made a workable program of teacher training and materials production, vaguely understood in the first place, practically impossible to carry out” (para.3).

In 1974, a new policy for bilingual education was adopted, which included the national language (now known as Filipino) and English (Gonzalez, 2003). The policy separated the languages as mediums of instruction for specific subject areas. Filipino was used to teach social studies, work education, character education, music, health and physical education. English was used for all other subjects, including math, science, and technology. The policy allowed for the use of local vernaculars as auxiliary languages until grade three. Implementation of this policy included a four-year transition period (1974-1978) in order to allow schools in non-Tagalog areas time to train teachers in Filipino and to prepare the necessary teaching materials for classrooms.

Following the “People Power Revolution” in 1986, which ended Ferdinand Marcos’ authoritarian rule over the country, the Bilingual Language Policy was revised in 1987. The policy inherently remained the same but sought to re-establish language in education during a post-Marcos era. Two minor provisions aimed to 1) clarify the national language as Filipino and 2) emphasize the official languages of communication and instruction as Filipino and English. While local languages continued to be authorized for auxiliary purposes in early grades, the Department of Education, Culture, and Sports (presently the Department of Education) did not support this practice with instructional materials. All school resources were written in either English or Filipino, even for communities where neither language was spoken as the home language (Brigham & Castillo, 1999).

Philippines language policy in the 21st century. In 2004, President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo initiated a return to English as the primary language of instruction in Philippines schools. With a large part of the country’s GDP coming from the remittances

of overseas foreign workers and from outsourced call centers located throughout the country, the reliance on English proficiency was apparent (Gonzalez, 2006). In 2006, Representative Eduardo Gullas proposed an English-only bill in Congress to make English the primary language of instruction in all Philippines' classrooms. This bill was countered in 2008 when Representative Magtanggol Gunigundo produced a multilingual education bill that called for the use of local languages in Philippines' classrooms for grades one through six.

For many years, the English-only and multilingual education bills were stalled due to a divided Congress and administration. Despite the failure of Congress to act on this issue, DepEd moved to institutionalize MTB-MLE on July 14, 2009 (Philippines Department of Education, 2009). The 2009 DepEd order required the use of the learners' first language as the primary medium of instruction from pre-school until grade three, in addition to the teaching of Filipino and English as separate subjects. This order called for implementation of MTB-MLE, provided rationale for the shift in approach, and highlighted fundamental aspects of strong MTB-MLE programs.

The rationale for the adopting MTB-MLE in the Philippines was to increase student achievement by focusing on cognitive development in a child's first language and using it as a basis for learning Filipino and English during later years. In addition, the DepEd order (2009) called for instructional materials to "reflect local people, events, realities; and [be] appropriate to the language, age, and culture of the learner" (p. 4) and mandated testing in the learners' first language. The "bridging plan" outlined gradual implementation of the policy over a three year time period to allow time for developing

materials, training teachers, garnering necessary funds, and establishing technical working groups focused on MLE.

Following the three year “bridging plan,” DepEd issued a new order in 2012, which provided more specific guidelines for implementing MTB-MLE at the school level. It noted the piloting of MTB-MLE in 921 schools with support from Basic Education Assistance for Mindanao (BEAM); Third Elementary Education Program (TEEP); Translators Association of the Philippines (TAP); Save the Children; and Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). It called for implementation of MTB-MLE for the remainder of the country’s schools beginning in the 2012-2013 academic year through support from regional and division-level DepEd trainers. The 2012 DepEd order noted twelve major regional languages that would be “offered as a learning area and utilized as language of instruction” (Philippines Department of Education, 2012, p. 1). However, it encouraged schools to adapt curriculum and materials to fit the mother tongue of students where possible.

In the midst of DepEd’s language reform in 2010, Benigno “Noynoy” Aquino was elected president on a platform promising educational change in the Philippines. He promised to reform the ten-year educational system to align with the more rigorous K-12 system common in the rest of the world. In addition, he advocated the passage of the multilingual education bill in Congress. As such, MTB-MLE became a component of the K to 12 Basic Education Program proposed by Aquino’s administration. In November 2012 House Bill No. 6643, more popularly known as the Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2012, was passed almost unanimously (198-8) by the House of Representatives. The Senate Bill No. 3286 was similarly passed in January 2013 (14-0). While the Senate Bill

included DepEd's initial "early-exit" strategy in which the mother tongue would only be used up to grade three, the House Bill called for a transition period from grades four through six in which Filipino and English would be gradually introduced until they become the primary languages of instruction at the secondary level. The Senate and House bills were reconciled at the end of January 2013 in alignment with the House's "late-exit" approach. The bill is currently waiting to be signed by President Aquino.

The historical fluctuation of language policy in the Philippines demonstrates the complexity of language-in-education issues for over a century. Given the most recent shift in language policy toward MTB-MLE, the Philippines is a relevant and valuable context for studying language reform implementation. As history has shown, language policies in the Philippines have changed as a result of political, economic, and cultural issues at the national and community levels. The Philippines provides an opportunity for studying top-down policy from a bottom-up perspective where teachers and parents are central to understanding implementation of MTB-MLE.

CHAPTER II

Review of the literature

Language policy is a relatively new academic field that has evolved immensely since the 1960s. It began with a philosophy of modernization through national development and focused more on linguistic homogeneity than language preservation. Since then, it has moved toward a critical perspective that considers issues of equality and justice through language rights (Ricento, 2000). The MTB-MLE policy in the Philippines is indicative of this shift in perspective at a national level, yet the local-level perspective is notably absent from the discussion.

This chapter describes two conceptual frameworks that inform the local-level policy analysis: Spolsky's (2004, 2011) theory of language policy and Ricento and Hornberger's (1996) language policy and planning model. Spolsky's theory proposed three components of language policy (beliefs, practices, and management), while Ricento and Hornberger's model suggested three layers of policy (national, institutional, and interpersonal). These frameworks complement one another to provide a holistic way of understanding MTB-MLE implementation. They are explored in this chapter by synthesizing literature related to MTB-MLE, language beliefs and ideology, language management, and language practices..

Theoretical Frameworks

The success of multilingual language policies at national and local levels is dependent upon the presence of ideological and implementational spaces. Hornberger (2002) introduced these terms in her seminal work on the *continua of biliteracy* to explain

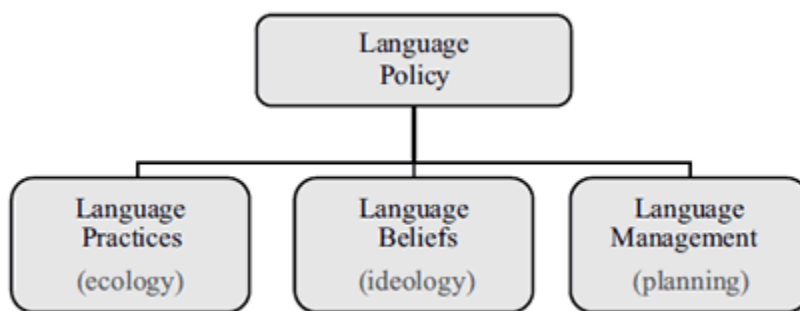
how local stakeholders could take advantage of openings in language policy to promote multilingual education. She suggested that ideological spaces are opened up when societal and policy discourses begin to accept and value non-dominant languages for education. In the Philippines, the policy has created an opening for this ideology, but it is unclear if the societal discourse will follow. On the other hand, implementational spaces are created when content and media for instruction utilize local, contextualized viewpoints rather than the majority, decontextualized perspectives traditionally observed in educational systems.

While these concepts are described separately, they are interrelated in practice. As Hornberger (2002) stated, “[I]t would appear that the implementational space for popular participation is of little avail in advancing a multilingual language policy if it is not accompanied by popular participation in the ideological space as well (p. 41). One appears to influence the other in a way that each is a necessary component of multilingual education initiatives. Ideological and implementational domains of language reform deserve attention when studying the way in which a national policy is understood and enacted at the local level. The following two conceptual frameworks provide a basis for identifying these spaces for MTB-MLE.

Spolsky’s theory of language policy. Spolsky (2011) proposed a theory of language policy in his book *Language Management*. He argued that “the goal of a theory of language policy is to account for the choices made by individual speakers on the basis of rule-governed patterns recognized by the speech community (or communities) of which they are members” (p. 1). His theory is encompassed by three assumptions which must be tested and adapted. The first assumption is that language policy is a social

phenomenon constructed in a variety of domains, including homes and schools. A second assumption, as presented in his book *Language Policy* (2004), assumes the presence of three separate but interrelated components: beliefs, practices, and management.² (See Figure 1.) The third assumption focuses on the influence of internal and external forces on language choice. Spolsky (2011) suggested that these may come from within or outside of the domain and may be language-related or not.

Figure 1. Spolsky's Language Policy Components



The three components of language policy deserve closer attention. Beliefs, sometimes referred to as ideology, explain the values held by members of a speech community toward language and language use. Spolsky (2004) described it as “what people think should be done” (p. 14). While many beliefs may be present within a community, there is commonly one dominant ideology that favors a particular language approach.

Practices, on the other hand, refer to the language selections that people actually make. This is often described in terms of the sound, word, and grammatical choices made within a community, as well as the societal rules about when and where different

² This graphic was borrowed from Shohamy, 2009.

varieties of language should be used. These practices are shaped by the complex ecology of language, or in other words the interactions between language and the social environment (Haugen, 1972; Spolsky, 2004). They may include decisions made by individuals to use a particular language in one setting but not another.

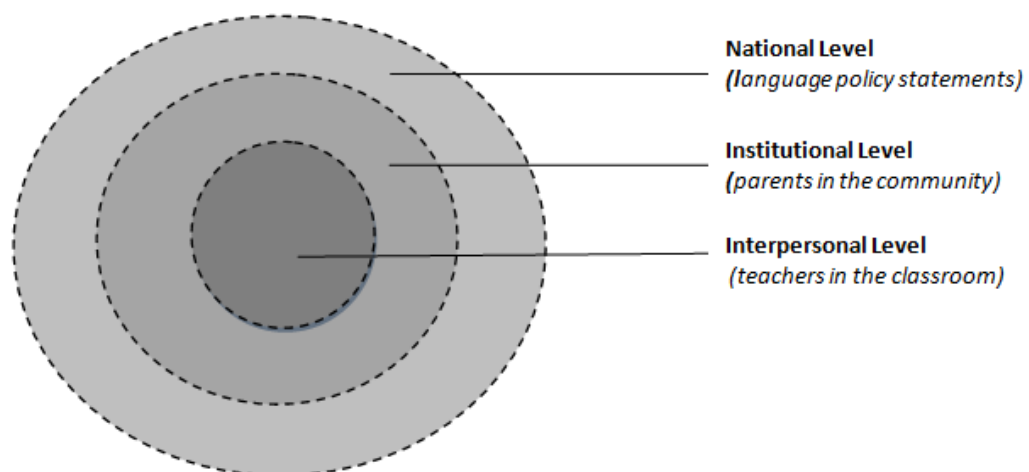
Finally, management is defined as any efforts made to influence language practices. Sometimes referred to as language planning, this component emphasizes the direct intervention aimed at shaping the way in which a policy is enacted. While Spolsky (2004) pointed out that language managers can include any person or entity that attempts to affect the language choices of other people, management is most commonly associated with individuals or documents possessing legal authority. An example could include written legislation in support of a particular language policy.

Ricento and Hornberger's language policy and planning model. Ricento and Hornberger's (1996) language planning and policy (LPP) model complements and enhances Spolsky's theory by considering actors within each of the national, institutional, and interpersonal levels. In this study, the national level refers to the language policy statements; the institutional level refers to parents as actors in the community; and the interpersonal level refers to teachers as actors in the classroom. An examination of each level of Ricento and Hornberger's (1996) model highlights how reform implementation approaches from the national or community level interact to influence implementation at the classroom level.

Ricento and Hornberger's (1996) model is depicted as the layers of an onion "that together make up the LPP whole and that affect and interact with each other to varying degrees.... Each layer permeates and is permeated by the others" (p. 408). Figure 2

illustrates this model by depicting the agents, levels, and processes involved in language planning and policy.³ Agents from all three levels (national, institutional, interpersonal) interpret the language policy goals and objectives, and then negotiate between and within levels about the policy implementation process. The LPP model considers language planning and policy implementation as a multidirectional process that considers both top-down and bottom-up priorities. This is depicted by dotted lines and concentric circles, which demonstrate movement and interactions between the national, institutional, and interpersonal levels of the model in language policy interpretation. This process can create conflict and ambiguity in policy goals and objectives, resulting in misalignment between layers (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996).

Figure 2. Ricento and Hornberger's Language Planning and Policy Model



The multidirectional nature of language interpretation and implementation is a necessary, but conflict-laden, process. It suggests that language policy is not simply

³ This is my interpretation of Ricento and Hornberger's (1996) language planning and policy model. Their description does not include a graphic for the model.

defined by national level statements. Rather, the onion model depicts the complexity at play in shaping decisions made at a local level. Teachers are specifically noted for their role in reform implementation. García and Menken (2010) point out,

It is the educators who ‘cook’ and stir the onion. The ingredients might be given at times, and even a recipe might be provided, but all good cooks know, it is the educators themselves who make policies—each distinct and according to the conditions in which they are cooked, and thus always evolving in the process. (p. 250)

While the role of educators in the interpersonal level of this model is given much attention in theory and practice, less attention has been given to the alignment and interactions between teachers and parents within the same community. Thus, this study utilized the classroom, community, and national policy levels in Ricento and Hornberger’s (1996) LPP model as a lens from which to view Spolsky’s (2004, 2011) three components of beliefs, practices, and management.

Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education

The United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948) affirmed the right to education without discrimination. Article 2 of this document specifically addressed discrimination on the grounds of language. Five years later, a well-cited UNESCO (1953) report expanded upon this by suggesting that education in the mother tongue serves multiple purposes:

It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of

identification among the members of the community to which he belongs.

Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium. (UNESCO, 1953, p. 11)

A 1999 UNICEF statement similarly acknowledged the value of mother tongue instruction:

There is ample research showing that students are quicker to learn to read and acquire other academic skills when first taught in their mother tongue. They also learn a second language more quickly than those initially taught to read in an unfamiliar language. (UNICEF, 1999, p. 41)

Ten years later UNESCO (2003) reiterated these points and stated that essentially all research since 1953 has confirmed the value of education in the mother tongue.

Evidence from research studies in the Philippines and elsewhere played a role in convincing policy makers of the potential benefits of mother tongue instruction for language minority students. The benefits highlighted in these studies include improved academic skills (Cummins, 2000; Thomas & Collier, 1997; Walter & Dekker, 2011); stronger classroom participation (Benson, 2000; Dutcher, 1995); increased access to education (Benson, 2004c; Smits, Huisman, & Kruijif, 2008); and development of critical thinking skills (Brock-Utne, 2006). Research has also noted the effect of multilingual education on cultural pride (Cummins, 2000; Wright & Taylor, 1995); increased parent participation (Cummins, 2000; Dutcher, 1995; D'Emilio, 1995); and increased achievement of girls (Benson, 2005; Hovens, 2002).

Another major benefit of mother tongue instruction is the foundation it builds for gaining literacy in additional languages (Cummins, 2000; Thomas & Collier, 1997). Two

hypotheses relate to this desired outcome: the “threshold level hypothesis” and the “interdependence hypothesis”. Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukamaa (1976) proposed the “threshold level hypothesis” which suggests that only when children have attained a threshold of competence in their first language can they successfully gain competence in a second language. This hypothesis was formed as a result of research with Finnish children who had migrated to Sweden. It was found that children who migrated before they had gained literacy in their first language did not develop second language literacy as successfully as those who migrated after they developed first language literacy.

Based on these findings, Cummins (1984) devised the widely cited “interdependency hypothesis,” which asserts that the level of second language (L2) proficiency acquired by a child is a function of the child’s level of proficiency in the first language (L1) at the point when intensive L2 instruction begins. He distinguished between two kinds of literacy: interpersonal communication and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP). Interpersonal communication refers to oral communication skills use in conversational settings, while CALP signifies the point at which the speaker can use language in decontextualized ways, such as through writing where language is a cognitive tool. Cummins concluded that L1 competency would be more easily transferred to L2 competency when CALP has been mastered.

This relationship between the L1 and L2 or L3 is particularly relevant in the Philippines because of the economic opportunities associated with English proficiency. In 2009, over 11% of the population worked overseas to provide 13.5% of the national GDP in foreign remittances (Bangko Sentral Pilipinas, 2010; Philippines Overseas Employment Administration, 2009) and domestically-based call centers for foreign

companies supplied about 4.5% of the national GDP in 2009 (United States Department of State, 2010). As a result of the strong national and individual economic benefits of English proficiency, there is a strong desire in the country to improve those literacy skills.

Most research on literacy outcomes related to mother tongue instruction has been done in North America and Europe. Despite this Western focus on language learning studies, it has served for much of the rationale in propagating usage of the mother tongue in education throughout the rest of the world. Ramirez, Yuen, and Ramey (1991) and Thomas and Collier's (1997) major longitudinal studies in the United States found that language minority children who were educated in their home language for a majority of their elementary school years demonstrated stronger gains in English proficiency than other language minority children who were educated only in English or for just a short time in their first language. This finding is reinforced by other research that has suggested strong first language abilities advance cognitive development in children and allows them to more easily negotiate subject matter (Cummins, 2000; Mallozzi & Malloy, 2007). Studies have also indicated that English (or other second language) literacy skills develop more easily and efficiently when they are based in a child's understanding of their first language (Cummins, 2000).

Some research outside of the Western context has produced similar outcomes, though with less methodological rigor. One of the most well-known MTB-MLE initiatives took place from 1970-1978 in Nigeria. The Ife project showed that students who learned in their first language for six years demonstrated higher overall academic achievement gains than students who only learned in their first language for three years. The first group showed no difference in English proficiency from the second group

despite having had fewer years with English as the medium of instruction (Fafunwa, Macauley, & Sokoya, 1989).

In the Philippines, a longitudinal study was conducted with grade one through three students in Lubuagan, a rural community in the Cordillera Mountains. The mother tongue pilot project began in one school in 1999, and the study was formally launched in 2005 with three schools in the experimental group and three in the control group.⁴ After three years of the study, consistent advantages were noted for the children in the mother tongue schools. They scored significantly higher than students in the control schools in math, reading, Filipino, and English (Walter & Dekker, 2011).

Akinnaso (1993) reviewed literature on mother tongue-based programs in developing countries and claimed that most projects report positive correlations between the development of literacy in the mother tongue and development of literacy in the second language. However, use of the mother tongue alone does not guarantee positive results. Consideration must be given to the way in which the policy is implemented, both from a national and local standpoint.

Scholars from anthropological traditions have argued that top-down language policy issues give more weight to expert knowledge than local knowledge (Canagarajah, 2005; Rajagopalan, 2005). While the quantitative evidence found in the aforementioned studies validates the use of MTB-MLE, it does not account for local understandings of language learning. Context shapes the way in which policy can be implemented, and those at the ground level create their own knowledge about effective and ineffective strategies even if they are not recognized in scholarly literature (Canagarajah, 1993;

⁴ One school was divided with one half of the school in the experimental group and one half in the control group.

Pennycook, 1989). While local knowledge should be considered, Canagarajah (2005) warns about the possible consequences of regarding it exclusively: “Celebrating local knowledge should not lead to ghettoizing minority communities, or forcing them into an ostrich-like intellectual existence” (p. 15). The bridge between these two types of knowledge must be constructed in order for communication to occur.

Language Beliefs and Ideology

Several authors have discussed language ideology as an important component of language policy (Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity, 1998; Spolsky, 2004, 2011; Spolsky & Shohamy, 2000). The most commonly cited definition comes from Silverstein (1979), who described it as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (p. 193). This definition emphasizes ideology as the shared beliefs of group members about language and its role in society. Spolsky and Shohamy (2000) furthered this definition by suggesting that ideologies are affected by a group’s consensus about “which [language] variety is appropriate for which speaker to use when addressing which listeners for which purposes” (p. 4).

As these definitions imply, language ideologies are highly contextualized and dependent upon many factors. They are formed through historical and socio-cultural circumstances and influenced by “the experience of a particular social position” (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, p. 58). While beliefs may differ from one person to the next, there is commonly one dominant ideology within a “community”. Individual beliefs at the micro-level are influenced by the macro-level socio-cultural context and vice versa.

This complex interaction yields group ideologies that favor or do not favor particular aspects of language.

Part of the complexity arises in the relationship between policy statements and local-level beliefs. Spolsky (2011) suggested that schools commonly reflect the ideological values of those at the national level because of the expectation that they will carry on the established ideals. This is echoed by Shohamy (2006), who described the tendency of teachers in a top-down policy environment to be “soldiers of the system”. However, ideologies are not simply imposed upon individuals by the “‘official’ culture of the ruling class” but are represented by a diverse set of implicit or explicit beliefs held by members of the community (Kroskrity, 1998). While language ideologies at the local level may be influenced by the policy statements and national expectations for policy change, they are deeply engrained and not easily altered. Guskey (2002) proposed that a change in beliefs requires an observation or experience that challenges the existing idea. Since ideologies are beliefs that are rooted in historical, political, and socio-cultural contexts, this change is a long and complex process.

Despite their complexity, language ideologies can typically be categorized in one of two ways. One belief favors the use of a dominant language, while the other supports maintenance of minority languages. They are commonly referred to as linguistic unification and linguistic pluralism, which Pennycook (2010) referred to as the “grand narratives” of language policy. Linguistic unification was a widespread perspective held by linguists in the 1960s during a time in which modernization was valued as an international development approach. It was believed that a country’s economic potential would be best maximized if its citizens were united by a common language, often English

(Ricento, 2000). Since then critical scholars, such as Phillipson (1992) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), have strongly asserted that the exclusive use of English is an imperialistic force that kills other languages and homogenizes the world. Despite shifts in the field of language policy away from linguistic unification, this ideology remains prevalent through much of the world.

Individuals or groups with an ideology supporting linguistic pluralism advocate for a multilingual approach and preservation of languages. This is often discussed within a linguistic human rights perspective, which argues that minority language speakers should have the same rights and support provided to speakers of majority languages (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994). The right to education in one's own language is the most-commonly discussed aspect of this paradigm. This is not only because of the educational benefits associated with multilingualism, but also because it supports maintenance of cultural identity. Some scholars have critiqued this approach from a postmodernist lens by questioning whether linguistic pluralism can be sustained within the context of globalization (Rassool, 1998) and suggesting that the link between language and identity is diminishing (May 2004).

As a result of the previously mentioned conflicts, ideologies among non-dominant language speakers often favor dominant languages in education. Ironically, those who were victims of unification strategies many decades ago are now some of the same people who desire education in an international language as opposed to their mother tongue. Benson (2004b) pointed out that hesitance to adopt mother tongue policies might be due to hundreds of years of colonial thinking that devalues indigenous languages. Early in the 20th century, when the Philippines was colonized by the United States, the push for

English in education led to tensions within and between communities. Brigham and Castillo (1999) stated that English-only campaigns led to feelings of insecurity for language minority speakers since English became associated with elite and educated populations.

These notions of English have lasted into the 21st century where language minority speakers continue to feel inferior and push for English in classroom instruction. They believe that English proficiency can open doors of opportunity for children as they move through life, and that “the poor should have access to the language that provides for these opportunities” (Sibayan, 1999, p. 291). As Williams and Cooke (2002) claim, “Families see English as a ‘strong’ language and primary-school English as the first step toward a coveted white-collar job.” (p. 315). The economic value associated with English has pushed it to the top of the learning agenda for many stakeholders, while sacrificing local languages (Hornberger & Vaish, 2009; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996).

The strong ideologies favoring English and other European languages naturally create resistance to mother tongue instruction from many stakeholders. This has been noted in multilingual contexts across several continents. In rural Peru, families resisted the use of Quechua (Hornberger, 1987), and in Nepal, parents advocated for the use of English in schools (Davies, 1996). Hornberger and Vaish (2009) similarly identified a large number of South African parents who wanted their children in English-speaking schools rather than schools providing instruction in one of the other ten official languages. In his study in Kenya, Schroeder (2004) found that community members are convinced of the importance of English in education:

[I]t is evident to most uneducated adults that mastery of the national or official language is a *sine qua non* for educational and economic opportunity. They then assume that the best way to develop such mastery is to be taught via this language at school. (p. 382)

As Trudell (2007) explained, these strong values for English are founded in the long-term advantages perceived by parents, teachers, and other local stakeholders.

Teacher and parent ideologies about language learning and policy are embedded in the social and political structures of institutions. As Ricento and Hornberger (1996) noted, “Unless and until social attitudes change...resistance to bilingual education will continue regardless of official national policy or research demonstrating its effectiveness in educating language minority and majority children” (p. 416-417). In Iyamu and Ogiegbaen’s (2007) study on teacher and parent perceptions of mother tongue instruction in Nigeria, they concluded that teacher and parent resistance is a major constraint to implementation. They advocated for efforts to orientate them to the policy and its potential outcomes. In her work in Mozambique, Benson (2004a) similarly recommended that implementation be “gradual and voluntary community by community” (p. 59) in order to build support from the bottom up. Without the support of teachers and parents, governmental attempts to change language policies stand little chance of being successful.

Despite these strong ideologies favoring English, some studies have identified value for mother tongue instruction among teachers and parents, particularly in the early years of learning. This is partly evidenced in cases where teachers have been found to codeswitch between an international language and the mother tongue in order to facilitate

understanding (Ambatchew, 2010). Some studies in communities where local stakeholders were involved in the school's mother tongue program also pointed to recognition that learning was more easily facilitated in the learner's first language (Chimbutane, 2011; Chimbutane & Benson, 2012; Trudell, 2006). In addition, Stone (2012) concluded that MTB-MLE professional development opportunities can improve teachers' attitudes toward the mother tongue. In line with these studies, it may be concluded that language policy is best conducted in situations where community stakeholders are involved in the process.

The conflicted findings about stakeholders' language ideologies suggest a struggle between inherent beliefs about the value of mother tongue for communication and the power associated with languages such as English. The Philippines presents a unique case for analyzing this tension between language ideologies of local stakeholder groups within a national policy context. There is a need to examine whether teachers and parents agree with these policies, or more broadly with the ideologies in which they represent. Teachers' and parents' beliefs about the outcomes of mother tongue education may shape the overall policy implementation process.

Language Management

Language policy is often implemented from a top-down approach in which a national governing body makes decisions to be implemented at a local level. These top-down approaches are typically prescriptive and generalized across multiple contexts. As Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) stated, top-down policies "come from people of power and authority to make decisions for a certain group, without consulting the end-users of the language" (p. 196). They are appealing because of their ability to reach out broadly

through legislation or executive orders, as well as the political strength associated with their messages (Matland, 1995; Ricento & Hornbeger, 1996). Spolsky's (2004) notion of "language management" aligns with a top-down policy approach. He defined it in his book *Language Management* (2011) as "the explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that has or claims authority over the participants in the domain to modify their practices or beliefs" (p. 4). Given the nature of the definition, language policy decisions tend to be made for all by just a few.

Even though language policies are often made in positions of authority, the decision to adopt them may be in response to pressure from advocacy groups, nongovernmental organizations, or other funding agencies. Globally and regionally, there is increased interest in the use of the mother tongue as a language of instruction in education. International organization such as UNESCO, intergovernmental agencies such as SEAMEO, and various donor agencies advocate for this policy shift. In addition, organizations such as SIL International and Save the Children have actively promoted MTB-MLE through their work in the Philippines, as well as in many countries around the world.

In many instances MTB-MLE reforms start as small pilot projects through the support of an international organization. The intent is to build political and national support for the program's expansion by sharing the success stories of the pilot programs. This was the case in the Philippines with the Lubuagan MTB-MLE program described earlier, but has occurred in hundreds of other communities around the world. Experimental programs are helpful for understanding on a small-scale how a multilingual

approach can be implemented within a local context and considering the availability of resources and technical support (Benson, 2004c).

However, scholars acknowledge that moving from experimental pilot phases to more widespread implementation is one of the most difficult aspects of language planning and policy (Benson, 2004a; Dutcher, 2001). Programs may find success at community levels, but their national implementation is detracted by larger systemic issues. Political, economic, and social issues often collide at the national policymaking level around language of instruction in schools. For example, in Bolivia the Educational Reform Law of 1994 called for the introduction of all indigenous languages into primary bilingual schooling. This reform was legislated and implemented in a top-down manner but was met with much resistance from communities and other stakeholders (Benson, 2004a). Similar resistance has been noted in South Africa (Bloch, Guzula, & Nkence, 2010) and Ethiopia (Ambatchew, 2010). Benson (2004a) says “even when policy is made, implementation is not guaranteed” (p. 59).

MTB-MLE has rarely been contested on pedagogical ground, but structural challenges can impede proper implementation of a program. Amidst claims of success with MTB-MLE, Dutcher (2003) admitted that it is ultimately ineffective when there is a lack of materials, poor teacher training, and inadequate language development.

Ambatchew (2010) argued that “unless a rich environment of books, posters, television and radio programmes is created in the medium or media of instruction, the students are doomed to failure” (p. 208). While materials development has been supported by many non-profit or non-governmental organizations, the capacity is limited to only certain communities. Even still, these organizations have provided stronger material support for

mother tongue initiatives than the national government in many circumstances (Bloch, Guzula, and Nkence, 2010).

In order to accommodate for limited resources, top-down reforms often rely on a training method called cascade training. This approach begins with a group of lead trainers who train another group of trainers, who may then train a group of teachers in their own regions or districts. This is touted as a cost-effective means for training a large number of teachers in a short amount of time (Gilpin, 1997; Wedell, 2005). However, there is often a dilution of knowledge where less and less is understood the further one goes down the cascade. This reduces the effect to a trickle by the time the information reaches the classroom teacher, on whom the success of the change depends (Hayes, 2000). In addition to the dissemination of knowledge about the reform, it is important to consider the effect of cascade training on beliefs and practices related to language. The literature does not address how such training approaches contribute to these two necessary components of language policy.

The challenge of addressing stakeholders' beliefs and practices is also noted in the "irony of policy". According to Hoyle and Wallace (2007), these ironies occur in the misalignment between idealist national policies and the reality of circumstances at local schools. It is when policy "is undermined by an overestimation of the possibilities of change stemming from a lack of appreciation of the endemic characteristics of schools and schooling, teachers and teaching" (p. 15). In other words national policy that does not consider local contexts risks unintended consequences. Moore (1996) offered a similar critique in her claim that national policy documents try to "make reality conform to them, rather than basing themselves on reality" (as cited in Ricento, 2006, p. 155).

In line with this thinking, many authors have noted the importance of contextualizing the language debate within local circumstances (Kaplan, 1990; Martin-Jones & Saxena, 1995; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). As Benson (2004a) noted, language is deeply embedded in the cultural context of each community making top-down implementation of the policy difficult. Others have claimed that reforms lacking community consideration may be met with resistance because the shift in language is forced upon them without their understanding or involvement (Dekker & Young, 2005; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). To compensate for this challenge, language reforms may require community involvement. Young (2003) and Ball (2010) have asserted the importance of this in their work on MTB-MLE. It is also revealing that the mother tongue pilot programs experiencing success commonly rely on community participation for instituting the reform (Dekker, 2003; Dekker & Young, 2005; Dutcher, 2001; Trudell, 2006).

While the debate appears to be between top-down and bottom-up policy approaches, the reality is likely in a blended approach that includes involvement from both the national and local levels. The United Nations Development Programme (1997) pointed out that “the call for people’s mobilization must not be a justification for the state to abdicate its responsibilities” and that poverty eradication “requires not a retreating, weak state but an active strong one” (p. 101). The national level plays an important role in providing political momentum behind the policy as well as financial resources. Communities are important for contextualizing the policy and providing local support (Alexander, 1989; Benson, 2004a; Chimbutane & Benson, 2012; Dekker & Young, 2005). The key to successful organizational change is to find the ideal blend of individual

and organizational processes that will contribute to success within the socio-political context (Guskey & Huberman, 1995). As Hornberger (1994) argues, “No matter what the goal, language/literacy development proceeds best if goals are pursued along several dimensions at once” (p. 82).

Language Practices

Spolsky (2004) suggested that language practices include the decisions made by a group of people about how, when, and where to use language. In other words, they are what people actually *do* with language. Traditional views of policy implementation point to those in power as disseminating directives that are unassumingly put into practice. While policy statements are “capable of hegemonically setting discursive boundaries on what is educationally normal or feasible” (Johnson & Freeman, 2010, p 14), local stakeholders also hold immense power of local stakeholders in the policy process. Sutton and Levinson (2001) introduced the term *appropriation* to look beyond explicit policy statements to the actual practices that are adapted and contextualized in different environments. Several authors have suggested that these practices, or appropriations, are the “real” policy (Sutton & Levinson, 2001; Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2011). They have argued that *de facto* policy, whether occurring in classrooms or homes, is of more interest than explicit statements of *de jure* policy because it represents what is really happening on the ground.

Returning to Hoyle and Wallace’s (2007) discussion on the “irony of policy”, they proposed a reciprocal concept of “irony of practice” and argued that “in order to meet the perceived needs of their pupils, headteachers and teachers have had to adapt

national policies while, at the same time, appearing to implement these policies with fidelity” (p. 17). In this way, the original intentions of the top-down policy statement are not executed, even though they may appear to be on the surface. The authors suggested a distinction between two elements of the ironies of practice: adaptation and representation. The former points to the ways teachers work around the mandated expectations in order to meet the perceived needs of their students. The latter implies the ways teachers represent their work to appear in compliance with the requirements of the policy. As noted above, this points to a *de jure* policy that holds true in name only and operates on an overt level, while the *de facto* policy contains covert aspects that surface in resistance to the official policies (McCarty, 2011; Schiffman, 2006; Shohamy, 2006).

As stated above, local stakeholders are usually responsible for the implementation, or appropriation, of national policy directives. Teachers and parents are two stakeholder groups of particular interest to this study because of their immediate relationship with the children affected by the policy. Both groups play a role in language policy, but this role is typically discussed in different domains. Literature discusses the responsibility teachers hold for implementation at the classroom level (Mohanty, Panda, & Pal, 2010; Ricento & Hornberger, 2006; Shohamy, 2006), while a different set of literature on family language policy focuses on the function of parents in the home (Caldas, 2013; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008). Despite the emphasis of holistic community involvement in MTB-MLE, very little scholarship addresses the cross-over of language policy practices between teachers and parents. In fact, most literature on language-in-education policy focuses on the role of teachers rather than that of parents.

General literature on educational change points to teachers as the gatekeepers of reform because of their vital role in implementing policies (Fullan, 2003), while literature specific to language policy calls teachers the “central agents of implementation” (Silver & Skuja-Steele, 2005). This is because teachers reside at the classroom level where implementation happens, and they have control over if and how well changes occur. While educational reform initiatives hold much potential for effecting positive change, they may fail if they do not gain the necessary commitment from those who directly interact with and influence children, or the “street level bureaucrats” (Lipsky, 1980). Several studies have suggested variables that can influence teachers’ willingness to support a reform, such as changes in working conditions (Chapman, 2009), teaching workload (Mulkeen, Chapman, & DeJaeghere, 2005), and continued support and training (Fullan, 2003; Chapman & Miric, 2005). These factors may become apparent amidst changes in language policy. Therefore, attention to the role of teachers is warranted in the midst of a large educational reform.

While teachers may appear to act as “soldiers’ of the system” by implementing national policies without questioning their quality and relevance, studies have suggested that their actions in the classroom are contextualized and adapted according to their own language ideologies (Johnson & Freeman, 2010; Creese, 2010; Menken, 2008; Skilton-Sylvester, 2002). Drawing on her previous work (Leung & Creese, 2008), Creese (2010) wrote:

Individually and collectively teachers within their school communities will operate policy according to their local contexts, experiences and values, even where there is a strong element of statutory compliance. They will interact with

policy not in a one-to-one reading of what is required, but in an interactive frame which involves their own interpretation within their own localized communities.

(p. 34)

Therefore, it cannot be assumed that practices across contexts are uniform simply because of a single policy statement. Auerbach (2000) pointed to classrooms as locations of power imbalance, where a struggle exists about whose knowledge, experiences, and ways of using language matter.

In terms of parents' practices, a relatively new field addresses family language policy and highlights the role of parents in determining language practices in the home. This body of literature has addressed the overt and explicit acts by family members in the home to manage language practices (Caldas, 2013; King, Fogle, & Terry, 2008). An example of this might be the conscious decision of parents to raise their children to be bilingual. However, there is a gap in the literature in terms of considering the role of parents' language practices beyond the home into the school domain. One exception to this is Ambatchew's (2010) study that examined parents' actions in Ethiopia to ensure their children are educated in English rather than the mother tongue. This includes hiring English tutors, gaining special permission to attend international schools, and moving to new communities. Each of these efforts requires immense financial resources, which are not available to many families. Other less monetary-focused strategies are not well-depicted in the literature.

In his study on English teaching in Sri Lanka, Canagarajah (1999) suggested that local stakeholders "find ways to negotiate, alter and oppose political structures, and reconstruct their languages, cultures and identities to their advantage" (p. 2). This

highlights the bottom-up power of local stakeholders to appropriate policy according to their own desires. He contrasted this “resistance theory” with that of “reproduction theories,” which assume that dominant ideologies about language can be passed on to subordinate groups through assertions of top-down power. While reproduction theories account for local practices to some extent, tension clearly exists between the structure of policy statements and the agency of those at the local level (Johnson & Freeman, 2010). Backman (2009) claimed that “structures limit the choices available to individuals, but agency allows individuals to act against, or within, these structures” (p. 71). A growing amount of literature appears to be focusing on the appropriation of language policy at the local level, as observed through practices of teachers and parents. It is what Elmore (1983) refers to as “the power of the bottom over the top”.

CHAPTER III

Research Design and Methodology

This chapter explains the methodology employed in this study to answer the overarching research question of how teachers and parents in one school district in the Philippines understand and enact the mother tongue-based multilingual education policy.

The four specific questions are as follows:

1. What do teachers and parents know about MTB-MLE? To what extent does their knowledge differ?
2. What do teachers and parents believe about the outcomes of MTB-MLE? To what extent do their beliefs differ?
3. How do teachers and parents demonstrate support and resistance for MTB-MLE? In what ways do their actions differ?
4. What challenges exist related to implementation of MTB-MLE?

First, this chapter explains and justifies the design of the research as a case study. This is followed by a description of the site and participant selection process. Next, it details the data collection and data analysis procedures utilized to conduct this study. Finally, it defends the quality of the study by discussing the confirmability, credibility, transferability, and dependability of the results.

Research Design

This research utilized a case study approach to investigate a top-down language policy within the “bounded system” (Creswell, 2007) of one school district in the Philippines. A case study differs from other research strategies because of this focus on a

defined entity which is explored “over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information” (Creswell, 2007, p. 73). While quantitative methodologies focus on providing explanations or testing hypotheses, qualitative approaches intend to further understanding by “bringing to life what goes on in [the setting] and how [this is] connected to a broader panoply of real-life” (Yin, 2005, p. xiv). Stake (2005) noted that the contexts of the case, whether social, economic, political, ethical or aesthetic, are important to consider, and they “go a long way toward making relationships understandable” (p. 449). Given the importance of understanding the way in which a top-down language policy is interpreted and enacted at a community level, a case study is an appropriate methodology for this study. It helps develop an understanding for how and why the ground-level stakeholders within a single school district think and act in the ways that they do.

Although multiple types of case studies exist, this study utilized an embedded, single-case design in which one school district served as the central focus of interest. As Yin (2009) described, an embedded case study includes subunits of analysis that are inserted into the structure of the primary case of interest. For this research, the school district was analyzed through the perspectives and experiences of teachers and parents, making them the subunits within the case. Various methods were employed to fully understand the nature of their ground-level understanding and actions within a top-down policy environment. The qualitative data included focus groups, classroom observations, and interviews, while the quantitative data came from surveys. The use of multiple data sources enabled the study to cover a broad spectrum of issues and develop a convergence

of data through the process of triangulation (Yin, 2003). They created richness in the data to more completely analyze the case.

Research Site and Participants

Research site. Merriam (1998) and Stake (2000) strongly stated that the most important part of case study research is the appropriate selection of cases. Unlike other types of qualitative research, it utilizes two levels of sampling inherent in the design. The first is the selection of the case to be studied; the second is the sampling of the people within that case. For the purpose of this study, one school district in the Bikol region of the Philippines was selected as the site of interest. (See Appendix A.) Kaibigan School District⁵ is located in the second largest municipality in its province. The school district covers a span of about 100 square kilometers, includes 18 *barangay* (villages), and has a population of more than 15,000 people. It is comprised of thirteen elementary schools and is the larger of the two school districts in the municipality.

Within the Kaibigan School District, three of the thirteen schools were selected as the primary focus for the study. (See table 1.) They included the largest school in the municipality (Centro Elementary School) located near the main part of town, as well as the next two closest elementary schools (Dagat Elementary School and Bundok Elementary School).⁶ Centro consists of seven *barangay* with a population of about 4300; Dagat and Bundok both include one *barangay* with about 1200 and 2300 residents respectively. Centro may be viewed as an anomaly in the district because it was the largest of the schools with four grade one classrooms, included a Special Science and

⁵ Kaibigan School District is a pseudonym.

⁶ All school names are pseudonyms.

Math classroom section for high ability students, and generally enrolled students from higher socio-economic backgrounds. In addition, Centro is home to the school district's supervisor and employs teachers with the most experience. For this reason, it is important to include Centro as a school of interest since it is often the dominant perspective of the school district. As for Dagat and Bundok Elementary Schools, there is no reason to believe they are different from the remaining ten schools in the district. They all include between one and two first grade teachers and enroll students from a single *barangay*. Despite potential demographic differences between Centro and the other schools, the purpose of this case study was not to compare perspectives across school sites. Rather, these three schools were seen as representative of the school district due to their inclusion of the dominant central school and two smaller schools.

Table 1. School demographics

School	No. of grade 1 teachers	Average years of teaching experience	Number of grade 1 students	Number of <i>barangay</i>	<i>Barangay</i> population ⁷	Distance to central school
Centro	4	23	106	5	4348	0 km
Bundok	2	9	54	1	2355	5 km
Dagat	2	11	40	1	1251	3 km

Kaibigan School District was selected purposefully for a variety of reasons. First, it is typical of other schools around the country in that teachers and parents in this district were informed of the shift in language policy only days before the start of the school year in 2012. However, it is unique to the literature on this topic because most of the MTB-MLE case studies in Southeast Asia have come from instances in which a mother tongue reform is implemented in a single community rather than in a whole country. Another

⁷ These statistics come from the Philippines National Statistics Office's *2010 Census of Population and Housing*.

reason this community is appropriate for this study is that the school district contains a majority of teachers and students from a Bikol language background. Other school districts, particularly in urban areas, are much more linguistically heterogeneous. Therefore, this study provides insight into a less complex language environment. It can be assumed that the situation is even more challenging in communities with more diversity. Finally, this school district provided a valuable opportunity for this research because of my personal experiences there. Having lived and worked in Kaibigan for two years between 2003 and 2005, I became familiar with the education system and the cultural context of the community. In addition, I held credibility with participants because of my conversational proficiency in their local Bikol language variety and my past experiences with the schools in Kaibigan.

Teacher participants. The entire population of first through third grade teachers at each of the three schools was invited to participate in a ninety minute focus group that also included completion of a survey. Two focus groups were held with teachers at each of the three schools: one for grade one teachers and another for grade two and three teachers. Later, it was decided that the current study would focus on grade one teachers since they were the only group to have implemented MTB-MLE in their classroom. A total of eight teachers participated in the grade one teacher focus groups and surveys, which is equal to the population from which the sample was drawn. In order to increase the sample size of grade one teachers, all teachers from the remaining ten schools in the district were invited to complete the survey. (See tables 2 and 3.)

Table 2. Teacher focus group sample sizes (n)

	Female	Male	Total
Centro	4	0	4
Bundok	2	0	2
Dagat	2	0	2
Total	8	0	8

Table 3. Teacher survey sample sizes (n)

	Female	Male	Total
Centro	4	0	4
Bundok	2	0	2
Dagat	2	0	2
Remaining schools	11	0	11
Total	19	0	19

Beyond the focus groups and surveys, a small sample of teachers from the three main schools was selected to participate in an individual interview. Two teachers from Centro were selected to participate, while one teacher each from Bundok and Dagat were selected. The selection criteria for these teachers included high level of engagement in the focus groups, willingness to participate in the interview, and ability to express ideas. They participated in a 30 to 45 minute interview. In addition, each of the teachers from the three schools agreed to participate in a classroom observation. This included a total of eight classroom observations for a total of about one hour each. Subject areas included mother tongue, Filipino, and math. All teachers were aware of the observation ahead of time.

Parent participants. Similar to teachers, parents of grade one students at the three main schools were invited to participate in a ninety minute focus group and survey.

Grade one teachers each selected at least four parents (two male and two female where possible) from their class to participate in the focus group. (See tables 4 and 5.) Even though random selection was requested, teachers admitted to finding parents based on a convenience sample. They stated that parent availability was a key factor in recruitment since many worked and could not attend. While they did their best to include male participants, the majority of parents in the sample were female.

Table 4. Parent Focus Group Sample Sizes (n)

	Female	Male	Total
Centro	15	2	17
Bundok	6	2	8
Dagat	5	3	8
Barangay	4	0	4
Total	30	7	37

Table 5. Parent Survey Sample Sizes (n)

	Female	Male	Not Specified	Total
Centro	59	26	8	93
Bundok	33	4	1	38
Dagat	19	10	3	32
Total	111	40	12	163

In order to compensate for some of the potential selection bias, an additional focus group was conducted through word of mouth in the *barangay*. One mother who was not invited to participate in the school group was asked to recruit three other parents to take part in the study outside of school grounds. This approach provided a way to check for biases that might have occurred due to the most active parents being selected in the schools or due to the location of focus groups taking place on school grounds.

Another strategy was to invite the entire population of grade one parents from the three schools to complete the survey portion of the research. These were distributed by teachers who asked one parent per family to complete the survey and return it to school.

Similar to teachers, one parent from each of the three schools was invited to participate in a 30 to 45 minute individual interview. The selection criteria from which parents were chosen included high level of engagement in the focus group, willingness to participate in the interview, and ability to express ideas. Parents with divergent views were purposefully selected in order to hear the spectrum of opinions.

Data Collection

Data were collected through four sources over a three week time period in June and July 2012. Sources included focus groups, surveys, classroom observations, and individual interviews. Multiple data sources in a case study provide opportunities to understand the situation from various angles (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 2000). They also allow for triangulation of data to uncover alignments and misalignments in the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The procedures for data collection in this study are highlighted below.

Focus groups. The focus group method was selected because it allows for discovery of a range of opinions over several groups. As Krueger and Casey (2009) suggest, “the focus group presents a more natural environment than that of an individual interview because participants are influencing and influenced by others—just as they are in life” (p. 7). Since a goal of this research was to understand the viewpoints of teachers and parents within one school district, it was natural to engage them in group conversations about their beliefs and levels of support. A minimum of three focus groups

are required to properly compare and contrast data across groups (Krueger & Casey, 2009). In line with this, three focus groups were conducted with grade one teachers, and six were conducted with parents of grade one students. A minimum of two and a maximum of nine people participated in each focus group. The groups of two occurred in two cases where there were only two grade one teachers at the school. Therefore, it was not possible to have a larger group.

Semi-structured, open-ended questions were constructed based on the research questions. The guiding questions for teachers were similar to those asked of parents, except teachers answered additional questions related to implementation. They were ordered in a logical sequence that began with general questions and narrowed in focus. (See Appendices B and C.) In many cases, additional questions were asked in the focus groups based on the responses from participants. The original focus group questions were reviewed ahead of time by one MTB-MLE expert living in Manila and one MTB-MLE school supervisor living in Catanduanes. The expert first reviewed the questions and offered technical advice for their improvement of content. The school supervisor then reviewed the questions for their suitability to the Catanduanes education context. She suggested changes in wording and other aspects related to understanding.

All grade one teachers from each of the three schools were invited to participate in a focus group to share their perspectives on MTB-MLE outcomes and policy implementation. No incentives were offered except for *merienda* (snack). Focus groups took place in an empty classroom at each of the three schools. Privacy was ensured by restricting access to the room from anyone other than focus group participants. The focus group began with an introduction to the researcher and the study. Participants were

informed that they could respond in English, Tagalog, or Bikol, whichever felt the most comfortable. They were each provided an information sheet in Tagalog related to the study. (See Appendices K and L.) The research assistant read aloud the information sheet as the participants followed along. Clarifying questions were answered about the study and the participants' rights.

Focus group questions were given first in English and then translated to Tagalog and Bikol by the research assistant. The translations were mixed between Tagalog and Bikol depending on what was best understood by the participants. In most cases, the teachers understood the English version of the questions and responded in English as well. At times they went back and forth between English, Tagalog, and Bikol. When they responded in Tagalog or Bikol the research assistant provided English translations to ensure that the intended meaning was conveyed. All focus groups were audio recorded in order to be transcribed later.

Each grade one teacher invited at least four parents of grade one students to participate in separate focus groups for parents. Again, no incentives were offered except for *merienda* (snack). A total of six parent focus groups took place with two at the largest school, one at each of the other two schools, and one in the community. The school focus groups occurred in an empty classroom that restricted access to only the participants and their young children. The community focus group occurred outside near the home of one of the parents. The focus group protocol and administration process was the same for parents as teachers with the only difference being in language of responses. Parents were more likely than teachers to respond in Bikol or Filipino.

Surveys. In order to gather data from a large sample of teachers and parents a survey method was utilized. This approach complemented the depth of focus group discussions by providing a breadth of perspectives from 19 grade one teachers in the district and 163 parents of grade one students from the three target schools. The efficiency in which survey data can be collected is highlighted as a primary benefit of this method (Dillman, Smyth, & Christian, 2009; Patten, 2001). In the case of this study, it also provided a way to triangulate and cross-check findings between the quantitative and qualitative data.

The teacher survey consisted of four sections: 1) demographics, 2) language learning, and 3) classroom instruction, and 4) implementation. (See Appendices D and E.) The parent survey consisted of three sections: 1) demographics, and 2) language learning, and 3) classroom instruction. (See Appendices F and G.) All items were identical except for some differences in demographic questions, the addition of implementation questions for teachers, and the open-ended question asking parents where they had learned about MTB-MLE.

The language learning section of the survey utilized Ramos' (2001) questionnaire that measured teachers' opinions about the theory and practice of using native language instruction for language minority students in the United States. Ramos' items were adapted from surveys published by Rueda and Garcia (1996), Shin and Krashen (1996), and Aguirre (1984). It was selected because of the similarity between the items and the language used in the 2009 DepEd order on MTB-MLE outcomes. Eight of the original twelve items were adapted to fit the context of the Philippines. Ramos (2001) categorized four of the items as relating to theory and the other four relating to practice. The items

relating to practice were reverse coded. All were measured on a four point Likert scale with options of strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree. This differed from Ramos' seven-point Likert scale. The adjustment was made for the sake of simplicity and to avoid confusion from respondents who were unfamiliar with this type of questioning. While Ramos scaled the items to create a sum score, this study treated the items individually.

The classroom instruction portion of the survey assessed participants' perceptions of the importance of certain classroom practices in MTB-MLE. Their knowledge about the policy was also assessed by asking respondents if they had heard of MTB-MLE, which was coupled with an open-ended question asking what they knew about it. Parents were additionally asked where they had learned about the policy. All participants were asked to indicate which languages were currently used for instructional purposes in the classroom.

The implementation section of the survey was only administered to teachers and aimed to measure their perceptions on reform implementation. This included questions about their perceptions on the likelihood of reform implementation in their school and items measuring viewpoints on teacher preparedness, difficulty of implementation, amount of extra work involved, and congruence with previous policy. These items were taken from Guskey's (1988) study on the implementation of instructional innovations.

Prior to arrival in the Philippines the surveys were translated from English into Filipino. Filipino was selected as the translation language because participants were more familiar with reading the national language than Bikol. Upon arriving in the Philippines, the survey items were back-translated into English by the study's research assistant.

Confusing areas were identified and re-translated with consideration for local understanding. The new version of the survey was piloted with three grade one teachers and two parents of grade one students in a different municipality. Pilot participants were asked to circle confusing areas and comment on what they did not understand. In addition, they were asked to respond to each of the questions. Based on this feedback, some of the wording was changed and re-translated.

Surveys were administered in three ways. First, all focus group participants were asked to complete the survey prior to the start of the focus group. The directions were given orally, but teachers and parents in these groups read the items and responded individually. Surveys were checked for completeness and collected prior to the start of the focus groups. One exception was the community focus group where the survey was not administered. Time with these parents was limited, and they had another chance to complete the survey when distributed by the classroom teachers.

In order to increase the survey sample of teachers and parents, additional participants were recruited. Since all of the grade one teachers in the three schools had already completed a survey, the remaining grade one teachers in the district were asked to participate. Principals at each of the ten schools were given information sheets and surveys to distribute to the grade one teachers. Teachers were provided with envelopes in which they could seal their completed responses. All surveys were returned within one week. In order to collect additional surveys from parents, all of the grade one teachers in the three target schools from this study distributed one survey and one information sheet to each of their grade one families. Parents returned the surveys to the classroom teachers within one week.

Classroom observations. Classroom observations were conducted in order to observe MTB-MLE in practice. A qualitative approach to the observations was utilized in order to concentrate on the significance, meaning, and impact of events in the classroom (Wragg & Wragg, 2012). This included an open-ended observation protocol that focused on four areas: language usage by teachers and students; students' responsiveness; teachers' levels of comfort; and cultural relevance of materials. The intentionality of this protocol created a sense of purpose for the observation, rather than aimlessly observing (Wragg & Wragg, 2012). However, notes were made beyond this prescribed observation protocol if they seemed relevant to the study. (See Appendix H.)

All eight grade one teachers consented to a classroom observation. Each teacher was observed in at least one of the following subject areas: mother tongue, Filipino, or math. Teachers were informed ahead of time about the observation so they would not be taken by surprise. In most cases, they had lesson plans available on their desk. The observations lasted between 45 minutes and one hour depending on the length of the lesson. Each of the teachers was told that they were not being evaluated on their teaching abilities, but that the intent was to observe how MTB-MLE is implemented in the classroom.

Individual interviews. While the focus groups emphasized a wide range of teachers' and parents' perspectives on MTB-MLE, the individual interviews provided a better understanding of specific viewpoints. They also served as a part of the validation process to confirm findings from the focus groups, surveys, and observations. While a set of questions guided the interviews, the format flowed in a less structured way that allowed the conversation to move easily between topics. This was desired in order to

increase the comfortability of teachers and parents and to gain divergent perspectives. The guiding questions were based on areas of interest identified in the focus groups, surveys, and classroom observations. (See Appendices I and J.)

Four teachers and three parents were invited to participate in a follow-up individual interview. The teacher interviews took place after school in the teachers' classrooms. Two parent interviews occurred in their homes during the school day, and the third occurred in an empty office at a *barangay* hall. In all cases the interviews were private and without distractions. These participants were selected based on their high engagement in the focus groups. Preference was also given to participants with divergent views. Of the seven interviewees, there were six females and one male. The interviews lasted between 30 and 45 minutes and were audio recorded. Where necessary the research assistant provided translations.

Data Analysis

Analysis initially began during the data collection period in the Philippines. Each night the newly collected data was reviewed, synthesized, and documented in order to keep careful and detailed notes. This was particularly important given the short time frame for data collection. Themes that emerged from focus group discussions were noted and questioned further in individual interviews. They also informed the classroom observation protocol by highlighting particular aspects of interest. For example, teachers discussed translation frequently in the focus groups, so the observations intentionally looked for instances of this to validate participants' comments. Upon completion of the formal data collection period, analysis began. The quantitative and qualitative data were analyzed separately at first but then examined collectively to provide a holistic picture.

Quantitative data. The quantitative data consisted of results from the survey administered to teachers and parents. The data was entered into an SPSS file and cleaned for analysis. A syntax file documented all of the actions completed in order to provide transparency to the process. Descriptive statistics were produced on each of the items to look for anomalies in the data. In addition, comparisons were made between teachers and parents who participated in the focus groups and those who did not. The responses showed similarity, which suggests that those involved in the focus groups may be representative of the rest of the population. While this study relied mostly on descriptive statistics, some comparisons were made between teachers and parents on a few key items. In this instance, a chi-squared analysis was conducted in order to look for differences in ordinal data. Some items on the survey were not included in the findings of this dissertation because their ambiguity appeared to confuse participants. This is the limitation of using a pre-constructed survey rather than creating it as a response to the qualitative data.

Qualitative data. The qualitative data came from focus groups, individual interviews, and classroom observation notes. These were transcribed and entered into NVivo for analysis. While much of the qualitative data was in Bikol or Filipino, the English translation was used in the transcription files. Merriam (1998) maintained that the evidence needs to be systematically recorded and managed. She suggested three levels of analysis that include the construction of categories or themes, naming the categories and sub-categories, and developing systems for placing the data into the categories.

This systematic process was accomplished through a well-developed node structure in NVivo in which parent and child nodes created complex categorizations of data. Parent nodes were initially created based on the research questions, but child nodes were constructed inductively (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007) during the analysis process by identifying themes or categories (Dyson & Genishi, 2005; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Once the data were coded by theme, they were analyzed for patterns across respondents. This technique was suggested by Yin (2009) as a way to find alignments amongst the data and provide an explanation for them.

Combining quantitative and qualitative data. Once the separate analyses were conducted, the results were interpreted collectively. The survey's descriptive statistics were compared with the themes that emerged in the qualitative data. As mentioned earlier, this was challenging in some cases since the survey was not developed in response to the qualitative data. Both alignments and misalignments were noted between the quantitative and qualitative data. In general, the qualitative data was used to explain the contradictions and offer a deeper understanding of the reasons for the quantitative results.

Given the abundance of data collected for this study, it was important to maintain a central focus on the research questions. These questions outlined the purpose of the study. Keeping them central to the analysis helps to "separate the wheat from the chaff" (Krueger & Casey, 2009, p. 114). However, the researcher must be "ever-reflective", and one who "digs into meanings, working to relate them to contexts and experience" (Stake, 2005, p. 450). The analysis conducted for this case study utilized these ideas by creating a focused study that drew upon multiple sources for interpretation.

Quality Criteria

Even though Yin (2009) argued that reliability and validity are suitable constructs for case study research, others have discounted these criteria as being purely quantitative constructs (Eisner, 1991; Stenbacka, 2001). Instead, most case studies tend to utilize Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of a study. They felt that their four criteria better reflected the underlying subjectivist assumptions of qualitative research as opposed to the objective and realist nature of quantitative work. The criteria include confirmability, credibility, transferability, and dependability.

Confirmability. Confirmability refers to the degree that the study's results can be substantiated by others. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested that one way of doing this is through the creation of an "audit trail," so a third party could check to see that the interpretations and conclusions can be traced to legitimate sources. This study achieved this by thoroughly documenting the research process, as well as making all decisions transparent. All raw data were retained in hard copy and electronic form, including audio recordings, paper copies of the surveys, field notes, SPSS and NVivo files, and codebooks. The analysis process was carefully documented and is evident in the quantitative syntax files and the organized qualitative node structure. Based on this documentation, the data could be reanalyzed to confirm the findings and conclusions of this study.

Credibility. Credibility involves establishing that the results of the research are believable from the perspective of the participants. Several measures were taken to ensure this in the current study. The focus group protocol and survey went through a back-translation process that ensured the items would be understood from participants in

the community. The items were also reviewed by a Philippines language expert in Manila, as well as a local DepEd supervisor to ensure their relevance to the context. In addition, the instruments were piloted with teachers and parents in the province, which provided an opportunity to change the wording of questions.

Member checking is another important component of establishing credibility of results (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). During the data collection process, informal conversations were held with participants, the research assistant, and the division superintendent to see if the initial findings aligned with their understanding of the issue in this context. They provided insight that was valuable to interpreting the data and often raised additional questions that were followed up on during the individual interviews.

One concern associated with credibility is the potential for participants providing socially desirable responses. In order to account for this possibility, efforts were made to ensure participant anonymity in their survey responses. This included distribution of envelopes with the surveys that were administered outside of the focus groups. Efforts were also made in focus group and individual interviews to ensure privacy of participants. Rapport was also established with participants by engaging in casual conversation prior to data collection and recollecting experiences of living on the island.

Transferability. Transferability refers to the degree to which the results can be applied to other contexts or settings. While qualitative research cannot be generalized to other instances in a statistical sense, Yin (2009) suggested the results could be generalized in an analytic sense. This means that lessons learned from this single case study may be useful in understanding experiences with MTB-MLE elsewhere by illuminating key issues and seeking greater understanding of the phenomenon being

studied. While these analyses may not be uniformly generalized to other contexts, they may be used to inform other experiences. As Stake (1994) noted, “The purpose of case study is not to represent the world, but to represent the case...the utility of case research to practitioners and policy makers is in its extension of experience” (p. 245). Through attention to theory and findings across various studies, the analytic generalizability may extend to other contexts.

Dependability. The traditional view of dependability in quantitative research is related to reliability. Reliability is concerned with the replicability of a study, or whether the same results would be observed if the study was repeated. However, the assumptions of qualitative research state that the same thing cannot be measured in the same way more than one time. Therefore, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested that dependability emphasizes the need for the researcher to account for the changing context in which the research occurs. This was accomplished through triangulation of data in which responses from the various data sources were compared against one another (Patten, 2001). Where contradictions were found, further interpretations and analyses were made in order to identify the source of the differences in data responses. In addition, dependability was strengthened with careful documentation of the research context and how the context affected the study.

Limitations

This study was limited by several factors. First, it drew on data from only one community amongst thousands in the country. While the results are not generalizable, they may still resonate with teachers’ and parents’ experiences in other communities inside or outside of the Philippines. As such, the results provide valuable insight into one

case that can inform future research and offer considerations for practical implementation. However, it is recognized that each context offers a unique set of issues and that this study portrays only one such context.

Second, the sampling method may have produced bias in the data. While the entire population of grade one teachers from the three target schools was included in the study, only a small percentage of parents were selected to participate in the focus groups. These parents were selected on the discretion of teachers. While teachers were asked to select parents randomly, this was a difficult task due to work and time constraints. Teachers suggested that the most active parents were the easiest to recruit for the study. In addition, while all parents were invited to complete the survey, not everyone did. It is possible that this approach created selection bias in the data. Demographics are another area of concern as a majority of teachers and parents participating in the study were female.

Third, the methods selected for this study produced possible limitations. For example, all but one focus group took place on school grounds. While care was taken to conduct the group in a private room, it is possible that teachers and parents adjusted their comments based on their level of comfort in the environment. In addition, there were inconsistencies in survey administration. While surveys were uniformly administered to focus group participants, the same protocol was not followed for the additional teachers and parents. Principals distributed the surveys to teachers outside of the three target schools, while the additional parents received the survey from their child with written directions. It is possible that this difference in administration altered responses. Furthermore, observations may not have represented typical lessons. Grade one teachers

were aware of and planned for their classroom observations. My presence in the classroom may have caused them to behave differently. Care was taken to be as unobtrusive as possible and to ease the teachers' nerves by explaining that their teaching was not being evaluated.

Fourth, the survey used in this study did not end up being as valuable as initially hoped. This is partially due to the fact that time constraints forced it to be developed prior to arrival in the country. An ideal approach would have been to construct the survey after the initial rounds of focus groups in order to target certain areas of interest. The use of Ramos' scale also proved difficult in crossing cultural contexts. Despite adjusting the wording to fit the Filipino context, some participants commented on the ambiguity of questions. As a result, each item was taken in isolation rather than creating a scale score, and only certain questions were included in this dissertation.

The final limitation relates to the translation of data. While I can understand conversational Bikol and could gather the general idea of most conversations, it was difficult for me to pick up on the nuance. To compensate for this, translations and interpretations were provided by my research assistant throughout interviews and focus groups. While I trust her translations, some meanings may have been lost through the interpretation.

CHAPTER IV

Results

This chapter reports on the findings from the current study. It is organized by research question in order to present fully the themes that emerged within each category. These categories include teachers' and parents' knowledge for the policy, beliefs about policy outcomes, support and resistance to the reform, and challenges for implementation. Interpretations of these findings follow in chapter five.

Research Question #1: What do teachers and parents know about MTB-MLE? To what extent does their knowledge differ?

The data from this study indicated points of alignment and misalignment between teachers and parents in their knowledge about MTB-MLE. They were slightly misaligned in the type of knowledge they possessed, yet they were aligned in the utility of their knowledge. As indicated below, teachers and parents discussed their awareness of the MTB-MLE policy in terms of what they needed to know for immediate implementation. This differed by their role in education, whether as a teacher or parent.

Results from the study revealed that a higher percentage of grade one teachers in the Kaibigan School District had heard of the term MTB-MLE than had grade one parents. The data in table 6 shows a difference of more than fifty percentage points between teachers and parents, with almost 95% of teachers expressing knowledge of the term compared to only 40% of parents. However, this gap between teachers and parents decreased when they were asked to identify the current language of instruction in grade one, which is a key component of MTB-MLE. In this case, teachers and parents were less than ten percentage points apart in identifying the language of instruction. Just under 90%

of teachers and 80% of parents correctly specified Bikol as the primary language of instruction. These results indicate that both parents and teachers are familiar with the shift in language of instruction, regardless of their knowledge of the MTB-MLE terminology.

Table 6. Teachers' and parents' knowledge of MTB-MLE policy

	Knowledge of policy terminology		Knowledge of language of instruction	
	n	Yes	n	Bikol
Grade 1 Teachers	19	94.7% (18)	19	89.5% (17)
Grade 1 Parents	147	40.1% (59)	145	80% (116)

Both groups emphasized language of instruction as the key component of MTB-MLE, but the extent of knowledge differed between teacher and parents. Teachers emphasized classroom logistics, such as time allotments and lesson planning, as well as the necessary requirements for shifting their teaching practice. This included the creation of new materials to reflect Bikol as the language of instruction, as well as adaptation to the new curriculum's core competencies. Parents, on the other hand, expressed more limited awareness of MTB-MLE by simply discussing the new focus on Bikol over English and Filipino. They appeared much farther removed from the reform than teachers and tended to talk about their isolated role as "homework helpers". In both cases, teachers' and parents' attention was targeted at the components of the policy that affected them at a practical level. Given teachers' obvious role in implementation, their awareness of the policy was more detailed than parents who had a less obvious role.

An important element of MTB-MLE is the use of culturally appropriate materials in the classroom. The 2009 DepEd order stated that “materials should be as much as possible, original, reflecting local people, events, realities; and appropriate to the language, age, and culture of the learners” (p. 4). On the surface, there appeared to be high value for the use of culturally appropriate materials. All of the teachers and three-fourths of the parents responded on the survey that it was important to create lessons based on life in Kaibigan. (See table 7.) However, the qualitative data only revealed two comments about this aspect of the policy. One teacher said,

In my opinion, pupils must learn mother tongue as a whole because since we are in Bikol region we have to learn not only as our language, but as a whole. The program encompasses the Bikol heritage. The government wanted to preserve the Bikol culture and heritage because they are going away. The Bikol culture and heritage are not very familiar to students nowadays.

Similarly a parent argued, “There are stories that are made in the United States that do not translate. Since it is mother tongue, it should be about [our province].” These comments on the inclusion of Bikol heritage appeared as an anomaly in the qualitative data. It was not an aspect of the policy that required participants’ current attention; therefore, it did not receive much consideration. The focus from teachers and parents remained on the issues most relevant to their immediate implementation needs.

Table 7. Teachers' and parents' views on the importance of culturally relevant lessons

How important do you think it is for grade 1 teachers...	Group	Very Important/ Important	Not Important/ Somewhat important	df	Chi-Square	p-value
To create lessons related to life in Kaibigan?	Teachers	18 (100%)	0	1	5.729	.017
	Parents	106 (75.1%)	35 (24.9%)			

Another issue related to immediate implementation was discussed in terms of the process for using Bikol as the language of instruction. Teachers' and parents' heavily emphasized the use of translation to convey meaning. As an indicator of the prevalence of this topic in discussions, a word count of the focus group and interview transcriptions revealed 94 instances of the words "translate" or "translation". Comments about translation typically focused on teachers' and parents' assumptions that Bikol literacy could only contribute to English literacy through the use of translation strategies. One teacher said, "If the children are exposed in our language....maybe it will be easier to learn English because it can be easily translated." Similarly, a parent expressed, "As far as I know the teacher will teach them mother tongue Bikol. Then, they will translate to Tagalog and English, so it is easier for the students to translate."

Counter to experiences under the Bilingual Education Policy where teachers frequently codeswitched from English to Bikol, the emphasis in the study appeared to be on translations from Bikol to English. This was despite the fact that the 2009 DepEd order stated that MTB-MLE is not about translation. However, teachers and parents grasped onto translation as the logical means for the transfer of literacy skills between

two languages. Alternatives to translation as a pedagogical approach were not conveyed in training manuals, which focused instead on the logistical aspects of the policy discussed above. This suggested another misalignment in the policy process between the national and local levels. Pedagogical approaches and rationale were not carried over to the ground level where implementation actually occurs. Instead, teachers and parents at the local level constructed their own knowledge about the process based on their past experiences with language learning.

Similar to the limited awareness of how to implement the reform, the rationale for MTB-MLE was undetectable at the local level. Teachers and parents expressed uncertainty about the purpose of the policy but concluded that research had probably informed the decision. Two teachers in one focus group discussed this idea:

Teacher 1: Maybe they have research studies.

Teacher 2: Maybe in other countries.

Teacher 1: Especially in Japan.

Teacher 2: I am thinking they are just following the other countries.

Teachers expressed some frustration over not knowing the results of such research but seemed too focused on the immediate implementation to be worried about it. The rationale for the policy was beyond their control, so they resigned their focus to be on their direct task of carrying out the orders. Parents similarly claimed that their knowledge extended to the logistics of the policy rather than its background. As one parent simply stated, “The teachers did not discuss with us why. They only told us it is being done.” Teachers and parents based their ideas about MTB-MLE rationale on speculation rather

than certainty. This indicates another point of misalignment between the national and local levels.

Some of the confusion conveyed by teachers and parents regarding elements of the policy and rationale for implementation appeared to be a result of the new K to 12 Basic Education Program. MTB-MLE was embedded into the K to 12 program, which created the perception that the two reforms could be talked about interchangeably. Teachers and parents in the study often spoke about MTB-MLE as a component of the K to 12 system rather than as its own entity. Many assumed that MTB-MLE was a required element of any K-12 education system in the world and used the terminology “K to 12” when they were really referring to MTB-MLE. Despite being two separate policy issues, they were perceived by teachers and parents to be part of the same entity. This demonstrates the complexity of adopting two major reforms at once, which appeared to confuse study participants when they were asked to broadly address MTB-MLE. It also points to the limited awareness building for the reform that occurred between the national and local levels.

In summary, teachers and parents similarly conveyed knowledge about the language of instruction in the new reform, even though their awareness about reform terminology differed. They also expressed comparable ideas about the use of translation and confusion about the rationale for policy implementation. While teachers and parents appeared to hold similar knowledge and assumptions about MTB-MLE, misalignment occurred between them at the local level and the policy’s intentions from a national level. Logistical knowledge carried over across levels, but knowledge about pedagogical ideas of language transfer and rationale for implementation differed.

Research Question #2: What do teachers and parents believe about the outcomes of MTB-MLE? To what extent do their beliefs differ?

The data from this study showed a clear distinction between participants' perceptions of the benefits and disadvantages of MTB-MLE for students. Teachers and parents both indicated the value of a mother tongue approach on students' comprehension of content. However, they viewed it as a short-term benefit rather than one that extended to the future. On the other hand, there was extreme concern about the long-term impact of MTB-MLE on the development of English literacy skills. This belief appeared to surpass the perceived benefits of the mother tongue. This section addresses the alignments and misalignments between stakeholders in their beliefs about Bikol as an asset or deficit to learning.

Short-term benefit: Comprehension. Teachers and parents similarly cited students' increased understanding of classroom content as the biggest benefit of MTB-MLE. Both groups overwhelmingly expressed their deep satisfaction with the results they had observed in just one month of implementation. One statement from a teacher represented this perspective, "In mother tongue they [the children] can learn all the words and they can understand. Sometimes in English they can read, but they cannot understand. That is the benefit of mother tongue—that they can understand." This point was echoed across every focus group and interview. Even participants who opposed the policy admitted to the benefit of increased comprehension. One parent in this category said, "Because Bikol is the language that kids use at home, they can easily understand what the teacher says." In this way, Bikol was viewed as an asset to student learning because of its ability to further their understanding in the classroom.

The perceived benefit of increased understanding was confirmed in the survey data. This was specifically noted in relation to the effect of MTB-MLE in content areas such as math and science. Almost 90% of teachers and 84% of parents agreed or strongly agreed that learning math and science in Bikol helps students do better in those subjects. (See table 8.) This statement received the highest level of agreement of all the items on the survey that assessed language learning beliefs. Teachers and parents shared the same perception about the positive outcome of Bikol on content understanding. There were no significant differences between the groups, as indicated by the chi-square test on this item.

Table 8. Teachers' and parents' beliefs about content-based understanding

		Agree	Disagree	df	Chi-Square	p-value
Learning math and science in Bikol helps children do better in those subjects.	Teachers	17 (89.5%)	2 (10.5%)	1	.409	.522
	Parents	135 (83.9%)	26 (16.1%)			

Content understanding was noted as a benefit in the qualitative data as well. According to teachers and parents in this study, the previous approach to teaching math and science in English limited students' abilities to understand the lessons. As one teacher commented about mother tongue instruction, "[The students] understand concepts more clearly now." They attributed this outcome to the fact that students could focus on the meaning of the lessons rather than on the meaning of vocabulary. However, this belief

only appeared to hold true when teachers could freely utilize English academic language in their lessons. As discussed in the fourth research question about the challenges of MTB-MLE, this issue was complicated by the fact that many math and science terms do not have known Bikol translations. Teachers and parents agreed that student learning was enhanced through the mother tongue in terms of conveying meaning, but they noted that meaning was occasionally lost when Bikol terms replaced more commonly recognized English terminology.

While teachers and parents both saw increased understanding as a benefit of the reform, there was a slight difference in their rationale for this response. Teachers emphasized the impact of understanding on a classroom level, mostly describing increased participation among students. For example, one teacher said, “I am confident that the pupils can give back to my questions and give the answers because they can understand the question.” Another similarly commented, “And when it comes to class discussion, I think the classroom will be more lively. They will understand the story, and they could easily answer the questions about the story.” This perspective focused on the occurrences in the classroom as a collective outcome without emphasizing the value of increased understanding beyond the lesson given.

In contrast, parents tended to focus on the impact of increased understanding on an individual or familial level. Representative of many parents’ statements, one mother emphasized individual learning outcomes in her comment: “[The students] will understand the language easier, and they can adapt to the lesson and learn.” Another parent explained individual learning increased not only because the student understood the classroom content but because the whole family could understand. She declared, “At

my house we speak in Bikol so it is easier to teach. The mom can teach, the father can teach, the siblings can teach. It helps the kids to know.” Parents’ perspectives extended beyond classroom participation to include the impact of increased understanding on student learning. They viewed this from a perspective beyond the school to include the way learning occurs in the home.

Differences between teachers and parents appeared to occur based on their experiences and points of reference. Teachers contextualized the benefits from a classroom perspective, while parents centered their views on the impact on individual children. Despite the enticing outcome of increased student understanding through MTB-MLE, it was viewed primarily as a short-term benefit rather than a long-term advantage. Teachers and parents both demonstrated difficulty in connecting this benefit to students’ future academic or career success. One parent’s comment illustrated this belief, “[The children] are easy to understand the lecture [in Bikol]. But I think sooner, as they are aging higher, they should understand in English.” They were hesitant to state the value of MTB-MLE beyond the immediate benefit of increased understanding.

Long-term disadvantage: Literacy development. Despite the wide beliefs among teachers and parents that MTB-MLE leads to increased understanding among students, both groups shared a similar concern about the disadvantages of the policy. The focus group and interview data suggested that teachers and parents did not see value in being able to read and write in Bikol, even though they could see the advantage of using it orally in class to aid in meaning making. The point made by one parent was repeated by many others, including teachers: “What I worry about is what if the child goes to a transfer school. How will he cope with the new language if he only knows how to read

and write in our dialect?” The participants indicated a concern that so much effort was being placed on learning to read and write in a language not used beyond their region of the country. This perspective not only devalued the utility of Bikol but placed greater worth on literacy in Filipino and English.

Even more than attention on the national language, participants’ comments gravitated toward the power of English literacy. Its global prevalence was widely apparent in teachers’ and parents’ desires for students to gain skills in English. In particular, knowledge of English was equated with privilege and the opening of opportunities. Some participants discussed inequalities that separate English and non-English speakers. One parent lamented, “If a child comes from a well-off family, he will be using English even from four years old. Later that child will be able to speak English. Our children should learn the same.” A teacher similarly pointed to the impact of the English language, “It’s also good for them to learn in English because in our world today [if] you can communicate the use of English, you can understand each other.” These comments highlight the importance placed on having English literacy skills, but they also indicate a hesitance to believe that MTB-MLE could impact the development of those skills.

While both teachers and parents viewed the development of English literacy as a long-term disadvantage of MTB-MLE, their focus differed slightly. Parents tended to emphasize their children’s future educational and career opportunities. One parent explained the long-term disadvantage in this way:

It will be hard for the kids to speak English in the long-run because they are not going to learn English, because they are using the dialect every day in everything

they do. If they are going to be taught in English, Tagalog and then in Bikol it will be beneficial for the kid. But if it is just Bikol, the kids will have a hard time.

When they grow up and apply to look for jobs it will be hard for them to interview well. So it will be a disadvantage for them in the long-term.

This comment suggests a desire for Bikol to be used as a supplemental language to aid in understanding but not to be used as the primary language of instruction. Concerns among parents heavily focused on the impact on careers and specifically the economic possibilities associated with knowing or not knowing English.

Teachers' beliefs about disadvantages included long-term outcomes similar to those of the parents listed above, but they contained an additional focus on testing. For example, one teacher pointed out,

The professional exams, the board exams, they are not in Bikol. They are not multilingual, more on English or sometimes Filipino. It will be difficult for the kids who learn to read and write in Bikol, or any dialect, especially if that child is not a fast learner.

Teachers were concerned about the ability of students to successfully complete their education if they did not develop English skills. While teachers endorsed the policy's effect on increased understanding and participation, their concern about long-term L2 and L3 language acquisition lingered in their minds.

While the qualitative data strongly suggests literacy development as a long-term disadvantage, the quantitative data provides a stark contradiction. On the surface, teachers and parents appeared to see the benefits of being able to read and write in Bikol. As shown in table 9, between two-thirds and three-quarters of teachers and parents agreed

or strongly agreed that Bikol literacy would positively impact English proficiency (68.4% and 74.7% respectively), English literacy (72.2% and 71.6% respectively), and school performance (73.7% and 75.9% respectively). In terms of raw numbers, the question related to school performance had the highest levels agreement for both stakeholder groups, but the differences were slight. Teachers and parents responded similarly, and there was no statistically significant difference between them on these items. These responses point to favorable viewpoints toward the outcomes of MTB-MLE, whereas the interview data suggests otherwise.

Table 9. Teachers' and parents' beliefs about effects of Bikol literacy

		Agree	Disagree	df	Chi-Square	p-value
Children who can read and write in Bikol will be able to learn English easier than children who cannot read and write in Bikol.	Teachers	13 (68.4%)	6 (31.6%)	1	.348	.555
	Parents	121 (74.7%)	41 (25.3%)			
Children will do better in school if they learn to read and write in Bikol first.	Teachers	14 (73.7%)	5 (26.3%)	1	.046	.829
	Parents	123 (75.9%)	39 (24.1%)			
When children learn to read and write in Bikol it is easier to learn to read and write in English later.	Teachers	13 (72.2%)	5 (27.8%)	1	.003	.956
	Parents	116 (71.6%)	46 (28.4%)			

In addition, teachers' and parents' beliefs about the ideal language of instruction ran contrary to their comments. A majority of teachers (88.2%) and parents (68.5%) stated that instruction in Bikol was important or very important. (See table 10.) Similarly,

most teachers' responses discounted the claim that Bikol instruction would have a negative impact on learning English (26.3%) or that an English-only method would produce better English results (36.8%). Parents' beliefs were more equally divided about their beliefs on learning English (48.1% and 53.5%). (See table 11.) Despite the differences in raw numbers, there were no statistically significant differences between groups on any of these items.

Table 10. Teachers' and parents' views about importance of Bikol for instruction

How important do you think it is for grade 1 teachers...	Group	Important/ Very important	Not Important/ Somewhat Important	df	Chi-Square	p-value
To instruct in Bikol?	Teachers	15 (88.2%)	2 (11.8%)	1	2.857	.091
	Parents	100 (68.5%)	46 (31.5%)			

Table 11. Teachers' and parents' beliefs about language of instruction

	Group	Agree	Disagree	df	Chi-Square	p-value
Using Bikol to teach children has negative effects for when they learn English.	Teachers	5 (26.3%)	14 (73.7%)	1	3.25	.071
	Parents	77 (48.1%)	83 (51.9%)			
Children will learn English best if English is the only language spoken in their classroom.	Teachers	7 (36.8%)	12 (63.2%)	1	1.88	.171
	Parents	85 (53.5%)	74 (46.5%)			

While these high percentages suggest relatively strong favorability toward the development of Bikol literacy in schools, they run contrary to the qualitative findings

from the study. The qualitative data pointed to deep underlying ideologies about how English literacy is achieved. Despite their claims on the survey that Bikol literacy could be academically beneficial, teachers' and parents' comments pointed to their uncertainty about the long-term outcomes of MTB-MLE. They held an assumption that MTB-MLE would improve Bikol literacy at the expense of English development. This contradiction between quantitative and qualitative data is explored in chapter five.

Beneficiaries. Teachers and parents commonly shared views about the types of students who would benefit from MTB-MLE. They similarly expected these beneficiaries to be confined to certain subsets of the population: those in the lowest grade levels and those with the lowest ability levels. In terms of grade-level, almost all teachers expressed satisfaction in the mother tongue for instruction in grade one. However, most teachers did not believe MTB-MLE should be implemented in other grades. One teacher said, "It's ok for me if this will be for grade 1. If they implement it up to grade 6, it will not be ok for me. It does not prepare students fully." There was concern among teachers that use of the mother tongue beyond grade one would inhibit the learning of English and Filipino.

This perspective was similar among most parents who were concerned about students' future learning. One male parent argued, "In high school it is strict that they have to speak in Tagalog and English, so they will not be able to learn if they only use Bikol throughout until grade six." Even when reminded that English and Filipino would be taught as a subject, parents did not change their position. They held tight to their belief that English instruction would yield English learning.

Beyond grade-level most study participants expressed the belief that MTB-MLE benefited low-ability learners the most. One teacher's comment represented the opinion of many others when she said,

For the slow learners it is important. They will benefit from the mother tongue because they can easily learn it. But the fast learners, it will get them bored. Most of the fast learners know how to speak in English, so they will become bored in the mother tongue subject.

The advantages of MTB-MLE for "fast learners" were not apparent because English was deemed the desirable outcome. Bikol was seen as something that benefits students who do not know how to speak English or do not have the capacity for doing so. A parent similarly asserted, "It's helpful for the child [to have MTB-MLE] because there are children who have parents who weren't able to finish school. So the only language they will be able to help with is Bikol." These comments collectively imply a deficit perspective about language learning, stating that parents who are less educated should be "relegated" to using MTB-MLE. The inherent value of literacy in the mother tongue was not widely recognized.

Another group of teachers emphasized the value of MTB-MLE for increasing students' access to vocational and technical schools after high school graduation. A teacher commented, "It [MTB-MLE] is an opening, an option, for vocational courses. Not all students will attend college. It gives them an option." Although vocational and technical school enrollment was perceived as a possible benefit to some students, most parents declared they had different desires for their own children. Several parents

admitted that they dreamed of their children going to the United States, which was viewed as possible through English literacy.

Teachers' and parents' deficit-based beliefs may have been shaped, or at least affirmed, by a current DepEd program that waives the full requirements of MTB-MLE for particular students. The Special Science and Math Class (SSMC) abides by a different curriculum, which only requires mother tongue as a subject for two thirty-minute periods each week. Content area subjects are taught in English and Filipino but allow for explanation in Bikol. Students enrolled in SSMC have demonstrated some level of proficiency in English in order to be admitted. This policy statement sustained teachers' and parents' perceptions that MTB-MLE benefits students who have not yet excelled in English. As one parent explained, "That's why they separated for the higher level for special class." Rather than working to change language ideologies among stakeholders through the MTB-MLE policy, the SSMC waiver counteracts it and reinforces the existing beliefs even more.

Summary. In summary, teachers and parents held similar beliefs that MTB-MLE helped improve students' understanding of lessons. They discussed the implications of this on classroom participation and learning as a whole. However, their long-held views of English as the desired language caused them to question the impact of MTB-MLE on English literacy development. Teachers and parents both expressed fear of the policy cultivating lower English skills despite their favorable responses toward MTB-MLE on the survey. Another key finding was the emphasis on grade one and low-ability learners as the primary beneficiaries of the policy. This deficit-oriented perspective positions Bikol as an undesirable language while giving more power to English.

Research Question #3: How do teachers and parents demonstrate support and resistance to MTB-MLE? In what ways do their actions differ?

Amidst the new language in education reform, teachers and parents demonstrated evidence of strong overt support and subtle covert resistance. On the surface, they responded favorably to aspects of the MTB-MLE policy. A majority of participants believed that reading, writing, speaking, and listening in Bikol was important for grade one students. (See table 11.) In particular, teachers and parents showed strong value toward reading (83.3% and 82% respectively), writing (83.3% and 75% respectively), and listening (77.8% and 88.2% respectively) in Bikol.

Table 12. Teachers' and parents' views on the importance of Bikol literacy

How important do you think it is for grade 1 students...	Group	Very Important/ Important	Not Important/ Somewhat Important	df	Chi-Square	p-value
To learn to read in Bikol?	Teachers	15 (83.3%)	3 (16.7%)	1	.019	.889
	Parents	123 (82%)	27 (18%)			
To learn to write in Bikol?	Teachers	15 (83.3%)	3 (16.7%)	1	.608	.436
	Parents	108 (75%)	36 (25%)			
To speak in Bikol?	Teachers	12 (66.7%)	6 (33.3%)	1	.119	.730
	Parents	90 (62.5%)	54 (37.5%)			
To listen to the teacher speak in Bikol?	Teachers	14 (77.8%)	4 (22.2%)	1	.209	.648
	Parents	120 (82.2%)	26 (17.8%)			

As this section shows, teachers' and parents' responses appeared to be influenced by the expectations set forth by DepEd. Their high regard for the components of MTB-MLE directly aligns with the policy requirements. However, teachers and parents demonstrated quiet forms of resistance that they did not explicitly discuss. They did not recognize their words and actions as such, but their underlying ideologies about the value of English showed through in their practices.

Demonstrations of support. Teachers and parents often pointed to policy as their guide and said they had no choice but to implement according to the expectations from DepEd. Teachers and parents described this approach to implementation as a form of support by explaining that their compliance furthered the goals of MTB-MLE. This recurrent theme was evident in all of the focus group discussions. For example, one teacher stated, "It's hard, but because that's what DepEd has implemented, that is what we are following." A conversation in another focus group was also indicative of this common perception related to policy support:

Teacher 1: Because that [MTB-MLE] is under the DepEd order, we have to follow. We are under a system.

Researcher: Do other grade one teachers think it's a good idea?

Teacher 1: (pause) They have to.

Researcher: What if they do not agree?

Teacher 2: (laughter) If they do not agree, they will be sent away.

Numerous parents echoed these teachers' sentiments. One parent said, "That is the curriculum. We cannot do anything about it." These quotes demonstrate strong deference to the centralized DepEd policy that seems to surpass even teachers' own belief systems.

While teachers and parents freely acknowledged the benefits and disadvantages to the policy, as seen in the previous section, they ultimately claimed to support the policy because it is an order from DepEd.

In line with the view that support is equated with policy compliance, teachers demonstrated massive efforts to create new materials, plan lessons, and translate stories. One teacher estimated that she has spent an additional 16 hours of work time each week compared to last year, and others reported spending five percent of their paycheck on photocopying expenses. Observations of classrooms revealed newly created bulletin boards, reading materials, and lesson plans that were created by teachers in order to abide by the policy. Although these actions demonstrate support, they were induced from the national level rather than from genuine beliefs that the policy would produce desired outcomes.

Parents expressed a view that support is associated with acceptance of the reform. They referred to school meetings with the teacher or principal in which parents were informed of the policy shift. While they were not called upon to be involved in the reform at a classroom level, parents mentioned their support as occurring from home. For example, one parent simply stated, “We can help the teachers by helping our children at home.” This perception of support included helping children with homework, writing Bikol stories for them to read, and assisting in translation of unfamiliar academic terms.

While teachers and parents both demonstrated their support in relation to policy compliance, they did so in parallel contexts. In other words, they operated within different spheres of influence. Teachers’ actions were carried out in the classroom, while parents’ actions were focused in the home. Parents claimed they would assist with

classroom needs, such as preparing materials in the mother tongue, but they explained that it was not appropriate to offer their services without an invitation from the teacher. Teachers, on the other hand, appeared resistant to request such help saying that it was the job of the teacher, not the parent, to prepare the necessary materials. They suggested feelings of shame would result from requests to parents for help. However, despite their hesitance to work together, teachers and parents viewed parent involvement for writing Bikol stories as important or very important (79% and 62.6% respectively). (See table 13.) Viewing this as an important aspect of the policy did not transfer to related behaviors.

Table 13. Teachers' and parents' views on the importance of parent involvement

How important do you think it is for grade 1 teachers...	Group	Important/ Very important	Not important/ Somewhat important	df	Chi-Square	p-value
To involve parents in writing Bikol stories?	Teachers	15 (79%)	4 (21%)	1	1.955	.162
	Parents	87 (62.6%)	52 (37.4%)			

Demonstrations of resistance. Teachers' and parents' demonstrations of resistance were apparent in both words and actions, but were much more subtle than claims of support. Even though they did not refer to their thoughts and behaviors as forms of resistance, they quietly questioned the policy requirements. Two teachers offered insight into this phenomenon as it related to MTB-MLE classroom practices:

Teacher 1: It depends on the teacher HOW they implement it.

Teacher 2: If they believe, they will teach it. If they do not believe, they will just follow the basics.

Teacher 1: If you believe, you will do something more.

Teacher 2: It is better if you are willing. If you are not, you will feel negative.

They recognized that classroom practices were not uniform across teachers; rather, they depended on beliefs about the policy. This dialogue sheds light on the idea that support and resistance can be shown in small ways. Even if they abided by the basic expectations of the policy, their beliefs about MTB-MLE shaped the extent to which they implemented the policy.

Teachers' demonstrations of resistance included minor adjustments to their teaching in order to align their beliefs with their classroom practice. As an example, one teacher commented that rather than using the Bikol terminology for a word, such as birthday, she simply adjusted the spelling and pronunciation of the English word to make it appropriate for Bikol. In another classroom, the teacher incorporated English language into the mother tongue subject area. She commented that it was important for students to learn the English terminology at the same time they were learning the Bikol terminology, "We change sometimes. Instead of using the mother tongue, we will do more on reading [in English]... We follow the program, but if there is time, we teach more on the concepts for reading [in English]. The children need to read." Teachers in another focus group similarly admitted to practicing English CVC words during free moments in the day.

Math classes were common sites of resistance. Many of the teachers used English terminology to convey the meaning better to students. They simply did not know the necessary Bikol terminology for math concepts. (This is discussed as a challenge in the research question #4 section of this paper.) Place value was being taught in all the grade one math classes observed for this study. None of the teachers used the Bikol word for “place value;” rather, they only said it in English. However, they did say *manampulo* and *manaro*, frequently followed by the English translation of “tens place” and “ones place”. One teacher’s statement was representative of the wide frustration over translation of math and science concepts:

I do not translate it anymore. I explain it to the pupils. We cannot translate this to Bikol. And I use the English word if no words will fit to that word. When I teach place value, [I say] place value.

This demonstrates the classroom level adaptations made by teachers to both meet the policy requirements and serve their students. The sum of these actions points to teachers’ agency to differentiate a policy according to their perceptions of its outcomes.

Similar to teachers, parents demonstrated their resistance quietly. Some parents commented that they work with their children at home to develop English proficiency. While they did not see it worthwhile to fight the policy, parents did take actions to support their children’s literacy development beyond Bikol. Some shared strategies of reading English and Filipino texts in the evenings to build skills in those languages. Others stated that they incorporated English and Filipino vocabulary into conversations at home in order to compensate for it not being taught at school. A future area of resistance may relate to the SSMC program. Since this section of students does not

follow the same MTB-MLE guidelines, some parents expressed desire for their children to be enrolled. While it was not an opportunity for the current school year, interest may increase for the future.

Summary. In summary, teachers and parents both asserted subtle forms of agency to implement the policy, but they did so in separate environments. They operated in the school and the home respectively without opportunities or desire to collaborate. Both groups tended to show support for the policy through their compliance with the national expectations for implementation. Teachers worked tirelessly to abide by the policy, while parents suggested a commitment to support their children at home. However, a quiet resistance was noted among them. Given the prevalent beliefs in the value of English literacy, teachers and parents adjusted their actions at home and in the classroom to infuse more English into students' lives. They also adapted their approach to include English terminology if Bikol words were deemed too confusing. These findings demonstrate how actors at the ground level interpret and appropriate national policy.

Research Question #4: What challenges exist related to implementation of MTB-MLE?

The perceived challenges of a reform may affect its ability to be implemented at the ground level. Teachers' general views of these challenges were reflected in their perceptions of the feasibility of classroom implementation. Most teachers stated that they were only somewhat prepared or not prepared to implement MTB-MLE in the classroom (78.9%) with about the same percentage saying it would be somewhat or very difficult to do so (79.9%). Most perceived MTB-MLE to involve lots of extra work (78.9%), and a majority said it was very different from the previous policy (63.2%). (See table 14.)

These statistics are best understood in the context of the qualitative data. Three primary themes emerged in the qualitative data that provide deeper insight into the rationale for these quantitative responses: multilingual environment, academic language, and lack of materials.

Table 14. Teachers' perceptions of classroom implementation

	n	Very prepared	Prepared	Somewhat prepared	Not prepared
How prepared do you feel to implement MTB-MLE in your classroom?	19	1 (5.3%)	3 (15.8%)	13 (68.4%)	2 (10.5%)
	n	Very similar	Somewhat similar	Somewhat different	Very different
How similar is MTB-MLE to the way you taught last year?	19	1 (5.3%)	1 (5.3%)	5 (26.3%)	12 (63.2%)
	n	No extra work	A little extra work	Some extra work	Lots of extra work
How much extra work will it take for you to use MTB-MLE in your classroom?	19	0	2 (10.5%)	2 (10.5%)	15 (78.9%)
	n	Very easy	Somewhat easy	Somewhat difficult	Very difficult
How difficult will it be to implement MTB-MLE in your classroom?	19	1 (5.3%)	3 (15.8%)	13 (68.4%)	2 (10.5%)

Multilingual environment. Teachers described the large number of languages in the Philippines as a challenge to implementing a mother tongue reform. They frequently emphasized the “multilingual” aspect of MTB-MLE stating that many languages should be utilized for communication and learning purposes in the classroom. One teacher described this viewpoint:

So we use the multilingual everyday because the L2 and L3 are being used everyday. The multilingual is being used: the mother tongue, Filipino, and English. Everyday we use it. You cannot stick to one mother tongue. The MLE is being used. The three languages is being used every day in teaching. Some of the words they know in English, so translate it to the mother tongue. Some they know in the mother tongue, when some other words they know it in Filipino. So the three languages is being used.

While the policy requires use of the mother tongue exclusively in grade one instruction (with the exception of Filipino and English subject areas), teachers like the one quoted above expressed the reality of the situation. Their society is multilingual, and they feel it is impossible, even in grade one, to avoid the integration of several languages in a single lesson.

Some teachers further problematized the notion of mother tongue. They suggested that it may be an elusive concept because there are multiple language varieties present within the same community. In other words, one's mother tongue may actually be a compilation of several language varieties infused together. Teachers wondered which mother tongue should be used in their teaching. While many relied on the version of Bikol supplied by the regional office, others pointed to differences between that variety of Bikol and the varieties spoken by students in the classroom. One teacher grappled with this challenge: "They will understand. Mother tongue, really. [It is] our own dialect. But the problem is that we have so many dialects. I said why is it that (pause)...suppose we use Filipino as our mother tongue?" This teacher pondered the challenge of teaching in the mother tongue when there was no true mother tongue in the classroom. Her

conclusion to addressing the multitude of dialects in one community was to use the national language as the common medium of instruction. This conclusion also surfaced from other teachers as a logical solution to the challenge.

Similarly, teachers appeared to struggle with the practical application of the mother tongue as the language of instruction. According to DepEd policy, teachers must incorporate each student's mother tongue into the curriculum. They explained that if a child's L1 differs from the mother tongue used in the classroom that the teacher must adapt the lessons to include that dialect or language. As one teacher described, "If the child is from Virac and they study here, it is the teacher's job [to adapt]." Teachers expressed this as a challenge for three reasons. First, they would need to invest additional time in learning the nuances of a new language variety. Second, it would create a disjointed lesson. Third, they questioned the parameters around different languages because the varieties spoken between municipalities are so fluid.

A related challenge included the written components of language. A dialect of Bikol used in Kaibigan contains a sound for which there is no symbolic representation. Teachers approached this in different ways but agreed that it was a challenge when teaching literacy skills in this language. Some strategies to cope with the lack of orthography included substitution of a different letter (usually r or l) or translation of the word into a different language variety that does not require the particular sound. Although teachers accommodated this challenge, they questioned the values of their individual approaches and wanted to know the most effective way to address this issue.

The challenge of the multilingual environment was mostly addressed by teachers but surfaced with one particular demographic of parents. Parents who had moved to the

municipality from another place reiterated the difficulty in choosing a particular language as the language of instruction. One parent who had married a woman from the municipality spoke Chobacano and only understood basic Bikol. He relied on Filipino as his primary communication in the community and expressed concern about helping his child with Bikol homework: “We speak Chobacano at home. My children understand Chobacano. Translating from Chobacano to Bikol is difficult.” This parent emphasized the challenge of choosing one mother tongue as the language of instruction. He questioned the value of gaining literacy in a mother tongue different from one’s primary language at home.

Academic language. Another challenge that consistently appeared in the data was the difficulty of translating academic terminology into Bikol. In many instances, English or Filipino words were chosen to describe a concept because of their familiarity to students. Teachers and parents frequently laughed during focus group discussions as they tried to determine the Bikol word for certain concepts. A group of teachers expressed exasperation as one person said, “Even I do not know the Bikol for exponent or logarithm.” Math and science terms were consistently highlighted as the most difficult areas for using the mother tongue.

Numbers came up in every focus group for teachers and parents as being problematic. The curriculum requires students to use Bikol numbers, but the reality made it a challenge. Some participants described instances where students defaulted to the English numbers because it was more comfortable. An example of this came from a parent who described a decline in achievement because of Bikol numbers: “Kids are being asked where 36 is [on the chart], and my child does not know where it is because it

is in Bikol.” This was also observed in math classrooms where students first counted objects in English with a natural flow in their voice and then gave the final sum in Bikol as a translation of their answer. Teachers insisted this was problematic because the focus was on learning the numbers in Bikol rather than learning the concepts being taught.

Some teachers suggested this challenge has arisen because of a disjointed language pipeline in which students have learned key concepts in English during Kindergarten or at home. One teacher explained, “Like the one who undergo kindergarten, they already know some English terms. And then [when they are] exposed to Bikol it’s confusing. Like in mathematics we use the mother tongue and they will answer in English.” Despite seeing this as a challenge, most teachers and parents agreed it was important for students to enter grade one with recognition of certain concepts, such as numbers, in English.

Parents addressed this challenge from the perspective of being able to help at home. They remarked that they did not know the higher-level Bikol words being used in the grade one classrooms. One parent asserted with frustration, “It is difficult because there are assignments that require vocabulary words. There are no references for those Bikol words, but my child is asking me what the word is. I do not know because I have no references.” Teachers similarly explained that they had to research words to find the Bikol equivalent for words they commonly use in English or Tagalog.

A previous finding from this study (see research question #2) suggests that teachers and parents believe MTB-MLE leads to increased student understanding. This appears to contradict the view discussed here that students do not understand some Bikol terminology used in lessons, particularly technical math language. While teachers and

parents maintained a strong belief in the value of MTB-MLE for conveying meaning, they did not see the value in using Bikol exclusively if it did not aid in comprehension. They also viewed it as unnecessary in cases where students were already familiar with English terms over Bikol. As discussed earlier, teachers and parents resisted this in many cases by reverting to English terminology.

Lack of materials. The most commonly discussed challenge for implementing MTB-MLE was the lack of materials available to teachers in the classroom. Teachers learned that they would be implementing MTB-MLE only one week prior to the start of the school year. They did not receive government materials right away; rather during the second week of school they were provided with curriculum guides that listed core competencies. Later, school heads were provided with learning packages that included some lessons and student worksheets, but these materials had to be reproduced at the cost of the teachers. Teachers claimed that their teaching had suffered from these limited materials. According to one teacher:

It is easy to impart [the lessons] to the pupils, in my opinion. It is easy to swallow for the pupils because they can understand easily. But sometimes we could use them [the materials].... If they are ready, we can execute very clearly to the pupils. Number one importance is the materials and lesson planning, then we can execute easily. That is my opinion...the materials.

This statement was commonly heard across all teachers. Another teacher explained that they are “grappling in the dark” to navigate their way through this shift without resources. Materials provide guidance for teachers, and they all expressed a hunger for more support in this area. One teacher openly expressed frustration in recalling a phrase

used during her training. She said, “DepEd says grade one teachers are the ‘champion of change’, but how can we be the champions of change if we don’t have enough materials and references?”

Parents described the lack of resources in a slightly different way. They noted the dearth of Bikol books and resources available to them for use at home and described the challenge of working with their children without those resources. These materials have not been adequately produced by the government, much less for commercial purposes. One parent explained that her language is not spoken widely enough to warrant publication of materials. The limited Bikol resources in the homes challenged the ability of parents to work with their children. In many cases, parents utilized English and Filipino materials instead because they were already present in the environment.

Addressing the challenges. While these challenges have impeded the implementation of MTB-MLE, teachers and parents alike frequently inserted statements of hope. Some participants commented that it is only the first year of implementation and will only get better over time. This was true for one parent who said, “I am hopeful that the mother tongue will become effective when it comes to raising the performance levels of the pupils. Since we are only starting, the beginning period, we cannot say whether it will be effective or not.” Others discussed the resourceful nature of teachers with great pride and believed they could overcome this obstacle just as they have overcome others. Teachers in the study described their most effective coping mechanism as the development of collaborative relationships. These networks of teachers within and across schools provided avenues for sharing lesson ideas and other resources for teaching. One teacher summed up these thoughts with a metaphor. She explained, “We can be

compared to the cycle of a butterfly. We start as an egg and develop to a butterfly.” This optimism and hope for the future always seemed to be present amid discussions about even the greatest challenges.

Summary. In summary, the MTB-MLE reform appears to challenge teachers’ abilities to implement it in the classroom. Three main themes were uncovered in the data related to these challenges. These included the multilingual environment of the Philippines, the difficulty in translating academic language into Bikol, and the limited resources and materials available to teachers and parents to support the efforts of the reform. Despite the complex environment for addressing these challenges, the level of hope remained high for both teachers and parents.

CHAPTER V

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter begins with a summary of the results from chapter four followed by a discussion of key findings. Next, the theoretical implications of the study are explored, and an alternative conceptual model is proposed. This leads into an examination of the practical implications of this research. Finally, the limitations of this study are addressed, as well as opportunities for future research.

Summary of the results

The purpose for this study was to examine the national MTB-MLE reform from a ground-level perspective. It sought to uncover the ways in which teachers and parents understand and enact the policy in one community in the Philippines. Further it investigated points of alignment and misalignment in the policy implementation process.

The following four research questions guided this study:

1. What do teachers and parents know about MTB-MLE? To what extent does their knowledge differ?
2. What do teachers and parents believe about the outcomes of MTB-MLE? To what extent do their beliefs differ?
3. How do teachers and parents demonstrate support and resistance for MTB-MLE? In what ways do their actions differ?
4. What challenges exist related to implementation of MTB-MLE?

The *first research question* examined what teachers and parents knew about MTB-MLE. While teachers possessed more technical knowledge about the policy than

parents, both groups focused their discussion on the necessary and immediate steps for implementation required by DepEd. Specifically, they discussed logistical issues and steered their conversations toward translation as the primary means of implementation. Translation seemed to be the most straight-forward explanation to respondents for how Bikol literacy could transfer to literacy in other languages. As such, their focus on practical aspects of the policy precluded their awareness of the rationale for MTB-MLE.

The *second research question* explored teachers' and parents' beliefs about the outcomes of MTB-MLE. A major finding was that teachers and parents focused primarily on benefits with a short-term lens and disadvantages from a long-term perspective. Students' increased understanding was the most commonly cited benefit. Teachers and parents both expressed great satisfaction with this outcomes saying that it assisted with content learning in grade one. While these were discussed as immediate benefits to students, they were not believed to have a long-term impact on their education.

The primary disadvantage cited by teachers and parents was the potential negative effect of MTB-MLE on English proficiency and literacy skills later in life. While teachers and parents recognized the immediate value of mother tongue as the language of instruction, they had difficulty extending that benefit to the future. Participants in this study felt it was counterintuitive that a mother tongue approach could aid in English literacy development. As a result, they suggested that MTB-MLE was most beneficial for grade one students and low-ability learners. They tended to view mother tongue instruction with a deficit perspective that did not hold opportunities for long-term achievement beyond a basic level.

The *third research question* investigated how teachers and parents demonstrate their support and resistance for MTB-MLE. Their actions for supporting the policy appeared to stem from their self-stated “obedience” toward DepEd and were demonstrated through adherence to policy guidelines in the classroom and at home. In accordance with this belief, teachers and parents worked to carry out the expectations given to them from the top-level administrators. While both groups demonstrated compliance as a show of support, a clear division was noted in the ways in which it was shown. Teachers focused on the classroom aspect of the policy, while parents focused their efforts at home. There was no evidence of crossover between these two areas. In fact, teachers and parents appeared to draw a distinct line between home and school efforts.

Data also revealed subtle acts of resistance that showed evidence of teacher and parent agency. While teachers abided by the policy in the classroom and parents supported their children at home in their work, beliefs about potential policy outcomes seemed to shape actions. This was apparent as teachers and parents used Bikol for communication but continued to incorporate English and Filipino language into school and home life. In addition, they appeared to resist the usage of Bikol for academic language instead favoring English terminology. These actions appeared to be based on their perceptions of what would benefit students the most.

The *final research question* identified the major challenges that exist related to MTB-MLE implementation. Three themes arose in the data with respect to this question: the presence of a multilingual environment, difficulty translating academic language, and a lack of materials. First, the multilingual environment presented a challenge because it

added complexity to the teaching context. Teachers were unsure how to teach something in only Bikol when their everyday life was a blend of multiple languages. In addition, it seemed difficult to define one true mother tongue for a single classroom given the differences between families' home languages. Second, academic language was presented as a challenge due to the large number of technical terminology that could not be easily translated into Bikol. This primarily included math and science terms. Teachers did not know which terminology to use in class because they have traditionally borrowed words from English to name concepts. Parents also struggled to keep up with the higher-level Bikol terms and could not always help their children with homework as a result. Third, a lack of materials presented a challenge to implementation. Teachers were expected to pay for photocopying of the few materials provided, and they also spent many extra hours a week creating their own lesson aids. Parents described this challenge in relation to a lack of materials available for their home use. Since most materials are published in Filipino or English, it is nearly impossible to find materials in the local language.

Discussion of key findings

Results from this study suggested that there are some alignments between teachers and parents in regards to knowledge, beliefs, and practices, as well as misalignments between the national policy statements and local stakeholders. The study also revealed very little interaction across these groups to shape policy. Instead, the national level has acted in a unidirectional manner by enforcing the mandate without considering the perspectives of those at the local level (e.g., teachers and parents) or involving them in the process. Ricento and Hornberger's (1996) LPP onion model

highlighted the necessity of interactions and negotiation within and between the three levels of language policy: national (e.g., MTB-MLE policy statements), institutional (e.g., parents), and interpersonal (e.g., teachers). It is important to understand the space for these interactions and negotiations in the context of Spolsky's (2004, 2011) components of language policy. This section explains and interprets the findings of the study to understand how language management occurs between the national and local levels. It then discusses teachers' and parents' knowledge, beliefs, and practices to explore how they influence and are influenced by language management. Finally, it addresses the challenges in the policy environment to examine how an interactive management approach could address the issues.

Management. Language management was defined by Spolsky (2004) as a person or group that utilizes "direct efforts to manipulate the language situation" (p. 8). The results of this case study suggested that management does not only occur at the national level as it is typically thought, but that it also occurs at the ground level. While the national level demonstrated overt management through a top-down mandate, the local level was more covert and rarely recognized. Other authors have described similar covert policies in Peru (Valdiviezo 2013), Israel (Shohamy, 2010), and India (Mohanty, Panda, & Pal, 2010).

At the national level in the Philippines, DepEd disbursed policy guidelines across the country with the intent of developing consistently implemented MTB-MLE programs in every region. It has been assumed that implementation would occur in accordance with the policy statements. In reality, the policy statements have remained an ideological discourse that differs from actual practices (Mohanty, 2006; Shohamy, 2006). Local-level

stakeholders' knowledge, beliefs, and practices have quietly shaped the ways in which the policy was implemented in the classroom and at home. In this way, policy cannot be separated from practice since the actual policy *is* what is practiced (Sutton & Levinson, 2001).

The 2009 DepEd order appeared to recognize the role of teachers and parents in the MTB-MLE reform through calls to “promote and encourage local participation”, conduct “advocacy work and community mobilization”, and ensure “critical awareness, maximum participation, and support from the LGU, parents and community” (Philippines Department of Education, 2009, p. 4). However, little has been done to answer these calls for community awareness and involvement in the reform effort. Based on observations and conversations at the ground level, teachers' and parents' involvement in the process did not appear to be a priority to national-level management. Rather than being involved in a two-way collaboration, teachers received a top-down directive that assumed their compliance (Shohamy, 2006). Parents were hardly considered with the exception of informing them of the policy shift.

Several authors have suggested the importance of involvement from ground-level stakeholders in policy decision-making (Darling-Hammond, 1990; Elmore, 1983; Fullan, 2003), while others argue that local stakeholders make policy decisions all the time, whether it is recognized or not (Johnson & Freeman, 2010; Sutton & Levinson, 2001). Regardless, studies have shown that the most successful mother tongue policy initiatives have intentionally included local-level involvement as a key aspect of the reform (Chimbutane & Benson, 2012; Dekker & Young, 2005). In the current case study, local stakeholders' participation is prescribed from the national level rather than constructed

from ground where implementation actually occurs. This points to an important gap in management that may affect the long-term outcome of the policy.

It may be argued that language policy requires overt, rather than covert, policy management from the local level that is recognized and encouraged from the top. By not accounting for the perspectives of those at the ground level and including them in the decision-making process, policy makers at the national level assume that community stakeholders either agree with the policy or will implement it regardless of their viewpoints. DepEd's attempt to provide initial education in the mother tongue may then be obstructed due to a failure to include the local context in policy decisions (Darling-Hammond, 1990; Kaplan, 1990; Martin-Jones, 1995; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). This case study revealed the national-level attempts to inform local implementation through policy guidelines; yet, they were not informed by the knowledge, beliefs, and practices present at the local level.

Knowledge. While teachers and parents differed in their knowledge of the MTB-MLE policy, their awareness of the guidelines similarly came from the national level through a top-down approach. Teachers were trained through a cascade training model (Gilpin, 1997) that was collapsed into portions of a five-day training session. Parents received even less information about the policy as it was relayed to them through brief meetings with teachers or principals. In some cases, they had not heard of it at all. This demonstrated a weakened diffusion of knowledge (Gilpin, 1997; Wedell, 2005) in which information filtered down through a series of trainings. Just as Hayes (2000) claimed, the level of knowledge gained appears to be reduced to a trickle by the time it reaches the classroom teacher and parents, on whom the success of the reform depends. While

teachers and parents in this study were aware of the logistical aspects of the policy related to their specific roles, they had less understanding about the more nuanced aspects of the policy, including its rationale for implementation.

Cascade training models are frequently utilized in top-down policy structures, particularly in under-resourced contexts. While they are commonly viewed as fostering a weakening knowledge from one level to another, some authors have suggested collaboration at the local level as a way of reversing this effect (Bax, 2002; Hayes, 2000; Mwiroti, 1997). This approach was not utilized in the MTB-MLE implementation process, which restricted knowledge dissemination and awareness building to a one-way process. It relied on “expert knowledge” as the primary entity informing implementation and did not account for the “local knowledge” found at the ground level (Rajagopalan, 2005).

Despite the lack of national consideration for local knowledge, it was still present in teachers’ and parents’ understandings of policy requirement. Teachers and parents possessed their own “knowledge” about how language is best taught given their own experiences and observations (Rajagopalan, 2005). In the case of this study, teachers and parents focused on translation between languages as the commonsense approach to teaching language. It was not supported by the explicit policy statements but was implicitly understood to further develop literacy skills in more than one language. Teachers and parents clung to their local interpretations of how the policy could be best implemented and incorporated this knowledge into their beliefs and practices.

Beliefs. A ground-level perspective of language beliefs shows alignment between teachers’ and parents’ perspectives. When discussing the benefits of MTB-MLE, both

groups overwhelmingly noted the increased levels of student understanding. They rationalized the use of Bikol as a way to enhance classroom communication and comprehension. Teachers' and parents' views of this benefit focused on the short-term impact rather than long-term outcomes. While they could see the value of increased understanding in the first years of education, this benefit did not appear to extend to older grades. This may be the difference between what teachers and parents have observed and what they have not yet observed (Guskey, 2002). The immediate benefits were apparent, but it was more difficult for them to foresee how this advantage could extend to future grades.

Beyond their satisfaction for increased understanding, teachers' and parents' beliefs about literacy development outcomes were similarly aligned. However, the quantitative and qualitative data appeared to paint a contradictory picture about the nature of these beliefs. Survey data revealed agreement from both groups that mother tongue instruction would yield favorable outcomes regarding English proficiency, literacy, and overall school performance. However, the interview data points to skepticism of MTB-MLE as a viable approach for building literacy in second or third languages. The ironies of policy may be at play in this situation. As Hoyle and Wallace (2007) proposed, there is a difference between the policy as stated from a national level and its implementation at the local level. They specifically asserted that teachers may superficially represent their work in a way that aligns with the policy directives in order to present themselves in a way favored by DepEd. While seemingly contradictory, each data source offered valuable insight into teachers' and parents' beliefs. It seems that they wanted to appear obedient to DepEd through their outward support of MTB-MLE. However, their long-

held ideologies about language learning led them to implicitly question the policy. As such, their beliefs appeared to be simultaneously informed by national policy statements and local-level “knowledge”.

At the national level, the top-down approach may contribute to a culture of compliance amongst local stakeholders in which they represent themselves as carrying out their orders (Hoyle & Wallace, 2007; Shohamy, 2006). As this study showed, teachers and parents tended to paint a more favorable impression of the policy’s outcomes in the survey data and their surface-level comments about the reform in the interviews. It could be argued that this was a response to the expectations from DepEd about compliance. Teachers and parents stated their beliefs to be in alignment with the policy statements, even though deeper analysis revealed conflicting beliefs. This suggested the ability of teachers and parents to navigate back and forth between the way they want to be represented and the way they chose to adapt in the classroom and at home (Hoyle & Wallace, 2007). It may contribute to the presence of covert and divided language management at the local level.

On the other hand, deeper analysis of the qualitative results pointed to strong local ideologies about the value of English over Bikol. This appeared to influence participants’ beliefs about MTB-MLE outcomes. Their hesitance to believe in stronger development of English literacy as an outcome of MTB-MLE may have stemmed from deeply rooted views of Bikol as a deficit language. Instead, they held tightly to ideologies of English as a globalized language. Given the perceived economic opportunities associated with English, community members placed inherent value on the development of those literacy skills.

The globalization of English is widely written about in current literature on language policy and is particularly cited as a barrier to the retention of minority languages (Phillipson, 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Tollefson, 2008). In line with this research, teachers and parents desired English literacy for children and intuitively believed that the path to stronger English skills would stem from its greater usage in schools. The socio-economic advantages of English infiltrated local ideologies in this study and challenged teachers' and parents' beliefs about potential MTB-MLE policy outcomes.

Practices. Teachers and parents demonstrated overt compliance with DepEd directives citing this as a form of support. This explicit obedience is often confused with implicit support for the policy (Hoyle and Wallace, 2007; McCarty, 2011; Shohamy, 2006; Valdeviezo, 2010). Teachers specifically may be viewed as “servants of the system”, in which they unquestioningly carry out orders (Shohamy, 2006, p. 79). In reality, they are internalizing the policy based on their own experiences and understandings of the world (Silver & Skuja-Steele, 2005). While teachers may be seen as implementers of the policy, they are actually appropriating policy in the context of local language ideologies (Johnson & Freeman, 2010). In the case of this study, teachers aimed to meet the requirements of the policy but quietly resisted in accordance with their own beliefs.

The current study added parents to the list of policy implementers given their common desires to foster English literacy skills in their children. Family language policy has surfaced in recent years as implicit policy that shapes ideologies around language at a micro-level (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Caldas, 2013). Similar to teachers,

parents appeared to demonstrate overt expressions of support that appeared to be in compliance with DepEd orders on the outset but differed in their actual responses in the home. While parents have been primarily seen as shapers of language policy in the home rather than the school, this study argues that parents' practices are important determinants of overall policy outcomes. As previous research has suggested, implementation of language policy is particularly dependent upon the attitudes and involvement from parents in the community (Dekker & Young, 2005; Trudell, 2007). Parents are part of the complex language context within a community and are critical to the language decision-making process.

Despite teachers' and parents' relative alignment in their beliefs about MTB-MLE outcomes, interactions between groups were minimal. In other words, actions in support of and in resistance to MTB-MLE were carried out in separate spheres of influence. Teachers confined their work to the classroom and other school contexts, while parents acted in the home. While literature on language policy points to the importance of community engagement and involvement of many stakeholder groups on the same issue (Chimbutane & Benson, 2012; Dekker & Young, 2005), the community in this study was segregated in their actions. This separation may stem from the traditional nature of a top-down system where directives come from outside the community rather than from within. The perception that language policy is only carried out in schools conflicts with the embedded nature of language in the larger social context. This separatist view of language policy implementation may limit the policy's ability to take hold.

Challenges in the policy environment. This study examined the external influence of challenges on ground-level policy implementation. The three primary

challenges that surfaced were the multilingual environment, translation of academic language, and lack of materials. While these challenges shaped the policy environment, they appeared to be considered primarily by local management approaches, rather than the national level. Teachers and parents attempted to compensate for the challenges based on their own knowledge, beliefs, and practices, but the national level did very little to address them. Fullan (2003) suggested:

[O]ne of the basic reasons why planning fails is that planners or decision makers of change are unaware of the situations faced by potential implementers. They introduce changes without providing a means to identify and confront the situational constraints and without attempting to understand the values, ideas, and experiences of those who are essential for implementing any changes. (p. 98)

This led to a one-sided effort to deal with the challenges and produced exhaustion and feelings of isolation on the part of teachers and parents.

Further complicating this issue was the fact that there were minimal interactions between teachers and parents to collectively address the challenges. Instead, the challenges were dealt with separately within either home or school contexts. Teachers and parents selected which language variety to use, determined terminology for academic language, and created their own Bikol materials. While there was evidence of collaboration among teachers, they did not consider it appropriate for these interactions to include parents.

Literature has pointed to the importance of strategic involvement from the local level in these issues (Fullan, 2003; Darling-Hammond, 1990; Elmore, 1983), but it has also emphasized the importance of the national level in guiding the process (Matland,

1995). The national level must create space for addressing issues related to corpus planning, such as the academic terminology challenges. In most successful cases, this has occurred at the local level through community advisory groups but has been supported and encouraged from the national level. The challenge of limited materials also requires support from the national level to ensure that schools are adequately prepared for the policy shift. In addition, it requires joint efforts from teachers and parents at the local level to create culturally relevant stories that incorporate local knowledge (Dumatog & Dekker, 2003).

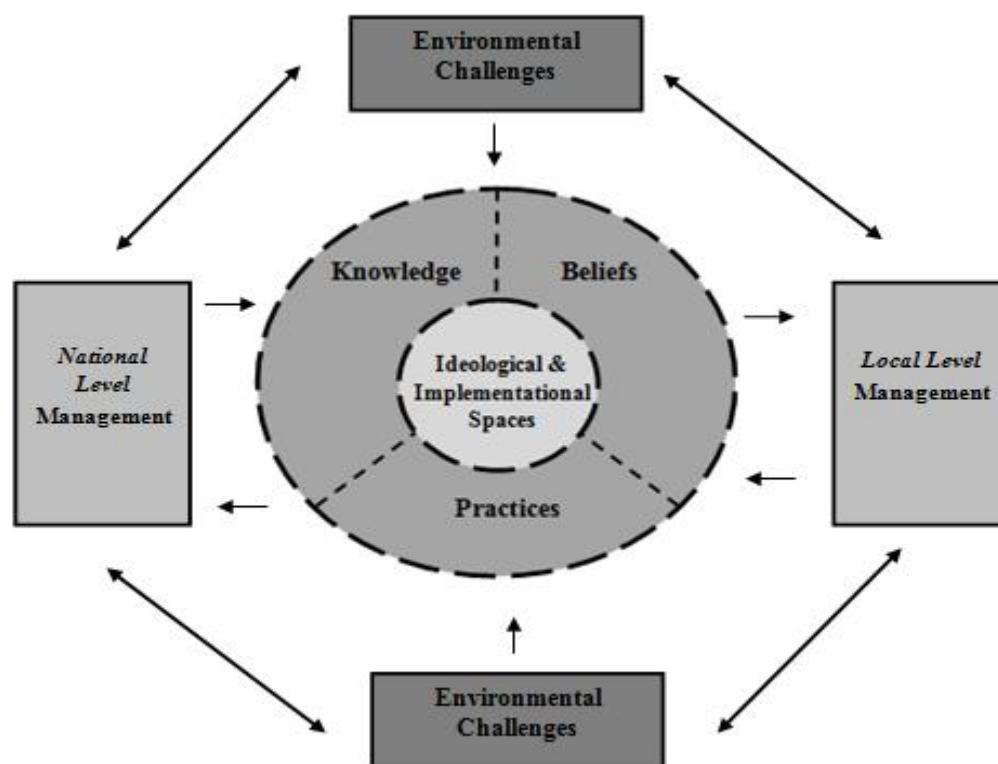
The challenges in the policy environment have restricted the growth of ideological and implementation spaces (Hornberger, 2002). While stakeholders attempted to address them at the local level, they were focused on in isolation rather than in collaboration. In addition, the national level failed to account for these challenges. This highlights the limited interactions that have occurred in implementing MTB-MLE in Kaibigan School District. The one-sided management approach was not able to consider the ways in which the challenges uniquely present themselves within each community. Therefore, interactive language management within and between local and national levels may be critical to the success of the policy. Without these interactions, the policy challenges will not be adequately addressed.

Theoretical Implications

Two theoretical frameworks informed this study. First, Ricento and Hornberger's (1996) onion model depicts the different levels of language policy and planning. (See figure 2.) It points to the interaction and negotiation within and between levels as important to the overall policy process. For this study, it provided a framework for

analyzing the interactions between teachers, parents, and national-level policy. Second, Spolsky's (2004, 2011) theory about language policy was utilized with specific attention to the three components he identified as essential to the process: beliefs, practices, and management. (See figure 1.) This theory highlights the inter-related nature of these components in language policy implementation and provides a focus on three critical aspects to examine. While these two frameworks were useful for understanding the ground-level implementation of MTB-MLE in one school district, a new framework is proposed as a result of the findings from this study. (See figure 3.) It includes elements from each of the previous models but positions ideological and implementation spaces (Hornberger, 2002) at the heart of the image.

Figure 3. Proposed language policy model



Ideological and implementational spaces are central to language policy (Hornberger, 2002). They are either created or restricted depending on the existing environment. The results from this study suggest that ideological and implementational spaces occur where language knowledge, language beliefs, and language practices intersect at the local level. Furthermore, the knowledge, beliefs, and practices interact with one another to shape the policy spaces in a complex manner. They each influence and are influenced by the other.

Language management has traditionally been discussed as a top-down approach in which unidirectional national management strategies target the local level but not vice versa. However, findings from this research revealed the additional presence of local management strategies. Despite their covert nature in this study, local-level management influenced the appropriation of the policy within the community. This demonstrates the dual nature of management on the creation of ideological and implementational spaces. National and local-level management must interact in order to most effectively create spaces for a policy. They must operate in a multidirectional manner with each considering the perspectives of the other.

This model also depicts the influence of environmental challenges on the ideological and implementational spaces. These forces shape the knowledge, beliefs, and practices at the local level while also impacting management approaches. In return, the management strategies can influence the extent to which the challenges are barriers to the creation of language policy spaces. Through collaboration, these challenges can be weakened.

Taken as a whole, this model represents the ideological and implementational spaces for language policy. As the national and local levels interact with each other in a multidirectional manner, the spaces widen. Limited interactions and a unidirectional approach restrict the growth of these spaces. Knowledge, beliefs, and practices should reflect the reciprocal exchanges between local and national levels with consideration for the contextualized nature of the policy. It is a complex process that depends on interactions across many players.

Practical Implications

Results from this study can inform language policy processes being undertaken in other multilingual contexts. In particular, the results point to the importance of examining the ways in which local stakeholders understand and enact national language policies. Three primary practical implications are discussed in this section: stakeholder collaboration, influence of ideologies, and overt vs covert practices.

Stakeholder collaboration. Imbalance is created when a policy such as MTB-MLE is implemented from a unidirectional approach that does not consider or utilize local stakeholders. It is uncertain whether the reform can reach its full impact without involvement from those at the local level in policy decisions. Teachers' and parents' knowledge, beliefs, and practices naturally inform the way in which a policy is implemented but are often not considered in national-level planning. Collaboration within and between national and local stakeholder groups is suggested as the most suitable way of implementing policy. However, this approach is more time intensive and costly than a singular top-down strategy, which is likely the reason it is not more frequently utilized.

Influence of ideologies. Ideologies are formed through long political, historical, and socio-cultural processes and cannot be shifted through policy statements alone. Policies that are enacted without consideration for local and national ideologies around language are at risk for failure. This study noted the effect of deeply held ideologies on teachers' and parents' beliefs about the policy outcomes and language practices. Despite explicit policy statements limiting the usage of English to its own subject area in grades one through three, teachers and parents showed an underlying commitment to infuse English into lessons and conversations where it was possible. This enforced the deficit perspective held by many that minority languages are not as valuable as world languages. In situations where this deficit viewpoint is prevalent, community members may view a mother tongue education policy as an effort to marginalize minority language speakers even further.

While language ideologies are typically fairly stable within communities, it is noteworthy that participants in this study began to challenge some of their existing language beliefs based on initial observations of MTB-MLE. Rather than viewing all aspects of MTB-MLE as undesirable, teachers and parents expressed value in the effect of mother tongue instruction on student understanding. They viewed this outcome as a welcome change to the previous approach which left students confused and disengaged in their learning. Given the short period of implementation, it is impressive that the participants in this study had such a positive perspective on this aspect of MTB-MLE. Beyond grade one, the benefit did not hold as much power, but it shows an opening in the ideological window that could be capitalized upon. This viewpoint did not stem from a

top-down structure in which DepEd imposed the belief; rather, it grew from observations in the classroom and at home.

Overt vs. covert practices. A final implication of this study's findings relates to overt and covert language policy. While teachers and parents spoke of obedience and offered outward statements of support for the policy, they quietly expressed hesitance about the impact on students. Their covert beliefs and actions of resistance in the classroom and homes appeared in contrast to the overt compliance to the policy guidelines. This suggests a difference between the overt and covert nature of policy. One cannot assume that a policy will be implemented simply because a directive has been issued. It seems challenging for an outsider to truly understand what happens at the ground level because teachers and parents are accustomed to presenting an image of compliance. Involvement from the local stakeholders in the planning process could lessen the ambiguity about how a national policy is actually implemented at the ground level.

Future Research

This study opens the door for future research on MTB-MLE in the Philippines or in other countries implementing top-down language policy. Very few studies have been done on the implications of national-level MTB-MLE policy implementation in the Philippines because it is such a new reform. In addition, other countries have similarly grappled with the dilemma of incorporating mother tongue education through a national approach. Three suggestions are offered here for additional studies.

First, the current study only included grade one parents and teachers. As grade two and grade three are gradually phased in to the policy, research could consider the perspectives of ground-level stakeholders from these grade levels. Since this study found

that most teachers and parents valued MTB-MLE for grade one, but not future grades, it would be beneficial to assess the possible changes in older grades. This could also be supported by a longitudinal study that considers changes in teachers' and parents' understandings and actions over time.

A second area for future research could be a comparative perspective between communities in which MTB-MLE is being enforced from a top-down directive and others that are building the reform from the bottom up. In the Philippines there are several instances of NGO-supported communities (e.g., Save the Children sites in Mindanao) that are working together to plan and implement MTB-MLE. It would be informative to identify ways in which stakeholders' understandings and actions differ between these two contexts.

A final area for consideration moves beyond the perspective of teachers and parents to include that of other stakeholders. In particular, attention to students' experiences would provide greater richness to the data. Observational data could offer valuable insight into the way in which MTB-MLE policy is practiced in the classroom. A focus on students brings to light the story of what is happening for those whom the policy was intended.

Conclusion

This study examined the ways in which teachers and parents in one community in the Philippines understand and enact MTB-MLE. It situated ground-level language policy implementation into the context of a top-down national reform. Previous research on language policy has pointed to teachers as being central to the implementation process (Hornberger, 1996; Mohanty, 2010; Silver & Skuja-Steele, 2005), while other studies

have suggested the importance of parental attitudes to shifts in language-in-education policies (Iyamu & Ogiegbaen, 2007; Trudell, 2007). However, this study is one of the few that simultaneously considers the knowledge, beliefs, and practices of teachers and parents. This approach to analyzing language policy from a broadened local perspective contributed to the development of the proposed framework, which suggests a presence of both national and local-level management of language policy. Drawing on this framework, this final section summarizes the main conclusions of the study.

Teachers and parents in this case study showed points of alignment in their knowledge, beliefs, and practices around language. Despite these similarities, their interactions around language were mostly confined to their own spheres of influence: either the classroom or home. As such, efforts to understand and enact MTB-MLE were often divided between stakeholder groups. Few attempts were made to collaborate across levels. This lack of a unified effort may have contributed to the perception among teachers and parents that the policy was being done *to* them rather than *with* them.

Overt national policy was recognizable within the community through the knowledge, beliefs, and practices of teachers and parents. However, more covert examples of local management were observed in subtle and nearly unrecognizable ways. Teachers' and parents' actions at school and at home shape the direction of language policy and are influenced by their own perceptions. In the current situation, management appeared to be unidirectional from the top down, but as the data suggested it is also occurring at the bottom. Until these quiet approaches are recognized by the local and national levels, interactions and negotiations across levels will not be multidirectional.

Moving from covert to overt local management is about creating spaces for community involvement and decision-making in the policy.

Results from this study suggest that ideological and implementational spaces are created in the interactions within and between stakeholder groups. They are restricted when policy is managed unidirectionally without consideration for the local context. Spolsky and Shohamy (2000) offer a vivid analogy that represents two policy making approaches with images of waves. The first is of a semi-mythical Danish king named Canute who unsuccessfully commanded the waves of the sea to stop. The second is a surfer who utilized skills and awareness of the tides, winds, and currents in order to navigate safely and effectively over the rough seas.

It is clear that Canute's approach to stopping the waves is ineffective, just as a singular top-down approach to MTB-MLE cannot produce the desired outcomes. However, the surfer too will still be upended by the sea occasionally. Knowing the local context is important to language policy, just as it is to surfing, but it is arguably not enough. A third image focuses on the fish that are part of the sea. Their perspective on the waves differs greatly from Canute and the surfer who look down from the top of the ocean rather than from the bottom up. From the vantage point of the fish, the waves may be nonexistent or could offer a different set of challenges.

In applying this analogy to MTB-MLE, policy makers are offered a choice. They can choose to issue top-down directives that either do or do not consider the local context, or they can involve those that are closest to the situation in the decision-making processes. As this study demonstrated, teachers and parents both play a role in the way national language policy is understood and enacted at the ground level. Their

involvement and the interactions between them contribute to the opening or restricting of ideological and implementational spaces. These are the spaces upon which policy success depends.

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Appendix A
Map of the Philippines



Appendix B

Teacher Focus Group Protocol

Introduction: Mayad na aga po sa inyo lahat. Ako po si Lisa Burton. Peace Corps Volunteer ako sa San Andres hari 2003 hanggang 2005. Ngunyan gatrabaho ako sa Minnesota sa Hamline University buda ga-adal ako para doctoral degree sa University of Minnesota. Mabalos para sa participation nyo sa group interview ini. Ang topic ang Mother tongue-based multilingual education. Gusto ko mag-salita sa inyo kasi batid ko ang mga titser ang pinaka-importante sa education ning mga estudiante.

- This focus group will take about one hour.
- Your answers will be used as part of my research study to learn about your beliefs regarding mother tongue-based multilingual education.
- I will be recording this interview and all of your responses will be kept confidential.
- If at any time you choose not to participate, you are free to leave.

School: _____

Gender: ___Male ___Female (record numbers)

Grade: _____ Grade 1 _____ Grade 2 _____ Grade 3 (record numbers)

Please sign your name, number, and email address (if you have one) so I can be in contact if I have any questions.

1. Please go around in a circle and tell me your name, grade you teach, and number of years you have been a teacher.
2. Tell me about the language you use in your classroom. (Bikol, Filipino, English)

Probes: When do you use each language? Which do you prefer? For which purpose? What are students' responses to each language?

3. Recently the Department of Education issued an order for instruction in grades 1-3 to be in the mother tongue. What can you tell me about mother tongue-based multilingual education (MLE)? How does the order affect you?

Probes: How would you (or do you) use MLE in your classroom? What have you had to change? What is the same? What besides the language is different (materials, pedagogy, etc.)?

4. What do you think will happen when students learn in Bikol during the early grades? In English?

Probes: What are the benefits and disadvantages? What are the short-term and long-term effects? How will it affect the students? How will it affect the teachers? How will it affect their families? How will it affect the whole community?

5. What do you think of MLE?

Probes: Why do you think it should be used in the classroom or not used in the classroom? How important is this issue to you and other teachers? Is it more or less important than other parts of education?

6. If a teacher supports MLE, what might he or she do? If a teacher does not support MLE, what might he or she do?

Probes: Consider materials, talking with parents/teachers, extra work, etc.) Which is more common? What have you observed?

7. What challenges make MLE difficult in your school?

Probes: Consider resources/materials, training, and teacher/parent attitudes. What do you do about the challenges? Will these challenges always be present or will they fade over time? Is this a realistic change?

8. What resources are available to help you implement MLE?

Probes: Consider materials, training, teacher/parent attitudes, and other support. How do you utilize these resources? Will these increase or decrease over time? Why?

9. What else would you like to tell me about MLE?

Probes: What would you want policy makers to know?

Thank you for your time and help in giving me a greater understanding of mother tongue-based multilingual education in your school.

Appendix C

Parent Focus Group Protocol

Introduction: Mayad na aga po sa inyo lahat. Ako po si Lisa Burton. Peace Corps Volunteer ako sa San Andres hari 2003 hanggang 2005. Ngunyan gatrabaho ako sa Minnesota sa Hamline University buda ga-adal ako para doctoral degree sa University of Minnesota. Mabalos para sa participation nyo sa group interview ini. Ang topic ang Mother tongue-based multilingual education. Gusto ko mag-salita sa inyo kasi batid ko ang mga magurang ang pinaka-importante sa education ning mga estudiante.

- This focus group will take about one hour.
- Your answers will be used as part of my research study to learn about your beliefs regarding languages in school
- I will be recording this interview and all of your responses will be kept confidential.
- If at any time you choose not to participate, you are free to leave.

School: _____

Gender: ___Male ___Female (record numbers)

Grade: _____ Grade 1 _____ Other (record numbers)

Please sign your name, number, and email address (if you have one) so I can be in contact if I have any questions.

1. Please go around in a circle and tell me your name and the grades of your children.
2. What language(s) do you want your children to learn in at school? What language do they currently learn in? What language do grade one pupils currently learn in? Which do you prefer? For what purpose?
3. Recently the Department of Education issued an order for instruction in grades 1-3 to be in the mother tongue. What can you tell me about mother tongue-based multilingual education (MLE)? How does the order affect your children?

Probes: What have you heard about MLE? What are teachers supposed to do? What is different about a classroom that uses MLE? What is the same? (Consider materials, pedagogy, etc.)

4. What do you think will happen when students learn in Bikol in the early grades? In English?

Probes: What are the benefits and disadvantages? What are the short-term and long-term effects? How will it affect the students? How will it affect the teachers? How will it affect families? How will it affect the whole community?

5. What do you think of MLE?

Probes: Why do you think it should be used in the classroom or not used in the classroom? How important is this issue to you and other parents? Is it more or less important than other parts of education?

6. If a parent supports MLE, what might he or she do? If a parent does not support MLE, what might he or she do?

Probes: Consider materials, talking with teachers/parents, extra work, etc. Which is more common? What have you observed?

7. What opportunities do you have to be involved in MLE?

Probes: How can you help teachers? How can you help your child or other children? How important is it for parents to be involved? Have you been asked to be involved? What prevents you?

8. What else would you like to tell me about MLE?

Probes: What would you want policy makers to know?

Thank you for your time and help in giving me a greater understanding of mother tongue-based multilingual education.

Appendix D
Teacher Survey

SECTION 1: Demographics

Instructions: Please fill in the blank or mark an "X" next to your answer.

School: _____

Grade you teach (mark all that apply): ___Grade 1 ___Grade 2 ___Grade 3

Gender: ___Male ___Female

Position: ___Teacher I ___Teacher II ___Teacher III

___ Master Teacher I ___ Master Teacher II

Number of years teaching, including this year: _____

SECTION 2: Language Learning

Instructions: Think about grades 1-3 children in Catanduanes when you read the following statements. Indicate how strongly you agree with the statement by circling your answer.

1=Strongly Disagree 2=Disagree 3=Agree 4=Strongly Agree

- | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Children who can read and write in Bikol will be able to learn English easier than children who cannot read and write in Bikol. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Children will do better in school if they learn to read and write in Bikol first. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 3. Learning math and science in Bikol helps children do better in those subjects. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 4. When children learn to read and write in Bikol, it is easier to learn to read and write in English later. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 5. In the early grades, it is better for students to learn in English than Bikol. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 6. Using Bikol to teach children has negative effects for when they learn English. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 7. Children will learn English best if English is the only language spoken in their classroom. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 8. Learning in Bikol might be confusing for children. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

SECTION 3: Classroom Instruction

Instructions: Indicate the importance of each item by circling your answer.

1=Not important 2=Somewhat important 3=Important 4=Very important

9. How important do you think it is for grade 1 children to...
- | | | | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| a. | learn to read in Bikol? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| b. | learn to write in Bikol? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| c. | speak in Bikol? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| d. | listen to the teacher speak Bikol? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
10. How important do you think it is for grade 1 teachers to...
- | | | | | | |
|----|--|---|---|---|---|
| a. | instruct in Bikol? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| b. | create lessons related to life in Catanduanes? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| c. | involve parents in writing Bikol stories? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
11. What language does the Department of Education require students in grades 1-3 to learn in?
- | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | English only | <input type="checkbox"/> | English and Filipino | <input type="checkbox"/> | Bikol only |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Bikol with English and Filipino as a subject | <input type="checkbox"/> | I don't know | | |
12. What language do you think grade 1-3 students should learn in at school?
- | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | English only | <input type="checkbox"/> | English and Filipino | <input type="checkbox"/> | Bikol only |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Bikol with English and Filipino as a subject | <input type="checkbox"/> | I don't know | | |
13. Have you heard of mother tongue-based multilingual education? Yes No
- a. If yes, what do you know about it?
-
-

SECTION 4: Implementation

Instructions: Please read the question and mark an "X" next to your answer.

14. If yes, how many days of training have you had in mother tongue-based multilingual education (MLE)?

0 days 1-2 days 3-4 days 5-6 days 7 or more days

15. How prepared do you feel to implement mother tongue-based MLE in your classroom?

Not prepared Somewhat unprepared Prepared Very prepared

16. How similar is mother tongue-based MLE to the way you taught last year?

Very different Somewhat different Somewhat similar Very similar

17. How much extra work will it take for you to use mother tongue-based MLE in your classroom?

No extra work A little extra work Some extra work Lots of extra work

18. How difficult will it be to implement mother tongue-based MLE in your classroom?

Very difficult Somewhat difficult Somewhat easy Very easy

19. What is the likelihood that grade 1-3 teachers in your school will use mother tongue-based teaching *next year*?

Very unlikely Somewhat unlikely Somewhat likely Very likely

20. What is the likelihood that primary grade teachers in your school will use mother tongue-based teaching *in five years*?

Very unlikely Somewhat unlikely Somewhat likely Very likely

21. What is the likelihood that primary grade teachers in your school will use mother tongue-based teaching *in ten years*?

Very unlikely Somewhat unlikely Somewhat likely Very likely

Appendix E
Pagsusuri sa Guro (Teacher Survey)

PANGKAT 1: Demograpiko

Panuto: Punan ang mga patlang, markahan ng “ X ” sa tabi ng iyong sagot.

Paaralan: _____

Baitang na tinuturuan (markahan ang lahat na nararapat):

___Baitang 1 ___Baitang 2 ___Baitang 3

Kasarian: ___Lalake ___Babae

Posisyon: ___Teacher I ___Teacher II ___Teacher III
 ___Master Teacher I ___Master Teacher II

Bilang ng taon sa pagtuturo, kasama ang kasalukuyang taon: _____

PANGKAT 2: Pag-aaral sa Wika

Panuto: Pag-isipan ang tungkol sa mga bata na nasa baitang 1-3 sa Catanduanes habang binabasa ang mga sumusunod na pahayag. Ipahiwatig ang inyong pagsangayon sa pahayag sa pamamagitan ng pagbilog sa sagot.

*1=Malakas na Hindi Pagsang-ayon 2=Hindi Sang-ayon
3=Sang-ayon 4=Malakas na Pagsang-ayon*

- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Ang mga batang marunong magbasa at magsulat sa salitang Bikol ay madaling matuto sa Ingles kaysa sa mga batang hindi marunong magbasa at magsulat sa salitang Bikol. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Ang mga bata ay mas mahusay sa paaralan kung mauuna silang matutong magbasa at magsulat sa salitang Bikol. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 3. Ang pag-aaral ng Matematika at Agham sa salitang Bikol ay makakatulong sa mga bata upang mas maging mahusay sa nasabing mga asignatura. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 4. Kapag ang mga bata ay natutong magbasa at magsulat sa salitang Bikol ay mas madaling matutong magbasa at magsulat ng Ingles sa kinalaunan. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 5. Mas makakabuti para sa mga mag-aaral ang matuto gamit ang wikang Ingles kaysa salitang Bikol sa unang pagpasok pa lamang nila. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

				144	
6.	Ang paggamit ng salitang Bikol sa pagtuturo sa mga bata ay may negatibong epekto para sila ay matuto sa Ingles.	1	2	3	4
7.	Ang mga bata ay matututo ng mahusay na Ingles kung TANGING Ingles lamang ang gagamitin sa silid-aralan.	1	2	3	4
8.	Ang pag-aaral sa pamamagitan ng salitang Bikol ay maaaring nakakalito para sa mga bata.	1	2	3	4

PANGKAT 3: Paksang silid-aralan

*Panuto: Bilugan ang sagot sa mga sumusunod ayon sa inyong **pagpapahalaga**.*

1=Walang halaga 2=Hindi gaanong mahalaga 3= Mahalaga 4=Sobrang mahalaga

9.	Gaano kahalaga ang mga sumusunod para sa mga mag-aaral ng grade 1-3...				
	e. matutong magbasa sa salitang Bikol ?	1	2	3	4
	f. matutong magsulat sa salitang Bikol?	1	2	3	4
	g. magsalita sa Bikol sa paaralan ?	1	2	3	4
	h. makinig sa gurong nagtuturo sa pamamagitan ng salitang Bikol?	1	2	3	4
10.	Gaano kahalaga ang mga sumusunod bilang isang guro ng grade 1-3.....				
	a. magturo gamit ang salitang Bikol?	1	2	3	4
	b. gumawa ng mga leksyon base sa kultura at pamumuhay sa Catanduanes?	1	2	3	4
	c. hikayatin ang mga magulang na sumulat ng mga kwentong Bikol?	1	2	3	4
11.	Ayon sa DepEd, anong wika ang kinakailangang matutunan ng mga mag-aaral sa Baitang 1-3?				
	_____ Ingles lamang _____ Ingles at Filipino _____ Bikol lamang				
	_____ Bikol kasama Ingles at Filipino bilang isang subject _____ Hindi ko alam				
12.	Anong salita sa palagay mo ang dapat na matutunan ng mga mag-aaral sa Baitang 1-3?				
	_____ Ingles lamang _____ Ingles at Filipino _____ Bikol lamang				
	_____ Bikol kasama Ingles at Filipino bilang isang subject _____ Hindi ko alam				

13. Narinig mo na ba ang “Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education”?

___ Oo ___ Hindi

a. Kung oo, ibigay ang inyong opinyon.

PANGKAT 4: Implementasyon

Panuto: Punan ang mga patlang at markahan ng “X” sa tabi ng inyong sagot.

14. Mga bilang ng araw ng iyong pagsasanay sa “Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education”?

___ 0 araw ___ 1-2 araw ___ 3-4 araw ___ 5-6 araw ___ 7 o maraming araw

15. Sa iyong palagay, gaano ka kahanda na ipatupad ang “Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education” sa iyong silid-aralan?

___ Hindi handa ___ Hindi gaanong handa ___ Handa ___ Handang-handa

16. May pagkakahalintulad ba ang “Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education” sa paraan ng iyong pagtuturo noong nakaraang taon?

___ Malaki ang pagkaiba ___ May pagkakaiba ___ May pagkakatulad ___ Magkatulad

17. Gaano karami ang maidagdag na trabaho sa iyo sa pagpapatupad ng “Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education”?

___ Walang karagdagang gawain ___ Katamtamang gawain
 ___ Kaunting dagdag na gawain ___ Maraming karagdagang gawain

18. Gaano ito kahirap upang isakatuparan ang “Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education” sa silid-aralan?

___ Napakahirap ___ Medyo mahirap ___ Medyo madali ___ Napakadali

19. Gaano ka kasigurado na ang mga guro sa una hanggang ikatlong baitang ng inyong paaralan ay gagamitin ang “Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education” sa *susunod na taon*?

___ Walang kasiguraduhan ___ May kasiguraduhan
 ___ Hindi nasisiguro ___ Siguradong-sigurado

20. Gaano ka kasigurado na ang mga guro sa una hanggang katlong baitang ng inyong paaralan ay gagamitin ang “Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education” sa pagtuturo *sa susunod na limang taon?*

___ Walang kasiguraduhan

___ May kasiguraduhan

___ Hindi nasisiguro

___ Siguradong-sigurado

21. Gaano ka kasigurado na ang mga guro sa una hanggang katlong baitang ng inyong paaralan ay gagamitin ang “Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education” sa pagtuturo *sa susunod na sampung taon?*

___ Walang kasiguraduhan

___ May kasiguraduhan

___ Hindi nasisiguro

___ Siguradong-sigurado

Appendix F
Parent Survey

SECTION 1: Demographics

Instructions: Please fill in the blank or mark an "X" next to the correct answer.

School attended by your child: _____

Current grade(s) of your children: (mark all that apply)

____ Grade 1 ____ Grade 2 ____ Grade 3 ____ Grade 4 ____ Grade 5 ____ Grade 6

____ High School (year/level:____) ____ College

Your Gender: ____ Male ____ Female

Your highest level of education:

____ Elementary ____ Secondary ____ Vocational ____ College

SECTION 2: Language Learning

Instructions: Think about grades 1-3 children in Catanduanes when you read the following statements. Indicate how strongly you agree with the statement by circling your answer.

1=Strongly Disagree 2=Disagree 3=Agree 4=Strongly Agree

- | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Children who can read and write in Bikol will be able to learn English easier than children who cannot read and write in Bikol. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Children will do better in school if they learn to read and write in Bikol first. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 3. Learning math and science in Bikol helps children do better in those subjects. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 4. When children learn to read and write in Bikol, it is easier to learn to read and write in English later. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 5. In the early grades, it is better for students to learn in English than Bikol. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

- | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|
| 6. Using Bikol to teach children has negative effects for when they learn English. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 7. Children will learn English best if English is the only language spoken in their classroom. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 8. Learning in Bikol might be confusing for children. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

SECTION 3: Classroom Instruction

Instructions: Indicate the importance of each item by circling your answer.

1=Not important 2=Somewhat important 3=Important 4=Very important

9. How important do you think it is for grade 1 children to...
- | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| i. learn to read in Bikol? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| j. learn to write in Bikol? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| k. speak in Bikol? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| l. listen to the teacher speak Bikol? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
10. How important do you think it is for grade 1 teachers to...
- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. instruct in Bikol? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| b. create lessons related to life in Catanduanes? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| c. involve parents in writing Bikol stories? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
11. What language does the Department of Education require students in grades 1-3 to learn in?
- | | | |
|---|---|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> English only | <input type="checkbox"/> English and Filipino | <input type="checkbox"/> Bikol only |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bikol with English and Filipino as a subject | | <input type="checkbox"/> I don't know |
12. What language do you think grades 1-3 children should learn in?
- | | | |
|---|---|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> English only | <input type="checkbox"/> English and Filipino | <input type="checkbox"/> Bikol only |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bikol with English and Filipino as a subject | | <input type="checkbox"/> I don't know |

13. Have you heard of mother tongue-based multilingual education? ____ Yes ____ No

b. If yes, what do you know about it?

c. If yes, who has told you about it? _____

Appendix G
Pagsusuri sa mga Magulang (Parent Survey)

PANGKAT 1: Demograpika

Panuto: Punan ang mga patlang, markahan ng " X " sa tabi ng iyong sagot.

Paaralang pinapasukan ng inyong mga anak: _____

Kasalukuyang antas ng inyong anak: *(markahan lahat na naaayon)*

___Baitang 1 ___Baitang 2 ___Baitang 3 ___Baitang 4 ___Baitang 5 ___Baitang 6

___High School (year/level:_____) ___ Kolehiyo

Kasarian mo: ___Lalake ___Babae

Pinakamataas na antas ng pinag-aralan naabot mo:

___Elementarya ___Sekondarya ___Bokasyonal ___Kolehiyo

PANGKAT 2: Pag-aaral sa Wika

Panuto: Pag-isipan ang tungkol sa mga bata na nasa baitang 1-3 sa Catanduanes habang binabasa ang mga sumusunod na pahayag. Ipahiwatig ang inyong pagsangayon sa pahayag sa pamamagitan ng pagbilog sa sagot.

*1=Malakas na Hindi Pagsang-ayon 2=Hindi Sang-ayon
3=Sang-ayon 4=Malakas na Pagsang-ayon*

- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Ang mga batang marunong magbasa at magsulat sa salitang Bikol ay madaling matuto sa Ingles kaysa sa mga batang hindi marunong magbasa at magsulat sa salitang Bikol. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. Ang mga bata ay mas mahusay sa paaralan kung mauuna silang matutong magbasa at magsulat sa salitang Bikol. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 3. Ang pag-aaral ng Matematika at Agham sa salitang Bikol ay makakatulong sa mga bata upang mas maging mahusay sa nasabing mga asignatura. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 4. Kapag ang mga bata ay natutong magbasa at magsulat sa salitang Bikol ay mas madaling matutong magbasa at magsulat ng Ingles sa kinalaunan. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5. Mas makakabuti para sa mga mag-aaral ang matuto gamit ang wikang Ingles kaysa salitang Bikol sa unang pagpasok pa lamang nila. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 6. Ang paggamit ng salitang Bikol sa pagtututro sa mga bata ay may negatibong epekto para sila ay matuto sa Ingles. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 7. Ang mga bata ay matututo ng mahusay na Ingles kung TANGING Ingles lamang ang gagamitin sa silid-aralan. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 8. Ang pag-aaral sa pamamagitan ng salitang Bikol ay maaaring nakakalito para sa mga bata. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

PANGKAT 3: Paksang silid-aralan

*Panuto: Bilugan ang sagot sa mga sumusunod ayon sa inyong **pagpapahalaga**.*

1=Walang halaga 2=Hindi gaanong mahalaga 3= Mahalaga 4=Sobrang mahalaga

- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9. Gaano kahalaga ang mga sumusunod para sa inyong anak na nasa Unang Baitang.... | | | | |
| a. matutong magbasa sa salitang Bikol ? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| b. matutong magsulat sa salitang Bikol? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| c. magsalita sa Bikol sa paaralan ? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| d. makinig sa gurong nagtuturo sa pamamagitan ng salitang Bikol? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 10. Gaano kahalaga sa guro ng inyong anak sa Unang Baitang ang..... | | | | |
| a. magturo gamit ang salitang Bikol? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| b. gumawa ng mga leksyon base sa kultura at pamumuhay sa Catanduanes? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| c. hikayatin ang mga magulang na sumulat ng mga kwentong Bikol? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 11. Ayon sa DepEd, anong wika ang kinakailangang matutunan ng mga mag-aaral sa Baitang 1-3? | | | | |

_____ Ingles lamang	_____ Ingles at Filipino	_____ Bikol lamang
_____ Bikol kasama Ingles at Filipino bilang isang subject		_____ Hindi ko alam

12. Anong salita sa palagay mo ang dapat na matutunan ng mga mag-aaral sa Baitang 1-3?

___ Ingles lamang ___ Ingles at Filipino ___ Bikol lamang
___ Bikol kasama Ingles at Filipino bilang isang subject ___ Hindi ko alam

13. Narinig mo na ba ang “Mother Tongue-based multilingual education”?

___ Oo ___ Hindi

a. Kung oo, ibigay ang inyong opinyon.

b. Kung oo, kanino o sino ang nagbahagi sayo ukol dito?

Appendix H
Classroom Observation Protocol

School: _____

Subject: _____

Date: _____

Time began: _____ Time ended: _____

	Observations	Interpretations
Teachers' language usage		
Students' language usage		
Teachers' comfort level		
Students' responsiveness		
Cultural relevance of materials		
Other observations		

Appendix I
Teacher Interview Protocol

Introduction: Thank you for offering to participate in this study on Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education in the Philippines. This interview will take about 30-45 minutes. Your answers will be used as part of a dissertation study to learn about teachers' views on their students' language learning. I will be recording this interview and all of your responses will be kept confidential.

School: _____

Gender: ___Male ___Female

Position: ___Teacher I ___Teacher II ___Teacher III
___Master Teacher I ___Master Teacher II

What have you done to implement MTB-MLE this year?

What outcomes have you observed from MTB-MLE?

What are your opinions about MTB-MLE?

What challenges have you faced? How have you addressed them?

Why do you think this policy is being implemented?

Appendix J
Parent Interview Protocol

Introduction: Thank you for offering to participate in this study on Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education in the Philippines. This interview will take about 30-45 minutes. Your answers will be used as part of a dissertation study to learn about parents' views on their students' language learning. I will be recording this interview and all of your responses will be kept confidential.

School: _____

Gender: ___Male ___Female

What outcomes have you observed from MTB-MLE?

What are your opinions about MTB-MLE?

What are parents' responsibilities in MTB-MLE?

What challenges have you faced? How have you addressed them?

Why do you think this policy is being implemented?

Appendix K

Study Information Sheet

You are invited to be in a research study about language learning. You were selected as a possible participant because you are currently a teacher or parent in Catanduanes. Please read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study. This study is being conducted by Lisa Burton, a graduate student at the University of Minnesota.

Background Information

The purpose of this study is to examine how the mother tongue-based multilingual education policy is understood and supported in the Philippines. It will compare the perspectives of teachers and parents.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to participate in a survey, focus group, and/or interview conducted by the researcher. The survey will take approximately 15 minute to complete, the focus group will take about one hour, and the interview will take about 30 minutes. The interviews and focus groups will be audio recorded.

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study:

The study has no risks and no benefits.

Confidentiality:

The records of this study will be kept private. Participants will not be able to be identified in any publications that result from this study. Research documents and audio recordings will be stored securely and will only be accessed by the researcher.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

Contacts and Questions:

The researcher conducting this study is Lisa Burton. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, **you are encouraged** to contact her at (612) 388-2330, burt0209@umn.edu. Other questions may be directed to Dr. David Chapman, Lisa's academic advisor and a professor in Organizational Leadership, Policy and Development at the University of Minnesota, at chapm026@umn.edu, (612) 626-8728.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s), **you are encouraged** to contact the Research Subjects' Advocate Line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; (612) 625-1650.

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Appendix L

Study Information Sheet (Tagalog)

Inanyayahan kayo sa pagsali sa pananaliksik tungkol sa pag-aaral ng wika. Isa po kayo sa mga kalahok na maaaring mapili dahil sa kayo ay kasalukuyang guro o magulang sa Catanduanes. Basahin ng mabuti at magtanong ng anuman na mga katanungan bago pumayag na sasali sa pag-aaral na ito. Ang pananaliksik na ito ay isinasagawa ni Lisa Burton, estudyante na nag tapos sa University of Minnesota.

Pinagdaanang Inpormasyon:

Ang layunin ng pag-aaral na ito ay para malaman kung gaano naiintindihan ang “Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education” sa isang komunidad ng Catanduanes.

Mga Paraan:

Kung kayo po ay sang-ayon sa pag-aaral na ito, hinihingi namin ang inyong pakikilahok sa pananaliksik at pakikinayam na isinasagawa ng mga researcher. Ang pagsusuri na ito ay tatagal lamang sa loob ng 15 minuto. Ang pakikinayam ay sa loob ng 45 minuto.

Peligro at Benepisyo sa pag-aaral:

Walang peligro at benepisyo sa pag-aaral na ito.

Kompidensiyal:

Ang mga talaan ng pananaliksik na ito ay mananatiling pribado. Ang mga sumali ay walang pagkakakilanlan at hindi mailalagay sa alinmang mga pahayagan ang magiging resulta ng pananaliksik na ito. Ang mga dokumento at audio recording ay nakatago sa isang tiwasay na lalagyan at maari lamang magamit ng mga taga panaliksik.

Ang Kaanyuan ng Pagsisiyasat na ito ay kusang-loob lamang:

Ang inyong partisipasyon sa pananaliksik na ito ay kusang loob lamang. Ang inyong pagpapasya o ang hindi pagsali ay hindi makakaapekto sa kasalukuyan o sa hinaharap na kaugnayan sa University of Minnesota. Kung magpasya man kayo na sasali, malaya kayong hindi sagutin ang anumang mga katanungan o umurong kahit sa anumang oras ay hindi makakaapekto sa kaugnayan.

Pakikinayam at Katanungan:

Ang nagsasagawa ng pananaliksik na ito ay si Lisa Burton. Makipag-ugnayan na lamang ngayon kung mayroon kayong mga katanungan. Kung gusto ninyong magtanong sa ibang panahon, maaaring tawagan siya sa telepono na ito 09083508381 o burt0209@umn.edu. Maaari iparating ang ibang mga katanungan sa kay Dr. David Chapman, tagapayo pang-akademya ni Lisa at propesor ng Organization Leadership, Policy and Development at the University of Minnesota at chapm026@umn.edu o 001-612-626-8726.

Kung may mga katanungan o pagkabahala pa kayo tungkol sa pananaliksik na ito, at kung nais ninyo makipag-usap sa isang tao bukod sa mga researcher, hinihikayat namin kayo na tawagan ang Research Subjects' Advocate Line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; 001-612-625-1650.

Kayo ay bibigyan ng kopya ng inpormasyon para sa inyong pansariling talaan.