UNIVERSITEIT GENT

ENGLISH IN TANZANIA
AN ANATOMY OF HEGEMONY

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This study has benefited from innumerable sources and suggestions from many people. Needless to say, for many of the errors, shortcomings and patches of ignorance that remain, the ultimate responsibility rests with me.

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

APE:	Acquisition Poor Environment
ArDe:	Arusha Declaration
BAKITA:	Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa (National Kiswahili Council)
BBC:	British Broadcasting Corporation
BEST:	Basic Education in Statistics
CCM:	*Chama Cha Mapinduzi*
CNN:	Cable News Network
DC:	District Commissioner
DEO:	District Education Officer
DTV	Dar es Salaam Television
EACROTANAL:	East African Centre for Research on Oral Traditions and AfricanNational Languages
ED:	Education
EFL:	English as a Foreign Language
EIL:	English as an International Language
ELgs:	Ethnic Languages
ELT:	English Language Teaching
ELTT	English Language Teaching Textbooks
EMAC:	Educational Materials Approval Committee
EMI:	English Medium Instruction
EMPS:	English Medium Primary Schools
Eng.:	English
ESL:	English as a Second Language
ESR:	Education for Self-Reliance (*Elimu ya Kujitegemea*)

ESTLP:	English Language Teaching Support Project
FEWS:	Famine Early Warning System
GNP:	Gross National Product
IKR:	Institute of Kiswahili Research
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
L1:	First Language
L2:	Second Language
MC:	Master of Ceremony
MOEC:	Ministry of Education and Culture
MOI:	Medium of Instruction
MSTHE:	Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education
NCCR:	National Convention for Construction and Reform
NEC:	National Executive Committe (CCM)
NECTA:	National Examinations Council of Tanzania
NL:	National Language
NLs:	National Languages
OAU:	Organization of African Unity
OFIs:	Open Field Interviews
OL:	Official Language
OLs:	Official Languages
QRS:	Qualitative Research Software
SE:	Standard English
SEI:	Standard English Ideology
SHIHATA:	*Shirika la Habari Tanzania*
SL:	Standard Language
SLI:	Standard Language Ideology

SUA:	Sokoine University of Agriculture
SWE:	Standard Written English
TANU:	Tanganyika African National Union
TIoE:	Tanzania Institute of Education
TUKI:	Taasi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili
UDSM:	University of Dar es Salaam
UIA:	University of Antwerpen, Belgium.
UK:	United Kingdom
UNESCO:	United Nations Education and Science Organisation
UPE:	Universal Primary Education
USAID:	United States Agency for International Development
VLIR:	Vlaamse Interuniversitaire Raad

ENGLISH ABSTRACT

This study is about the value of English and the social, cultural, economic and political consequences of its dominance in Tanzanian society. It is about how language (any) can be used to establish hegemony with the great assistance of education and other socio-economic, cultural and political structures. It is argued that language policy and education in Tanzania have led to the valorization and consequent dominance of English and the marginalization of Kiswahili and other ethnic languages in public space by pushing them away from the knowledge, science and technology spheres.

The dominance of English in Tanzania has inhibited the development of Kiswahili and stifled internal scientific and technological innovations and inventiveness since its continued use in post-primary education makes it difficult for students at these levels to understand and internalize scientific and technological principles due to their poor proficiency. It has been shown that English decreases confidence in the value and effectiveness of local cultural analysis systems and their knowledge bases through defining Kiswahili and ethnic languages as being immature and consequently unfit to express science and its associated technologies.

This study recasts the issue of medium of instruction in education by focusing the debate away from policy issues towards describing and exposing the value of English and its consequences. The education arena is used to illustrate the implications of the dominance of English in Tanzania. This study has shown that its dominance contributes to the widening of social and economic inequalities through the creation of different social groups that are rooted in its differential distribution and accessibility and thus affect also speaking rights and political representations. English has given rise to the formation of distinct social groups based on differences in possession of this linguistic resource undoing the socio-cultural, political and economic gains of the 'Ujamaa' period.

This study has shown that language policy is also about language politics in which languages are categorized hierarchically based on domains of use. It has been shown that English is privileged by language policy to be used in the most prestigious social, educational and economic domains leading people to equate it with education, knowledge, civilization, and development. It has been argued that English is equated with good quality education while Kiswahili is said to be the language of 'Education for Self-Reliance (ESR)', '*Ujamaa',* politics, adult literacy, poor quality education and poverty. The study has also shown how a linguistic resource such as English, the vernacular of the global free market economy of the West has been used to reproduce and maintain the social and economic inequalities between developed and the Third World.

The study is divided into three parts. Part I is about the approaches that includes a concise description of the problem, background information and concepts, and methodology. Part II is about the value of English and its socio-cultural, political and economic consequences in Tanzania, the conclusion appears under Part III followed by Part IV, which is composed of Appendices.

Part I is divided into three chapters. Chapter One sets the context of the study addressing matters pertaining to the rationale behind the study and the research problem, research questions, and methodology. Chapter Two focuses on background information and concepts that relate to the study. In this chapter I examine topics such as language, schooling, the relationship between language and education, language ideology and language policy and its effects, the reinterpretation of the readings on the debate on the medium of instruction in Tanzania, and the roles and functions of English language in Tanzania. Chapter Three concentrates on methodology, stating the research assumptions, research questions, description of the study area, characteristics of respondents, sampling procedures, data collection instruments, data coding and analysis procedures. At the end of this chapter, propositions addressing the research questions are itemized and where possible their definitions are given.

Part II is divided into four chapters. In Chapter Four a framework is developed that maps most of the ideas, which have emerged from the coding and analysis of the conversational narratives and newspaper narrative texts. These give birth to a number of propositions, which are interpreted as discourses and meanings of English in Tanzania. These propositions address issues such as how the current language policy in education organize the differential distribution of cultural capital especially linguistic capital, what is the basis of the expressed need and demand for English in Tanzania and what are the socio-cultural, ideological and political effects of English as a medium of instruction in post secondary education. Chapter Five focuses on the political economy of English in Tanzania. The discussion looks at the value of English and the perceptions, ideas and viewpoints expressed in the narratives. I examine the association of English with education, social rewards, prestige and the implication of these meanings within the social and economic context of Tanzania. Chapter Six investigates the popular perceptions of English, language-in-education policy and inequality. It locates the linguistic inequality resulting from the dominance of English in education as well as showing that English is seen as an important driving force in development. A comparison is made between the linguistic reality in Tanzania and the perceived and visualized importance of English. Chapter Seven examines the linkage that connects English with education, English and development. It examines how discourses and meanings of English become frameworks for analyzing non-linguistic problems such as education and development in Tanzania.

Part III is made up of two chapters. Chapter Eight examines the implications and consequences of English in Tanzania. It recasts the argument presented in the light of the research questions by focusing on the implications of language policy and the growth in the value of English. It also examines the implications of English on education and society in general, and it discusses briefly the effects of English on the development of Kiswahili and the economic consequences of the dominance of English in Tanzania. Chapter Nine gives a general summary of the discussion relating the observations and

issues raised to language policy and planning for education and development in which language is viewed as human right as well as a resource. Literature cited in this study appears at the end of this chapter under 'References'.

The data corpus used in this study appears in Part IV presented in appendices. Appendix No. 1 consists of Newspaper Articles and Appendix No. 1a is a summary of the major themes and issues that are discussed in the newspaper articles. Appendix No. 2 consists of 3 newspaper articles by Prof Sam Maghimbi, which were printed in the Guardian Newspaper and a Workshop Article written by Dr. Martha Qorro for the Kiswahili Annual Day of February 2000. Appendix No. 2a is a summary of the ideas that are expressed in Appendix No. 2. Appendix No. 3 consists of Open Field Interviews (OFIs) Transcripts while Appendix No. 3a is a summary of the main ideas generated from the interviews. Appendix No. 4 is a list of Registered Non-Government Primary Schools in Tanzania for the period 1978-2001.

NEDERLAND ABSTRACT

Deze studie gaat over de waarde van het Engels en de sociale, culturele, economische en politieke gevolgen van haar dominantie in de Tanzaniaanse maatschappij. Het onderzoek bespreekt hoe een taal gebruikt kan worden om hegemonie te vestigen en dit vooral met de steun van het onderwijs en van andere socio-economische, culturele en politieke structuren. Er wordt gesteld dat zowel de taalpolitiek als het onderwijs in Tanzania geleid hebben tot de waardering en daardoor ook tot de dominantie van het Engels. Terzelfdertijd gaf dit aanleiding tot de algemene marginalisering van het Kiswahili en van andere etnische talen door hen de toegang te beletten tot academische, wetenschappelijke en technologische domeinen.

De dominantie van het Engels in Tanzania heeft de ontwikkeling belemmerd van het Kiswahili en het heeft de interne wetenschappelijke en technologische vernieuwingen en creatieve vindingen binnen de taal verstikt. Dat komt doordat het Engels volledig gebruikt wordt in het post-primaire onderwijs, wat het voor studenten op dat niveau moeilijk maakt wetenschappelijk en technologische principes in het Kiswahili te begrijpen. Er wordt aangetoond dat het Engels het vertrouwen ondermijnt in de waarde en efficiëntie van lokale culturele analyse systemen en hun wetenschappelijke basis. Dat is het gevolg van het feit dat het Kiswahili en andere etnische talen gedefinieerd worden als onontwikkeld en dus niet geschikt voor het uiten van wetenschappelijk en technologische kennis.

Deze studie werpt nieuw licht op de problematiek van de onderwijstaal door de discussie af te wenden van beleidsaspecten en ze te richten op het beschrijven en aantonen van de waarde van het Engels. Het domein van het onderwijs wordt hier gebruikt om de implicaties van de Engelse dominantie in Tanzania te illustreren. Het onderzoek heeft aangewezen dat die dominantie bijdraagt tot de vergroting van socio-economische ongelijkheden. Dat komt doordat er verschillende sociale groepen gecreëerd worden, gebaseerd op de ongelijke distributie van en toegankelijkheid tot het Engels. Dat heeft op zijn beurt invloed op de vrije meningsuiting en politieke

vertegenwoordiging van verschillende sociale groepen. Het Engels heeft dus aanleiding geven tot de opkomst van aparte sociale groeperingen, op basis van de ongelijke toegang tot dit linguïstische hulpmiddel. Op die manier werden de socio-culturele, politieke en economische verwezenlijkingen van tijdens de *'Ujamaa'* periode te niet gedaan.

Dit onderzoek heeft aangetoond dat taalbeleid ook te maken heeft met taalpolitiek, waarbij talen hiërarchisch gecategoriseerd worden op basis van hun gebruiksdomeinen. Er is bewezen dat het Engels bevoordeeld is in het taalbeleid door ze te gebruiken in de meest prestigieuze sociale, educationele en economische domeinen. Dit leidt mensen ertoe het Engels te identificeren met onderwijs, kennis, beschaving en ontwikkeling. Er wordt gesteld dat het Engels gelijk gesteld wordt met kwaliteitsonderwijs, terwijl Kiswahili de taal zou zijn van de 'Education for Self-Reliance (ESR)' van '*Ujamaa'* , van de politiek, volwassenen onderwijs, lage kwaliteitsonderwijs, en armoede. Het onderzoek heeft ook aangetoond hoe een taal als het Engels, de taal van de globale vrije markteconomie van het Westen, gebruikt werd om de socio-economische ongelijkheden tussen de ontwikkelde wereld en de Derde Wereld in stand te houden.

Deze studie is onderverdeeld in drie delen. Deel I behandelt de benaderingswijzen en houdt een beknopte beschrijving in van de probleemstelling, van achtergrondinformatie, van bepaalde concepten en van de methodologie. Deel II gaat over de waarde van het Engels en haar socio-culturele, politieke en economische implicaties in Tanzania. De besluiten zijn terug te vinden in Deel III en Deel IV bevat de Appendices.

Deel I bestaat uit drie hoofdstukken. Hoofdstuk Een zet de context van de studie uiteen, waarbij aandacht besteed wordt aan de motivering voor de studie, het onderzoeksprobleem, de onderzoeksvragen en de methodologie. Hoofdstuk Twee gaat dieper in op de achtergrondinformatie en op concepten die betrekking hebben op de studie. In dit hoofdstuk bestudeer ik onderwerpen zoals taal, scholing, de relatie tussen taal en onderwijs, taalideologie en taalbeleid en hun effecten, de herinterpretatie van de

lectuur betreffende de onderwijstaal-problematiek in Tanzania, en de rollen en de functies van de Engelse taal in Tanzania. Hoofdstuk Drie concentreert zich op de methodologie. Daarin worden de onderzoeksveronderstellingen en de onderzoeksvragen geformuleerd en wordt het onderzoeksgebied beschreven alsook de kenmerken van de respondenten, de steekproefprocedures, de instrumenten om gegevens te verzamelen en de procedures om de gegevens te coderen en te analyseren. Op het einde van dit hoofdstuk worden voorstellen in verband met de onderzoeksvragen gespecifieerd en, waar mogelijk, worden hun definities gegeven.

Deel II is verdeeld in vier hoofdstukken. In Hoofdstuk Vier wordt een raamwerk ontworpen waarin de meeste ideeën worden uiteengezet die ontstaan zijn door de codering en analyse van de conversaties en van de krantenberichten. Deze narratieven geven aanleiding tot een aantal veronderstellingen die worden geïnterpreteerd als discourses en betekenissen van het Engels in Tanzania. De veronderstellingen richten zich op onderwerpen zoals hoe het huidige taalbeleid in het onderwijs de ongelijke verspreiding van cultureel kapitaal - vooral linguïstisch kapitaal - organiseert, wat de basis is voor de naar voren gebrachte behoefte aan Engels in Tanzania, en wat de socio-culturele, ideologische en politieke gevolgen zijn van het Engels als onderwijstaal in het post-secundaire onderwijs. Hoofdstuk Vijf behandelt de politieke economie van het Engels in Tanzania. De discussie bespreekt de waarde van het Engels en de perceptie, ideeën en standpunten met betrekking tot het Engels, zoals uitgedrukt in de teksten. Ik bekijk het verband tussen het Engels en onderwijs, sociale waardering, prestige, en het gevolg van deze betekenissen in de Tanzaniaanse socio-economische context. Hoofdstuk Zes onderzoekt de populaire percepties van het Engels, van het beleid inzake onderwijstaal en van ongelijkheid. Het localiseert de taalkundige ongelijkheid die het resultaat is van de Engelse dominantie in het onderwijs, en het toont aan dat het Engels gezien wordt als een belangrijke drijfkracht in de ontwikkeling. Een vergelijking wordt gemaakt tussen de linguïstische realiteit in Tanzania en het ingebeelde belang van Engels. Hoofdstuk Zeven onderzoekt de verbanden tussen Engels en onderwijs en

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Engels en ontwikkeling. Het bespreekt hoe de betekenis en de inhoud van het Engels uitgangspunten worden om niet-linguïstische problemen te analyseren, zoals onderwijs en ontwikkeling in Tanzania.

Deel III is opgebouwd uit twee hoofdstukken. Hoofdstuk Acht onderzoekt de implicaties en gevolgen van het Engels in Tanzania. Het herziet het argument dat voorgesteld werd met betrekking tot de onderzoeksvragen door zich te buigen over de gevolgen van het taalbeleid en de toename in de waardering voor het Engels. Dit hoofdstuk behandelt ook de implicaties van het Engels in het onderwijs en in de maatschappij in het algemeen. Tot slot bespreekt het kort de effecten van het Engels op de ontwikkeling van het Kiswahili en de economische gevolgen van de dominantie van het Engels in Tanzania. Hoofdstuk Negen geeft een algemene samenvatting van de discussie die de observaties betreffende het taalbeleid en het onderwijsbeleid in verband brengt met de ontwikkelingsproblematiek waarbij taal beschouwd wordt als een mensenrecht en als een hulpmiddel. De literatuur die geciteerd wordt in deze studie bevindt zich op het einde van dit hoofdstuk onder 'References'.

Het corpus van gegevens dat gebruikt werd bij het onderzoek verschijnt in Deel IV, in de Appendices. Appendix No.1 bevat de krantenartikels en Appendix No. 1a is een samenvatting van de belangrijkste thema's en onderwerpen die behandeld worden in die krantenartikels. Appendix No. 2 bestaat uit drie krantenartikels door Professor Sam Maghimbi die gepubliceerd werden in de Guardian Newspaper, en uit een workshop artikel geschreven door Dr. Martha Qorro voor de Kiswahili Annual Day van februari 200. Appendix No. 2a is een samenvatting van de ideeën uitgedrukt in Appendix No. 2. Appendix No. 3 bestaat uit de Open Field Interviews (OFIs) Transcripties, terwijl Appendix No. 3a een samenvatting is van de belangrijkste ideeën die blijken uit de interviews. Appendix No. 4 is een lijst van de geregistreerde niet-gouvernementele basisscholen in Tanzania in de periode 1978-2001.

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PART I

APPROACHES

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Introduction

> **"[….] If one does not attend to the loss of narrative abilities in American Indian communities whose traditions of myth have been extinguished; if one does not attend to the differences in life chance between a child in Nigeria who acquires a command of English and the child who does not; if one has no principled way of accounting for the fact that economic security in a society may require some kinds of linguistic ability to which only some have ensured access; then one has no purchase on the world to which grammars bearing language names, such as 'English', preferably refer." (Dell H. Hymes, 1985: '<u>Preface</u>' in Nessa Wolfson and Joan Manes (eds.) (1985)**

The task of this study is to examine hegemony of English in Tanzania and its subsequent associated discourses, meanings, and consequences. In my analysis and discussion, I will be looking at issues of linguistic ideologies, the symbolic, social-cultural and economic value of English using data from the MOI debate and language policy. This study sets itself the task of examining how language as a resource, a key component in determining the lives of individuals in society. In order to achieve this, language policy in education in Tanzania is put under scrutiny. In particular, I look at the consequences and implications of language policy and educational institutions such as schools in the distribution of 'English' both as a resource and capital.

The issue here is not about English, but how socio-economic and political inequalities become manifest in any language that is made legitimate by language policy and education institutions. For example, during the struggle for independence and the Ujamaa period of nation building, Kiswahili became the socio-cultural and politically correct language for most Tanzanians. This period saw the hegemonic growth of Kiswahili as it took over most of the domains that had hitherto been monopolised by English. Blommaert (1999a) has extensively analysed the growth of Kiswahili in which Kiswahili became the language of politics and development. The

works of Bernstein and Bourdieu have shown how language plays an important role in the reproduction of socio-economic and political inequalities in societies. I contend that historical, economic and political circumstances have made the hegemony of English one of most influential factor that can be examined partly to explain the consequent socio-economic and political inequalities in post-colonial states such as Tanzania.

This study is about language-in-education in Tanzania with special emphasis on the role of language ideology -that set of beliefs about the structure of language and the functional uses to which language is put which are shared by the members of a community (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994; Woolard, 1998; Watts, 1999a, b; see also Lippi-Green, 1997- on the ideology of standard languages (SLI); Tollefson, 1999 -on language ideology and language education) as they unfold in the MOI debate in Tanzania. It is specifically about the "value" of English in Tanzania, that is, its symbolic and socio-economic value in society from the educational perspective.

One has to bear in mind that the presence and use of English in Tanzania is connected to a number of debates, notably, language policy in education, the relationship between English and academic performance in post-primary education, English and access to opportunities, and English and resource allocation in the education sector. Above all, the debate on English in Tanzania revolves around destabilizing propositions, which claim among others that English is 'education', 'knowledge', 'civilisation', and 'development'. These propositions suggest that a student who is incapable of producing correct grammatical English either in its spoken or written form and subsequently fails to communicate about ideas in English is perceived to be uneducated. This also means that a good command of English would enable one to acquire knowledge and communicate about these since most of the information, science and technology are available in English. Consequently, the inability to communicate about in English is interpreted as lack of education. In short, transfer of knowledge in education collapses in proficiency in English.

I will offer a reinterpretation of the debates on language policy in education in Tanzania based on a view in which language is considered as cultural and

linguistic capital, and in which the educational system regulates the distribution of cultural capital of which language is one on the understanding that education is a major instrument for language policy. The way English is used and the identities it is associated with in Tanzania can be compared to the Sony Walkman. The Walkman produces meanings about the sorts of people who would use it and the identities associated with it. The Walkman becomes emblematic of a specific category of people (du Gay *et al* 1997). This is an attempt to redefine the roles of English and its socio-cultural impact in order to make sense of the inequalities it creates and the means whereby some groups are excluded and stigmatised (Woodward, 1997) and how others gain access into this 'culture of exclusion'. For instance, Ali Mazrui (cited in Mbuyi and Biniakunu, 1994) has observed that English language in countries formerly ruled by Britain has been a stratifying agent.

In reinterpreting the debates on language policy in education one is forced to also analyse a specific language ideology, the ideology of 'Standard English (SE)' and its associated metaphors. Such metaphors include statements such as 'English is the language of culture and civilisation', 'Literacy in English is survival', 'English is the language of science and technology', 'English is a gateway to social rewards', etc. (Eggington, 1997; see also Milroy and Milroy, 1991; Cameron, 1995; Carter, 1999; Milroy, 1999a on the ideology of SE). In this case, one can equate the things that describe English to a legal tender note that promises a certain amount of money, services or goods when produced. In this vein therefore English promises knowledge and information, which ultimately rewards certain social and economic benefits.

The clamour for English in Tanzania cuts across all sections of society. It is often a means of signifying attributes such as modernity and prestige (Kachru, 1981) because English tends to be studied as the language of modernity, science and technology, success, democracy and other positive features (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). This is an issue of aspirations of individuals who find that "having" English enables or allows them to realise certain ambitions and expectations. This can be explained partly by the ideological attributes of the particular language and what that language can do to its recipient.

This raises questions regarding the source of these aspirations. In getting to the root of the issue of aspirations one needs to look at how the social position

occupied by individuals influence aspirations and expectations. For instances, Robbins (1991) observes that the receptivity of individuals to ideas is a function of their sense of social position based upon their social experiences much more than the level of potential comprehension traditionally associated with the acquisition of formal educational qualification. This may partly explain the desire of parents whose level of formal education is very low, to want their children to be educated in English. Aspirations of individuals are to a large extent dependent on material conditions through the mediation of their perceptions of the objective future of the group to which they belong.

For instance, individuals seem to be convinced that their social status in society depends to some extent on some knowledge of English. Proficiency in English would grant them access to social groups, which would otherwise be closed to them. What is being witnessed above is a replay of the need for English that was evident during the British colonial administration and even also during the first decade after independence in Tanzania in which it was assumed that if one knew English well one would get ahead in colonial economic and administrative structure. The fortunes of both English and Kiswahili have changed in the short history in which these two languages have co-existed in unequal power relation. English has gained the upper hand over Kiswahili over time because its promises meet the social and economic ingredients of the prevailing socio-economic conditions in Tanzania. It fits past and current imaginations of progress and prosperity.

Thus the reasons which underpin the contexts of English language acquisition, use and their supposedly imagined and actual social and material benefits can be viewed as a typical example of how a language confers and allows an individual to gain entry into closed social formations. Both the user and society transform the cultural capital and consequent symbolic value of English into symbolic material as perceived. English then becomes infused with socio-cultural values, loses its former associations with the British colonial administration.

This chapter provides a general understanding of the relationship between language and education and how the two reinforce each other. This position is well articulated by Bourdieu and Eagleton (1997) who argue that all academic and educational systems are a sort of ideological mechanism that produces an unequal

distribution of personal capital and legitimates this type of production. In addition, as part of the conscious industry, formal educational systems participate in maintaining and reproducing unequal power relations. Consequently, examining this relationship is also a way of understanding the effects of the unequal relationship which exists between English and Kiswahili languages in Tanzania (see S. Yahya-Othman, 1990; Blommaert, 1999a) on the one hand, and a point of entry into analysing and comprehending the functions and meanings of English in Tanzania on the other. The glorification of a dominant language such as English presented as better adapted to meet the needs of a technologically developed information driven modern society is a fruitful field of inquiry that can extend our understanding of how language ideology and hegemony are realized in specific localities and contexts.

The motivation to undertake this study partly grew out of my concern over the frustrations students confront in learning through the medium of English when there is Kiswahili, a widespread language of communication in Tanzania. I taught in secondary schools for over eight years and had experienced problems in making students coming from Kiswahili-medium primary schools adjust to a secondary school curriculum that was offered in English. My motivation was also catalysed by a conversation I had with my daughter who had just spent three months in her first year of secondary school early in 1994.

She told me that she thought children from rural areas were more intelligent than children from urban centres and towns. I asked her why she thought so. She responded by telling me that children in rural areas have only 7 or 8 hours of schooling daily, they could not study after school hours because there was no time, no electricity, no books in their parent's houses and very few books in their schools. Their English was poor because there were few trained English teachers in some of the rural schools. She continued by telling me that children in urban centres had books in their homes, the school had some books, there were libraries in the town where one could read and borrow a book and they could get individual tuition after school hours which was true for her. She ended by informing me that children from rural areas, who join secondary school, perform better compared to children from urban centres and towns who had had all the educational resources and support from their families.

This conversation triggered a lot of questions about the education system in Tanzania and especially about the influence of language in education. More issues of education were raised by the on-going debate on MOI in schools since many people tended to link English and education. Thus, throughout this study, I have tended to emphasize more on language policy issues, especially on its distributive function of linguistic capital in society since as observed by Liebotwitz (cited in Macias, 2000: 58), language policies reflect the social relations between groups in a society.

From there on, I wanted to know more about the implications of English in Tanzania because I take the debate on MOI as a terrain for linguistic choice and use because the education system is the interface in which struggles over linguistic practices are realised and particular linguistic practices become institutionalised. The MOI debate also reawakens and brings to light colonial opinions about the civilizing mission of English and the commercial interests of the British in their colonial territories (see Pennycook, 2000a), and an opportunity to examine how language beliefs, practices and attitudes of social groups are connected to group interests within society.

1.2 Situating the study: Language, education and exclusion

The original impetus to undertake the study stems out, as mentioned above, from the conversation I had with my daughter and the observations I had made while teaching both in secondary schools and at the university. Much more importantly, I also wanted to examine the effects of the language policy in education on the one hand, and as way of addressing the concern expressed by parents, teachers, educational administrators and personnel, politicians, and society in general over falling standards of education in Tanzania. For instance, Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1987, 1997), and Trappes-Lomax (1986) report that since the second half of the 1970s there has been a general dissatisfaction with educational standards of school leavers at all levels of education in Tanzania. It is a well known fact that educational matters in particular issues of quality in education bring out a multitude of reasons

and counter arguments in social space, all attempting to explain why things are as they are.

Among the many reasons that have been advanced to explain declining trends in educational standards in Tanzania, poor proficiency in English has been a widely used argument. There appears to be a general consensus with regard to falling standards in the Tanzanian educational system about the assumption that proficiency in English accounts for the dismal performance of students in academic subjects (Mohamed, 1975; Katigula, 1976, 1987; Mlekwa, 1977; Mlama and Materu, 1978; Mvungi, 1982; Criper and Dodd, 1984; Roy-Campbell and Qorro, 1987, 1997). A reading of the literature on the above issue seems to indicate that changing the MOI from English to Kiswahili would automatically raise the standards of education, neglecting the fact that there are many factors that operate in the teaching and learning context to influence and determine student performance.

The issue of language of instruction is a thorny one for most African countries. Language determines and shapes what gets taught and learnt in the classroom because the bulk of human knowledge is stored, transmitted, acquired and expressed through language. This has consequences on student academic achievement and students' psychosocial development. It is from this perspective that matters concerning the choice of the language of instruction in any educational system entail different and sometimes acrimonious representations, all competing for legitimacy. This is the case because the educational system is the primary agency in the production and reproduction of legitimate cultures and officially determines and guarantee rank through credentialing (Bourdieu, 1994 a, c). Education therefore, has not only been one of the things that is struggled over, but is also a major institutional site in which struggles take place (Apple, 1986, 1993). This makes schools instruments of state policy not unlike the army, the police and the exchequer (Kedourie quoted in Edwards, 1985). Education thus becomes a political project aimed at inculcating the values and ideologies of the nation. Tanzania is a case in point and the politicisation of the education system was one of the explicit features of the Tanzanian nation building through *'Ujamaa'* under Nyerere (e. g. Nyerere, 1967; see also Blommaert 1999a).

Therefore, the choice of the language of instruction becomes a political and ideological issue and the prerogative of the state or the dominant group in society. Bretton (1996), Dua (1996) and Rahman (1997) put this clearly arguing that language is not merely an instrument of communication but forms the basis of identity, cultural heritage and social reality, and plays a crucial role in the distribution of power and resources. Similarly, Bourdieu (1994b) argues that the contentious nature of language lies in the fact that any language that can command attention is an "authorised" language invested with the authority of a group; hence the things it designates are not simply expressed but also authorised and legitimated. Furthermore it should be noted that every language carries with it a weight of social systems and thus the decision to use a certain language means to support the existence of a given socio-cultural, economic and political matrix. For instance, English is supported by a powerful and strong socio-cultural and economic system. It is the vernacular of the modern global Euro-American free market economy. It is possible that in acquiring it one has to reckon also with the socio-cultural superstructure on which it thrives.

It follows from the above argument that the issue of language-in-education is saturated with conflicting cultural and political ideological overtones. Pennycook (1994) argues that language is taught in a political context, which requires a critical analysis of the kind of vested interests supporting it and the historical contexts in which it arose. That is why it is not surprising to find that decisions regarding the MOI in schooling tend to override sound psychological and pedagogical considerations pertaining to the teaching and learning process, and as observed by Gorman (1970) are often made in the absence of demographic and linguistic data. It can be argued that language policy in education in Tanzania appears in general to be politically and economically determined with little consideration given to the teacher's and learners' abilities.

The education of a nation is a sensitive and strategic enterprise. It remains Africa's most powerful development engine, the key to the development of the individual, and collective capacities to imagine, innovate, conceptualise and criticise (Chung *et al* 1998). They argue further that education empowers individuals to risk leaving old paths and follow new leads, collaborate and co-operate and enable

participants in the educational programme to develop certain world-views. Language makes this possible because it is a bridge for all people who speak and write it (Smolicz, 1995), and languages such as English may take on the role of gatekeeping (Pennycook, 1995; Widdowson, 1998) or what I call a sieve.

The power of English to play this role as observed by Alexander (1999) is made even more strong by its ever expanding globalized hegemony and apparently inexorable corollary marginalization of local, national and regional languages. One should also note that national languages such as Kiswahili have the capacity to marginalize other languages in a state because they quite often become the MOI in basic education. As such they are also responsible for the demise of local language because the latter suffer from having few domains in which they can be used. However, what I am suggesting in this study is that English does greater dislocation to both national and local languages because it is privileged to be the MOI in post-primary education that produces the elite who make decisions. The view of language as an agent rests on the recognition that behind any language lie specific socio-cultural beliefs and systems of analysis. Take the example of ex-colonial languages such as English, French, Portuguese and Spanish. These languages were made to be superior to the languages of the indigenous people. Reverend Alexander Crummel (cited in Breitborde, 1998:121) observed that Western languages, especially English were nobling and worth of study because their acquisition expanded the colonized people's horizon and increased their opportunities for progress.

The gate-keeping role of language in education privileges and advantages certain groups over others and that is why the choice of a MOI in education is such a contested arena. This stems from the recognition that language policy essentially distributes cultural capital, which Robbins (1991) and Eagleton (1991) argue tends to favour particular groups which have a prior stock of linguistic capital (see also Bourdieu (1994a). This also stems from the fact that language determines to a large extent access to jobs, education, political participation and representation. For example, the language in which learning materials such as textbooks are written may deny access to knowledge and technological scientific information to certain groups of learners because for most Third World countries including Tanzania, schooling equals literacy. Olson and Torrence (1991) argue that the evolution of a literate

tradition involves the accumulation of knowledge, a new way of classifying and organising knowledge through the systematic distinction between what a text says and its interpretation and hence between facts and theories, observations and inferences and by implication sets up the possibility of collecting and organising knowledge into a complex system. As such language enables individuals to be initiated into the literate society and gives them the power to access and utilise information that is contained in written texts in their attempt to make sense of the world, and to produce similar "authorised" literate texts.

Education, which is instrumental in cultural adjustment, uses language to transmit and allow individuals to access information, knowledge and skills. According to Giroux (1988) knowledge is a particular representation of dominant culture, a privileged discourse that is selected through a process of emphases (see also Apple, 1986). Educational institutions such as schools are not apolitical since they select and make certain ideas and knowledge systems legitimate. For instance, Carter (1996) commenting on issues of standards of the English language in schools argues that debates about the state and status of the English language are rarely debates about language alone because terms like "standard", "correct" and "proper" are also terms for defining social behaviour and morality. This becomes more apparent because language in the form of writing, literacy and modern mass media communication is bound up with contemporary social conditions and with power relations they represent. Likewise, the written text is implicated in the process of effecting cultural and political change. Consequently, the act of writing and transmission is indissoluble from the act of social control that it brings out (Griffiths, 1997). My perspective is that language policy in education in Tanzania is instrumental in strengthening differentially the academic capital of groups, because following Bourdieu (1994a, b), the latter is the guaranteed product of the combined effects of cultural transmission both by the family and the cultural transmission of the school.

1.3   The Research Problem: English-or-education in Tanzania

Since 1967, primary education in Tanzania has been offered in Kiswahili, with English taught as a subject, while the reverse model has been used in post-primary education levels where English has continued to serve as the MOI. This has had quite dramatic effects on classroom teaching and student learning on the one hand and the values that are associated with English in society. For example, the following quotes from Rubanza (1995) illustrate the extent of the problem encountered by students who are selected for education in Tanzanian secondary schools.

> "[…] from a Swahili language class to an English language class or any other subject in English I feel like a fish out of water - most of us do not open our mouths at all. When a teacher asks a question. I try to translate it in Kiswahili silently and by the time I realise what is being asked in order to think of an answer, a teacher has already switched to another question. It is a very frustrating moment. I wish all classes were conducted in Swahili, not that I will know all the answers but at least I will know what is required of me to do even if I fail to do it." (Rubanza, 1995:82)

and

> "[…] I was with my dad in Australia where I studied up to standard eight. Although I realise that my teacher makes a lot of mistakes in English I do not challenge him out of fear of being punished. I sometimes do not show up my hand to answer questions because my fellow students do not seem to like it, that is, my answering questions all the time" (Rubanza, 1995:82-3)

If these observations have any substance, then they put into doubt the purpose of education– the teaching and learning activity through which members of a society gain access to information and skills (Mesthrie, *et al* 2000). While the presence and use of English in Tanzania may be said to hamper the development of Kiswahili, it has on the contrary as cultural capital through the current language policy in education been differentially distributed in favour of particular groups of people in society through the education system. The issue under consideration is based on the understanding that language policy exists which to a great extent has made English a rare commodity valued greatly by all social groups in society. This has in turn raised the demand for English in society to address and meet various

aspirations and expectations. Readings from the debate on the language of instruction in post-secondary education in Tanzania are based on a number of propositions one of which is that English language is synonymous with education.

Research on English in Tanzania has limited itself on its effects on performance in academic subjects (Mlama and Materu, 1978; Mvungi, 1982; Roy-Campbell and Qorro, 1987, 1997), its relevance as a language of instruction in education (Mlama and Materu, 1978; Mvungi, 1982; Trappes-Lomax, 1986; Rubanza, 1993); its effects on the development of Kiswahili (Rubanza, 1995) and similar themes which look at English as language only without viewing it as a cultural and linguistic capital resource with socio-cultural and economic implications. The issue here is to approach the matter from a perspective in which language policy is seen as a system, which distributes linguistic resources differentially and organises them hierarchically. In so doing, English like any other legitimate language assumes different and complex values than those normally associated with a language. This study therefore attempts to recast the issue of language in education from a perspective that views language as a socio-cultural, political and symbolic resource. The argument, which runs throughout this study, is that language policy is an ideological project used to advantage groups over others. It will be shown how this is reflected in the aspirations and expectations of both potential and actual users of English in Tanzanian society.

1.4 Assumptions and Research Questions

This study is premised on a widespread assumption that English in Tanzania is equivalent to education (meaning knowledge, scientific and technological information) and development. This assumption is recast in light of the thesis that language policy implemented through education institutions is implicated in the distribution of English considered here as linguistic capital. This study looks at local linguistic practices in order to reveal some of the immediate consequences of the regulation of the production and distribution of resources and the construction of social difference and social inequality (Heller, 2001: 117). For example, vertical mobility, social status, and prestige, and access to opportunities both in the job

market and professional development of individuals depend on ones' proficiency in English. This is a product of language and education as analysed by Bernstein and Bourdieu who share a theoretical appreciation of institutional differentiation within modern class-based societies (Collins, 2000: 66).

In this study, the narratives emerging from the debate on MOI, language policy and education are an opportune terrain in which linguistic differentiation is explored and examined. This provides the basis of the questions that help us to unravel the symbolic value of English and its materiality in Tanzania. The research questions address the various aspects of the effects of cultural capital as it is distributed through the implementation of language policy in education institutions. These issues include the socio-cultural, ideological and political effects of English as a MOI in post-secondary education, the basis of the expressed need and demand for English in Tanzania, how the current language policy in education organise the differential distribution of cultural capital and by implication linguistic capital and the basis of arguments of the ongoing debate on language policy in education in Tanzania. These are summarised into three main questions detailed below.

a) How does the current language policy in education organise the differential distribution of cultural capital especially linguistic capital?

b) What is the basis of the expressed need and demand for English in Tanzania?

c) What are the socio-cultural, ideological and political effects of English as a MOI in post secondary education?

These questions are about language policy, which refers to the linguistic, political and social goals underlying the actual language planning process (Mesthrie, *et al* 2000: 384). These questions partly also address the problem of language and inequality, which features greatly in the writings of Bernstein, Bourdieu, Heller and many others. The dominance of a language such as English in Tanzania is based on a belief that it is indeed a hard and stable currency that can buy certain things such as access to education, status, prestige, elite identity and wealth. Given the huge value of English, people do believe that English can perform functions well, while Kiswahili (or any other language) cannot. It is this insight, which is important and

useful in understanding the various forms of inequality that are a consequence of language and educational institutions.

1.5 Methodology

The bulk of this sociolinguistic study is ethnographic, relying mainly on open field interviews, group discussions, and content analysis of documents. The selection of written text documents such as newspaper articles and published or workshop papers documenting the society-wide debate was made on the assumption that these will address the questions this study sought to answer. This was found to be the case as the preliminary reading of some showed that they were focused on English and language policy issues. Secondly, most of the articles that were collected for this study were written in response to President Benjamin William Mkapa's call for a national debate on the proposal to use Kiswahili as the MOI at all levels of education in Tanzania as suggested by the National Kiswahili Council (*Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa - BAKITA*) (News Reporter of The Daily News, February 14, 1996).

Field research was done in the Dar es Salaam and Morogoro regions of Tanzania for a period of six months in the year 2000. The first two months of the fieldwork was done between the months of March and June of the first term of the secondary school calendar year (mid January to early June). The second part of the fieldwork was done in the months of August and September of the second semester or term of the secondary school calendar year (from late July to mid November).

It involved mostly teachers from secondary schools and a few key informants from government departments, which concern themselves with the provision of education. The latter are the key implementers of the country's language policy because without language teachers academic work in other subjects would be next to impossible to achieve whereas most of the key informants such as school inspectors, oversee the correct implementation of language policy in schools in addition to other school inspection responsibilities. The key informants included education administrators, school inspectors charged with the inspection of English language in schools, English language curriculum developers from the Institute of Education and

an independent book publisher. The key informants were selected purposely based on what they were doing in the delivery of educational inputs and supervisory services in schools.

The choice of the study area was done purposely because the study area and units of research were easily accessible thus reducing travelling costs and time. Dar es Salaam and Morogoro regions are densely populated, are also the core or centre of Tanzania where the political, economic and academic power is concentrated. For instance, the only two public universities in Tanzania, several institutes of higher learning and colleges are located in these two field study sites. The selection of respondents both teachers and key informants was done purposely because detailed information in the form of responses was required and it was my considered belief that these respondents would provide great insight on language and education to enable me examine the issues raised by the research assumptions and questions.

Random sampling provided the required number of secondary schools from Dar es Salaam and Morogoro regions. This was drawn from a list of all the secondary schools in the two regions. This list was obtained from the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC). The selection of teachers, which followed was done purposely because for most secondary schools there may be between one to three teachers of English depending on the size of the school and student population.

A visit to each of the selected school was used to identify the teachers who were willing to participate in the research after being told the aim of the research. In most cases, the selected teachers were suggested to the researcher by the head of the school or the head of the English department in the respective school. This study targeted teachers of English because these were considered better placed to provide answers to the questions that guided this study. Therefore the focus of the interview for both teachers and key informants revolved around the place of English in education in Tanzania including issues of language policy.

The schools that were selected through the process described above came from Dar es Salaam and Morogoro. The schools that were selected for this study from Dar es Salaam included Jangwani Girls, Mzizima and Shaaban Robert secondary schools. In the Morogoro study area, Lutheran Junior Seminary, Morogoro secondary schools and St. Peter's Catholic Seminary were selected. Of the

six schools, two were government administered, one each from Dar es Salaam (Jangwani Girls) and Morogoro (Morogoro secondary) study areas. The other six sampled schools, four of them were privately administered, one by the Catholic Church and another by the Lutheran Church in Morogoro and the last two schools from the Dar es Salaam study area were administered by the Asian community in Tanzania.

A total of eight teachers of English were selected and interviewed. In the Dar es Salaam study area, two female teachers were interviewed, one from Jangwani Girls and the other from Shaaban Robert secondary school. Three male teachers were selected and interviewed one from Jangwani Girls, Mzizima and Shaaban Robert secondary schools. In the Morogoro study area, two male teachers and one female teacher were interviewed from Lutheran Junior Seminary, St. Peter's Seminary and Morogoro secondary school respectively.

The interviews were audio tape recorded while the group discussions were either audio taped and or video recorded depending on mitigating factors such as availability of power, the nature of the rooms where the discussions took place. A total of 26 Newspaper articles and one workshop article were selected. Official documents from the MOEC and the Tanzania Institute of Education (TIoE) that were relevant to the research questions were also collected and studied.

A number of themes that were tentatively found to address the questions were developed. The interviews and group discussion were transcribed and studied critically in order to identify ideas from the interviewees and authors of the written texts that were similar to the themes that were developed before the preliminary analysis and coding. The codes that were in alignment with the preliminary themes together with interview transcripts and newspaper articles were imported into a programme for Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software for analysing the data. The discussion of the data was done on the basis of the assumptions and questions posed. During the discussion utmost care was used to convey the authentic ideas of the respondents in so far as they dealt with the assumptions and questions of this study.

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CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND AND CONCEPTS

2.0   Outline

This chapter examines the fundamental concepts that are used in this study to analyze and critique language policy, education and English in Tanzania. The discussion in this chapter is divided into five sections. Section two looks at language as a resource from the perspective of education in which the various metaphors of language are described. In a nutshell, I take language as a resource, which manifests itself in social reality as cultural capital with symbolic as well as material value to its users. Section three looks at the relationship between language and education, and how these reproduce and reinforce each other. Section four discusses language policy in education as a field of conflicting ideologies which is characteristic of the variability and contentious nature of language in which language policy together with education define what counts as knowledge and regulate access to it. In this perspective, language policy is taken as a distributing agent of linguistic resources differentially in society through education — the loci where different forms of power meet and are articulated (Heller, 1994). An attempt is also made in this section to reinterpret the debate on language-in-education policy in Tanzania through viewing it as the distributor or in its allocation function of a resource such as English that has gained a prestigious and symbolic value in society.

Section five focuses on the consequences of language policy. In this section focus is on the ideology of 'standard' language (SL) and 'Standard English (SE).' The effects of language policy on education in Tanzania are discussed as another way of interpreting the debate on the politics of the language of instruction in Tanzania. This section also dwells on the impact of the ideology of 'Standard English' on language learning materials as a further reification of the consequences of the continued use of English as a MOI in post-primary education in Tanzania. The discussion ends with a summary of issues, which are pertinent to this study.

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2.1   Preface: language, power and the nation

The following discussion takes place with the understanding that the politics of the MOI in the education system, in particular, the choice of English as the MOI in post-primary education in Tanzania basically revolve around the distribution of English as a resource with symbolic material value, and the power relations in a nation state. The reasons advanced in support for the continued use of English as a MOI in post-primary education are far outweighed by the arguments in favour of Kiswahili (see Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1987, 1997); Qorro (1997); Rajabu and Ngonyani (1994); Roy-Campbell (1992); Mulokozi (1991); Lwaitama and Rubagumya (1990), Mongella (1990); Mlama and Matteru (1978).

In general, the arguments for or against the continued use of English in post-primary education in Tanzania have focused on educational and psychological reasons. In addition, these arguments have treated language policy, which is responsible in the first place for the current situation as a political strategy but paid little attention to the socio-cultural and economic consequences of language policy decisions. Decisions about language policy are economic in the sense that the choice of a language especially in post-colonial states is tied to nation building, greater social and political integration. Nation building in ex-colonial countries meant economic and social development where the choice of a single unifying language would create and make communication and governance easier and more efficient. Again, these arguments have overlooked the proposition that language is a resource with material symbolic value that becomes an exchange commodity in the market. The arguments have also failed to consider the role played by both language policy and education in distributing linguistic resources and that language policy is also a mechanism for the alignment of power relations in society.

Probably the dilemma that is evident in the readings on the debate can be illustrated well by revisiting Blaise Pascal quoted in Tomlinson (1997:253). Pascal offered this advice to a young nobleman on the way he should regard his privileged social position. He begins by describing a parable of a man cast by shipwreck on an unknown island. The inhabitants of the island mistake him for their lost king and

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treat him as such. The man after some misgivings gives himself up to his good fortune and allows them to treat him as their king:

> "[….] But as he could not forget his real condition, he was conscious at the same time that he was receiving this homage, that he was not the king whom this people had thought, and that this kingdom did not belong to him. Thus he had double thought: the one by which he acted as king; the other by which he recognized his true state, and that it was accident alone that had placed him in his present condition."

The view, which can be drawn in the readings on the debate on language in education in Tanzania and the government's position on the issue, is testimony to the dilemma of the nobleman described in Pascal's parable. This may be the case in the sense that the place of English as a second language (L2) and MOI in Tanzania's education is a historical accident. It makes us "the schooled elite" products of this historical event and also of the post-independent policy on language which has tended to favour English since it is education that has granted us a voice and thus our authority derives exclusively from this privilege (Lippi-Green, 1997:iv). It is in this regard that Appiah's observation becomes relevant and salient in relation to the government's ambivalence on the issue of MOI in post-primary education (cf. Mulokozi, 1986, 1991). Appiah (1992:4) says:

> "[…] We have used European languages because in the task of nation building we could not afford to use each other's language nor should we forget in the debit column, the less noble possibility that these foreign languages whose possession had marked the colonial elite became too precious as marks of status to be given up by the class that had inherited the colonial state."

Appiah's comment rings some bells of truth for the Tanzanian situation where Kiswahili is the national language although English still exerts greater influence. For example, Mazrui and Mazrui (1998) discussing the role and function of English in Tanzania have observed that even in Tanzania there are signs that a new linguistic balance is in the making. They further note that the ultimate goal was to achieve complete Swahilization of the entire pre-university educational system after a

decade or so, and by design in post-primary education and by default in many white-collar jobs, English continued to retain its value to some degree. Furthermore, Mazrui and Mazrui (1998:138) observe:

> "[….] Because of the uncertainties of Tanzania's post-colonial economy, however, there were some members of the elite who were not particularly enthusiastic about the idea of total Swahilinisation of the educational system. These people perhaps saw the economic fortunes of their children in transnational terms. Placed in key decision-making positions, they are said to have done little to support Tanzania's Kiswahili policy, and in some cases have even subverted it."

The use of ex-colonial languages as media of instruction in education in most post-colonial states is a highly charged and contentious issue as de Klerk (1997:7) observes about English in South Africa.

> "[….] Alongside its growth because of its perceived neutrality and its high status, and despite a pragmatic recognition of what English can offer, there is a very real possibility that elitism, domination and social injustice, as well as personal language loss could result from the spread of English..., and this is particularly true of South Africa. As Albie Sachs put it, 'the omnipresence of English can be inconvenient and suffocating and induce a sense of disempowerment and exclusion. In a sense, all language rights are against English, which in the modern world is such a powerful language that it needs no protection at all."

Thus this privileged social position described in Pascal's parable, and of English by Appiah (1992); de Klerk (1997) and Mazrui and Mazrui (1998), makes one rethink and reflect on issues pertaining to language in education and the various modes through which it manifests itself. Nevertheless, for a better understanding of language and especially the value that is attached to English in Tanzania it is appropriate to situate English as a resource in Tanzania. Thus, the MOI debate and language policy serves to keep us aware of the status of language as a primary site of political process. This makes the observation made by Smieja and Batibo (2000:35) that language is a means that facilitates or hampers people's participation in politics and democratization salient.

To be more precise, this study is about a contested subject in which hitherto debates on language policy in Tanzania have first failed to take recognition of the

fact that language is a vector and a means by which an unequal division of power and resources between groups is propagated, thwarting social and economic progress for those who do not learn the language of modernity — English — in former British and American colonies (Phillipson, 1997). Secondly, earlier discourses on language policy in Tanzania tended to overlook and disregard the shifts in the value of both English and Kiswahili across different historical periods. For example, Heller (1994) observes that if French was stigmatized with respect to English and valueless in situations where English speakers controlled, it nonetheless had both symbolic and material value in situations controlled by French speakers. This analogy is true of the shifts in the value and fortunes of Kiswahili in Tanzania during the struggle for independence and the Arusha Declaration (ArDe) epoch. Politically, Kiswahili became a valuable political resource and English, a liability (see also Blommaert, 1999a on the symbolic and material value of Kiswahili during the struggle for independence and *Ujamaa* era in Tanzania).

These two historical periods saw the growth of Kiswahili symbolically and materially because the social, political and economic life in Tanzania was largely achieved through possession of this resource. A person's success and professional advancement in the civil service depended on possession of the correct variety of Kiswahili, which was revered at that time. For instance, a civil servant's vertical mobility in the department hinged on passing a civil service examination in Kiswahili. Political survival depended on the possession of the correct variety of Kiswahili. However, the mid-1980s saw the resurgence in the fortunes of English in Tanzania. This project is a chronicle of how language policy given the right institutional and political support has been used to distribute (whether consciously or unconsciously) a resource by raising its value and prestige among its users. One can also argue that the issue of language policy manifest in the MOI debate in Tanzania is an examination of the basis that underpins the selection and elaboration of a linguistic standard which stands for a complex of issues about language, politics and power (Steinberg, 1987:198).

Before ending this section, I find it proper to give a cautionary note lest your motivation and optimism become stifled in the way this discussion is presented by quoting Appiah (1992:ix) who observes that

> "[…] When you find me ignoring what you might judge important, or getting wrong what you have gotten right, remember that no one in our days can cover all areas with equal competence and that does not make trying any less worthwhile."

The conventional practice in the treatment of a review of concepts in studies of this nature normally requires one to define the terms that feature in the discussion because definitions function as gatekeepers deciding what kinds of knowledge will be allowed to enter the public domain, map the subject matter and assist in the conceptualization and clarification of meanings (Hudson, 1983). Therefore, definitions of the terms, which will feature in this study, appear under the relevant sections in order to link them directly with the ideas that are immediately discussed therein.

2.2   Tanzania: Socio-linguistic profile and education system

A brief description of the sociolinguistic profile and education system of Tanzania helps to situate English within Tanzania and its role in society. With more than 120 ethnic languages (ELgs), Kiswahili is the national and official language with a nation-wide distribution and is used by the majority of the population in a wide range of functions (Msanjila, 1999). Similarly, Kiswahili is the MOI in primary schools (government administered), training of Certificate Teachers, language of communication in the parliament, lower courts of law and most government business.

ELgs are prominent at home within families, for intra-ethnic communication and other informal domains (Msanjila, 1999; see also Mekacha, 1993a, b, 1998, 2000 -on their distribution, use and relationship between ELgs and Kiswahili, ELgs and English) and remain as a resource for the development of Kiswahili and a cultural heritage (MOEC, 1997a).

English is the MOI in post-primary education, language of higher courts of law, legal documents and ordinances, international business, banking and to some extent the language of medical diagnosis and dispensing.

Exhaustive descriptions of the sociolinguistic profile of Tanzania have been discussed in Mekacha, (2000), Msanjila, (1999), and Qorro, (1997); Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1987, 1997); Mlama and Matteru (1978); Criper and Dodd (1984) -on functional domains of English and Kiswahili, and Abdulaziz-Mkilifi, 1972 -on trigglosia). S. Yahya-Othman (1997:1) captures the linguistic situation well when she observes:

> "[....] an educated Tanzanian would probably have to start life in one or other of the 120 ethnic languages (henceforth ELs), conduct part of his/her studies in Kiswahili, receive the better and more demanding part of his/her education in English, a foreign language, and once a adult, occasionally find it difficulty in talking to his/her grandmother in any of these languages. Tanzanians, like most Africans, are plunged into a diglossic condition, where their communicative life is split between various languages, in some of which they can only have partial competence."

The education system in Tanzania is pyramidal in structure and hierarchically divided into three levels: primary, secondary, and tertiary. The education system follows a 7-4-2-3+ system, where the official school entrance age is 7 years old in addition two years of pre-primary education. Primary education is a seven-year education cycle at the end of which less than 6 per cent of the pupils can go on with secondary education (see MOEC, 1992, 1994, 1995b,1996a). Secondary education is sub-divided into Ordinary Level (Forms 1 to 4) and Advanced Level (Forms 5 and 6). Those who complete Advanced Level secondary education join tertiary education, training institutions or seek employment.

Table 2.2.1 gives a breakdown of students selected for secondary school education while Figure 6.6.1 shows the structure of education in which few complete the education cycle described above in which the majority remain at the bottom. Table 2.2.1 describes the number of pupils in primary schools selected for secondary education between 1963-1995.

Table 2.2.1: Primary School Leavers and Form 1 Selection, 1963-1995

Year	Std. VIII[1]/VII	Form 1 Enrolment			
	Leavers	Public Sec School	Private Sec School	Total	%
1963	1702	4972	0000	4972	29.2
1968	58872	6989	2511	9500	16.1
1973	106203	8165	4964	13129	12.4
1978	185293	8720	8467	17187	9.3
1983	454602	9899	9606	19505	4.3
1988	347978	15675	20789	36464	10.5
1993	363404	21531	26965	48496	13.3
1994	370534	24321	28498	52819	14.4
1995	386564	28412	*	*	*

Source: BEST, Ministry of Education and Culture, 1996

1. The Primary school cycle used to be 8 years during the British colonial period but was changed in 1965 to 7 years.
*Data from private secondary schools had not been compiled by the time the statistics were produced.

It is apparently clear from Table 2.2.1 that primary school leavers joining private secondary schools began to surpass the intake in public schools beginning from 1988, 1993 and 1994 accounting for 5.97, 4.25 and 7.69 percent respectively. It is also clear that while primary school intake has been on the increase from a mere 17,042 in 1963 to 386,564 pupils by 1995, the secondary school sector has not basically changed although the private contribution in this sector has increased tremendously.

The figures in Table 2.2.1 for the years 1963 to 1968 do not take into account the fact that between 1961 to 1967 the attrition rate in the primary school sector was great because first there were examinations at the end of Standard 4 which a pupil had to pass in order to continue with Standard 5 in what were then called Middle Schools administered by the Native Authorities. Secondly, quite a significant number of primary school pupils could not continue with schooling because their parents could not afford to pay school fees during the same period. These were abolished by 1967, which also coincided with reducing primary school duration to seven years instead of eight and the introduction of Kiswahili as the MOI in the

primary school education sector. This, together with the government policy drive to ensure that each school age-going child gets basic education, popularly known as Universal Primary Education (UPE) in the early 1970s increased intake in this education sector. Paradoxically, efforts to expand the primary school sector were not followed with a corresponding expansion in the post-primary education sector. This situation is depicted well in Figure 6.6.1 of Chapter Six. On the whole, while the primary education sector has expanded, the post-primary education sectors, have almost maintained the same structure that was inherited from the British colonial administration.

2.3   Perceptions of language

I started off this discussion with a proposition that language is a resource. Literature is replete with several metaphors that explain what language is and what it can do to individuals and society. Views about language have great consequences for explaining how it is acquired and taught, and why it is idolized and valued in society. Moreover, views about language represent different conceptualizations that are historically and socially constructed because all socio-political and economic ideas have their roots in the historical circumstances of a particular period (Marx, 1978; Mannheim, 1936; and Bourdieu, 1997). Views about language are also a re-alignment to research and theoretical or epistemological inclinations of particular linguists and communication specialists (Findlay, 1998).

In order to understand the issues that pertain to language, the following discussion focuses on those views or notions that express what language does but not what it is. What language can do to an individual in social interaction and the various interpretations of the meanings associated with language use, are important in the context of this discussion. Ochs (1996) has observed that for better or for worse language is our human medium for constructing a social order, a philosophy of taste, causality, knowledge and experience, and for these reasons, language can be viewed as a system of symbolic resources designed for the production and interpretation of social and intellectual activities. It is in keeping with Ochs'

observation that any consideration of definitions of language should include it's interwoveness with society (Blommaert, 1997a).

As a social phenomenon, language is also a form of social action functioning as a medium of thought in which knowledge, feelings and experiences are conceived, stored, transmitted, expressed and crystallized. Thus it enables the definition, codification and expression of social relationships because these exist only in and through society (Mekacha, 1998; Cameron *et al* 1992; Halliday, 1978; Tauli, 1974). It is thus not a transparent, neutral and value free medium which mirrors social reality existing outside the language used to express it. Hymes (1980) underscores this when he argues that in its everyday transactions, language structures and the structures of its use are intertwined with reality.

Similarly, as Slobin (1996) observes the languages we learn in childhood are not neutral coding systems of an objective reality; rather each one is a subjective orientation to the world of human experience, and this affects ways in which we think while we are speaking. Gal (1989) furthermore argues that the capacity of language to denote, to represent the world is not transparent and innocent but is fundamentally implicated in relations of domination.

Consequently, the social notion of language links it with society, which according to Halliday (1978) consists of relations that define social roles. Here language enables a person to occupy a social role enabling one to gain individual identity and to belong to a group (see also Woodward, 1997 –on how language is used to confer identity and difference in the war between Serbs, Croats and Bosnian Muslims). The relation between language and the social also means that using language and participating in society are closely related activities in that using language is integral to social life and participating in society is integral to the process of making sense of linguistic construction (Ochs, 1996). Furthermore, the social aspect of the role of language can also be illustrated by looking at the role of the African traditional singer or griot. In respect to this, Wanjara (1982) argues that he/she drew his/her idiom and language from his/her immediate society as he/she learned or acquired his/her skill from his/her family of poets and singers in the community, sang the song as it had been handed to him/her by his/her predecessors and only innovated within the given and accepted song when commenting on

contemporary issues. The idea which one gets from the above is that language is a resource, which is available to each individual as a symbol and instrument. The pertinent issue here is how this resource is made available and accessed. This is where language policy and education enter the field.

2.4   Language as a resource

Language has been variously viewed in the literature as a symbolic system for representing the world (de Vries 1991; Britton, 1970); as a tool for social engineering in which language policy and language planning are important aspects (Myers-Scotton, 1978), for socialization (Ochs, 1996); as a social institution and consciousness (Mekacha, 1993a); as an organ for the communication process (Ehlich, 1994); as a boundary marker to block the intrusion of a permissive and alien culture (Abraham-Glinert, 1997); as an instrument of action and power rather than an object of contemplation (Bourdieu, 1997); as a resource (Heller, 1994); see also Bourdieu (1994a, c) who describe language as capital with symbolic value; cultural capital (Giroux, 1988); as a reservoir of culture (Mazrui and Mazrui, 1998); as a bridge or barrier (Smolicz, 1995) and both as a social system and as a system of values (Barthes, 1999).

All of the above are examples of metaphorical descriptions of language. These describe and define what language is in terms of another domain which according to Lakoff and Turner (1989:62) enables us understand what language is because we understand and reason using our conceptual system, which includes an inventory of structures, of which schemas and metaphors are established parts (see also Lakoff, 1996 on conceptual metaphors). Thus we are able to understand the meaning of the target domain in terms of a source domain such as language as an instrument of action and power where 'instrument' indicates or points to agency giving language its instrumental aspect. Language ideology tends to be conveyed better in metaphors because metaphors such as those of English explain the power of the former through using the meaning of another domain.

Metaphors make it possible for dominant ideologies to be ingrained in every day discourse, become rationalized as common-sense assumptions about the way

things are (Papademetre and Routoulas, 2001). In this way ideologies of language influence how people interpret its roles and functions as it relates to education, the enterprise responsible for the production and reproduction of differentiation in a community. In turn these metaphors are also reflected in how people think language is acquired and learned in both formal and informal settings. Subsequently, language teaching and learning may also reflect any of the above notions of language with backwash effects on classroom pedagogical practices that make this resource available to learners. In short, in all of the above descriptions, language is the mediator of which Lemke (1995:1) argues

> "[….] When we think of power in the social world, we imagine the power to do things: the power to buy and sell, to command obedience, to reward and to punish, to give or take, to do good to others or to do them harm, physically or emotionally. In all these, language can and often does play a critical role. We know that we do not need 'sticks and stones' to hurt others; words can cause pain that cuts just as deeply. The language we speak to ourselves decides whom we will help policy or hurt and why. The language we speak to others can enlist their aid or provoke their enmity. The language others speak to us from childhood, shapes the attitudes and beliefs that ground how we use all our power of action."

Conceptualizing language as a social phenomenon, vehicle or medium of communication, instrument, tool and many other metaphoric descriptors, makes it a multifarious and heterogeneous thing because it becomes to many people many things. What is argued here is that language influences the way reality is perceived, evaluated and one's reaction towards it. In this sense, speakers of different languages and cultures see the universe differently and evaluate it differently due to their socio-cultural environment. Thus the observation that language controls thought and action influencing speakers of different languages to perceive the same reality differently can be understood within the above context. Furthermore it is argued that languages have different ways of organizing experiences in terms of preoccupations of a cultural nature (Calame-Griaule, 1977). This leads Ochs (1988) to observe that it can be a manifestation of mental life enabling the classification of experiences differently because it is essentially a symbolic system for encoding local social and cultural structures. Ochs (1988:210) observes further:

"[…] When scientists examine the relationship between language and society, the preference has been to see language as expressive of local ideologies and social orders. That is, language is viewed as a repository of local meanings."

That is why Ochs (1996) argues that students of language acquisition need to reckon with the system of social and cultural structures that inform speaking and understanding in communities just as students of socialization need to reckon with the system of lexical, grammatical, phonological, and discursive structures that give meaning to facilitate social conduct and intellectual expertise in communities. It is therefore difficult to imagine on the one hand, how one might assign meanings to lexical, grammatical, phonological and discursive structures without an understanding of the social situations, which those structures depict. In this study, concentration is on discursive meanings as they emerge in the narratives of the MOI debate in Tanzania.

If language is said to make possible all of what has been discussed above, then it becomes a very important and valuable resource. Heller (1994) talks about people losing positions in jobs or winning them, gaining employment because candidates were not able to speak English or French. Woodward (1997) describes reasons that made Serbs, Croats and Bosnians Muslims fight in which the rallying point for identity, unity and difference is language. Bernstein (1996); Bourdieu (1994a, c); Heller (1996); Giroux (1988), and many other writers and critics on language and education consider it an indispensable resource in education and consequently a major factor in the success or failure of students. This is based on the undeniable fact that students are not able to produce the correct language variety authorized and legitimized by the educational institutions. They also point out that this resource is not evenly distributed among students. For instance, Bourdieu and Passeron (1998:71-72) observe:

"[….] Analysis of the variations in the efficiency of the action of inculcation which is performed principally in and through the relation of communication thus leads to the primary principle underlying the inequalities in the academic attainment of children from the different social classes.........put forward the hypothesis that the specific productivity of all pedagogic work other than the pedagogic work accomplished by the family is a function of the distance between the habitus it tends to inculcate (in this context, scholarly mastery of

scholarly language) and the habitus inculcated by all previous forms of pedagogic work...."

Here the argument is that language is a resource, which is not made available in the same magnitude to all students in educational institutions. Language thus is like blood, which distributes oxygen in the body. Unfortunately, the arteries and vessels in this case are subjected to great pressure forcing some parts of the body to go with little blood and may lead to the general malfunctioning of the major systems and organs. I take the various systems and organs in the human body to be students and society who are given minimum doses of language which barely make them become functional in the classroom learning and teaching situation and later in the world of work where their inadequate proficiency in English becomes a liability. It is this view, which makes me concur with Mesthrie *et al* (2000: 365) who observe that Bourdieu sees education as part of the process of symbolic domination of the working class and the school as the primary site through which members of society acquire the forms of linguistic capital which mediate their experiences within the labour market. Bernstein has also focused on the differences in the language with which students bring to the classroom versus the legitimate language of the school and the implication of this mismatch to learners' academic performance and success in life after school. Likewise, Bourdieu takes language as a cultural resource, which become social capital. The former argues that this social cultural capital is not evenly distributed in society. The mismatch between the school language and the learner's language may become a problem to learners whose linguistic capital is at variant with the legitimate language of the school (see also Monica Heller, 1996 on classroom legitimate language).

In acquiring a language a person gets admitted into the culture of that language (see also Apple, 1993) since the latter is the primary vehicle through which culture is transmitted and manifested. As Franz Fanon (1967) cited in Mazrui and Mazrui (1998:57) argues that to speak means to be in a position to use certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of civilisation. This leads Mazrui and Mazrui (1998) to conclude that a man who has a language consequently possesses the world

expressed and implied by that language. That is why learning a second or foreign language has been viewed as a process of acquiring a different culture such as linguistic knowledge, interactional skills and cultural knowledge that speakers must have in order to communicate appropriately (Saville-Troike, 1989). Treating language as a resource makes us understand the effect of language policy and education in society since its acquisition as in the case of English in Tanzania may have far-reaching implications.

In this section, the discussion has shown briefly what language is supposed to do and its resultant effects. The next sections look at the relationship between language and education, the functions and roles of education in society.

2.5   The Education Language Confluence
2.5.1   Schooling and Literacy

In the previous sections, language has been described among other things as the mediator of world-view and the medium through which social processes operate and are realized. Let us refresh our memories on the role of language with a view of linking forward to what follows by revisiting Mikhail M. Bakhtin cited by Emerson and Holquist (1986) who says:

> "[….] Language becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it with her own intentions, her own accent, when she appropriates the world, adapting it to her own semantic and expressive intention. And furthermore, prior to this moment of appropriation, the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language … but rather it exists in other people's intentions .... Exropriating, forcing it to submit to one's own intentions and accents is a difficult and complicated process."

Schooling, particularly learning enables one to appropriate and force language to submit to one's intentions and accents where 'her own accent' refers to the individual's ability to convey her experiences in the target language such as English. This brings us to the relationship between language and schooling because language may inhibit or enhance among other things the success or failure of participants in any schooling process. Stubbs (1986) and Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1987, 1997) have observed that language plays a central part in education.

However, there is considerable debate and contestation about the exact relationship between language and learning. Stubbs (1986) argues further that there is a lot to learn about how language is related to either educational success or to intelligence and thinking, and that people's attitudes and their most deeply held beliefs are at stake since it is through language that personal and social identities are maintained and recognized. Nevertheless, what is reiterated in this discussion is that schooling, language and literacy are major institutions, which affect people's lives.

Schooling, which is used interchangeably with education throughout this discussion, has been subject to varied critical interpretations in the literature. Hamilton (1990) views schooling as a political and educational institution viewed as a lever of massive social reform, a means of redirecting the whole society. Similarly, literacy is also associated with socio-economic development as evidenced in the literature by statements such as literacy as a process of confidence and personal power in the area of literacy and other life areas (Baynham, 1995). As a process of learning to read and write it provides an opportunity for acquiring information that can be used to improve living standards. Literacy involves reading and writing which leads to elementary general knowledge to training for work, increased productivity, greater participation in life, a better understanding of the surrounding world and an open way for basic human knowledge (UNESCO 1976 Report on Literacy cited in Cook-Gumperz, 1986:17).

Hamilton (1990) and Chung *et al.* (1998) argue that throughout history schooling has been intimately linked to the wider structuring of society. That is why for most developing countries such as Tanzania, schooling is and has been associated with social change and economic development. Schooling is regarded as preparatory to the economic activity of adults (Hamilton, 1990; Nyerere, 1967) because it equips people for entry into the labour market (cf. Bourdieu, 1994a). On the other hand, Lemke (1995) views education as the process by which our participation in all social activity enables us to adapt more effectively and flexibly to the social environment. Therefore, schooling is a much wider enterprise rather than being merely an act of initiation into society as argued by Nyerere (1967) since it involves psychosocial, intellectual and mental development of the individual. Furthermore, schooling through which literacy is achieved or acquired, serves many

purposes and many goals. Most of these as De Castell and Luke (1989) observe are embedded within the normative context where the processes and materials of literacy instruction for example, have been based on the ideological codes and material constraints of the society from which they are derived. The result, they observe is that each educational epoch has framed literacy instruction in terms of principles, norms, values, and beliefs considered to be worth reading and writing about.

From this brief overview on education, it is evident that there is a widespread controversy over what education should do. Ideas about education can therefore be grouped into the market-liberal tendency, which says that education's foremost function is to produce people for the labour market. The humanist tendency argues that the main purpose is to educate, that is to enable and empower people to participate in culture and society. The education philosophy that was spelt out in 'Education for Self-Reliance (ESR)' (*Elimu ya Kujitegemea*) (Nyerere, 1967) in Tanzania is in my opinion, an attempt to marry the market-liberal and humanist interpretations of education. It proposed an education system whose main purpose was to prepare learners for service to the community as well as developing independent and inquiring minds.

By implication, the views of schooling especially what it delivers to the learner is of great importance to groups prompting Carlson and Apple (1998: 11) to note that:

> "[…] Even with the necessary criticisms of the unequal power relations surrounding education and the larger society, we need to remember that education was never simply an imposition on supposedly culturally/politically inept people. Rather, educational policies and practices were and are the results of struggles and compromises over what should count as legitimate knowledge, pedagogy, goals, and criteria for determining effectiveness."

Each contesting group in this unending debate and struggle for control and influence over education has its own vision of an ideal society in which they want to initiate their children. This has led Apple (1993) to conclude that education has been

one of the major arenas in which conflict between property rights and person rights has been fought.

Literature on schooling also shows that schooling is one of the institutions of socialization; an instrument of domination, indoctrination, production and reproduction of social inequality, and it is thus responsible for the maintenance of the status quo. For example, reviewing the history of the uses and functions of literacy and schooling, Graff (1986:80-81) observes:

> "[…] Especially with the transition from pre-industrial social orders based on rank and deference to the class societies of commercial and then factory capitalism, schooling became an increasingly vital aspect of the maintenance of social stability, particularly during periods of massive but often poorly understood, social and economic change. Many persons, most prominent social and economic leaders and social reformers, grasped the uses of schooling and saw literacy as a vehicle for the promotion of values, attitudes, and habits considered essential to the maintenance of social order and the persistence of integration and cohesion."

The situation described by Graff has not changed today in regard to the uses and functions of schooling and literacy contrary to official statements like 'education being an agent of change, social mobility, development and modernization.' While Cook-Gumperz (1986) argues that schools continue to be a powerful force in the selective transmission of knowledge and the distribution of social opportunities, Lemke (1995) argues strongly that schooling is not just an instance of social class domination and social control in the interests of the dominant class, nor an instance of gender domination or other forms of cultural domination working to the advantage of European and occasionally and somewhat accidentally also Asian cultural tradition and those reared in them, but it is fundamentally an instance of age-group domination. And he further argues that the social control of children's behaviour, beliefs and values through schooling is the single most significant means of inhibiting fundamental change. Consequently, according to Sorokin (cited in Cook-Gumperz, 1986:38) has noted:

> "[....] the school does not really change people; rather, it sorts, labels and grades children for the labour market. In other words, schools do not make

children clever; they merely certify for employees which ones are clever. From this standpoint, the school is primarily a testing, selecting, and distributing agency. In its total the whole school system, with its handicaps, ranking, evaluating, eliminating and promoting, is a very complicated 'sieve' which sifts 'the good' from 'the bad' future citizens, 'the able' from 'the dull', 'those fitted for high positions' from 'those unfitted."

Likewise, and more importantly, Cook-Gumperz (1986) argues that the selective transmission of knowledge through different conceptions of schooling for different sectors of society became the cornerstone on which the schooling for the universal literacy is built. Therefore, the development of the curriculum is historically rooted in the control of popular literacy by the dominant groups for their own interest and has continued to be so until today. Thus, the hypothesis that schooling provides equality of opportunity by giving individuals equal access to avenues of socio-economic development is at best a dream and practically "an olive branch" for public relation purposes. Similar views of schooling and its effects have also been expressed by Apple, 1982, 1986, 1993; Bernstein, 1987, 1997; Bourdieu, 1994b, 1997; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1998; Giroux, 1983, 1988.

Schooling is also associated with the reproduction and maintenance of social power inequalities within society. There is a plethora of evidence in the literature on this but the observation by Hamilton (1990:21) gives us a clear picture of this function of education:

"[…] To those within a group, power is given through socialization and acculturation; to those who join the group power is acquired (or shared) through education; and to those outside the group, power is (or can be) denied through schooling. In cultural terms, therefore schooling may act against empowering of learners."

It is therefore not surprising to find that during the colonial period in Africa, modern schooling or to be specific, European education was received with varied perceptions. Ezeulu, Chief Priest of Ulu in Umuaro in 'Arrow of God' by Achebe (1967:189-90) had his own perception about education. This is what he is quoted telling his son:

"[…] I have sent you to be my eyes there. Do not listen to what people say-
people who do not know their right from their left. No man speaks a lie to his
son. I have told you that before. If any one asks you why you should be sent
to learn these new things tell him that a man must dance to the dance
prevalent in his time..... When I was in Okperi I saw a young white man who
was able to write his book with the left hand. From his action I could see that
he had very little sense. But he had power; he would shout in my face; he
could do what he liked. Why? Because he could write with his left hand. That
is why I have called you. I want you to learn and master this man's
knowledge so much that if you are suddenly woken up from sleep and asked
what it is you will reply. You must learn it until you can write it with your
left hand....."

Consequently, schooling confers or bestows power in similar circumstances
that the 'book' described by Ochs (1988) did to those who owned it in a Samoan
village.

The preceding discussion has shown that schooling especially its purposes
and goals are many things to many people. Schools as institutions have also been
viewed as ideological state apparatuses engaged in the production of the kind of
subjects capital need in order to reproduce the social and technical relations of
capitalist society (Carlson and Apple, 1998). This perception is not only applicable
to capitalist societies but also explains the ideological discourses that underpinned
schooling in socialist or communist states. Therefore, one can conclude that schools
in Tanzania, during the *Ujamaa* period were as of necessity also deemed to play the
same uses and functions discussed by Graff (1986); Carlson and Apple (1998).
Schools have also been viewed as normalization institutions through their
curriculum and pedagogical practice. In regard to the normalizing effect of schools,
both Carlson and Apple (1998:12) observe:

"[....] the school in some ways, is the normalizing institution in the modern
era *par excellence.*   We find normalizing power in the classification,
sorting, and labeling of students as normal or abnormal learners---that is, as
high ability or lower ability students, as academic or vocational students, as
"regular" or special education students, and as "responsible" and
"irresponsible" or delinquent students. By erecting these dualism in discourse
and practice, public schools have served a powerful role in producing
instrumental and conforming citizens and workers."

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As stated earlier, there are conflicting arguments over the functions of schooling in society. The above discussion has only highlighted a few, some of which will be discussed under the section on the effect of language on education.

2.5.2   Effects of Language on Education

Language plays a critical role in learning. We also need to understand and be aware of the different language use habits of different ages, gender, social class, cultural groups, and subcultures (Lemke, 1995). The different language repertoires available in a community are a resource and form part of what Bourdieu (1994a, b, 1997), Bourdieu and Passeron (1998), Goke-Pariola (1993) and Giroux (1988) call cultural capital. Cultural capital is used in this discussion to refer to the system of meanings, abilities, language forms, and tastes that are directly or indirectly defined by dominant groups as socially legitimate (Apple, 1978:496; Bourdieu, 1991). For many children in post-colonial states, the educational system is the only source for the acquisition of cultural capital (Bhatt, 2001: 533).

This cultural capital, especially its linguistic component is accessed differently in the learning situation resulting into differential levels of achievement for different groups of learners. This is mainly due to the discontinuity and misfit between learners' home language use and that, which is required at school for success. In other words, the mismatch between the language of the home and school is an important cause of educational failure (cf. Bernstein, 1960, 1974). It is possible that in responding to this discrepancy occasioned by the language situation in schools, learners have had to adapt various strategies, some of which do not conform to the official school language and in doing so they underachieve. In view of this, Bernstein (1987) has observed that schools expect people to use language in certain ways and that these are by and large the ways of the middle-class or dominant groups which put members of other social classes at a disadvantage.

The concern over the relationship between language and schooling has been documented well in the literature. For example, Cook-Gumperz (1986: 8-9) observes:

"[…] While other factors have been acknowledged as important for school success, language differences have often until recently been overlooked as incidental handicaps to the learning process. However, since the essential character of school learning process is verbal exchange, it is language differences that are likely to be and remain the biggest focus of concern. Children may come to school as competent speakers of language, but their competence takes the form of a variety of dialects. What these dialects are affects the way children are judged, not only in their speaking performance but also in matters of attitude and motivation."

Furthermore, evidence from Malawi and Zambia documented by Williams (2000) shows that language has great consequences in understanding of concepts as the majority of pupils experience difficulties in learning other subjects through reading in English. Williams' conclusion is collaborated by the Zambian Ministry of Education Report (cited in Williams, 2000:246), which claimed that:

"[….] Too early an emphasis on learning through English means that the majority of children form hazy and indistinct concepts in language, mathematics, science and social studies. A number of studies in Zambia have confirmed that children's subsequent learning has been impaired by this policy"

Williams (2000:247) concludes that for the majority of children in both Malawi and Zambia, all the available evidence suggests that there is a clear risk that the policy of using English as a vehicular language may contribute to stunting rather than promoting academic and cognitive growth. Cumming (1997) argues that the forms of language that the school values are not available to many children who come from class, gender or cultural backgrounds that differ from dominant norms. Yet, schools operate as if all children had ready access to the dominant norm or should be expected to gain access to it. It is clear from this argument to concur with Gal (1989) who observes that schools and language become institutions that guard access to material resources through verbal interaction judged on what are seemingly universalistic criteria (cf. Lippi-Green, 1997).

Language serves well the purposes of education in that it dominates and disempowers language users whose practices differ from the norms that it establishes (Kaplan, 1997). In this way, language performs the same functions that

are performed by accent, which Lippi-Green (1997:64) claims serves as the first point of gate-keeping because we are forgiven by law and custom, and perhaps by a prevailing sense of what is morally and ethically right from using race, ethnicity, homeland or economic directly and thus becomes a litmus test for exclusion, an excuse to turn away and to refuse to recognize the other. In addition, languages lend themselves to being institutionalized for political or ideological purposes and thus they become a form of cultural capital or more generally symbolic capital exchangeable in the market place of social interaction (Heller, 1994).

Blommaert (1999a) has argued that in the mid-1940s in Tanzania, Kiswahili became a medium of mobilization and political education, and thus acquired the symbolic load of nationalism. This in one way proves correct the assertion that the value of linguistic practices, which are made available through education depend on their ability to give access to desired positions in the labour market. Gal (1989) observes that linguistic practices in their totality become a resource which students and society in general use to gain entry in particular sets of knowledge, skills and practices that are commensurate with what is legitimatized by schools acting on behalf of and as part of dominant group in society. That is why Bourdieu and Passeron (1998), Bernstein (1987, 1996), Heller (1994, 1996), Gal (1989) and Giroux (1988) argue that linguistic practices or language provides access to material resources. In describing the relationship between language and education both Bourdieu and Passeron (1998:73) have noted:

> "[….] The influence of linguistic capital, particularly manifest in the first years of schooling when the understanding and use of language are the major points of leverage for teachers' assessments, never ceases to be felt: style is always taken into account, implicitly or explicitly at every level of education system."

The language of instruction in post-primary education in Tanzania is based on the British colonial 'Standard English (SE)', which according to Lippi-Green (1997:53) is a useful abstraction, one constructed and reconstructed on an on-going basis with great care and attention because it serves a number of functions. Lemke

(1995:142-3) has observed that in addition to languages being both resources and gatekeepers of material resources, they are also:

> "[….] a modern creation, like all other standard national languages created in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as part of nation building...... The ideology of standard languages claims that their standardization is necessary for wide-scale communication, for specialized activities, and even for logical thinking.... Standard languages like Standard Written English (SWE) are languages for the schools, and more critically of school examinations, civil service examinations, of the courts, and the state bureaucracy, of corporate management and the mass media. They are the varieties of language used in agencies of power, they are based on the varieties used historically by the dominant groups, and their veneration and quasi-legal status legitimates ruthless discrimination against all other groups on the basis of 'poor' English. Learning to write in a different dialect, especially the social dialect of a subculture to which one does not belong, is extremely difficult, the more so because the semantic patterns favoured by SWE are a product of dominant group values and styles of communication."

It is this observation, which makes Lippi-Green (1997:56) conclude that the social domain of standard language (SL) is that of the educated in particular those who have achieved a high level of expertise in the written language such as SWE. This perhaps explains to a certain extent some of the problems that are experienced by both teachers and students in teaching and learning and subsequent student achievement, which has been found to be wanting in Tanzania's post-primary levels of education.

The problems encountered by learners in accessing the required language use patterns of SE that is the media of institutional authority and a marker of particular social groups. Kadeghe (2000) has observed that it is misleading though common to view languages whether Kiswahili or English as neutral signaling systems because language, whether ethnic or western are carriers of socio-economic symbolic meanings. This has great implications on pedagogical and classroom practices. For example, Mongella (1990) has observed that student's poor standard of English force teachers to make translations from English into Kiswahili in teaching since code-switching is born out of necessity and presents an expedient and necessary solution to the practical and real problem of communication in the classroom (Kadeghe,

2000; see also Qorro, 1999 and Rubanza, 1993, 1995 on classroom code-switching in Tanzanian secondary schools).

The discussion in this section has tried to show that schooling serves specific purposes in society. These are achieved, maintained, reproduced and reinforced through language. It is worthwhile to end this section by looking at the remarks made by Bourdieu and Passeron (1998) and Cornbleth (1998) on the issue. Whereas Cornbleth (1998) argues that public schooling in the US serves the purposes of Americanization and assimilation, and has furthered the interests of the economically, politically and culturally dominant groups. Bourdieu and Passeron (1998:82) observe:

> "[…] And in fact, whereas a significant relation between variables such as social origin or sex and success in the language test is found only in those exercises closest to the traditional techniques of school assessment, educational career characteristics such as the secondary school section or indices of previous success (such as examination grades) are more strongly linked than all other criteria to language test performance, whatever the type of exercise."

In fact what is being explained in the above is that educational success is much more related to language. These observations are partly true for Tanzania especially for the period between 1967 and the early 1980s where there was a clear vision of education as outlined in "Education for Self-Reliance (ERS)". However, the period beginning from the mid-1980s does not clearly show what students are being socialized or assimilated into because the 1980s have witnessed the collapse of the economy that has had far-reaching consequences for the social sector in Tanzania.

The disenchantment and disillusionment with ERS and the collapse of the national philosophy of '*Ujamaa*' -Africa Socialism ushered in a policy vacuum although the former has been retained in documents for political and public relations purposes. The vision of education and the nation that was clearly articulated in ERS has become an empty slogan put to use for specific political ends during elections. It is in this vacuum, which English and its associated ideologies have found fertile soil to germinate and spread.

2.6   Language ideologies and language hierarchies

The role and significance of language ideology to language policy and language education lie in the fact that language ideology is the mediating link between social structures and forms of talk and their significance envision and enact links of language to group, to personal identity, to aesthetics, morality and epistemology (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994). In addition, Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) argue that ideologies of language underpin fundamental social institutions such as nation-state, schooling, gender, dispute settlement, and law, all of which are dependent on the ideologisation of language use. My understanding of language idealogy is based on the definitions proposed by both Michael Silverstein and Judith Irvine, which focus on speakers' ideas about language and discourse, and how these articulate with various social phenomena (Kroskrity, 1999:5) such as education.

In the case of the ideology of English, one can focus on its political effects that are embedded in its structural powers although there are social and economic implications that are indirectly linked to it. In this respect, ideology refers to the values of dominant groups in society which permeate the social structure, to the advantage of the already dominating groups and to the disadvantage of the already disadvantaged (Eagleton, 1991: 29-30). In addition, Lippi-Green (1997:108) argues that the ideological implications of English on people lies in its function as a purveyor of thoughts, cultures and ideologies that affect the ways in which people think and behave. For instance, Hailemariam *et al* (1999) argue that the emergence of nationalism as a new narrative of political legitimacy required the identification of the sovereign 'nation' along legal or cultural criteria or a combination of both. It was logical that a sovereign should have a single language, thus the development of standard languages, which later became national or official languages of the sovereign. The same can be said about colonialism, which was based on the denial that the colonized had political rights thus it required a clear distinction between the settlers and the colonized.

In either case, particular languages had to be orchestrated to appear superior to the language of the vanquished. This is when ideology enters the scheme by projecting certain things as natural and universal, and the creation of a myth about a

particular language. Myths grow out of a failure to explain a phenomenon because of the current state of knowledge in a particular community. For example, in my ethnic community, twins were seen as a curse and if a woman gave birth to twins, they had to be killed because it was believed that it was animals such as dogs, which gave birth to more than one offspring. The traditional wisdom and knowledge of the time could not explain how a human being could give birth to twins. Thus it became something like a curse betokening a calamity to the whole community. That is why I concur with Lippi-Green (1997) who argues that myths are magical and powerful constructs that can motivate social behaviours and actions, which would otherwise be contrary to logic and reason. Therefore, the myth of SL persists because it is carefully tended and propagated by individuals acting for a larger social group who take upon themselves to control and limit spoken language variation, the most basis and fundamental socialization tool (Lippi-Green, 1997:59).

This process is greatly achieved through schooling, the public institution to which we turn to when we manipulate the language situation in a country or local community (Ricento and Burnaby, 1998). It is also an arena where language ideology, especially legitimate language use and form such as Standard English is enforced and practiced. The education institution is the arena where the taken-for-granted assumptions, beliefs and value systems about religion, culture and language shared collectively by social groups (Simpson, 1993) are transmitted to the next generation.

Descriptions of English as the language of survival, as the gateway to social rewards, the language of empowerment, the language of culture, civilization, science and technology refer to ideologies about it. These are a set of beliefs and common-sense attributes about the language. They become schemas and metaphors that give us the power to conceptualize and reason (Lakoff and Turner, 1989) about it and grow into myths about English (see Lippi-Green, 1997 – on myths associated with English). That is why these descriptions of English cannot easily be understood as ideological because Haslett (2000:52) argues that the beliefs of the ruling class may not be recognized as ideological since strategies, often characteristic of ideology itself are deployed to disguise the partiality of these beliefs which are presented as universal or are naturalized and made to appear inevitable. Such is the case with the

ideology of English that makes it appear to be natural in which its descriptions is symptomatic of the false deceptiveness of the ideology of English.

Language ideology, which informs Language policy and planning create hierarchies of language by defining non-dominant languages in the socio-cultural, political and economic spheres as being immature and inferior. Irvine and Gal (1999:35) contend that hierarchies of language occur because language ideology makes it possible for linguistic differentiation, which grows out of

> "[….] the ideas which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them – these are suffused with the political and moral issues pervading the particular sociolinguistic field and are subject to the interests of their bearers' social position."

For example, John Stuart Mill (cited in May, 2001:21) argues that smaller nationalities should be assimilated into the nation-state via its national culture and language. This is a typical case of the regimentation and creation of hierarchies of language based on the supremacy of a particular linguistic variety. Hence, language ideology is one of the main components of the nation state since the nation-state is founded on a single language where education is used to develop a strong linguistic and cultural hegemony. I argue that hierarchies of language are social and political constructions emanating from ideology since they are used to achieve consent and subjugate speakers of non-dominant language varieties in a nation-state.

2.7 Language Policy and Education

In the preceding discussion, it was argued that language and schooling are intertwined phenomena, which can, among others be understood and explained by analyzing their socio-cultural, political and historical origins. Similarly, it was also argued that language and schooling are implicated in the production, reproduction and maintenance of dominant cultural ideologies and resultant socio-cultural, political and economic inequalities. The foregoing discussion maintains that language and its concomitant educational and pedagogical practices in schools and generally in society cannot be understood outside their national and social histories

because language participates in and sustains the process of normalization of particular socio-cultural and political ideological discourses over others. Thus, I argue that all language users need to be made aware of the subtle role language plays in the development and consolidation of ideologies.

It is this kind of understanding that gives credit to the argument that language, especially language policy and language planning, together with schooling deliberately conspire to convey discourses of legitimization. As such, language policy is inseparable from politics because as Burnaby and Ricento (1998) observe language is a quintessential aspect of being human, and politics is a principal means by which humans obtain power, control, or status. Language therefore sustains and reinforces power and domination. This is achieved by way of revered SL varieties that deserve respect. The process of making a language revered emanates from it being selected as an official and the language of education in a nation state. This raises its status and value before its users. For example, Rassool (2000:389) argues that national languages (NL) or languages selected for use in schooling gain symbolic value in the nation building process as well as having instrumental value as an exchange commodity in the labour market. Kiswahili is a case in point here because it was the legitimate language of politics and nation building in Tanzania soon after independence and thus was revered by many (see Mazrui and Mazrui, 1998 –on the fortunes of both English and Kiswahili in Tanzania). Language policy is therefore about language ideology, under which are subsumed matters of human understandings such as ideas, consciousness, and beliefs about the relation of language and talk to social life (Gal, 1998).

These revered varieties become authoritative linguistic practices through language policy and the processes of schooling. Gal (2001) argues that authoritative language practices are forms which deliver characteristic cultural definitions of social life and that when these definitions are embodied in divisions of labour and social institutions such as schools, they serve the interests of some groups better than others. These authoritative linguistic forms become practices that are legitimatized by language policy and in due course become the dominant linguistic practices that are used by the educational systems to impose on others their dominant group's definitions of events, people and actions (Gal, 2001)

Language policy is therefore a mechanism that is also basically about representations and rights of groups of people and thus it is inseparable from political representation of various groups in a nation-state. Language policy and planning are therefore arenas where processes of legitimization of a particular ideology and associated discourses are struggled over, won, and or lost. That is why Rabin, C (1971) and Robert, L. Cooper (1989) (cited in Mesthrie *et al* 2000: 399) have noted that language-planning activities often form part of a wider social engineering and are employed to achieve non-linguistic goals such as socioeconomic modernisation or national integration. For instance, national or official languages are created with this overriding objective. In this discussion, it is argued that ideologies of language are the substance of language policy and its language planning practices, and by the same token, schooling -the implementation institution.

I therefore contend that language policy is responsible for exacerbating the inequalities, which exist in society because that inequality exists when socially distinct entities have differential access to strategic resources and this differentiation gives those with access to control the actions of others (Paynter, 1989). Language is one of these strategic resources that is potentially equitably available to all in society but language policy may result into its differential accessibility. For example, a study conducted by Williams (2000) in Zambia and Malawi concluded that the government aims of unification and economic development was not a reality since only a tiny minority of pupils acquire sufficient competence in 'English' to learn through it. The study also showed that English does not serve as a unifying factor, but a divisive one because for the majority, the use of English as a medium is a barrier rather than a bridge to learning, contributes to low quality education, which has negative impact on development. Regardless of the evidence from the study, Williams (2000) observes that English is perceived as more useful by parents, pupils and government although in Malawi ChiChewa discriminates far less than English against rural pupils and girls.

Of importance to the proposition presented here is that language policy is at the center of the distribution of power, access to resources and opportunities (Williams, 1998; Blommaert, 1996) which may ultimately lead to the existence or absence of harmony and peace between and within different social and ethnic groups

in a nation (see Blommaert, 1996 on the effect of the language policy in education in Tanzania). As such language policy is at the center of political alliances, creates spheres of influences and opens up the community or nation's doors to economic exploitation (Deneire, 1998). English in Tanzania performs such activities because as a consequence of language policy, it serves as a tool or channel for social, political and power relations leading me to agree with Deneire (*ibid.*) who argues that just as religion played an essential role in colonialism, language serves as a channel for post-colonial relations and in certain ways the language teacher has replaced the priest and the catechist.

However, this observation should not be taken to be a preserve for English only because even languages such as Kiswahili can also play the same roles. Such a view of Kiswahili should be taken in relation to the socio-cultural, political and historical development of the former in Tanzania before and after independence. It is this position that makes the argument posited by Eggington and Wren (1997) about language teaching salient here. They argue that the purpose of language teaching appears to be assimilation to the cultural values and political structures of the majority because schooling often routinely represses, dominates and disempowers language users whose practices differ from the norms it establishes. This is the case because schools serve to inculcate skills, subjectivities and disciplines that undergird the modern nation-state (Durkheim cited in Levinson and Holland, 1996) and also relates to the social function of public education in the reproduction of the ideology of SE (Watts, 1999b).

A few examples would serve to illustrate how language ideologies operate as influential discourses in educational practices. The 'English Only' movement in the United States (Milroy, 1999a, Cornbleth, 1998), the 'Grammar' and 'SE' debate in the UK in the 1970s and 1980s in the wake of the National Curriculum (Milroy, 1999a, Milroy, 1999b, Carter, 1996, 1999; Cameron, 1995; Milroy and Milroy, 1991), the debate on falling educational standards and falling standards of English in Tanzania in the early 1970s todate in Tanzania (Roy-Campbell and Qorro, 1987, 1997; Roy-Campbell, 1992; Mulokozi, 1991, Mongella, 1990; Yahya-Othman, 1997; Mlama and Matteru, 1978; Mvungi, 1974) are illustrative of how particular language ideologies become realities in explaining educational phenomena. Similarly, the

literary debate over the free verse and regular verse in Kiswahili poetry in Tanzania that was evident in the 1970s and 1980s can be interpreted as a struggle over definitions of social reality pitted against each other with the aim of gaining authority for one particular representation (Madumulla, Bertoncini and Blommaert, 1999). This particular example shows how a particular language ideology, that is, ways of doing things with language can have implications for the teaching and learning of a language such as Kiswahili in schools because hitherto, the rubric governing the composition of Kiswahili poems had been exclusive as many could not access the legitimized form (see also Heller, 1996 -on the implications of legitimate language use and form in the bilingual classroom).

It is worthwhile rounding off the discussion on language policy and education by quoting Cameron (1995:74) who argues:

> "[….] There is always a point of view in language, but we are apt to notice it only when it is not one we share. The politics of discourse are about getting others to believe that the point of view embodied in this or that verbal representation is not really a point of view but just plain truth of the matter, whereas alternative representations are biased and perverse. Certainly those who talk about 'collateral damage' and 'the elimination of undesirable elements' are engaged in this kind of politics."

What Cameron describes is by no means surprising because language policy is about legitimization of particular verbal representations, it is about the creation of commonsense implied in particular language use and forms, and culminates into making particular language(s) prominent.

The next section looks at the consequences of the ideology of language policy and how the former underpins NL or official languages (OLs) and standard language(s) and in turn how these get realized in education. In doing this, we shall also be reinterpreting readings from the debate of language policy in education in Tanzania.

2.8   The Politics of Language of Instruction

2.8.1   The Consequences of the Ideology of Language Policy

Language policy is both ideological and political in nature and practice. It creates prestigious SL varieties as well as being about language choice, legitimate language use and form and consequently discriminatory. In the words of Tollefson (1995) language policy and language planning around the world are linked to the distribution of political power and economic resources because language policy defines and institutionalizes particular language choices and use through official regulation such as legal acts enshrined in the constitution or other mechanisms. For example, writing on 'SL' as 'a normalized' product, Bourdieu (1992a: 47-48) has observed:

> "[…] To reform language, to purge it of usages linked to the old society and impose it in its purified form, was to impose a thought that would itself be purged and purified. It would be naive to attribute the policy of linguistic unification solely to the technical needs of communication between the different parts of the territory, particularly between Paris and the provinces.... The conflict between the French of the revolutionary intelligentsia and the dialects or *patois* was a struggle for symbolic power in which what was at stake was the *formation* and *re-formulation* of mental structures.... In short, it was not only a question of communication but of gaining recognition for a new language authority...."

Here we observe how the French revolutionaries initiated a deliberate policy on language to achieve political purposes. Furthermore, language choice, the by-product of language policy has political and social implications. Gal (1998) observes that these implications reside or are rooted in speakers' commonsense convictions about what a language is and what the use of language is assumed to imply about political royalty and identity (see also Cameron, 1995, Milroy and Milroy, 1991 on the ideology of SE).

More importantly, language policy assigns roles, domains, and functions to particular languages and in due course marginalizes certain languages (see Mekacha, 1998 on the coexistence of Kiswahili and other local languages in Tanzania). According to Blommaert (1996) this is done through a process of deliberate privileging those languages that are selected. This process, thus implicates language

deeply into the political and ideological normalization and universalisation of specific meanings into the public (Blommaert, 1996; see also Fanon, 1967; Ngugi, 1993 on language and colonial mentality). I argue that language policy in post-colonial states such as Tanzania embraced wholesale the ideology that was the basis of construction of SL in Western Europe. For example, in examining language policy and planning initiated in the 1960s, Ricento (2000:11) has observed:

> "[….] Much of the early language policy and planning centred on the selection of a national language for purposes of modernization and nation-building. The consensus was that a major European language (usually English or French) should be used for formal and specialized domains while local (indigenous) languages could serve other functions premised on the argument that linguistic diversity presented obstacles for national development while linguistic homogeneity was associated with modernization and Westernization…. the argument went on to state that only developed languages (or ones that were capable of being developed) were suitable to fulfill the role of 'national' language; developed languages were written, standardized, and adaptable to the demands of technological and social advancement."

One can also view language policy as an outcome of power struggle and an arena for these struggles just as education is. Therefore, language policy should be analyzed from a position that allows us to understand its consequences for education because like schooling, language policy is also a political and ideological tool of the state acting on behalf of the dominant groups for the maintenance of their particular discourses. Issues which are pertinent to this discussion involve dealing with concerns such as which, whose language and standards are made prominent and authorized for dissemination and why.

2.8.2   The Ideology of National Languages (NL)

I have argued above that language policy is about language choice and use and consequently it is also about discourse. Fairclough (1992) observes that language discourse has effects upon other dimensions of society of which language is one, as well as being shaped by it, and help to constitute and change knowledge and its objects, social relations, and social identity, which correspond to the

ideational, relational and identical functions of language. This observation sits well with the efficiency and integration ideological conceptualization (Blommaert, 1996, 1999a), which inform most language policies and its associated language planning practices that have been pursued by most post-colonial states in sub-Saharan Africa since independence (see also Ricento, 2000 on historical and theoretical perspectives in language policy and planning).

The political discourses of efficiency, integration and modernization are central to the development of NL or OLs. These subsequently affect education because schooling is seen to be an agent for change. It is this understanding that give strength to the proposition that language policies are rooted in particular socio-cultural and historical circumstances and are determined by the model the state upholds (Blommaert, 1996, 1999a). These in turn, determine choices that are made about languages whether they are NL or OLs. Glazer (cited in Williams, 1998:8) argues:

> "[…] If the state adopts a diffusion perspective of ethnic change viewing group identities as malleable and group membership as a purely private affair, it will conceive of group rights as a barrier to minority assimilation and as a basis for maintaining permanent divisions within the state. However, if the state conceives of its constituent cultural groups as forming part of an established ethnically plural society, then it must legislate and act on what the rights of each group shall be."

It follows therefore that subsequent language policies pursued by most post-colonial states in Africa including Tanzania conceived of pluralism or multiculturalism as a barrier to national integration and modernization. This (was) is still in keeping up with the efficiency and integration assumptions that determine not only language planning practices but also other national sectors such as education and economics. Blommaert (1996) further argues that the efficiency assumption is premised on a smooth and efficient management of state business that can be inhibited by the presence of too many languages that is characteristic of Africa (Mazrui and Mazrui, 1998). Therefore, this requires a reduction of the number of languages spoken in a polity by assigning different public functions to the languages that are available in the state. The integration assumption implies that

multilingualism is an obstacle to the creation of national unity because the former is bound to stir ethnic feelings that are judged incompatible with the idea of a nation (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998; Elugbe, 1997; Gorlach, 1997; Bamgbose, 1994; Appiah, 1992).

NL or OLs are essentially about particular attitudes, values and beliefs. They are also about particular ways of saying that is particular discourses, which are quite often wholly political because they are ideologically driven. According to French (1999) they are constitutive of notions of peoplehood and nationhood, and thus subserve a state sponsored division of labour that is symbiotically related to modern political and economic structures (Errington, 1997). That is why Bourdieu (1994a) argues that an offical language (OL) imposes itself on the whole population as the only legitimate language and becomes a code in the sense of a system of norms regulating linguistic practices. OLs are planned and implemented through particular language policies. This is true of most post-colonial states in sub-Saharan Africa where they are bound up with state formation. Language policy sets itself the target of integrating the various units in a state into a single 'linguistic community' which is a product of the political domination that is endlessly reproduced by institutions capable of imposing universal recognition of the dominant language (Bourdieu, 1994a).

Nationalist movements for independence gave prominence to languages because language is the heart of the mind of a people. That is why French (1999:278) argues:

> "[….] nationalist ideologies treat languages as emblems of nationness like flags, customs, folk dances, and ..... that the relation of language to nationhood is not semiotic but rhetorical: not a sign pointing to a collective identity but a force for enabling collective identities to emerge and nations to be imagined."

And Ernest Gellner cited in Errington (1998:21) argues further that national languages are:

> "[….] A universal conceptual currency, so to speak, for the general characterization of things. All facts are located within a single continuous

logical space, [such] that statements reporting them can be conjoined and generally related to each other, and so that in principle one single language describes the word and is internally unitary. In our society it is assumed that all referential uses of language ultimately refer to one coherent word and can be reduced to a unitary idiom, and that it is legitimate to relate them to each other."

What is implied above is that national languages convey particular representations, which are taken and cultivated to be universal throughout the community. This explains to some extent the language ideology of Kiswahili especially in its political rhetorical use and meanings in Tanzania during and after independence. First, as a language of political struggle, lexical items such as *ubaguzi, mkoloni, uhuru, umoja, ukabila*, etc. and second as the language of socialism and development (*Ujamaa na Maendeleo*), words such as *kabaila, mrija, kupe, bepari, ndugu, mwenzetu*, etc. took on very special meanings conveying particular ideas which found space in people's vision of a particular reality. Nonetheless, underlying these representations lie issues of power relations between the polity and its people and among social groups within the polity (Blommaert, 1996, 1999b; see also Bourdieu, 1994a on the French during the French Revolution; Fairclough, 1992 on discourses of the debate on SE in the UK).

However, having established the fact that national or official languages reflect particular representations of reality inherent in them, a question that begs our attention, is how they affect education. We have argued elsewhere that language learning and schooling are vital institutionalized processes of domination and subordination. This problematise the teaching and learning of these languages (standard and/or offical) partly within the perspective of the notion of contending ideologies that is inherent in language (Cooke, 1999). This in turn enables us to view the teaching and learning of NLs as it relates to the proposition that language teaching fulfils the demands of the dominant culture whose language is usually selected to be the national or official language of a state.

Consequently, we are forced to acknowledge Kaplan's (1997) argument that the purpose of teaching NLs is not so much about linguistics but the inculcation of cultural values such that the equation exists between notions of proper language use and moral behaviour (see also Carter, 1996; Cameron, 1995; Milroy and Milroy,

1991 on the reasons that lie behind the debate over the teaching of SE in UK). By extension, the same can be said about the teaching of L1 and L2. For example, the teaching of English in Tanzania as an ESL both as a subject and as MOI in post-primary education goes beyond linguistics because the objectives of teaching are socio-cultural and political. Saville-Troike (1989) and Fanon (1967) have discussed exhaustively on what it means when one acquires an L2.

What is mentioned above is quite apparent in the English language syllabus in Tanzania (MOEC, 1996b), which shows that socio-cultural and political values are prominent in teaching and learning of English in Tanzania. Hence English becomes loaded with symbolic material values such that its demand is reflected in the increase in the number of English Medium primary schools.

Nevertheless, we are still faced with some basic questions, which ought to be of great concern in this context. Such questions include who makes language policy and inevitably selects the language to be used in schools? Why is this particular language selected not another? What are the majority cultures that are packaged in that particular language? Why is English given such an important role in the educational system in Tanzania? These questions raise issues that pertain to language policy, language ideology and education.

The problematisation of the teaching of a national language (NL) or in this particular case English in Tanzania enables us to link and establish the perception of schools as border institutions in which participants engage in daily acts of translation and negotiation (Giroux, 1994). The linkage is made possible by the apparent multi-sidedness of the role of language, whether national or official or as a MOI in carrying opposing ideologies (Cooke, 1999). For instance, issues in education that surface as debates about falling standards in English in both Tanzania and the UK are about strong contending ideologies such as styles of representation, morals and behaviour, authority and power relations in society (Madumulla, Bertoncini and Blommaert, 1999; Milroy, 1999b; Milroy, 1999a; Watts, 1999a; Carter, 1996; Cameron, 1995; Milroy and Milroy, 1991).

It is in the border institutions where English in the form of textbooks become a resource, the interface and site for translation and negotiation. This may be a true case with ELT textbooks, which just like any other books help organize, normalize

particular forms of cultures, promote particular speech repertoires, and give status and value to particular language forms and styles as well as exclusion of other forms of cultures by categorizing them as unworthy of attention through down playing them and assigning them negative connotations and associations.

It is therefore argued that NLs or OLs are state sponsored and likewise necessarily implicated and responsible for the normalization of forms of inequality sedimented in the differential allocation of speaking rights, attributions of status and values to speech styles, uneven distribution of speech repertoires characteristic of standard languages, and other historical developments (Blommaert, 1999a). NLs like Kiswahili also become a resource with symbolic material values in their own right just as English is. In short, language education is both a reflection and outcome of language policy and thus reproduces socio-cultural and political inequalities.

However, before I move forward, I need to underscore the fact that the current language-in-education policy in Tanzania worked against the main philosophy of education as stated in the 'Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) document on education. In the words of Nyerere (1968b) ESR aimed at transforming the elitist education designed to meet the interests and needs of a very small proportion of those who enter the school system and induces among those who succeed a feeling of superiority and leaves the majority of others hankering after something they will never obtain. A brief discussion of the Arusha Declaration and its impact on language, education and politics is given below premised on the understanding that language policy and planning and education are in large part political.

2.8.3   The Arusha Declaration (ArDe) and the *Ujamaa* political philosophy

ArDe was pronounced in 1967 as a statement of principles that would guide the development of Tanzania. ArDe together with its sister publication "*Ujamaa Vijijini*" of October 1967 (Nyerere, 1973) were socio-cultural, political, educational and economic texts that were geared towards transforming the socio-political and economic landscape of Tanzania through self reliance. ArDe was initiated to produce an egalitarian society based on equality in which the state on behalf the

nation would control all means of production, especially land. Land became a major component in the *Ujamaa* philosphy on the recognition that Tanzania would develop through agriculture that accounted for 95 percent of the GNP and was the largest employer. That is why the villagilization programme based on the *Ujamaa Vijijini* TANU party policy document was used as an implementation strategy of ArDe on the one hand and Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) in the education system on the other hand.

ESR is a policy that grew out of the disenchantment with the colonial education that tended to divorce school graduates from their society. The former was geared towards producing graduates for white color jobs. These, it was realized could not be guaranteed by the governmentt (see Nyerere, 1967, 1968a on colonial education in Tanzania). ESR was also a statement of principles that acknowledged the potentiality of children and young people as future builders of socialist Tanzania (Mwansoko, 1990:52). Mwansoko observes further that

> "[….] Education for self-reliance...ephasized the relevance of education to the socio-political and economic needs of Tanzania, a country which for many decades to come will continue to be mainly agricultural. Essentially, ERS aimed at producing young people who were aware of their social responsibilities in a poor country attempting a socialist transformation and who could be absorbed into the country's economy."

Consequently, one can argue that language and education became the main cornerstone for the implementation of ArDe in Tanzania. The success of ArDe hinged on the use of Kiswahili as the language of social and economic development. As Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1987: 85-86) argue:

> "[….] In 1967, Tanzania initiated a process, which paved the way for cultural change in the society. By implementing the decision to use Kiswahili as the MOI at primary school level, Tanzania enabled basic education to become accessible to the majority of the population."

As noted above, Kiswahili was found better placed as the language of instruction for an educational system that aimed at imparting to the youth and children from diverse cultures and languages with a defined purpose, a general sense

of common identity and culture, and the Tanzanian socialist ideology (see also Blommaert, 1999a on the political role of Kiswahili in the ArDe era). The socio-cultural, political and economic objectives of ArDE and those of its sister documents of ESR and *Ujamaa Vijijini* can be viewed as a statements of intent because the objectives they set to achieve have not been realized (Othman, 1988:161). However, this does not downplay the importance of ArDe in Tanzania because the philosophy it attempted to propagate together with its emphasis on the use of Kiswahili were instrumental in further strengthening national unity, and led to the creation of a strong sense of national cultural identity.

Bearing in mind what ArDe and ESR stood for, it is argued in this study that the use of English in post-primary education in Tanzania runs counter to what ESR aimed at doing away with because as I have argued language is also a means of achieving political and economic ends. Therefore, language policy made difficult the realization of the promises and aspirations initiated by ESR in Tanzania. There is a gap between what ArDe and ESR espoused and the language policy and consequent language planning adopted by the government to implement the educational, social and economic programmes because they forgot to take into account the fact that effective planning depends on the understanding of the relevant social, cultural, political and historical variables, knowledge of attitudes and the direction of social change in Tanzania. The policy adopted in Tanzania maintained the same colonial language policy, which I argue was not in symphony with the socio-political and economic changes stated in ArDe and ESR in such a way that English became a strong and influential oppositional force. For example, why have the recommendation to adopt Kiswahili to be the MOI in secondary education by 1985 and tertiary in 1992, and the commitment to introduce the national language reiterated in the Cultural Policy (*Sera ya Utamaduni*) of 1997 never been implemented in the language planning programmes initiated by the government?

Briefly, my argument is that English becomes an agent of the western ideology because as observed in this review, any language carries with it socio-cultural and economic systems of knowledge and analysis. Debates on the role of English in Tanzania show clearly that there are vested group interests at stake because as S. Yahya-Othman (1997) argues language policy decisions are

essentially tied to questions of ideology, which can be understood in terms of the country's political, economic and power relations (see also Roy-Campbell, 1992 on the impact of financial lending agencies on education in Tanzania). English as an agent in post-colonial states such as Tanzania can be understood through identifying the group in society that is involved in making decisions about what languages should be used in the education system and the reasons put forward to support such decisions.

The next section on the consequences of language policy focuses on the politics of English in education in Tanzania that are often camouflaged in debates about falling education standards.

2.8.4   English and the Politics of Education in Tanzania

I began the discussion on language policy and education with a proposal that issues of language use are about language ideology. Issues that relate to language choice and use are about access to language as a resource and how this resource is distributed in society. As such, discussions on the current language-in-education policy in Tanzania ought to focus on its practices and consequences in order to establish how educational objectives become realized in the way they are. This discussion views language-in-education as an allocation of a resource and critically examines how English has become a cultural capital with symbolic and material value. It is about the notions, which are associated with English in Tanzania such as equating English with education; metaphors such as English as a gateway to social rewards and etc. These and many other subjectivities put forward and propagated by the ideology of SE seem to have found credibility in Tanzania, as the foregoing discussion will show.

It noteworthy to state that the ensuing discussion is not a replay of the MOI debate in Tanzania because a substantial amount of literature exists on the subject (see Qorro, 1997; Roy-Campbell and Qorro, 1987, 1997; Barrett, 1994; Lwaitama and Rubagumya, 1990; Mongella, 1990; Maw, 1989; Rubagumya, 1989 for extensive coverage). The pros and cons of the continued use of English as a MOI in post-primary education in Tanzania have been extremely debated (see Roy-

Campbell and Qorro (1987, 1997), Roy-Campbell (1992), Mulokozi (1991) and Schmied (1991). The same goes for the impact of language on education standards (see Roy-Campbell and Qorro, 1987, 1997; Rubagumya, 1994; Myers-Scotton, 1991; Schmied, 1991; Trappes-Lomax, 1986; Eastman, 1983), and for the suitability of using Kiswahili as a MOI in post-primary education where again literature abounds (see also Mongella, 1990; Msanjila, 1990; Mohamed, 1975 on the same). The existence or absence of language policy in Tanzania has been discussed in Blommaert (1999a), Rajabu and Ngonyani (1994), Mulokozi (1991) and Schmied (1991).

In contrast with all these studies, the kind of language problem I have in mind is a consequence of the dominance of English in Tanzania. I want to examine why English has become a valued cultural and symbolic commodity and the perceptions people hold about this valued resource. I propose that the value of English in Tanzania should be viewed as product of colonial history on the one hand and a consequent result of the language policy, which has been pursued by the nationalist government since independence in 1961. I consider it as an unfinished colonial project. This argument is based on the observation that a policy on language-in-education is in place. It is clearly spelt out in the document on "Education and Training Policy" (MOEC, 1995a) and also in the "Cultural Policy" (*Sera ya Utamaduni*) issued by the same ministry in 1997. In these documents, the policy reads that the MOI for secondary education shall continue to be English except for the teaching of other approved languages and Kiswahili shall be a compulsory subject up to Ordinary Level." (MOEC, 1995a: 45), and that

> "[….] A special program to enable the use of Kiswahili as a MOI in education and training at all levels shall be designed and implemented. Kiswahili shall be a compulsory subject in pre-primary, primary and secondary education and shall be encouraged in higher education. In addition the teaching of Kiswahili shall be strengthened." (MOEC, 1997a: 3)

What is argued here are the consequences of such a policy because within the Tanzanian perspective, the issue of language in education is about access to English as a resource and socio-cultural capital. The causes of declining standards of

education that are tied to a corresponding decline in the standards of English are about how such a resource in its authoritative form is difficult to access even for those few students who have been given the opportunity.

Evidence is available which show that declining standards in education are among other reasons due to poor English caused by the low proficiency of English of teachers and students, poor teaching methods, absence of ELT materials and the general decline in the funding of education. These are well articulated in Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1987, 1997), Mongella (1990), Ngonyani (1990) Trappes-Lomax (1986), Criper and Dodd (1984) and Mvungi (1982). This is about what English, especially 'SE' stands for and its socio-cultural, political and economic implications to Tanzania. This discussion is also about how a language resource such as 'SE' is used to control and allocate entry into positions of influence in the job market and society's influential institutions including education itself. It is specifically about how the SL ideology, in this case SE manifests itself in Tanzania's socio-cultural, political and economic fabric. As Pennycook (1994) argues, issues about English have little to do with the structure of English but rather with the worldliness of English, its relationship to class, education and culture, the materiality of its imposition on these students at secondary school, and the complex implications of their eventual success in and through English.

A discussion of the position of English in the education system of Tanzania ought to raise questions about who decides on the language to be used for instruction in schools, why Kiswahili is assigned to cater for the lower levels of education while English is given prominence in higher levels of education. Why is English given prominence in Tanzania's education system where there already exists a language for wider communication? Moreover, the linguistic situation in Tanzania runs contrary to the premises on which the current language policy in education is based. The observations made by Tucko (cited in Graddol, 1996:201) are also applicable to the linguistic situation in Tanzania:

> "[…] Many students learn English in an 'acquisition poor environment (APE)': one where the teacher is not fully proficient in the language, where the schools and classrooms are under-equipped, and where there is no real communicative use of the language in the community."

Similar observations about the linguistic situation in Tanzania, especially regarding the uses of English are also well documented by Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1987, 1997); Blommaert (1996); Rubanza (1993, 1995); Mongella (1990); Msanjila (1990); Mlama and Matteru (1978). If this is the case, then the question is: who benefits from the current language policy in education, which maintains that English, shall be the MOI in secondary and tertiary education? As one parent commented:

"[…] First, one needs to identify who makes decisions on matters like the language of instruction. Personally, I think it is not the farmers or the poor people (*Walalahoi*) of Tanzania. Therefore the guardian or protectors of English including the reasons, which make them do so are known. It is more of a dominant class issue." (Safari Mafu - personal communication)

What lies underneath such a government policy explanation on the MOI? For example, the government stance on MOI in education sates:

"[….] Currently, English is the MOI at secondary school level and most instructional media and pedagogical materials available at this level are also written in English. This situation is likely to remain so for a long time in the foreseeable future. In this policy document, it has been proposed that English be taught as a subject from Std. I. It is therefore, expected that at the end of seven years of primary education, pupils will have acquired and developed adequate mastery of this language, both spoken and written, to cope with the English language proficiency demands at secondary, post-secondary levels and the world of work." (MOEC, 1995a: 44-45)

It is perhaps this and other related government pronouncements on language policy that have led linguists and educationalists to characterize the government language policy ambivalent (Roy-Campbell and Qorro, 1987, 1997; Mulokozi, 1991; Schmied, 1991; Mlama and Matteru, 1978).

Nevertheless, there is more to this government pronouncement. The explanation of such government statements and answers to some of the issues raised in relation to the MOI in education may be found in the duality of the institutional systems characteristic of post-colonial Africa, including Tanzania (Williams, 1998),

whose consequences are to make available different ranges of opportunities to its members on the basis of language in this particular case. Issues that relate to English in education in Tanzania touch on equity of access to education itself, quality of education that is differentially made available as most English medium primary schools and private owned secondary schools are comparatively well equipped than public schools at these levels of education. As Bourne (1997) observes the use of English in education is entangled in a complex web that has implications for other social issues, cultural processes and resource allocation both internally generated and donor funded (see also Roy-Campbell, 1992 –on the conditions that are tied to IMF and the World Bank loans and how these if and when made available are linked to provision of English). Thus the language-in-education policy pursued in Tanzania is testimony to this where a two-tier system is in operation.

In addressing these concerns, one is inevitably forced to seek answers through analyzing the ideological discourses that structure the spread of English as either a Second (ESL) or Foreign (EFL) or International Language (EIL). In other words, in seeking answers to these concerns, we expose how a symbolic resource such as SE is made available as cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1992a; Giroux, 1988) to further strengthen the existing unequal social relations globally and Tanzania in particular. In doing so, the analysis presented addresses also Pennycook's (1995:35) concerns:

> "[….] I want to ask how we can understand the relationship between English language and its position in the world in such a way that neither reduces it to a simple correspondence with its worldly circumstances or refuses this relationship by considering language to be a hermetic structural system unconnected to social, cultural and political concerns."

It follows then that any debate on the position of English in the education system in Tanzania is a discussion about the ideology that informs SE in the world. Debates about the prominent position of English in post-primary education in Tanzania should be viewed as a struggle over the management of a resource and representations of particular ideological discourses through the selected resource. (Blommaert 1996:208-209) observes:

"[….] The choice for a particular sociolinguistic pattern is seen as a wise and logical choice inspired by a will to build a coherent, harmonious nation, viewed ethnically. That a society can be ethnically peaceful, but deeply divided along socio-economic lines seems to be best a secondary consideration. Yet, Tanzanian linguists and educationalists have for years been bemoaning the fact that Tanzanian language policy especially: the maintenance of English as the language of instruction in post-primary education has created a dual society, in which a small elite has access to English and uses it as a part of its symbolic status-making repertoire, while the masses have no access to this exclusive (and excluding) resource."

Similarly issues that relate to English in the education system of Tanzania should be viewed as attempts to limit access to a resource while raising the symbolic and economic value of such a cultural resource.

In view of these observations, SE is a symbolic resource since its ideology is about status, prestige and power, all of which become translated into cultural capital. Bex and Watts (1999) observe that notions of SE vary from country to country in both the ways in which such a variety is described and also in the prestige it is held and the functions it has developed to perform (see also Thomas, 1999 on ideas inherent in the debate on SE). By problematising the continued use of English in the education system, where the latter is viewed as a legitimate language, which controls entry into specialized knowledge systems makes us understand that SE as cultural capital is used for among many other things as a marker for different forms of social discrimination (Watts, 1999a) because as observed it confers social status, honour, fame, respect, etc. to particular groups in society. For example, evidence from Williams (2000) clearly show how the discrimination which is achieved through English is gender biased with most girls in Malawi underperforming in comparison to boys and that the discrimination is geographical location specific with pupils in urban centres performing better than those from rural areas. Translated in terms of access to a resource, girls and rural people find themselves at a disadvantage.

In addition, this may also explain the mushrooming of English medium primary schools, international schools in most urban centers especially Dar es Salaam, Moshi and Arusha in the 1990s and the parent's desire and consequent decisions to send their children into private secondary schools because they believe

that in these schools English is taught well. The decisions of parents and general clamor for English in Tanzania is expressed well by Mazrui and Mazrui (1998:138):

> "[….] Because of the uncertainties of Tanzania's post-colonial economy, however, there were some members of the elite who were not particularly enthusiastic about the idea of total Swahilinisation of the educational system. These people perhaps saw the economic fortunes of their children in transnational terms...As the economic situation in Tanzania, as elsewhere in Africa, has been deteriorating; the value of English has been increasing. Today more and more Tanzanians look beyond Tanzania's borders for employment and business opportunities in areas, which favour the knowledge of English.. As in Kenya and Uganda, the rise in the value of English in Tanzania may be prompting its spread downward to the 'common man'. In sum, then, the deteriorating economic situation in Tanzania, and the country's increasing abandonment of socialist ideals, are gradually tilting the linguistic balance back in favour of English, though not necessarily at the expense of Kiswahili."

Parents view acquisition of English by their children as a gateway from the grind of agricultural life and into the wider world where English seen as the language of science and technology is the only assured highway (Maw, 1989). Similar statements from the MOEC and Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education (MSTHE), politicians and other government functionaries continue to perpetuate and reinforce this view of English making it a universal characteristic of the language. This may also account for the presence of English in adult education programs in Tanzania. This situation has led Schmied (1991) to argue that adults take advantage of the English courses either because they think they provide them with economic or occupational advantages or because they want to be able to help and understand their English learning school children, thus putting into practice the metaphor of English as an empowering language (see Eggington, 1997 on this).

What is witnessed here is how the views that are used to legitimize the rationality of the spread of English informed by the ideology of internationalization (Mesthrie *et al* 2000: 403-4) and its continued use in the world beyond the former British colonies are projected and promoted. The notion of English as the language of science and technology is rooted in the modernization ideology associated with it

and as such informs and underpins ELT as either an ESL or EFL or EIL. According to Phillipson (cited in Williams, 1998) the functional argument credits English with real or potential access to modernization, science and technology, among many others. Thus, the current 'song' of English as the language of science and technology that is broadcast out by government ministers, politicians and other officials has gained legitimacy for it to be included as one of the major objective of education. That the ideology of SE has found its way into a document which guides Tanzania's education (see MOEC, 1995a), comes as no surprise because statements such as the one quoted in relation to what lies underneath the current policy on language of instruction reflect the consequences of the metaphor of English as the language of science and technology (Eggington, 1997).

Explanations of this phenomena and many others of its kind that are being promoted and disseminated in Tanzania can be sought in the ideas people have about the English and how possession and fluency in it means, what it can do to an individual and the state in Tanzania. For example, Eggington (1997:42) commenting on what it means for one to posses English argues:

> "[….] Means that if an individual or a nation wishes to gain access to or contribute to, a huge portion of the world's current scientific knowledge, the language of access is English. English has become the key to unlocking the world's information storage and retrieval systems. For instance, most new scientific terms and technological terms are created using English based lexical and phonological features regardless of the native language of those researchers and developers."

Furthermore, Eggington (1997) observes that possession of English means competence in SE, which empowers one to have more control over one's life by passing through the educational gateways that are in place in the social system. That this argument is reflected in a number of practices in Tanzania is undoubtedly clear. For example, The National Examinations Council of Tanzania (NECTA) awards division I and/or II to a secondary school graduate only if he or she has passed English and Mathematics subjects at the grade of "C" in the National Form Four Examinations. Similarly, the Ministry of Education selects students to go to the next stage of secondary education on the basis of their having passed English,

Mathematics and among other subjects. This illustrates the extent to which the ideology of SE has diffused in the educational institutions in Tanzania. This is clearly articulated by Pennycook (1995) who argues that English has taken up or rather usurped an important position in many educational systems around the world becoming one of the most powerful means of inclusion into or exclusion from (see Blommaert, 1996 on effects of language policy in a state) further education, employment, or other influential social positions. Thus English like accent in the United States (Lippi-Green, 1997) is the gatekeeper of positions of prestige and influence.

Eggington's observation about development of new terms is true of what is happening in the modernization of Kiswahili to meet linguistic, cultural and scientific needs of society. These observations are about politics and visions of the world as seen from the point of view of English and the ideology that informs it. Thus, these also point to questions about the philosophy of education in Tanzania – that is, what is education for in Tanzania?

The argument that was raised in the previous section about the social institution of education becomes pertinent here. Education, as a social institution is a channel or medium through which the ideology of SE is produced and reproduced in a myriad ways. Watts (1999a: 41) argues:

> "[….] One of the most important and influential social institutions in any cultural group is that of 'public' education, comprising schools, classrooms, governing bodies, control and assessment bodies (like school inspectorates), sets of legally binding statutes and decrees, groups of people to whom these laws apply (e.g. parents, children, etc.), agents of the institution (like teachers, school principals, school boards, etc.), bodies responsible for the production of knowledge to be disseminated through the institution (e.g. teaching materials, training institutions, teaching aids, etc.)

The struggle for the promotion of the ideology of SE and all that it represents is waged through this influential social institution. For example, statements such as those described above are reflective of ELT tenets, which Phillipson (cited in Eggington, 1997) argues are embedded within the metaphors of English. These have

become objectives or policy statements in national educational policy documents such as:

> "[…] Pre-primary education will serve the preparatory function for smooth continuation into primary school. It will also promote the development of communication skills of children. These twin functions and others, require a strong base in language development and use, which children will need in subsequent levels of schooling. Children at this level of education will have to be taught in a language, which is commonly used in Tanzania. Therefore: The MOI in pre-primary schools shall be Kiswahili, and English shall be a compulsory subject." (MOEC, 1995a: 34-35)

Furthermore, the same policy document proposes that English be taught in pre-nursery schools and as a subject from Std. I since the earlier English is taught the better the results.

This section has recast the issue of language-in-education by shifting focus away from debates about policy as such. Instead, the main proposal has been on describing and exposing albeit briefly the consequences of the current language policy in education in Tanzania. It has described and discussed the implications of this policy on educational policy formulation and how the ideology of SE has found legitimacy in educational practice, in influencing parent's view about education and beliefs in what English can do to their children.

The next section focuses on how the ideology of SE is reflected in ELT textbooks and related materials because that is where both the educational and ideologies of English are reproduced and consumed by the learner. I am of the opinion that any discussion of the language of instruction in schools would be incomplete without analyzing critically how ELT materials propagate the ideology of SE. The inclusion of the discussion on ELT materials may appear to be out of context in this project. However, its inclusion is done in order to show how these in one way remit the ideology of English and form the material with which the language-in-education policy is realized.

2.8.5   ELT Textbooks and the ideology of Standard English

In the previous sections, the discussion has examined how the ideology of SE through the current language policy in education has become entrenched in educational practices in Tanzania. language policy and education ensures that the ideology of the dominant group together with its language that is normally institutionalized as the SL become concretized in textbooks, dictionaries and reference manuals. language policy guidelines inform on decisions about education objectives giving rationale and substance to the legitimacy of curricula materials. The following section briefly discusses how the ideology of Standard English is perpetuated through ELT textbooks and materials because as Thomas (1999) argues ELT is about teaching of SWE.

Language education especially one that is provided in the school setting is mostly made available to students in the form of textbooks and other related curriculum materials. It is argued here that textbooks are a set of social relations (Collins, 1996), define what is elite and legitimate to transmit (Apple, 1986), select and organise knowledge and consequently make available to the student particular legitimate language forms, modes of reasoning, social relations and lived experiences (Giroux, 1988). The position of this discussion is that ELT textbooks and materials participate in the normalisation and universalisation of particular language ideologies. ESL/EFL textbooks are presented as having neutral knowledge. The ideology of SE propagates the same view of neutrality and ELT textbooks are said to present an unbiased language form that is free from ethnic affiliation. NLs are also created with this ultimate objective and this explains why English was preferred and accepted as a national language in most post-colonial countries except Tanzania and Somalia (Bamgbose, 1994; Appiah, 1992). Like ideology, knowledge and information that is available in books tends to explain and justify ideas of dominant groups in society.

However, as Bourdieu (cited in Deneire, 1998) forewarns that authority always comes to language from outside and it is only through analysing the mechanisms of power will one understand the social and political implications of language use and language teaching. Such a view leads me to take ELT textbooks

and practices as the socio-cultural cornerstone of the ideology of SE. Thus, I concur with Crowley (1999) who argues that the debate on SE is not only linguistic but one, which is immersed in and has had significant impact upon larger social and political questions. Subsequently, together with their associated teaching practices, ELT textbooks represent configurations of particular visions of the world. Due to this, the English language classroom becomes a site of cultural politics (Levinson and Holland, 1996) and a place where different versions of how the world is and should be are struggled over (Cameron, 1995; Pennycook, 1994) because ELT textbooks are objects, which are by themselves very important forms of representations of reality.

This thesis is also based on the awareness that English is a socio-cultural commodity (Cameron, 1995) whose main object is to further ensure that visions of world as seen in the UK are maintained throughout the world (Pennycook, 1994). This means that ELT textbooks are implicitly and sometimes explicitly laden with particular visions of the world such that a decision to adopt a particular set of ELT teaching materials means adoption of their (books) particular views of language, methods and approaches (Hutchinson and Waters, 1987). In addition, English language media texts bring with them images of life styles, expected social relations and ways of representing the world which go beyond verbal communication and which survive translation (Graddol, 1996; see also Haarmann, 1989 on the impact of English in stereotyping).

ELT textbooks bring forward representations of the superiority of western civilisation, culture and the universality of western ideas. That is why Casewit cited in Cameron (1995) directs us to the fact that it hardly needs pointing out that presumptions, ethnocentric spirit of westernization readily find their way into EFL instructional materials and instructor opinions, attitudes and approaches. The consequences of this is that ELT textbooks are in addition laden with ideologies associated with uniformity, standards, correctness and social order (Cameron, 1995; Milroy and Milroy, 1991) which are central to the agenda of the SL ideology. ELT textbooks are the best media through which these ideologies and beliefs about language that underpin SL ideology are channeled because:

"[….] Written language- especially in its published printed form is both more permanent and more prestigious than the spoken word. It is the written form most users will take as defining what counts as the language. In declaring that a certain form which may or may not be genuinely novel- a new word, a different pronoun- will be adapted in future by a publication such as *The Times,* the originator of a style guide performs an important gatekeeping function moving the form thus adapted from the margin to the mainstream, and conversely ensuring that other forms which are not adopted remain marginal." (Cameron, 1995:56-57)

Consequently, ELT textbooks, authors and designers are also implicated in the process of ensuring that the conceptualized standards in language are maintained. ELT textbooks and by default English language teachers participate in the processes of the unversalization of prominent and dominant cultures that are promoted by the SE ideology. For instance, ELT textbooks implement standardization in language use and form by persuading speakers against all evidence to the contrary that uniformity is the normal condition whereas variation is deviant and that any residual variation in SE must therefore be contingent and deplorable result of some user's carelessness, idleness or incompetence (Cameron, 1995; Milroy and Milroy, 1991).

These ideas about SL run counter to the variability that is inherent in language because as a social phenomenon it is shaped and in turn shapes social interaction which is not homogeneous. In other words, ELT textbooks define the knowledge of English language that is deemed correct and therefore authorized and transmitted to learners. In doing so, ELT textbooks put forward particular views of English most often these are those of the SE ideology propagated through English. As such, ELT textbooks contain knowledge about English that is neither objective nor neutral. As Pennycook (1989: 595) observes:

"[….] All knowledge is produced within a particular configuration of social, cultural, economic, political and historical circumstances and therefore always both reflects and helps to (re)produce those conditions. Furthermore, since all claims to knowledge represent the interests of certain individuals or groups, we must always see knowledge as interested."

Classroom practices show that English language teachers spend a great part of their time and classroom talk correcting students' pronunciations, spelling and grammatical mistakes and errors such as word order, etc. These are testimony to the way that teaching practices are instances of a concerted effort to create uniformity in the student's language repertoires to fit in with ideas about English as they are conveyed by the SE ideology. Consequently, Collins (1996) draws our attention to the fact that the correction of non-standard pronunciation during reading is a manifestation of the linguistic prescription whose ideological core is that correcting language leads to social betterment.

In most of these cases, ELT materials such as grammar books, dictionaries, etc. that are available in the language classroom reinforce and guide both teachers and students toward the correct form and usage because according to Lopes (1999) the view that written language contains the truth leads to the perception of the written language as truth revealing. In this way, ELT textbooks, guides and related materials become symbols of authority for English language knowledge, and reinforce further the symbolic value of English as a commodity worth acquiring.

ELT textbooks therefore convey among others, messages of respect to established authority, and normality through discouraging deviant student speech repertoires. As such English language teachers do not only teach language for communication because their practices tend to verify, legitimate and reinforce the language and literacy related experiences and that the cultural capital of the white (mostly male), English-speaking middle classes leading to the exacerbation of class, racial/ethnic and gender stratification (Walsh cited in Auerbach, 1995). ELT textbooks together with their associated classroom practices do not solve language learners' problem nor do they make the language classroom a context in which students analyze their reality for the purpose of participating in its transformation (Freire and Macedo cited in Auerbach, 1995). Instead, ELT textbooks guide students toward a predetermined view of the way language should be used.

ELT textbooks do not in the main respond to learner's communicative needs nor do they respond to variations in speech repertoires produced by students in the classroom because ELT textbooks tend to be prescriptive where notions of correctness are paramount. Milroy (1999b) argues that the SL ideology is based on

the belief that there is one and only one correct spoken form of spoken language modeled on a single correct written form. The notion of correctness has a powerful role in the maintenance of the standard ideology through prescription (Milroy, 1999a). It is the written printed language form of which ELT textbooks and related materials are, which in due course upholds SE, an authoritarian creation of a small and self-serving elite (Cameron, 1995). It follows therefore that as conveyers of authority, ELT textbooks participate in the continued class relations beyond the borders of Britain because SE in countries such as Tanzania is used as a sorting and selecting mechanism for allocating positions of influence in society. Again we are witnessing the symbolic value of English as it is propagated and maintained by the educational system through educational and curriculum materials.

ELT textbooks are used to sensitize and propagate the SL ideology, that is, the awareness of a superordinate standard variety by keeping it alive in the public mind (Milroy, 1999a) through institutions like education and literacy, all of which are inseparable from the published printed text. In addition, ELT textbooks and materials participate immensely in symbolic revalorization (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994) because as observed they are used as gatekeepers to restrict access to goods and influence subsequently affect people's lives in many domains, both informal and institutional.

In view of this, it is argued that ELT textbooks, approaches, methods together with school testing and assessment, particularly language aptitude and proficiency tests, are channels through which the ideology of SL operate in their gatekeeping function, in the indoctrination of dominant cultures, and the marginalization of other cultures including removal of non-standard language and speech repertoires from the mainstream.

For example, English language media texts such as films are instrumental and vital in the indoctrination process where ideologies that are presented via the English language are cemented and legitimated e.g. the perpetuation of stereotypes by the ideology of SL. It is in this regard that Arnet *et al.* cited in Eggington (1997) have argued that Disney films teach children to link sets of certain social characteristics and contexts with language varieties in non-factual and sometimes overtly discriminatory ways. They further observe that animated characters with strongly

positive actions and motivations are overwhelmingly speakers of unmarked varieties of English whereas conversely characters with strongly negative actions and motivations often speak varieties of English linked to specific geographical regions and marginalised social groups (see also Lippi-Green, 1997 on the effects of accent on employment in the US). Most importantly, characters with unmarked or mainstream have an entire spectrum of possibilities whereas those who speak any kind of non-mainstream language are relegated to limited range of roles and experiences. This would naturally make any parent to wish his or children to get this commodity in order to give them added advantage over competition for employment opportunities and a guarantee for a better future.

As channels of SL ideology, particularly SE, ELT textbooks also serve economic ends. As teachers of English we need to be aware that there is a hidden sales element in every English teacher, book, magazine, film-strip and television program sent overseas (The British Council Annual Report 1968-69 quoted in Pennycook, 1995). Furthermore, we also need to take into consideration the fact that:

> "[….] Printed text would eventually become the most pervasive source of Standard English norms, setting *de facto* standard for all written texts. Commercial interests were at the root of the standardization process because the contemporary publisher has an economic investment in linguistic expertise and its acceptance as such by the widest possible public."
> (Cameron, 1995:43)

This awareness stems from the fact that teaching is getting involved in questions of curriculum, that is, whose knowledge and cultures are given prominence; educational systems- what is the purposes of the education being provided or as Cameron (1995) argues to what extent does the educational system reproduce social and cultural inequalities. Teaching is also showing concern about classroom practices, that is, what understandings of language, culture, education, authority, knowledge or communication do we assume in our teaching (Cameron, 1995). Moreover, ELT textbooks convey only one version of English among several varieties of English because language ideology characterizes a particular set of

beliefs about language (Milroy, 1999b). In this way, language ideology unfortunately creates conditions of language contestation (see more of this in Giroux, 1994; Levinson and Holland, 1996 in relation to schooling, pedagogical practices and education as sites of struggle for different representations), which it is trying to suppress because according to Bruit-Griffler (1998) to use language is to take part in its change, employ it in communication with others and due to its nature language is something which cannot be held onto exclusively as a static object.

In arguing that ELT textbooks as written printed texts are part and parcel of the ideology of SWE, I concur with Smith quoted in Milroy (1999b) who observes that they symbolize SE which signal competence in a set of well-established rules endorsed by a normative education system. It therefore follows that the success of any language policy in education hinges on the availability of language materials in the system. That is why, the British Council invests both financial and human resources in making certain that English gains a strong foothold in the educational system since the provision of education and thus the authorization of ideas from dominant groups is efficiently and economically achieved in most developing countries through the print media.

2.9 Summary and Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter has shown that language and education are involved in the production and reproduction of dominant linguistic practices in society. It has also been shown that education and language distribute linguistic practices differentially in society. It has been argued that language policy is a major instrument, which is used to distribute linguistic capital differentially by legitimating linguistic practices of dominant groups. It has also been argued that debates about the language of instructions in schools are basically about how ideologies originating from dominant linguistic practices such as those inherent in SE.

This discussion has also put forward a proposition that the debates on MOI and language policy have concentrated on viewing the issue of language of instruction in the narrow medium framework. The debate has ignored the fact any MOI in school whether English, Kiswahili or any other language is a resource and

that decision which involve its choice are underpinned by strong forces such as economic, political and socio-cultural. What we are dealing with here is how a resource is made available, how particular linguistic varieties are made valuable at the expense of others, how those linguistic practices which are selected are transformed into symbolic cultural artifacts and thus become attached with material values.

Debates on the language of instruction ought also to consider the impact of language textbooks such as ELT since this is the arena where the ideology of dominant groups is easily made available to learners. It the proposition of this project that English in Tanzania has become synonymous with education, and thus a valued cultural capital to most people and that language policy has been put in place to distribute this resource to a few who can manage to access this revered linguistic repertoire. It has also been proposed that English has become a gateway to social rewards in Tanzania resulting into the formation of social groups with different cultural capital in their stocks. I realize that language policy and planning does not operate in a vacuum because it is constrained by social, political and economic pressures from within and outside. However, I have placed the onus on language policy implemented through educational institutions because it is the latter, which is involved in the distribution of social capital that allows individuals to enter into the socio-economic institutions in society. These issues and theoretical concepts are discussed in detail in Part II of this study.

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CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY, RESEARCH DESIGN AND DATA CODING PROCEDURES

3.1 Outline

This chapter describes the methodology, research design and the procedure used in coding the data corpus of this study. Section two is a brief description of the methodology and research design issues. It gives also the justification for the choice of the methodology used in this study, describes the nature of the data that was collected, the type of observations adopted and their purpose, and explains the characteristics of the field sites where the open field interviews (OFIs) was conducted. Section three describes the contexts in which the interviews were conducted including the profile of the respondents of the OFIs and Group discussion. Section four describes the approach that was used to code the data from the documents and OFIs and Section five outlines the procedure that was adopted in coding the text data and the process of generating the coding reports.

3.2 Methodology and research design issues
3.2.1 Ethnography and context

The methodology used in this sociolinguistic study was informed by ethnographic approaches relying mainly on OFIs and documentary information in the form of newspaper articles and workshop conference papers. I found that ethnographic approach would allow for collection of information on the socio-cultural, political and economic impact of language in education, especially English in post-primary education sector. This approach enabled me to obtain information, which would shed light on language as cultural and linguistic capital and a resource possessing both symbolic and economic value and the contexts in which language policy in Tanzania is imbedded.

The decision to use the ethnographic method rested on the observation that this approach takes into account the history of data, which is an important element in

the interpretation of data (Blommaert, 2001a: 26). My reading of this observation informs me that the context in which data were collected is equally important because at the stage of analysis it influences what data tell (Blommaert, 2001a: 26). For example, newspaper and workshop articles that were collected for this study have their own contextual history. These were produced in response to an on-going discussion. In addition, the choice of using written texts and documents, which already existed rested on the premises that they would supplement and validate the ideas and viewpoints produced in the OFIs. As Titscher, *et al* (2000) argue one does not always need to collected new data because use can often be made of materials that are already available. In my opinion, they document various authors' interpretation of the issue that was the subject of the debate at that particular time. One can say that they also represent the various authors' experiences given the context in which the agenda was set and therefore it can be argued further that they are representations of particular communities or interest groups in society. As Lemke (1995: 24-5) has noted:

> "[…] We speak with the voices of our communities, and to the extent that we have individual voices, we fashion them out of the social voices already available to us, appropriating the words of others to speak a word of our own."

The MOI debate, which is a field where language policy and education or language-in-education issues are examined, is about ways of speaking and meaning making. It provides a forum of speaking out and as such it manifests the struggles of discourse production and imposition in society. Discourse is used in this study to refer to ways in which groups use language to understand and interpret their social world. The debate on MOI is also about language practices informed and shrouded by interests that are related to the project of controlling access to the production and distribution of symbolic and material resources (Heller, 2001:120). The medium debate also shows the effects of action on language that is language policy, which aims at redressing the asymmetrical access to linguistic resources carried out by governments and those in authority. The ethnographic approach was also found to be appropriate for this study because it maintains the speakers' voices and enables

them to be heard as it describes the contexts that assist in the interpretation of meaning of the voices.

The ethnographic approach was adopted because first it makes use of already existing written documents, which formed a large part of the data corpus used in this study. Secondly, it enables the production of written descriptions depending on the objectives of the study on the life and activities of people focusing on observed patterns of speaking, and the symbols, meanings, premises and the rules applied to speaking in a given place (Fitch and Phillipsen, 1995:263).

However, it will be noticed that there is very little reflexivity in the use of the narratives including the biographical accounts collected this way in this study. In a way, this points to the dilemma which is faced in synchronising the data collection method and analysis of the data collected this way. I must admit that I did not make much use of the data histories as expected when one adopts the ethnographic method although I am convinced that it enabled me to draw out great insights from the data in relation to the subject of the discussion in line with the assumptions and research questions guiding this study. I hope that this deficit has not substantially affected the manner in which the discussion has preceded and observations drawn from the data.

Language policy together with education determines and to a great extent influences ways of speaking in social life because they may limit the discursive opportunities of speakers of language varieties that are not selected and or marginalized. They may also widen the horizon of speakers of privileged language varieties. The work of language policy and education institutions can be analysed to explain how the social differences (stratifications)and social inequality come into being (Heller, 2001). This is important because the discussion and the MOI debate and language policy in Tanzania, now entering its fourth decade, has hitherto looked at the issue from the psychological and pedagogical educational perspectives overlooking its socio-cultural, political and economic implications to society. The debate on MOI has also sidelined the aspect of attitudes toward English in Tanzania, which shows that language preference is not a matter of pedagogical effectiveness but is linked to wider political and socio-economic factors including the perceived status of English.

I would also like to state that the approach used in this project is not a field research method in the sense in which it is normally used because the latter includes observation and interviewing. The OFIs adopted for this study sought to investigate beliefs, attitudes, perceptions, and aspirations toward English as a MOI in schools, as a resource, symbolic and linguistic capital, and subsequently to account for the basis of these representations, attitudes, beliefs, etc. In addition, the investigation sought to document the socio-cultural, economic and political impact of the dominance of English in the education system and society in general. As such, questioning was found to lend itself better in collecting data on attitudes such as equating English with education, progress, etc., aspirations and beliefs as well as getting information on consequences of language policy such as the dominance and increased symbolic value of English in Tanzania.

The bulk of the data collected was mainly from the written documents, which consisted of newspaper articles whose focus was on the issue of the language of instruction in the education system. Research on language, especially the place and use of English in education in Tanzania has mostly been quantitative (see Roy-Campbell and Qorro, 1987; Mvungi, 1982, 1974; Mlama and Materu, 1978; Mlekwa, 1977; Katigula, 1976; Mohamed, 1975). These studies sought to either shed light on the problems associated with use of English as a medium in schools or to account for declining standards of education in Tanzania where decline in proficiency in English has been purported to be the main cause of the former. Besides focusing on the consequences of language policy and education, this present study has attempted to document and analyse knowledge possessed by language teachers and interested stakeholders on language-in-education issues. It also provides a limited forum through which sharing of knowledge with the subjects is possible toward the social generation and construction of knowledge (Cameron *et al*. 1992).

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3.3 Data sources

3.3.1 Documentary sources

Data from these sources was collected between July and September 2000. They were mainly drawn from the library of the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) and the Institute of Kiswahili Research (IKR) ─covering mostly dissertations, reports, journal articles and published books. The latter had focused on the issue of the language of instruction in education, specifically in post-primary levels of education in Tanzania. Other sources included searching through old and new newspaper issues for articles sent to editors of a number of local newspapers. The articles that addressed the questions of this study were selected purposely. The questions also included the type of readership the author of the article had in mind, the purpose of writing the article, the expected outcomes, etc.

The authors of these articles came from different social, occupational, professional backgrounds and had varied academic portfolios such as teachers, university academicians, medical personnel and etc. For example, the correspondent writing in The African of November 5 1999 remarks:

> "[…] The fact remains that the way the debate was being conducted was not encouraging the masses to take part because they were required to air their views through the media and it was not easy for each and everyone of us to get access to the media."

In addition to the above observation, it is clear that peasants and workers outside the academia could not participate in this debate, which was mostly conducted in local dailies that are published in English. As a result, most of the authors of the newspaper articles came from UDSM. This also includes the author of the article that was presented at the Kiswahili Annual Day of February 2000. That is why one of the respondents in the OFIs made this comment when his opinion was sought on the on-going debate on the MOI in education in the country:

> "[….] Am afraid what you are calling a battle is not in my opinion only focused on what is basically an issue. There are certain persons who have a vested interest in it. There is this group of people ah at the University of Dar

es Salaam who want to launch eh their own personal projects into the teaching of ah curriculum at secondary school level in Kiswahili." *(*Mr. Rugee, a school inspector, MOEC): Set 2 of the Data Corpus)

These articles were published in three local newspapers: The Daily News - government owned; The Guardian, an independent newspaper owned by IPP Media in Dar es Salaam; The African, privately owned by Habari Corporation in Dar es Salaam. Other sources of newspaper articles were drawn from the East African weekly published by the Nation Group of Nairobi Kenya. The documents were imported into QRS NVivo for analysis.

3.3.2   Open Field Interviews (OFIs)

Interviews were conducted in Dar es Salaam and Morogoro in the months of March, April, May, June and September 2000. These interviews involved secondary school teachers of English, key informants from the Ministry of Education, Institute of Education and a Private Publishing House. The interview narrative data is drawn from 9 sessions of interviews that were audio taped at various locations and sites as detailed below. The interviews in schools were conducted within the school compound either in the staff room or the respondent's respective offices while interviews of key informants were done in their offices by appointment. Information from interviews and group discussion were audio taped, transcribed, and later imported into QRS NVivo® 1.2 for Microsoft Windows for analysis.

3.3.3   Discussion group

Only one group discussion was conducted in Morogoro in late September 2000 because it was difficult to bring Dar es Salaam respondents together in one place for reasons, which were beyond the control of the researcher. The discussion was done at Sokoine University of Agriculture, Morogoro involving the researcher and two respondents who had been interviewed separately between March and May 2000, and one other person who showed interest in participating in the discussion but requested to remain anonymous. This was also audio taped, transcribed and later imported in the QRS Nvivo for analysis.

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3.4   Data collection context

This section describes the context in which the interviews and the few classroom observations were made. To begin with the data collection period was time constrained because in addition conducting my fieldwork, my employer asked me to take over teaching assignments following the untimely death by a car accident of a colleague in our department. This meant that the field research schedule I had made earlier had to be revisited to include this new development.

The first two weeks of March 2000 were spent on administrative matters pertaining to the fieldwork. This included getting together all the necessary documents such as letters of introduction, which described the subject matter of my research to the respondents. These had to be sent to each of the heads of school where field data would be collected. I delivered these documents to each of the selected schools and each key informant personally. I used the same period to get a first impression of the field sites and get acquainted to subjects who would be interviewed. This also enabled me make clear any doubts that were expressed by the respondents or their bosses.

Interview appointments with the respondent in Dar es Salaam and Morogoro were made in the third week of March 2000. Sometimes this involved a lot of persuasion especially with both teachers and key informants in Dar es Salaam some of whom did not like to be tape-recorded. They wanted some guarantee that the content of our discussion will not be used to jeopardize their positions because there is a tendency for the management to victimize their junior staff on assumption that they may have discussed the problems of their organization in the course of the interview. This suspicion on the part of some of the respondents is not without foundation because some have been victimized by their bosses on unfounded reasons that they had revealed secrets of the organization after being interviewed.

Data collection using the interview and observation techniques is beset with such problems especially in organizations where most things are considered confidential. Sometimes, a respondent may avoid being interviewed irrespective of being given assurance from both the employer and the researcher that information collected would be treated with utmost confidentiality. Although this did not happen

in this study, I could observe it from the way people were responding to the questions. For instance, at one point in our discussion, Mr. Chiganga, of the Educational Materials Section, MOEC requested me to switch off the tape recorder because he did not want someone to quote him on some issues. Sometimes, a respondent would look around to make sure that there was no one within earshot, who could be eavesdropping on what was being discussed. Sometimes this suspicion could be found in hesitations where the respondent was in two minds whether to tell you or not because he considered the information too sensitive for public consumption.

For example, in one of my initial visits to one of the field sites in Dar es Salaam the management told me that his staff had no time for interviews because they were too busy and that their work was too sensitive to be divulged to an outsider. Even after agreeing on the interview, I was informed that the interview would be conducted in a room that was next to boss's office and that the door to the interview room would be left open throughout the interview session. I was also informed that he/she would be joining in the interview at some time but would contribute nothing in the discussion.

During the initial visits to the field sites, I also observed that respondents were not ready to be interviewed because some voiced the opinion that nothing substantial would come out of the whole exercise. Most of them noted that too many research and commissions on problems of education in Tanzania both by the government and university researchers have been conducted. Furthermore, many of my respondents informed me that they have never been given a copy of the commission or research reports for which their opinions were sought although promises of this kind were pledged. In other words, some respondents have lost confidence in the research enterprise itself because they have learnt that research or commission conclusions and recommendations are never implemented. So they find participating in interviews unworthy of their time.

This was partly responsible for the reluctance showed by some respondents. Some key informants in Dar es Salaam required a lot of convincing because they were not sure that it would go down well with their bosses although permission had been sought for and granted because some differ with the establishment's official

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line. Due to this a number of people do not want to be quoted. In some cases, the interview had to be conducted away from their offices because of the reservations described above.

Collection of data in government and other institutions tends to be constrained by red tape and delays in many of Third World countries. Sometimes one may find betrothing a wife in the confines of the African traditions easier compared to data collection in these contexts. These problems have recently been heightened by revelations of corruption involving ministers brought to light by investigative journalism resulting from press and news liberalization in Tanzania. Because of this, the bureaucracy in ministries and government departments refuse to make available information under the guise of political sensitivity to protect themselves from inquisitive eyes. That is why it was difficult for me to get the list of English-medium primary schools from MOEC until later in 2001 when a colleague of mine was transferred to the ministry. When I received this document, I discovered that the list also contained names of people who owned these schools, the kind of information that is not probably supposed to be divulged to the public. This may also partly explain why the government finds the MOI issue an economic and political one. One of the reasons could be that some of the people who own these schools are powerful members of the political establishment.

Despite these problems, I managed to get interview appointments with all the key respondents in the two field sites of Dar es Salaam and Morogoro by the third week of March 2000. The interviews were then conducted at different times between March and early June 2000.

3.4.1 A note on classroom observations

I had earlier planned to make classroom observations at each of the sites but due to the added teaching responsibility during my fieldwork, I decided to conduct non-participant observations in three classrooms at the Morogoro field site. In addition to being familiar to the three respondents and schools at this field site, I was able to synchronize my teaching duties at the university and field research because

the university provided me with transport. This arrangement could not work with the Dar es Salaam field site because the latter is approximately 220 km from Morogoro.

Observations were not among the major data collection techniques for this study but in one way they provided additional information that helped me reflect on the research assumptions and fine-tuned the focused questions when conducting the OFIs. These classroom observations also served a number of purposes. They enabled me get a glimpse of the kind of communication interaction in the classroom and understand the problems of teaching and learning in English in Tanzanian secondary school classrooms although there is some literature on classroom observations in Tanzania (see Roy Campbell and Qorro, 1987; Rubanza, 1993 on classroom observations).

Furthermore, the importance of classroom observations became more apparent to me following Kadeghe (2000), whose illuminating observations in Tanzanian secondary school classrooms brought to light interesting results worth reporting here. In this study, Kadeghe divided his classroom observations into a control group using English only and an experimental group using both English and Kiswahili. Findings from his study revealed asymmetries between the observation groups. The control group showed that teachers encountered problems using English to convey the content of the lesson, no meaning negotiation was observed, communication was one-way, the use of English carried a "they code" atmosphere and incapacitated the student's power of creativity and the teacher's mastery of putting language to its various communicative uses was limited (Kadeghe, 2000: 143). In contrast, the experimental observation group showed that students participated in the learning process, signalled solidarity and the use of code-switching ensured that meaning was established since ideas were placed in a familiar sociolinguistic cum pedagogical context (Kadeghe, 2000:143). Besides providing me with the opportunity to see how teachers and students alike were coping with the communication problems that manifest in using English as the vehicular language at this level of education, the classroom observations in Morogoro also served to validate the findings from Kadeghe's study.

The classroom observations were video taped and were used during the group discussion. I also studied the classroom observation videotapes because video

provides an opportunity to observe and identify efficiently the reactions and behaviour of participants in any communicative act including also the teaching-learning context.

These classroom observations were conducted in March 2000. The observations at Morogoro Secondary and St. Peter's Seminary lasted for 40 minutes for each site. The classroom observation at the Lutheran Junior Seminary lasted for 60 minutes. The seating arrangement in the classroom was similar at each site, with the teachers standing in front of the students. Students set in rows facing the teacher with the chalkboard in the background.

3.4.2   Classroom observation at Lutheran Junior Seminary

Lutheran Junior Seminary is a privately administered by the Lutheran church in Tanzania. It is a small school with a student population of about 300 hundred. It is a co-education school with boarding facilities. It is a well-equipped and well-staffed school compared to many secondary schools (both private and public) in Tanzania. The class that I observed at Lutheran Junior Seminary was small, made up of about 20 students of the Sixth Form. The teacher brought with him a few copies of English newspapers and of course his teaching notes. The chalkboard was clean when we entered the classroom and the students were already seated. They stood up when we entered and greeted us with a chorus of 'Good Morning Sir'. The classroom was devoid of pictures or any kind of wallpapers. The classroom notice board had only one paper, which I found out later to be the class timetable. The chalkboard in the classroom was not movable and every student was seated on a chair and a desk. There were almost an equal number of boys and girls in this particular class.

Mr. Masatu, the subject teacher, introduced me to his students who stood up again and greeted me again in English. I was given a chair and a desk that was placed at one corner of the classroom where I was able to observe everything that was going on in the classroom. Mr. Masatu began his lecture by reminding them of what they had done in the previous lessons and followed this up by writing on the board the topic of the day. This lesson was about newspaper language and Mr.

Masatu spent about 15 minutes explaining about newspaper language in terms of their layout, grammatical structure and vocabulary.

Then he passed out the newspapers he had brought and asked his students to identify some of the salient features of newspaper language. His students did not answer most of his questions voluntarily. In order to make students respond to his question, he had to call them by their names. Then the identified student would stand up and respond to the question. There was silence in the classroom, no shuffling of feet or moving of chairs or pulling of desks or any sign of disorderly behavior. For the entire 30 or 40 minutes, the only person who did the talking was the teacher and at very few occasions did I observe a student speaking or asking a question. This was a one-way traffic in which information flowed from one source. In order to check whether his students had understood, the teacher resorted to phrases such as 'is that clear', 'have you understood', 'is there any question', etc. The reply I heard was a chorus 'yes sir'.

3.4.3   Classroom observation at Morogoro Secondary School

Morogoro Secondary School is government administered with a total population of over 600 students. The school operates a double session in which is each class or form is divided into two made up of four streams composed of an average of 50 students. The first group attends classes beginning from 7.30 hours and ends at 13.30 hours, and the second group begins classes at 14.30 hours and ends at around 18.30 hours. Due to this double session, teachers have their work schedules also arranged accordingly. A teacher who teaches the morning session is not required to offer classes in the afternoon session in the same week unless there is no any other teacher who can teach this particular subject in the school.

The observation was conducted at the beginning of the third week of March 2000 at 9.30 hours. A technician who videotaped the classroom proceedings accompanied me. To avoid making students nervous, the technician had spent at least two hours for five days consecutively in this particular class with his camera pretending that he was recording. This was done a week before the actual videotape recording took place. We arrived one hour before the classes began and the

technician went into the room together with the students. When we entered the class, all the students stood up and greeted us in English. I noticed that each student had a chair and two students shared each desk. This was my second visit to this class. I sat at the back of the classroom and the video technician chose a convenient position in the classroom that would allow him to have a broad view of the whole classroom.

The classroom was small compared to the number of students. There were about 45 students as opposed to 35 per stream, which is the recommended number of students in O-Level classes in public secondary schools in Tanzania. This number may reach 50 in some schools in a classroom that was designed to sit 35 students. There were more girls in this particular class. These were new students who had just joined secondary school from primary school the previous year.

This was an English lesson to students of Form I. This was their second month in a secondary school where the medium is English as opposed to their experiences in the primary school system where Kiswahili is the MOI. I asked Ms. Bitulo if there were students who had attended an English-medium primary school. She reported that all students in this class had come from Kiswahili-medium primary schools. She added further that the majority of the students in this class came from rural areas, especially the girls who were accommodated in a hostel administered by the school. This was one of the few schools in the country that was co-education with day and boarding facilities for girls.

The sitting arrangement was similar to the one I had observed at Lutheran Junior Seminary. The lesson was on the constituent parts of a sentence in English. Emphasis was on nouns and verbs. There was a lot of translations from English into Kiswahili to enable students distinguish a noun from a verb. Ms. Bitulo was the main speaker, giving examples. Where she asked a question few students raised their hands. Like Mr. Masatu, she had to call students by their names in order to solicit answers from them as individuals. She wrote most of the students' responses on the chalkboard and used them as input in her teaching.

I observed also that students wanted to answer the questions asked by their teacher but were hesitant. They would look at each other first before raising up their hands. When they saw other students raising their hands, the shy one also did. For the entire classroom observation, no student was observed raising his or her hand to

ask a question. Later, I asked Ms. Bitulo why this was the case. She said that they were shy and that this shyness was a result of their poor knowledge of English. She remarked that the majority of her Form I students cannot even make a simple request in English. At the end of the lesson we thanked the students who seemed to have enjoyed our presence in their classroom.

Before saying goodbye to Ms. Bitulo I asked her why most of her lessons were with Form I students. She reported that she liked teaching students in their first and second year of secondary school because they are eager to learn and disciplined. She also remarked that she wanted to give students in the lower classes a good foundation of English, which is important for their performance in other subjects that are taught in post-primary education.

3.4.4   Classroom Observation at St. Peter's Seminary

The Catholic Church in Morogoro administers St Peter's Seminary. It has a small student population. It has two streams for each class at O-Level with an average of 35 students in each steam. The A-Level classes are even smaller with an average of 24 students, which is the standard A-Level class in Tanzania. The classrooms in this school are big and spacious. The school has a well-stocked library and a computer laboratory, which I was told would become operational at the beginning of the second term of this schools year.

Students who join this school are selected after passing a special examination designed by the Seminary or are upgraded from a pre-form one preparatory school. The Catholic Church in this dayosis runs this preparatory school. In order to join this seminary, a student must pass well the English and Mathematics examinations administered by division of education of the Catholic Church. The attrition rate is higher in this seminary because students who fail to get the 50 percent pass mark in each examination at the end of every term are discontinued. This system is not practiced in other secondary schools in Tanzania, although a student, who fails to pass the Form II examination in public and some private schools instituted as a drive towards raising the standard of education, may be forced to repeat a year.

Two classroom observations were conducted in this school involving students of Form III B. The first lesson was videotaped. I adapted the same procedure that was followed at Morogoro secondary school to minimize making both the students and the teacher anxious. The first observation took place between 11.00-12.00 hours in the second week of March 2000 while the second observation took place in the fourth week of March 2000 between 9.30 and 11.00. The lesson of the first observation was about civics and the second was on the themes of conflict and traditions, thematic topics of the reading component of the English syllabus (MOEC, 1996a).

Mr. Mwendwa delivered the two lessons to the same class in the same classroom. The civics lesson was delivered in English, which was news to me because in the 1970s and 1980s, civics known as '*Siasa*' was taught in Kiswahili. Later on, I inquired from Mr. Mwendwa about this change. He said he thought it might have to do with the change in the political environment in Tanzania. He could not elaborate further on this.

The classroom was well organized and the desks and chairs were arranged in rows that enabled the teacher to move about when attending to individual problems. All the students were well dressed in black trousers, short-sleeved shirts with a necktie and black shoes. In the civics lesson, Mr. Mwendwa went through what they done on the principles of socialism '*Ujamaa*' in Tanzania. He did this by asking students questions. In order to make them respond he would call the name of the student who then stood up and answered the question in very good English. The calling of student's names did not follow any order. Sometimes he did not allow students who had their hands raised up already to answer the questions he posed. Instead he would call on someone unexpectedly to answer the question.

It seems that he had established a good rapport with his students. I noticed however that no student asked a question when the teacher provided this opportunity. When I inquired about this behaviour, Mr. Mwendwa said that this was partly due to lack of confidence in the subject matter and that students' reluctance stemmed out of their poor proficiency in English.

Mr. Mwendwa rephrased the students' responses on the chalkboard. At the end of the lesson the board was completely filled with notes that consisted of

students' answers. I found this system unconventional because I had been trained to prepare the notes and give them to the students to copy at the end of the lesson. At the end of the observation I inquired about this system from Mr. Mwenda. He said that his experience shows that students feel that what they know is valued when it is included in the notes they are required to copy. This, he further added builds their esteem and goes a long to prove correct their anticipation and prediction. We agreed that I interview him a week later because he still had classes to teach on this particular day.

The second observation of Mr. Mwendwa's lessons was an almost a repeat of the first one. This one was not videotaped and I thought that the absence of the video technician would make a difference in the communicative behaviour pattern. I had wanted to conduct another interview immediately after the observation but this was impossible because I was time constrained.

In general, I observed that the teaching style used by all three teachers was the lecture method. On inquiring why they preferred this technique, I was informed that it is time saving, does not require a lot of resources, and shows that the teacher knows the subject matter which builds confidence. They also told me that this is the method, which is handed over from teacher training colleges and universities, although other teaching techniques are mentioned. Briefly, these classroom observations came out with similar findings reported by Kadeghe (2000) for the control group (English only) in which the teaching was textbook oriented, characterised by one word answers or with a 'yes' and 'no', the teacher's failure to elicit questions from students and thus inhibiting students from full engagement of self-expression.

3.5   The Open Field Interviews: Respondent profiles and context of interviews

Respondents who participated in this study were English teachers from Dar es Salaam and Morogoro secondary schools. Five teachers came from Dar es Salaam secondary schools of which two were from Jangwani Girls –a government administered school; two were from Shaaban Robert and one from Mzizima secondary school. These two schools are private owned day and co-educational

while Jangwani Girls is a day and boarding school. All respondents are Tanzanians with the exception of Ms. Bijumo of Shaaban Robert, who is from Kenya. Of the five teachers interviewed, two were female and three male.

Teachers from Morogoro field site were from Morogoro -government owned, St. Peter's Seminary –Catholic administered, and Lutheran Junior Seminary administered by the Lutheran Church of Tanzania. Of the three teachers who participated in the interviews, one was female from Morogoro secondary school and two were males from the two remaining schools. Of the seven key informants, one was employed by the TIoE, three were employed by the MOEC in the Educational Materials Section; one of whom was formerly employed TIoE. The former was in-charge of the Educational Materials Section of the MOEC. The fifth informant is self-employed as a publisher of books in Dar es Salaam. The interview also drew two respondents from the Inspectorate Division of the Eastern Zone of the MOEC of which one was a female and the other male.

The profile of the individual respondents in the OFIs, which is described below uses pseudonyms for anonymity and confidentiality while the names of the authors for the newspaper articles and conference papers have been retained for authenticity. The description also includes the context in which the interviews took place. In general, all the respondents had been informed about the subject of the interview beforehand. Of the seven key informants, six had at one time taught either Kiswahili or English in schools but were now involved in work related to education.

3.5.1 Mr. Mwendwa

Mr. Mwendwa began teaching in 1957 at Kwiro Seminary in Mahenge after completing a 2-year teachers course at Ihungo Teachers College (formerly, St. Thomas More's College) in Kagera Region. Between 1958 and 1969, Mr. Mwendwa taught in several schools including Ifunda Technical secondary school and Kasita Seminary. Mr. Mwendwa joined politics in July 1969. He was appointed as the District Commissioner (DC) of Pangani district Tanga region in the same year where he stayed until June 1983. Mr. Mwendwa was forced to retire from politics in June 1983 and went back to teaching. Since retiring from politics, Mr. Mwendwa has

been teaching at St. Peters Seminary in Morogoro. Mr. Mwendwa's teaching career covering of over 30 years saw the dying days of the British colonial administration, witnessed the euphoria that was characteristic of the independence of Tanganyika in 1961, the momentous days of the '*Ujamaa*' period with its villagilization programme. He has also, like many of the respondents seen the dismantling of the gains of the ArDe period and the political and economic liberalization, which began in the mid-1980s during the Presidency of Ali Hassan Mwinnyi. Mr. Mwendwa teaches English and Civics.

The interview took place on 17th March 2000 at 10.00 hours and lasted for almost an hour. It was conducted in the teachers' staff room. Mr. Mwendwa gave me tea before we began the interview. The staff room was empty at this time of the day because most of the teachers were giving lessons. The tape recorder was placed between us because we sat parallel to each other. Mr. Mwendwa had come with some of his teaching books and a number of other papers that were put haphazardly on the table. I began by asking him about his life in general and went on to ask about teaching, especially the teaching of English. He did most of the talking and I did most of the listening putting in a question and a comment here and there as occasion allowed.

3.5.2   Mrs. Magesa

Mrs. Magesa holds a diploma from Dar es Salaam Teachers College, which she obtained in 1970. Before joining the TIoE some 8 years ago, Mrs. Magesa went for further education at UDSM where she graduated with a BA (Ed). She was again awarded a scholarship to do a postgraduate in education three years after obtaining her first degree. Mrs. Magesa taught English at Jangwani Girls in the early 70s. She is employed as a curriculum developer of English at the TIoE. She informed me that she had been in the institute for almost ten years now and has seen many changes in the institute. She informed me that she had worked under three directors and has conducted in-service seminars to teachers who teach English in secondary schools. As a mother and a teacher, she would like her children to have a decent and proper education with preference being on English.

The interview took place in her office, which she shares with colleague on May 16 2000. When I arrived, I found her alone in the office. When I told her that I was going to record our discussion on tape she seemed to be surprised because she asked me twice whether I was going to capture her voice on tape. I had informed her about this when the Director of the Institute introduced her to me in latter's office.

The table in her office was filled with books and papers. She had to put some order on her desk before we began the interview. She sat with her back to the window while I sat facing her across her table on a chair that belonged to her office colleague. Her office was air conditioned and looked new smelling of fresh paint. She apologized for having a desk that was filled with books and papers. She said that this was partly due to the fact that they had just moved into this new office block and added that office equipment such as bookshelves and filing cabinets were yet to be supplied. She hoped that this would not affect our interview. We began the interview at around 10.30 hours. The interview took around 30 minutes.

3.5.3   Ms. Kalibha and Ms. Mwasi

Ms. Kalibha began her teaching career at Bagamoyo secondary school after graduating from Dar es Salaam Teachers College with a diploma. She went for further education at UDSM where she graduated with an MA (Education) in 1997. Upon graduating from *Mlimani* (UDSM), she joined the Educational Materials Section of the MOEC in 1999 as an educational materials evaluator. She had taught English and her major subjects in the undergraduate and postgraduate, were Linguistics and English.

Ms. Mwasi holds a diploma from Dar es Salaam Teachers College and a BA (Ed.) of UDSM. She taught Kiswahili in secondary schools before joining the Educational Materials Section of the MOEC in 1999 as an educational materials evaluator.

It was suggested to me that the two of them be interviewed together. They took me to their office conference room. The atmosphere in which the interview took place was very good. We began the interview at around 11.00 hours at the end of which they offered me a lunch. They were confident with what they were talking

about. At the end of the interview, they suggested that if I needed more information this could be arranged.

3.5.4   Mr. Kwilenga and Ms. Bhijumo

Ms. Bijumo is from Kenya employed as an expatriate English teacher at Shaaban Robert. She is a graduate of Nairobi University where she was awarded the degree of BEd (Arts) after completing 4 years of study. Prior to coming to Tanzania, she had taught in a secondary school in Kenya for 2 years. She has been at Shaaban Robert for 2 years by the time this interview took place in May 2000.

Mr. Kwilenga holds the degree of BEd of the UDSM, which is a 4-year degree programme offered by the Faculty of Education. Mr. Kwilenga is married and has worked as a teacher for eleven years in several schools before moving to Shaaban Robert. He has taught English and Civics (formerly *Siasa*) for most of his career. The school, in which Ms. Bhijumo and Mr. Kwilenga teach, has a large student population of Asian origin and a few Africans, the majority of whom had attended English-medium primary schools. They informed me that getting a place at Shaaban Robert requires a substantial amount of money, which the majority of the indigenes do not have. The school therefore tends to take students from families that have political power and influence as well as those who are involved in commerce and related business. Children from peasant and middle cadre workers are very few in the school. The few, who have managed to get a place in school entails a lot of sacrifice on the part of their parents.

The interview took place at the school on the 23rd of May 2000 in the school computer room at 10.00 hours. There were two other people in the computer room when the interview was in progress but these did not participate in the discussion. Besides talking about the conditions of their work at this school, the interview focused on the teaching of English in schools and related topics, language policy and education in Tanzania. Matters that concerned with conditions of work at the school were not audio taped as per their request.

3.5.5   Mr. Maijo

Mr. Maijo is a university graduated with a BA (Ed) from the UDSM during the academic year 1996/7 where he majored in English. He informed me that he had undertaken some research on evaluation of English language textbooks while studying at the university. He teaches at Mzizima secondary school, which is privately owned by the Ismailia Community (Indian) in Tanzania. The majority of the students from this school are of Asian origin and a few Africans of whom the majority went through English-medium primary schools. Like Shaaban Robert, getting a place at this school requires money and influence, which are lacking in the majority of the African population in Tanzania.

I arrived at the school at 8.000 hours on 24th of May 2000 and was told that Mr. Maijo was giving a lesson. After about an hour, Mr. Maijo finished his lesson and took me to the English department office where we had our discussion. Our discussion lasted for about 40 minutes because he informed me that he was scheduled to give another lesson at around 11.00 hours. Teachers and students came in the office where the interview was being done and at some point we had to stop our discussion to allow Mr. Maijo to attend to his students.

3.5.6   Mr. Maila

Mr. Maila graduated from the University of East Africa at the University College Dar es Salaam (popularly known as 'The Hill' (*Mlimani*)- until today) in 1965 with a BA (Administration). He was employed as a civil servant with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1966 to 1972. He joined the Tanzania Publishing House as a Trainee General Manager in October 1972 and became its General Manager in March 1973. He was the first African General Manager and ran the company for eighteen years until 1990 when he left and set up his own publishing company known as Mkuki na Nyota Publishing House. The publishing business is located in the poor residential section of the city of Dar es Salaam in a nondescript looking building.

The interview began at 16.00 hours in his office on the 24th of May 2000. By this time the office was quite because all the employees had finished work for the

day. The only other person who remained in the building was his secretary. She also left after half an hour. The discussion went without any interruptions for almost two hours. By the time we finished our discussion darkness was beginning to envelop this part of Dar es Salaam City, which is without adequate street lights and hence prone to a high incidence of petty thieves and muggers.

3.5.7   Mr. Rugee and Mrs. Bhulenga

Mr. Rugee has a BA degree in linguistics and English from UDSM and a postgraduate diploma in teaching English as a foreign language. He is a teacher of English who has also been appointed to set and mark examinations by the National Examinations Council of Tanzania (NECTA). He joined the Inspectorate Department in 1995. He has also run seminars for teachers of English in schools and colleges.

Mrs. Bhulenga completed Dar es Salaam Teachers College with a diploma and was posted to teach at Musoma Alliance between 1973 and 1976. She secured a place at UDSM where she graduated with a BA (Educ.). After her studies at UDSM, she was transferred to Pugu secondary schools in 1979. She joined the Inspectorate Department in 1991 as an inspector of both English and Kiswahili in secondary schools. While at the Inspectorate, Mrs. Bhulenga went to Scotland, UK in 1991 for a 3-month course in the teaching of English as a Foreign Language (ELF)

While Mr. Rugee has an office of his own, Mrs. Bhulenga shares an office with two other colleagues. The interview took place in an office that was connected to the Director's office. The connecting door to the office of the Director was left open throughout the interview. I was told that the interview would begin at 8.00 hours when I requested for it a week earlier but when I arrived on the 25th of May 2000, I was kept waiting for two hours.

The interview began at around 11.00 hours. The office where the interview was conducted was small. I sat next to Mrs. Bhulenga facing Mr. Rugee. Of the two interviewees, Mr. Rugee was more confident, and made me to believe that he was not unnerved and intimidate by his boss who was listening in the next office. Mrs. Bhulenga was more hesitant in her talk. In the course of the interview, the Director

requested Mrs. Bhulenga to go to her office where she stayed for about five minutes. During her absence I stopped the recorder and we talked about the weather and other matter that were not related to the subject of the interview. We resumed the interview when Mrs. Bhulenga returned after finishing her business with their boss. Five minutes towards the end of the interview their boss joined us in the interview. She told us to continue with what we were discussing. She did not join in the talk nor did she take a seat but was leaning on the door that led to her office. I stopped interviewing five minutes later because I observed that the circumstances had changed.

3.5.8   Mr. Chiganga

Mr. Chiganga graduated with a BA (Education Option) in 1975 at *Mlimani* (UDSM). He taught Kiswahili in secondary schools for a few years and later joined the TIoE in 1979 where he worked until 1999 when he was moved to the MOEC to head the newly formed Educational Materials Section. While at TIoE, Mr. Chiganga was responsible for the development of the Kiswahili curriculum for primary, secondary and teacher training levels of education. He was also responsible for designing in-service training courses in Kiswahili for primary and secondary school teachers and tutors of teacher training colleges. Mr. Chiganga went for further education at the UDSM in the late 80s where he was awarded the degree of MA in education. His current job involves evaluating education materials and recommending those titles to schools.

The discussion took place in Mr. Chiganga's office at around 11.00 hours on the 25th of May 2000. While answering some of my questions, he was cut short by the ringing of a telephone. At one time he had to leave the office to attend to another visitor. He seemed to be more informed on the issue of language policy in Tanzania having worked in the government department that dealt with curriculum development for several years. The interview lasted for almost two hours.

3.5.9   Mrs. Buremo

Mrs. Buremo of Jangwani Girls finished secondary education and underwent a two-year training course in the late 1970s. She then went for an up-grading course at Dar es Salaam Teachers College where upon completion was awarded a diploma. At the time of this interview, Mrs. Buremo was following the BA degree programme of the Tanzania Open University. Mrs. Buremo began her teaching career as a primary school teacher and was later transferred to Jangwani Girls to teach English after completing her diploma up-grading course. She has taught for almost 15 years and her teaching subject has been English throughout her career.

The interview took place on the 26th of May 2000 at 11.00 hours and lasted for about 40 minutes or so. The interview day coincided with the school open day. The room where the interview was conducted was adjacent to the school assembly hall where the celebrations were taking place. You could hear people walking and talking in the assembly hall from the room in which the interview was being conducted. Mrs. Buremo was not happy with the fact that the interview was being recorded but I managed to array her worries about this. The room had a small desk on which Mrs. Buremo sat facing me. Mrs. Buremo closed the door to the room before we began the interview. Students who came in the room several times for reasons interrupted the interview discussion. Because of this, Mrs. Buremo decided to leave the door open to reduce the amount of noise made by the door hinges when it was being opened and closed. This meant that I recorded even sounds that students made when they were entering and going away from the room. This frequent distraction in some way interfered with the discussion.

3.5.10   Mr. Malima

Mr. Malima holds a diploma from Korogwe Teachers College, Tanga region. He has taught for 13 years in various secondary schools in Tanzania. He currently teaches at Jangwani Girls. Before joining the staff at Jangwani Girls, he had taught at Minaki and Kibiti secondary schools in Coast Region, Mwenge secondary school in Singida and Gairo secondary school in Kilosa, Morogoro region. He teaches English, Geography and Civics at Jangwani Girls.

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The interview took place at 14.00 hours on the same day and in the same room in which I had conducted my interview with Mrs. Buremo earlier in the morning. The school celebrations were still going on and like in the morning interview session there was a lot of noise seeping in into the room. This time Mr. Malima decided to lock the door with a key to avoid us being disturbed. Mr. Malima looked for another desk on which I put my tape. I sat facing him with the tape on my right. We were not disturbed for the entire duration of our discussion, which took almost an hour.

3.5.11   Ms. Bitulo

Ms. Bitulo completed her secondary education in 1969 and was among the first graduates of Chang'ombe Teachers College (now Dar es Salaam Teachers College) in 1970. She was employed as a teacher in the same year. In her words, their teachers training course at the college "was a crash programme, which didn't go so much into details." She was trained to teach English and Kiswahili but throughout her 27 years of teaching she has mostly taught English. She has taught in two schools, beginning at Kilakala Girls and her current school at Morogoro secondary school. Ms. Bitulo has also taught Kiswahili in Rwanda for three years between 1983 and 1986.

The interview took place in the lounge of a hotel where other customers were being served with drinks. Ms. Bitulo suggested the venue of this interview because she said that she did not like to be heard by other teachers whom she suspected would report our discussion to the head of the school. The interview took place on the 18th of September 2000 at 12.00. Our discussion was done over a drink and some bites. The discussion took about an hour at the end of which Ms. Bitulo requested me playback the cassette so that she can listen to what she had said during our discussion. I asked her why she wanted to listen to what had been recorded on the tape. She responded by informing me that she wanted to make sure that what she had told me was correct. This was done and she seemed satisfied with what she had told me.

3.5.12   Mr. Masatu

Mr. Masatu holds the degree of BA (Ed) of the UDSM where graduated 6 years ago. He teaches English and Literature in English at Lutheran Junior Seminary where he has taught for about 4 years. Most of his students come from English-medium rimary schools. They have therefore a good background in English compared to students in public secondary schools like Jangwani Girls and Morogoro secondary school.

It was unfortunate that I was not able to interview Mr. Masatu because I could not reconcile my agenda with his. However, he was able to attend the group discussion at Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) on the 29th of September 2000.

3.6   Data Coding

All the information collected was divided into two data sets. Set 1 of the Data Corpus was composed of newspaper articles and a workshop article while Set 2 consisted of OFIs. All of the data gathered in the 2 sets were treated as texts and subjected to analysis after a coding system had been developed. The coding system that was adopted is the subject of preceding sections.

3.6.1   Data Coding System

The process of developing a list of codes was done in three stages. Stage one grew out of a reflection that was born out of the classroom observations since what emerged from the latter revealed that there was a language problem that impinged on the teaching-learning process. Communication in the classroom I observed was one-way in which the teacher did most of the talking although all the teachers I observed tried to make students participate in the learning process. The reflections produced some tentative answers to the observed communication pattern in these particular classes. These produced a list of global factors that could be used to explain the language problem in the classroom.

The second stage involved examining these global factors to establish if they address the research assumption and questions. In order to accomplish this, each

research question was broken into subtopics. The third stage involved studying the data in the two sets to discover if these subtopics were present in the discussions and newspaper articles. The result of this process in summarized in sections 3.6.1.1, 3.6.1.2 and 3.6.1.3. The subtopics were renamed as codes that were used in coding the data corpus, which was imported into the Nvivo software package. The process that was adopted in coding the data corpus is described under section 3.6.2

3.6.1.1 Codes for Question No. 1

How does the current language policy in education organize the differential distribution of cultural capital and by implication linguistic capital? In other words the codes tried to examine the effect of language policy in education in Tanzania. The codes that were generated are itemized below.

- Language policy and education
- As a sorting mechanism or a sieve
- English and modernity
- English as knowledge and advancement
- English as education or English is education
- English as the language of science and technology
- Linguistic capital

3.6.1.2 Codes for Question No. 2

What is the basis of the expressed need and demand for English in Tanzania? Codes developed for this question included:

- English as an empowering language
- Literacy in English is survival
- Medium of instruction
- English enhances career and professional development
- English as gateway to social rewards
- English facilitates learning of other subjects
- English enhances performance in other subjects

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- English enhances employment opportunities
- English as the language of science and civilization
- English and elitist education
- Increase in English-medium primary schools

3.6.1.3 Codes for Question No. 3

What are the socio-cultural, ideological and political effects of English as MOI in post secondary education? The codes that were generated for this question included:

- Determines foreign aid and donor funds
- English and development of Kiswahili
- English and development of local innovations
- English and marginalization
- English and social inequality
- English as gateway to social rewards
- English as knowledge and advancement
- English raises social status and social prestige
- Increase in English Medium Primary
- Linguistic imperialism and domination
- Language policy through English creates different social groups

It should be noted that some of the codes address two questions. For example, 'English as knowledge and advancement' and 'increase in English-medium primary schools' addresses questions 1 and 3 while the code 'language of science and technology' addresses questions 1 and 3. These codes were later analysed and resulted into a description of the conceptual mapping of discourses that are depicted in Figure 4.2.1 in Chapter Four.

3.6.2 Data Coding procedures

The coding of the two sets of the data corpus that was imported into the Nvivo software package for analysing qualitative data was made operational using this procedure. The first procedure was to create codes, which had already been done in sections 3.6.1.1, 3.6.1.2 and 3.6.1.3. These codes or themes represent a kernel of ideas that explain about your research question(s). These are then typed into Nvivo where they are stored as nodes. According to Richards (2000:12) a node represents any concepts, people, abstract ideas, places and any other things, which are important to your project. The nodes that were typed into the Nvivo software package for this project were free nodes but one can decide to organize nodes as free nodes or tree nodes.

The second stage in the coding process using Nvivo is to import the data corpus as rich text. This was done by first creating a project and giving it a name. Three projects were created- 'Medium Debate', which contained all the newspaper articles, 'Language Policy and Education' in which all the OFIs and group discussion texts were imported, and MarthaMaghimbi that contained Mrs. Martha Qorro's workshop article and Prof. Maghimbi's articles that appeared in three instalments in the Guardian Newspaper. Every text that was imported into a project was also given a name. For example, the Mwendwa interview was imported into Project Language Policy and Education under the title of Mwendwa. Every text that composed the two sets of the data corpus were therefore identified with names and imported under the appropriate project using the procedure explained above.

The third stage involved coding using the nodes created in stage one above. A project such as 'Medium Debate' is opened under which all the newspaper texts appearing under the name of the author of the article are listed. The next process is opening a window in which the text of newspaper article is located. Then coding begins using the free nodes that appear in a different window pane on the screen. The coding involved reading the texts and deciding which part of the text is focused on for example 'English enhances employment opportunities'. If such a paragraph or sentence is found in the text, it is highlighted and coded by clicking on the statement indicated above. Where there are more statements or sentences, which discuss about the same node in the same text but are separated by other issues, they are also

highlighted and coded by clicking on the node 'English enhances employment opportunities'. This procedure is repeated until you reach the end of the text article. Then you open another file in this project and run through the same procedure described above.

Coding is not simple since it requires a lot of thinking and reflecting on the ideas available in each article. The process involves assessing whether the ideas are relevant to the study questions. In some cases you may be forced to recode a text file if the report that is generated at the end of the coding process has overlooked important ideas.

The fourth stage in the coding process involves generating a report of the coding. There are several ways of generating a coding report. In my case I first generating a code report for each text in each project. This gives a summary of all the nodes that had been coded in each text file in a project. I found out that this would produce a lot of paper reports that would make analysis more tedious. So I decided to generate a coding report of each node for all the files in each of the three projects separately. This coding report is shown in Appendices identified as 'Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles (Appendix No. 1a), Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper and Workshop Articles (Appendix No. 2a), and Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interview Transcripts (Appendix No. 3a).

PART II

**ENGLISH IN TANZANIA
ITS ASSOCIATED DISCOURSES AND
IMPLICATIONS**

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CHAPTER FOUR

MAPPING THE DISCOURSES AND MEANINGS OF ENGLISH IN TANZANIA

4.1   Language policy, English and Colonial education

In Tanzania, like elsewhere in post-colonial Africa, one of the main issues in education is the choice of a MOI in schools. And again as in most post-colonial nations in Africa, the choice has been for the former colonial language. Whereas in Tanzania, Kiswahili is the national language as well as the universal language of instruction in primary school (basic education), English has remained the medium for all post-primary education since the British colonial administration. The continued use of English in post-primary education in Tanzania is partly sustained by socio-economic and market forces as well as the educational system, which reproduces and legitimatizes the relations of power and knowledge implicated with English. It is also a question of attitudes and beliefs about English, which is an outcome of the colonial enterprise as it was then articulated in Macaulay's (1835) Minute (cited in Pennycook, 2000a:51):

> "[….] stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West …. Whoever knows that language has already access to all the vast intellectual wealth, which all the wisest nations on the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said that the literature now extant in that language is of greater value than all the literature which three hundred years was extant in all the languages of the world together."

The language-in-policy and the education system in Tanzania inherited from the British was based on these premises, which ESR attempted to redress. ESR was designed to de-colonize and democratize education through the introduction of Kiswahili and re-define what constituted knowledge. The position articulated in Macaulay's (1835) Minute re-echoes observations made by OFIs respondents and authors of articles used in this study.

My reading of these articles and interview narratives point to the fact that English is still considered to be a rich and superior language as expressed by Macaulay because it is among other things the hallmark of knowledge. ESR was a reaction against these colonial construction of social reality and a conceptualization of the educational agenda for the Tanzanian society. Hitherto, knowledge was linked to language where English has and still plays a major role. Ever since the 1960s, the prominence and dominance of English in the education system has generated debates in society especially in the academia where linguists have participated intensively to these debates. The issue has also become a political one, in which some political parties have clearly stated their position. For example, Mr. Chiganga makes this observation:

> *"[....] Lakini wapo wa baadhi ya watu. Hata baadhi ya vyama vimetoa msimamo. Kuna chama kimoja kimesema hivi. Kime kime kimetoa msimamo kabisa kwamba sisi tukishika madaraka tunataka Kiingereza kiwe medium of instruction kuanzia darasa la kwanza.. Lakini vyama vingine vimetoa msimamo namna hiyo. Sasa hayo ni maoni ya watu"* (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ─Appendix 3a). [But some people, even some political parties have given out their position on the issue. I mean, these new political parties. There is one political party, which has said so. It has declared its position stating that if it wins the parliamentary elections it will make English the medium of instruction beginning from standard one. Other political parties have also declared similar positions. These are opinions from people who have that kind of stance. -own translation].

Despite the gains in education brought about by the ArDe, ESR and the introduction of Kiswahili as a MOI in basic education, the association of English with knowledge has prevailed probably because the latter has retained its position as a MOI in post-primary education. The MOI debate revolves around the discourses associated with English in Tanzania. Some of these discourses can only be understood through and within the Tanzania context while others have a global reach since language policy and use are embedded in a range of different materials and ideological concerns. This makes the examination of issues pertaining to MOI to go beyond the confines of access to a language and of the automatic benefits of

schooling in one language or another (Pennycook, 2000b) because a language-in-education policy enshrine practices of exclusion and privileging others in a society.

This study is a continuation of this debate and addresses the issue of the MOI through examining the discourses that emerge from it. This chapter begins with a description that maps the discourses that are associated with English in Tanzania to show how the research questions are related (see Figure 4.2.1). Thereafter, the major part of the chapters that follow focus on themes such as the value of English in Tanzania, English and education or is English education?, English and social inequality, the metaphors of English in Tanzania and their significance, and the implications of the relationship between English and education on development and socio-cultural domination in Tanzania.

4.2 Mapping the Discourses Associated with English in Tanzania

In mapping out the discourses associated with English in Tanzania, I have tried to think of a framework that organizes the discourses and their meanings into categories. The first group of meanings about English in Tanzania emanate from issues that are associated with the language-in-policy in education. This grows out of the understanding that language policy creates and projects specific legitimate language repertoires such as English and by doing so increases its demand. As has been urged elsewhere in this study, language policy concerns itself with the distribution of linguistic resources.

In interpreting "how does the current language policy in education organize the differential distribution of cultural capital and by implication linguistic capital?" one is confronted with the several discourses, the majority of which are consequences of language policy in education. These include ideas such as English as sorting mechanism; English as knowledge and advancement; English as education; English and modernity; English and development, and English as the language of science and technology, and English as civilisation. These discourses can be summarised in the following set of propositions depicted in Figure 4.2.1. As can be seen in Figure 4.2.1, the political, economic and socio-cultural system [A] exerts pressure on [B],

[C], [D], [E] resulting into [F]. The letters (a), (b), (c), (d), (e), (f) and (g) denote the direction of relationships.

- ❖ <u>Language policy and education</u> - the role of language policy in universalization, legitimation and distribution of linguistic resources through educational institutions. Language policy in education has made English a valuable commodity that is sought by many. Language policy in education has thus created a demand for English market and has also increased its symbolic value.

- ❖ <u>Language as a sorting mechanism or a sieve</u> – a language, which is used to select people for further studies, allocate employment opportunities in that it is a requirement one should posses when seeking employment. In this aspect we observe that English through the various educational institutions is used as a sieve. This makes English an exclusive and excluding resource and I interpret it as unevenly distributed linguistic capital in society.

- ❖ <u>Linguistic capital</u> – used also to encompass cultural capital to refer to knowledge or competence/proficiency or possession of English as a social cultural resource used in accessing information and knowledge. This allows a person to enter into specific social and economic groups through the education system.

- ❖ <u>English and modernity</u> ─ knowledge of English is a mark of development, modernity and is associated with international outlook while other languages such as Kiswahili are pereceived to be inferior and lack the capacity to express adequately scientific and technological terms. Thus it is claimed that using Kiswahili would make the country lag behind in development.

- ❖ <u>English as knowledge and advancement</u> ─ The belief that English is education means also that English is knowledge because the former is rich in written literature and therefore,

- ❖ <u>English as education</u> or <u>English is education</u> –meaning that education through English is of higher quality while Kiswahili-medium is of poor quality. This kind of discourse is largely tied on the proposition of English

as knowledge and advancement, and English as a mark of modernity. The cumulative effects of these discourses make the already entrenched belief that associates English with education much stronger in society.

- ❖ <u>English as the language of science and technology</u> ─belief that science and technological development is possible only through English. This argument is linked to a counter idea that postulates that Kiswahili is an inferior and underdeveloped language. Thus, the former is a language that is unable to meet the needs of a modern society in the 21st century of science and technology and a language that is suitable only for traditional and informal education because of its a limited vocabulary.

- ❖ <u>English as an empowering language</u> ─ knowledge or competence in English empowers a person to access information both technical and scientific. This puts an individual in a better and competitive position enabling the latter, for example to benefit from the current explosion of science and information to his/her own advantage.

- ❖ <u>Literacy in English is survival</u> ─ competence and knowledge in English is requisite for a person's survival in the modern global economic system.

The second set of discourses associated with English revolves around the needs and demand for English in Tanzania. This is specifically about the issues that are raised by the second question "what is the basis of the expressed need and demand for English in Tanzania?" In other words, what is being highlighted here is the basis of the demand for English in Tanzania. The meanings associated with English in [D] in Figure 4.2.1 are about the material and symbolic value of English. These become translated into needs. The need and demand for English are a consequence of the common sense things that are said about English which are propagated through ELT programmes. The need and demand for English may take various forms as described in the proposition below (see [E] in Figure 4.2.1

- ❖ <u>Medium of instruction</u> ─ a language used for teaching and learning in an education system. It is sometimes known as a vehicular language.

- ❖ <u>English enhances career and professional development</u> ─ possession of or knowledge of the relevant language or proficiency in that particular

language becomes a resource and an asset to a person thus ensuring his/her competitiveness in the labour market.

❖ English as gateway to social rewards — knowledge or competence or proficiency in English confers social rewards to a person.

❖ English facilitates learning of other subjects — a language that aids in learning of other subjects especially where it is itself the medium of instruction in the education system.

❖ English enhances performance in other subjects — knowledge in the relevant language (English in this case) helps a learner to perform better in other academic subjects of the curriculum.

❖ English enhances employment opportunities — a language that is a basic requirement in obtaining employment.

❖ English as the language of science and civilization — English is associated with culture and civilization since knowledge, information, literary works are found in it.

❖ English and elitist education — English is the language of elites, academic and professionalism as opposed to Kiswahili, which lacks this capacity.

❖ Access to scientific literature — makes available scientific literature for scientific research institutes and universities.

❖ As a reading reference language — used for reading all relevant literature written in English in schools and higher institutions of learning.

Discourses and meanings associated with English, which become institutionalized through the education system have a number of effects. The third question of this study, which focuses on the socio-cultural, ideological and political effects of English as a MOI in post-secondary education is examined through showing the consequences of privileging English in the educational institutions in Tanzania. The demand and value of English described above manifests itself in many facets, some of which are depicted under [F] in Figure 4.2.1 and briefly described below.

❖ English raises social status and social prestige —knowledge or competence in English together with an education obtained through the medium of English raises a person's social status and *interlia* social prestige.

- ❖ <u>English as gateway to social rewards</u> ─ knowledge or competence or proficiency in English confers social rewards to a person.

- ❖ <u>Increase in English Medium Primary Schools</u> — the prominence of English in Tanzania has stimulated the building of English Medium Primary schools in most urban centres.

- ❖ <u>Linguistic imperialism and domination</u> — continued use or the dominance of English in Tanzania has resulted in a confidence crisis in the capacity of Kiswahili to meet the needs of society. This has consequently slowed the development of Kiswahili because resource allocation priorities have shifted to English. English has also continued to undermine the cultural identity of Tanzanians.

- ❖ <u>English creates different social groups</u> — continued use of English as medium of instruction in education and subsequent knowledge and competence of English leads to the creation of different social groups resulting from differences in possession of this linguistic capital.

- ❖ <u>English determines foreign aid and donor funds</u> — foreign aid and donor funding may be attached to continued use of English.

- ❖ <u>English and inequality</u> — English as a valued and rare resource whose accessibility has become restricted through the education system leads in the production, reproduction and maintenance of social, political and economic inequalities in society.

- ❖ <u>English and marginalization</u> — the use of English has lead to the marginalization of the majority of the population from the decision making process in social, political and economic issues.

It is important to give further explanation to the proposition that 'use of English leads to the marginalisation of the majority' instead of Kiswahili. It is true that Kiswahili, the lingua franca in Tanzania is used by the government bureaucracy including the parliament. However, post-primary education institutions continue to train people through English such that there is a tendency to admire someone who uses English more than Kiswahili. Thus if you want to look educated, knowledgeable, and to be taken seriously, the choice language for you is English. That is why most parliamentarians and government executives code switch between

English and Kiswahili. In this process, English leads to marginalisation and exclusion because Kiswahili has been the language of the majority since colonial times signalling a 'we code' while English has been a 'they code' for most people (Kadeghe, 2000)

The discussion in this section has mapped out the relationship between language policy, English and education. I have tried to put the meanings and discourses associated with English in categories as they are espoused in the presentations on the issue of MOI in Tanzania. In short, the argument that is being proposed in this discussion is that looking at English merely as a language falls far short of revealing the effects of English in society. Secondly, viewing it as a language only fails to bring out its symbolic and economic materiality. In general, the dominance of English as the academic language of the world and the "Kiswahili of the world" (Mwalimu Nyerere, cited in Mussa Lupatu, Daily News of February 9, 1990 - Appendix No. 1/24) should be looked at critically in order to account for its socio-cultural, political and economic effects. Perhaps these remarks by van Dijk (1997:292) may help us get a picture of some of the effects of English in the academic world.

"[…] This means that all university students in non-anglophone countries, and especially those in graduate schools, should learn English well enough to read and write it, as of course most students, teachers and universities all over the world realize. This is especially the case for those scholars who have the ambition to publish in international journals or to participate in international conferences. ... However the failure to do so has the consequence of self-exclusion from global scholarship."

I will therefore, treat English as a resource throughout this study in order to show how the capitalist economic enterprises partly use English through the British Council, USAID, educational institutions, mass communication such as newspapers, television and the radio, and global news and mass media corporations such as CNN and BBC to participate in the production and reproduction of the hegemony of English in Tanzania.

Figure 4.2.1: Language Policy and education: discourses of English and Consequences


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                              ENGLISH          (c)      [C]
                              (Cultural    ────────►  EDUCATION
                   (b)        Capital)                INSTITUTIONS
            ─────────────►                            sustain, produce
    [B]                              (d)              and reproduce
  Language-in-                        │         (d)
  education                           ▼                    [D]
  (decision on and or             A SIEVE
  about MOI)                                 (d)
                         (a)          (d)          Discourses of English in
                                      │            Tanzania
                              [A]     ▼            (Conceptual Metaphors)
                                                   -as knowledge
                            Political,             -as modernity
                            Economic and           -as advancement
                            Socio-cultural  ◄────► -as education
                            pressures             -as language of science &
                                                   technology
                                                  -as empowering language
                                                  -as gateway to social
                                                   rewards
                                                  -as highway to success
           [F]                                          (f)
  CONSEQUENCES                              [E]
  Uneven distribution of Linguistic Capital       RESOURCE/ NEEDS
  results into:                                    Linguistic Capital (Proficiency in
  -creation of social groups & socio-             English)
  economic inequality                              enhances job opportunities
  -Globalisation and economic dependency    (g)   enhances learning
  -Linguistic imperialism               ◄──────   enhances chances for further studies
  Inhibits development of Kiswahili                and professional training
  -Stifles local innovations                       access to information & knowledge
  -Cultural domination and identity crisis         access to scientific literature
  -Loss of confidence in local knowledge           language of science & technology
  systems
  -Marginalisation & peripheralisation
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Key: (a) passes LP edicts; (b) edicts make; (c) becomes MOI; (d) used by; (e) strengthens, (f) becomes either or and (g) leads/results to/into

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE VALUE OF ENGLISH IN TANZANIA: IDEAS, POPULAR PERCEPTIONS AND VIEWPOINTS

5.1   Introduction

I begin this discussion with a proposal that language is cultural and linguistic capital following Bourdieu and the distinction between restricted and elaborated codes put forward by Bernstein. Their analyses have had profound effect on explaining and describing linguistic inequalities and how certain linguistic practices become universal in society. This features clearly in the works of Bernstein (1987, 1996), Bourdieu (1994a), Bourdieu and Passeron (1998), Heller (1994, 1996), Giroux (1988). It is from this perspective that it is proposed that the 'value' of a particular language is socio-politically engineered through language policy and planning, and implemented by the educational institutions. These are institutional structures through which particular language varieties, repertoires and their associated ideologies and discourses are legitimised and universalised. It is also maintained here following Bourdieu and Passeron (1998) that language and its concomitant educational and pedagogical practices in schools cannot be understood outside their national and social histories because language and discourse participate in and sustains the process of universalisation and normalisation of particular socio-cultural and political ideological discourses over others. It is this understanding which gives credit to the argument that language, especially language policy and planning, together with schooling convey discourses of legitimation since the latter dominates and disempowers language users whose practices differ from the norms it establishes (Kaplan, 1997).

The discussion in this chapter focuses on language policy and the dominance of English in post-primary education, examines the belief that English is education and highway to success, and briefly looks at the cultural identity crisis caused by the dominance of English by using evidence from the MOI debate, language policy and the role played by education institutions in the maintenance English in Tanzania. It

will be shown that language policy and English are implicated in the bastardization and isolation of Kiswahili as well as the outright extermination of Elgs from the various levels of the education system in Tanzania (see Chapter 2.2 in Part I). It is also argued that language-in-education policy inhibits and limits the development of students' skills, concept formation and disorients students' experiences because of the instituted changes in MOI at various educational levels.

5.2   Language policy and the dominance of English in Tanzania

Language policy is a mechanism for the distribution of power, status, and linguistic resources differentially to various groups in society. English in Tanzania, like elsewhere in post-colonial Africa is both a valued resource and performs gate-keeping functions (similar to accent described by Lippi-Green, 1997 in the US) in close collaboration with education. The former is a great sorting mechanism through its credentialing and certification system. That is why unravelling the story of valued symbolic resources such as English requires a critical understanding of the ideology that underpin language policy. Given the above, it is clear that the value of linguistic practices that are made available through education depend on its ability to give access to desired positions in the labour market since Gal (1989) observes that linguistic practices in their totality become a resource which students and society in general use to gain entry in particular sets of knowledge, skills and practices that are commensurate with what is legitimatised by schools acting on behalf and as part of dominant group in society.

A substantial amount of literature exists on the debate on the medium of instruction in Tanzania (see Chapter 2.8.4). In contrast with all these studies, the kind of language problem I have in mind is a consequence of the dominance of English in Tanzania. I want to examine why English has become a valued cultural and symbolic commodity and the perceptions people hold about this valued resource.

The value of English and the identities it is associated with in Tanzania can be compared to the Sony Walkman discussed earlier in Chapter 1.1. The process of creating meanings and identities associated with English is a culmination of the

operations of social institutions such as schools. According to Heller (1999), the latter serve to produce as well as distribute valued resources and hence contribute to the production and reproduction of relations of social difference and social inequalities. It is therefore apparent that in a given speech community social boundaries are constructed through symbolic practices of which language is a key element. These social boundaries serve to limit or contain an individual's access to valued material and symbolic resources.

Evidence from this study shows that language policy has increased the dominance of English in Tanzania through changing attitudes of people toward this language because language policy is based on the standard language ideology (SLI). This rests on:

> "[…] The belief that distinctly identifiable languages can and should be isolated, named, and counted enters not only into minority and majority nationalism but into various strategies of social domination … ideas about what is or is not a "real" language have contributed to profound decisions about the civility and even the humanity of others, particularly subjects of colonial domination in the Americas and elsewhere."(Woolard, 1998:17)

For instance statements expressed by Prof. Maghimbi and Mr. Rugee show how language policy working through the education system is responsible for creating positive attitudes toward English in Tanzania. Prof Maghimbi argues that:

> "[….] I said that for us knowledge is in English (or rather he ignored the point). Actually for many other people (and us) knowledge is in English. Why should my old teacher dispute physical facts? If you like Kiswahili you don't have to underestimate English. English is still the leading academic language of the world. The ordinary people have the right to master the international language including the language of the local and international elite, which is English." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No. 1/5)

And Mr. Rugee thinks that:

> "[….]Why do people insist that their children learn English very well? So it is assumed that once you have mastered the language then you can pursue your studies much better in whatever discipline you are pursuing. So that's

why there is now a craze of parents taking their children to English speaking schools with the belief that once students master English very well, then they can follow most of the studies since the curriculum at secondary school level and tertiary institutions is being offered in English. And I think that is the main reason." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ─Appendix No.3a)

Consequently, language policy and planning programmes for education in Tanzania have used the SLI that ranks languages to regulate the access of speech varieties to prestigious institutional uses and their speakers to domains of power and privilege (Collins cited in Woolard, 1998:17). This situation is quite clearly apparent in Tanzania where English and Kiswahili have differentially been privileged to be the MOI in post-primary and the former as the official language and MOI primary education in the public sphere respectively, as well as the two being the languages of mass communication. The remaining 120 or so ELgs in Tanzania have been marginalized and relegated as mere resources for the development of Kiswahili and cultural heritage (MOEC, 1997a).

Moreover, in reading Bourdieu and Silverstein one realizes that the SLI leads to the revalorisation of English as emblematic of social, political, intellectual, or moral character. These ideas are clearly articulated by Prof Maghimbi, Mr. Ludovick Ngatara, Mr. Kanyorota Katanga and Prof Issa Omari in the defence of a policy that favours the use of English in the educational system in Tanzania. In their argument for the continuation of this language-in education policy, these discussants seem to concur with the Whorfian thinking that treats English as a sine qua non of democratic thought (Woolard, 1998:19). Evidence shows that their disposition is about attitudes that is reflected by the increase in number of English-medium primary schools in Tanzania (see Chapter 6.6.2 and Table 6.6.2) and the sending of children outside the country where English is the MOI.

Mrs. Mrs. Buremo and Mr. Chedi Chikira explain how language policy through privileging English has been responsible in changing people's attitude toward English and hence its dominance in the educational system. Mrs. Mrs. Buremo observes how language policy through English and education has historically worked in changing people's language attitudes.

"[….] For example my grandfather was different from other people and of course he knew the language and he was also a teacher. So you see that thing made most of the people to believe that when you go to school you must know English and to know English is to be educate because there are some people who will say, "you have gone to school but you don't know English? What were you doing at school?" So it means that if you know how to speak English, then you are learned." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ─Appendix No. 3a)

In my opinion this explains how colonial language policies in education worked towards changing the language attitudes in the course of the realisation of the civilising mission of English expressed by Frederick Lugard (cited in Pennycook, 2000a: 53). Moreover, Mr. Chedi Chikira observes how language policy and education has succeeded in changing people's attitude toward English in Tanzania. He argues:

"[....] the elite feel that putting everything in English or any other foreign language portrays a sense of civilization and exoticism. They too wish to express themselves as educated and illusioned as they are, consider English words /terms exotic and the best way to tell the public that one has sent the inside of a classroom, hence the indiscriminate usage of English. *Newspapers/magazines/ tabloids published in Kiswahili are also having their own style of onslaughter on Kiswahili rapidly deluding into the castration of Kiswahili. This is expressed in the number and frequency of words finding their way into articles/reports, while Kiswahili words are there, e.g. (*cf. court*) instead of "mahakamani", "fasheni" (*cf. fashion*) instead of "Mtindo", "raundi" (*cf. round*) instead of "duru", etc*". (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No. 1a)

Mr. Chedi Cikira and Mrs. Mrs. Buremo are referring to the changes in attitudes towards a language, especially English. They seem to attribute this change to education and the MOI used. Favourable attitudes towards particular languages grow out of benefits such as increased employment opportunities and other social rewards accruing from knowledge of that particular language. The larger socio-cultural, economic and political system has greater influence in the formation of attitudes favourable to certain things in society. Data used in this study shows that economic pragmatism in Tanzania has led people to conclude that knowledge of English enhances life chances in the world including prestige and status. One also has to realise that institutions such education and the strategic policies and

mechanisms which are put in place to guide their operations must as of necessity be in symphony with the prevailing larger socio-economic situation.

The next section focus on discourses such as English is education and English as the highway to success. This hopefully will underscore the symbolic value and materiality of English in Tanzania.

5.3 The medium of instruction debate: English is education

The MOI debate in Tanzania has a long history spanning almost four decades since independence in 1961. The debate is a sign of the extent of the entrenchment and dominance of English in the education. The latter's prominence is partly a consequence of language policy pursued earlier by British colonial administration and later by the post-colonial nationalist government. It is argued in this study that the MOI debate in Tanzania reawakens and brings to light colonial opinions about the civilizing mission of English and commercial interests of the British in their colonial territories. This is expressed very clearly by Frederick Lugard (cited in Pennycook, 2000a: 53) who says:

> "[….] In conclusion I would emphasize the value of English as the medium of instruction. If we believe that British interests will be thus promoted, we believe equally firmly that graduates, by the mastery of English, will acquire the key to a great literature and the passport to a great trade. On the other hand we desire to secure the English language in the high position it has acquired in the Far East; on the other hand since the populations of the various provinces in China speak no common language, and the Chinese vocabulary has not yet adapted itself to express the terms and conceptions of modern science, we believe that should China find it necessary for a time to adopt an alien tongue as a common medium for new thoughts and expression — as the nations of West did when Latin was the language of the savant and of scientific literature — none would be more suitable then English."

In this perspective, colonialism was therefore a site of power imposition as well as of cultural production. For example, Pennycook (1998) argues that the practice of colonialism produced ways of thinking, saying and doing that permeated back into the cultures and discourses of colonial nations. In addition, one can argue that just as religion played an important role in colonialism, English was and is still

serving as a channel for post-colonial relations and identities. It is worth noting that such a position should not be taken as a preserve for imperial languages such as English because local languages such as Kiswahili in Tanzania can and do play similar roles (see Blommaert, 2001b: 135-6). Such a view of Kiswahili should be taken in relation to the socio-cultural, political and historical development in Tanzania before and after independence.

The MOI debate has revolved around education standards. A common theme is the equation of English with education. Statements from Set 1 of the Data Corpus (Newspaper Articles - Appendix No. 1/1-25) reproduced below are typical of these perceptions. For example, Mr. Ludovick Ngatara in an article that appeared in The Guardian of August 16th 2000 writes:

> "[….] since Tanzania adopted Kiswahili as its national language soon after independence and as a teaching medium at primary school level, complaints of educational standard have grown. But looking back at the way the educational standards have deteriorated even when English is the instruction medium from secondary school onwards, it is completely doubtful that there will be any improvement when English is just a subject in schools. In this case a lasting solution still remains that of adopting English as medium of instruction right from the nursery school level upwards." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles —Appendix No. 1a)

Mr. Kanyorota Katanga in The Guardian of February 17th 2000 expresses the same point in a rather different way:

> "[…] We only stand to gain through instant inter-connectivity and we shall regret tomorrow if we hurriedly switched the medium of instruction with such dire consequences as further deterioration of the quality of education. Kiswahili is not facing any threat but English and Tanzania are already losing a lot by being different on the improvement of our mastery of English language" (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles —Appendix No. 1a)

Furthermore, the idea of English as education is not the monopoly of peasants and less educated people. It is by far and most effectively made legitimate by educated people such as Prof Maghimbi whose 3 articles appeared in The Guardian of 28, 29 May 1996 and 3rd June 1996. Maghimbi maintains:

"[…] On the contrary, it was shown that in primary schools, which are taught in Kiswahili, the performance is not good and this includes the performance in Kiswahili itself. Who does not know that if Kiswahili is introduced, the standards of education will fall further? The agenda is to cheat the masses to accept a kind of South African Bantustan style of education and keep quite. If English is replaced with Swahili now the education standard in Tanzania may further decline. This decline will be a consequence of shortage of textbooks, dictionaries, encyclopedias and journals in Swahili. We will thus reach such a low point in education that we will start reviving English as the academic language, however the loss and damage done to the country by then will be unimaginable. When students are good in English and Mathematics from primary school they are able to learn quicker and better at the higher levels. Basic Mathematics and English are not a luxury but a necessary quality to any person who has to contribute to national development and the debate, which goes with it. Rich Tanzanians and some Tanzanians who are politically powerful are now sending their children abroad (Britain, Kenya, USA, India, Uganda, Swaziland etc) to study. These people are sending their children abroad not just to get the education as such but also to learn English." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles —Appendix No. 2a)

Respondents from Set 2 of the Data Corpus (Open Field Interviews: Appendix No. 3) were of the opinion that attitudes toward English in Tanzania express their lived reality. The story line is that the possession and knowledge of English makes one perform better in other subjects leading the majority of them to hold the belief that English is education. For example, Ms. Mwasi from MOEC makes the following remark:

"[…] There is this notion or idea of saying that the standard of education has fallen whereby you find parents taking their children to Kenya and Uganda. They equate education as knowing English, once you master English language then you know each and everything, a thing which is not true. We have seen a lot of pupils coming from or who were attending international schools in neighbouring countries. When they come to our ordinary primary schools in our country, those children perform very poorly. So for them I think it is somehow a prestige." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews —Appendix No. 3a)

And Mrs. Mrs. Buremo, an English teacher at Jangwani Girls voiced the following opinion:

"[…] well the problem as we said before is that the community regard English as a sign of being educated. So if that language is not used as a media of communication they will think that our community will not be educated. So one thing which could be done is to change the attitude of the community concerned so as to see that a person can be educated in either language. Because they know that if you are educated you must speak English." *(*Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews —Appendix No. 3a)

Mr. Maila, a retired foreign-service civil servant and now an independent publisher in Dar es Salaam was of the opinion that during the colonial time, to speak English well with an English accent preferably, indexed that you were very learned. He continues to observe further that

"[.....] you are very sophisticated. That you are basically quote unquote civilised. And because the colonial system was interested in promoting that idea we all succumbed to that idea. So everybody tried as much as they could to learn to speak English and to speak it very well. It is very simple. I told you because he hears. He has been told that if your son speaks English, first of all the mere fact that their son or daughter has gone to school. Just gone to school is enough. Never mind what they learn. But number two. That they also learn English and become a little *Wazungu*. Oh this is very big. So the problem is not English. It is an ideology of inferiority. But my view is what precisely is going to carry you. The property of our society because our own leaders can believe in this. This tells you the sickness in our society. If our leaders believe this so what do you expect them to believe in because the leaders set the example. If all these members of parliament every third word is an English word in their speeches in parliament. What do you expect?" (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews —Appendix No. 3)

The observation made by Mr. Maila reminds us of the effects of the colonial enterprise in the construction of the self of the colonized people (an issue treated exhaustively by Said, 1993; Pennycook, 1998). The association of English as education in Tanzania that is apparent in the debate is a pointer to indexicalities, which are produced and made legitimate by the ideology of English. That is why I concur with Cameron's argument discussed in Chapter 2.8.5 in which she describes one of the consequences of language policy. The former projects particular verbal representations and commonsense implied in a particular language especially in its uses and forms over other language varieties, which are considered not worthy of attention. The inevitable result of this is an increase in the value of a particular

language. What is witnessed in this process is the reality of language ideology where English is said to be superior to Kiswahili of which Mr. Maila observes:

> "[….] That agenda is pushed by those who don't want to do anything about it because it is a legacy of colonialism. And they are promoting that legacy because during the colonial time we were told that we were inferior to white people. Everything that we had was inferior to that which belonged to the Europeans. Our language. Our colour. Our music. Our food. Our way. Everything was inferior. So when we come to independence and you say well. No ? They are not really inferior except in language. Yah so what can the people do? Yes we are inferior in language. The English language is superior to our own language. So well, you know we are inferior. Our language is inferior and what is surprising me is that people are not ashamed to say that." *(Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews —Appendix No. 3a)*

The above observation is an incidence of colonial cultural imposition. In other words, English is not merely a language for communication but was used to create a mindset, which is one of the cultural imprints of the discourses of colonialism (Pennycook, 1998). Following this argument one is led to accept the proposition that English is a language of domination although the latter is no longer a direct one (see also Kachru, 1995). Ngugi (1994:16) expresses this colonial cultural imprint clearly:

> "[….] The real aim of colonialism was to control the people's wealth.... but economic and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control. To control a people's culture is to control their tools of self-definition in relationship to others. For colonialism, this involved two aspects of the same process: the destruction or the deliberate undervaluing of a people's culture, their art, dances, religion, history, geography, education, orature and literature, and the conscious elevation of the language of the coloniser. The domination of a people's language by the languages of the colonising nations was crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the colonised."

The result is that English is equated with education, advancement and a whole set of propositions, which are made universal especially in this era of globalization. In order to validate this proposition, the opinion of teachers, educational administrators and people with interest in education were sought. When

English language teachers were asked about the views and perception of parents on English and education, they expressed the following observations. Mr. Mwendwa, with over 30 years of teaching experience, employed as a teacher in a Catholic Seminary said:

> "[….] I think what I can say about this thing is that because English has been the language of education in the country so anybody who speaks it is considered to be educated and that is why many people aspire to learn it. They want to know the language. Even the street boys would like English and dala dala conductors like to know the language. So actually English is seen as something which is very important and in fact that is why some well to do parents in Tanzania today send their children overseas for primary education. Some send them to Kenya where they study in English-medium primary schools. They do so simply because of that. They think that if you drop English and make Kiswahili the medium of instruction things will be worse." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews —Appendix No. 3a)

And Mr. Masatu, a teacher from Lutheran Junior Seminary remarked:

> "[….] Ah the Kiswahili nowadays they say we want to express ourselves in English. There will be some who will be happy to use the Kiswahili. However parents I think one sign of education is how a student speaks the language. Nowadays English is an international language and the parent who wants his/her children to go for further education. That's why they would like their children to learn English because they think they will have some higher access such as if you want to go overseas. How can they can they go without English language? Then they are not going to send him to study in Kiswahili. They would like their children to go there because they feel that if you want to go there you have to learn English. So for them I am sure you can ah English is important as medium of instruction. This is how it should be." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews —Appendix No. 3a)

What is discernable from the above observations is that the MOI debate links English with quality education and Kiswahili with poor quality education. Mr. Mr. Rugee, a school inspector responsible for the teaching of English in schools shows how perceptions and attitudes about language especially English lie behind the resistance expressed by many people in changing the MOI in post-primary education to Kiswahili in Tanzania. He argues that this perception is supported by:

> "[….] Is there any empirical proof that when you teach in Kiswahili you will have better people understanding mathematics better ? At the primary level everything is taught in Kiswahili but we have terrible failures in mathematics. How do you explain that? The students don't get the best marks in the other subjects that ah are taught in Swahili." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews —Appendix No. 3a)

Mr. Ludovick Ngatara writing in The Guardian of August 16th 2000 argues that the positive perception toward English is based on:

> "[….] Another problem will be inability by Tanzanians to communicate and express themselves intelligently when traveling or based outside the borders of their country on subjects they have thoroughly covered in Kiswahili therefore giving them a look of unlearned persons." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles —Appendix No. 1a)

Prof Maghimbi writing in The Guardian of February 20th 2000 has this comment in relation to the English-Kiswahili debate. He is of the opinion that the perception people have about English is a result of their observed experience.

> "[…] It is an open secret that the performance of at least some English medium primary schools is much better than the performance in the Kiswahili medium schools. All secondary schools are English medium but we also know that there are some secondary schools, which perform better than others are consistently. Even in primary schools those who are taught in English are likely to perform better because they have more books to read." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles —Appendix No. 1a)

The discourse emanating from the medium debate fails to make a clear distinction between language and education. This inadequacy is expressed well by Mr. Chiganga of MOEC and Mrs. Martha Qorro of UDSM. Mr. Chiganga observes that perceptions about language have nothing to do with learning or professionalism contrary to what is suggested by people who argue for English. He illustrates this by giving an example of the Danish road engineers in Tanzania.

> "[…] The government ought to make a distinction between education and language because language is simply a carrier. Any language can be used to carry any subject matter whether it is physics, biology, physics or any skill. That is one. These Swedish or Danish engineers. They are building the road

from Ubungo to whatever to Mlandizi. These people do not know English. But now they know Kiswahili better than English of which they know very few words. They know their language. But they are engineers and there is nobody who doubts or questions their credibility as engineers simply because they do not know English. They are building the road very well. They have no problem in their surveying, measurements, the building of pavements. They are doing a fine job. These are qualified road engineers. English is not a criteria for a person to become an expert or a specialist in a field.(Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews —Appendix No. 3a).-own translation

Mrs. Martha Qorro also expresses the failure to make a distinction between language and education that is apparently clear in the debate on medium of instruction. She goes on to argue:

"[….] There are those who say that English should continue to be the medium of instruction. It seems that they associate English and education. It is as if it is impossible to have education without English. In my opinion, the debate on medium of instruction is not about making a choice between English or Kiswahili. It is a clear-cut choice between English or education. What suffers most when English is used is education. In other words, using English as a vehicular language means denying those who do not know English education, which is their right. Because I fail to get a correct term for this kind of situation, I will call it "The Policy of English Without Education". With this kind of policy it is highly possible that those who do not understand English will not learn English or get education. If we want the majority of our students to get education we will have to stop using English. I will call it 'The Policy of Education and English" With this kind of policy, we will be certain that the majority of students will get education. (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Workshop Article —Appendix No. 2a.) -own translation.

Notwithstanding the argument presented by Mr. Chiganga and Mrs. Qorro on the relationship between language and education, parents and the public in general express very strong entrenched beliefs and perceptions, which associate and sometimes equate English with education.

Evidence of positive popular perceptions and attitudes about English can be discerned in the type and number of schools that have been established after the 1980s. There has been a great increase in the number of English-medium primary schools in most urban centres especially in Arusha, Dar es Salaam and Moshi (see Figure 6.6.2). In accounting for this trend, Mr. Chiganga argues:

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"[….] I think these schools meet the desired needs of customers. By this I mean parents and other people. There are people who believe that if a child knows English well then he or she is educated. Now people who are interested in investing in education take this opportunity. They take this expressed need to make money. What happens is that a person builds school and calls it English-medium. It is true that everything in these schools is in English but if you look carefully at the curriculum of these schools and the way they are taught you will realize that they are very weak. Because the school is using English, then those customers who have expressed the need for English are happy. They are satisfied. For example, my objective is to make sure that my child knows English. This thing about knowing mathematics will not be a problem to the child while in school since the child already knows English. The child will know mathematics. This is what some parents think and believe in. If he or she knows English, then knowing Geography, Mathematics, etc. will be automatic. It will get in by osmosis. That is why parents send their children to Kenya and Uganda because they want them to know English. It is because of these reasons. Because in these countries they use English and English according to some people, if you know English then you are educated. Yes it is education. That this is the language, which ought to continue to be used as a medium of instruction." (Set 2 of Data Corpus - Open Field Interviews (Appendix No. 3a) - own translation].

English in Tanzania has become like beehive comb. Individuals would like to harvest and taste some of the honey from the comb. That is why Mr. Rugee has noted that people would like English to continue being the medium of instruction in education because

"[….] it is assumed that once you have mastered the language then you can pursue your studies much better in whatever discipline you are pursuing. So that's why there is now a craze of parents taking their children to English speaking schools with the belief that once students are able to speak English very well, then they can follow most of the studies. And I think that is the main reason." (Set 2 of Data Corpus - Open Field Interviews (Appendix No. 3a)

I conclude this section with a quotation from The East African editorial of September 25th 2000. The editorial finds suspect the logic that informs the popular perceptions and attitudes about English in society. The title of the editorial "Does English Grow Brains" is a good illustration of how these perceptions and attitudes about English have become entrenched in society.

"[….] Experience has shown that rigidity doesn't pay and is actually counterproductive. Nevertheless, in recent years, the importance of English is being more and more acknowledged and emphasis is being laid on its promotion as an academic subject and a medium of instruction and communication, as well as a bridge between peoples of various nations. All this is reasonable enough, but it has also given rise to the unfortunate tendency to equate a mastery of English with academic competence. Hence the scramble by Tanzanian parents and guardians to send their children to school in Kenya or Uganda and the mushrooming of legitimate and fake English-medium schools at home."

Treating English as education collapses also into the proposition that the latter is also knowledge (see Dr. Faris D Ogita - Appendix No. 1/4 and Prof Maghimbi - Appendix No. 2). It is acknowledged that there is less written literature in Kiswahili compared to English but this does not mean that knowledge is only found in written texts. This proposition defeats the meaning of knowledge, its generation or production because as observed by Mrs. Martha Qorro (Appendix No. 2) and Mr. Chiganga (Appendix No. 3/8) knowledge does not reside in a language. If one follows up this proposition further, it would mean that the African people through their oral traditions did not produce knowledge.

Furthermore, knowledge is not fixed, autonomous and floating freely like air. Instead knowledge is emergently constructed and reconstructed between participants in specific situated activities using the cultural artifacts at their disposal, one of which is language, written or spoken. Language is simply a tool in which ideas and thoughts which are already in the mind are completed by the word. This proposition which equates English with knowledge is a recognition and acceptance of the colonial discourse that defined Africa and its people as a continent with no culture. This also shows the extent of the success of colonial cultural imposition and dominance on the colonial subjects.

If the issue in the MOI debate is about quality education, language is only one of the factors to be taken into account. Besides, evidence discussed in Chapter 2 of this study shows that English is not the appropriate medium because students learn very little through it. What is required as suggested by Wells (1999) is that language as one of the resources in the classroom should be accessible to all the participants involved in a particular learning activity.

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5.4 English as the highway to success

In interpreting the readings on the medium of instruction debate, we need to examine ideas, which are corollary to the main perception about English. Proficiency in English is a valued resource, which enables one to gain entry into particular socio-economic groups through employment. That is why parents prefer to send their children to English-medium primary schools. Knowledge and competence in English becomes a symbolic and economic asset. The latter are the main ingredients aspects of linguistic capital. In accounting for the resistance against the introduction of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in schools, Mr. Rugee makes this observation:

> "[….] If you are talking of business people, if you are doing serious business surely you have to know English. Go to immigration and try to fill forms if you only know Kiswahili. You will be stuck. So business people will want people who can speak English fluently, one. Two, if you are promoting whatever you are selling to companies, you will have to be able to speak English to be able to sell. Go to *Saba Saba* Trade Fair. Visit the pavilions. Most all the explanation are done in English. So there is no way you can run away from that despite government policy of saying Kiswahili is the national. We live in a world where the use of English is a must. Look at the Kenyan business people who are bringing a lot of business here. They come. They are smart. They speak English. They take all the jobs. Go to the foreign banks. Go to Citibank, to Stanbic and all these places. Plenty of Ugandans. Plenty of Kenyan. Where are the Tanzanians? So there is a need for people am not saying we should teach our young people to speak English or to read all the English books. But they have to have a working knowledge of English in the environment we live in. I mean it is false to say we can close all the doors and keep ourselves to speak our Kiswahili. Cross the borders and you can't speak." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews —Appendix No. 3a)

The MOI debate has also drawn discussants from as far as Kenya, where Micheal Okema writing in an English weekly newspaper published in Nairobi by the Nation Group argues:

> "[….] So the current upswing in the use of English is part of this endless historical dynamic. People do not turn to English for aesthetic reasons, but for the benefits that accrue from learning it. Right now, many parents have to make the painful decision to send their children to English-medium schools in far away Uganda, Kenya and Malawi, among others. These parents want the

best for their children. They see a future only in English."(The EastAfrican April 3-8, 1999)

To many people, English is a gateway to social rewards, which Kiswahili cannot provide. In this aspect we observe the meaning of one of the metaphors, used to describe English. With the metaphor of highway, we get an idea of a flow, which brings benefits, the so called social rewards such as social status, prestige, increased opportunities for employment and enhanced life chances. It thus becomes a very valuable resource that parents would like their children to possess. That is why Mr. Rugee observes that those people who argue in favour of Kiswahili are oblivious of the fact that parents are also aware of the importance and value of English to their children. In accounting for English being the choice language for many people in Tanzania, either as parents and/or on their behalf when attending extra-mural classes Mrs. Magesa responded in this manner.

Interviewer:	There are evening classes here in Dar es Salaam and most of the urban areas where people go for English language. What makes them go for English language?
Mrs. Magesa:	What makes them go for English language? Well because one looks at the future and by doing so he or she realises that if he or she becomes proficient in English she or he is improving his opportunities for a better life. (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interview Transcript —Appendix No. 3/6)

Official statements regarding the use of English go a long way in ascertaining beliefs people hold about English in addition to increasing its market value. Statements such as the one recorded below make parents to justifiably conclude that without English, their children's future is uncertain.

"[…] Currently, English is the medium of instruction at secondary school level and most instructional media and pedagogical materials available at this level are also written in English. This situation is likely to remain so for a long time in the foreseeable future. In this policy document, it has been proposed that English be taught as a subject from Std. I. It is therefore, expected that at the end of seven years of primary education, pupils will have acquired and developed adequate mastery of this language, both spoken and

written, to cope with the English language proficiency demands at secondary, post-secondary levels and the world of work." (MOEC, 1995a: 44-45)

The meaning of English as 'an empowering language' and as a 'language of survival' is quite apparent for people who are employed in the public private sector. These people have a stake in English because their upward mobility and professional development depend on a good command of English. According to Mazrui and Mazrui (1998) and Schmied (1991) this has been one of the many constraining factors that have encumbered the development of Kiswahili in Tanzania. These metaphors of English have taken root in the people's rationalization about this language. Mr. Mwendwa expresses this view when he says:

> "[….] So there you see the decision of course is made and since people don't master the language they have to try to master. And at the same time the international world I think is still regarding English as one of the most spoken languages. You will find that English is used not only in governmental circles but also in the private circles. Now there is also a trend now. And this has happened actually after privatization. After privatization most of the parastatal organization have been privatized and of course leaving alone those which have collapsed. But if you take those which have been privatized and taken now by new management. They insist in the use of English. They are not ready to accommodate Kiswahili there at least. And that's why you see many people now in government offices or in parastatals and in those private companies struggling to learn English because I think they get the pressure from those employers. The employers are not ready to take people who don't understand the language. They want to take those who understand English."
> (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews —Appendix No. 3a)

Furthermore, the value of English in Tanzania lies in the fact that it is an unstated qualification for employment, further education and an imperative for a person's career development as stated above by Mr. Mwendwa. Similarly, Mr. Malima argues:

> "[….]When you know English, we are talking about employment. Let us look at employment. You have got a chance to be employed especially in this private sector. Nowadays even a security guard needs a bit of English. Now when you know English at least the door is open for you. For employment."
> (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews —Appendix No. 3a)

Just as Kiswahili in 1950s, 1960s and 1970s was the legitimate political language, and to some extent determined a person's career advancement, English has become the unofficial and unstated currency to a person's success in present Tanzania. These meanings seem to be a reality from the perspective of the people who aspire to possess English. They may also be used to explain the government's silence and ambivalence in respect to the status and role of English in the education system. It is also these perceptions, which grow out of the meanings of English that have created a crisis in the national cultural identity because language is the essential condition of knowing, the process by which experience becomes knowledge. Furthermore, it is the mind's principal tool, first as the primary realization of consciousness, and second as the means whereby one reflects on the content of consciousness, constructing theories and models. Given this view, one is bound to concur with Mrs. Martha Qorro (Appendix No. 2) who argues that students in secondary schools in Tanzania fail to understand what they are taught through English. Thus according to this thesis, those who favour the continued use of English as a medium are convinced that Kiswahili cannot fulfill the former functions.

5. 5   English and the cultural identity crisis in Tanzania

The explanation of the government's said ambivalence on language-in-education policy and English may be found in the duality of the institutional systems characteristic of post-colonial Africa, including Tanzania (Williams, 1998). Their implications lead into making available different ranges of opportunities to its members, especially on the basis of language. Issues that relate to English in education in Tanzania and by implication its value, touch on equity of access to education itself, quality of education that is differentially made available as most English medium primary schools and private owned secondary schools are comparatively well equipped and staffed compared to public schools.

The prominence of English in Tanzania has also ushered in a cultural crisis in which a number of people have began to show doubts about the capacity of Kiswahili as a gateway to success in life. When this proposition was put before

respondents in the OFIs, a number of remarks were recorded. Mr. Chiganga described how people view Kiswahili in connection with the ambivalence shown by the government. He says:

> "[….] That this is the language which ought to continue to be used as a medium of instruction. But there also some people who have been heard saying so. These same Tanzanians have been quoted saying so. Every time you ask them like you are doing now asking me questions and things of that nature. We have dared to ask some people. 'What do you think? Will it be reasonable to use Kiswahili in…?' And they would respond. 'You people do not know. If you use Kiswahili... If you declare Kiswahili to be the language of instruction you will not be given any aid assistance.' They say that this is what aid donors think because some of them hold positions of responsibility. Then they tell you 'Tanzania will be a very strange country because it will be surrounded by many countries which use English as a medium of instruction in education. Zambia, Malawi, Kenya, and Uganda.... All countries, which share a border with Tanzania will be using foreign languages in teaching. It will be you alone. You will be an island. You will be isolated.' There are Tanzanian who use this kind of strategy. 'That you will be a very strange country. You will be isolated. You will not communicate well with your neighbours. You will be very strange people. Instead they say 'it would be reasonable for all schools to use English. And in fact some even say that it should be taught right from standard one. (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews —Appendix No. 3a) -own translation].

Statements such as "'therefore they discourage you and you find that the change will not be a good thing" are worth worrying about because they point to a crisis in confidence in Kiswahili and its cultural base. It is probably because of these that the government has not been very forthcoming in going wholesale for Kiswahili. However, effects of the prominence and fascination with English has gone much more deeper than it appears on the surface. A reading of articles submitted to newspapers on the medium of instruction debate shows that people are questioning the rationality of ESR and ArDe. These, it has been shown (Chapter 2.8.3) attempted to redefine knowledge and education within the Tanzanian context. The supremacy of English has had a profound impact on how people view Kiswahili, the national language, and the relationship between language and knowledge. Kiswahili has consequently been associated with the disenchantment of the *Ujamaa* period in Tanzania.

For example, Asha Mnzavas (The Guardian of March 2, 1996) reports of remarks made by Mr. Edward Lowasa, Minister for Housing who associated Kiswahili with backwardness. She reports:

> "[…] The editorial reminds one of the assertions put forth by the then minister for housing, Mr. Edward Lowasa who said during last year's election campaign that Mr. Augustine Mrema, the NCCR chief was not fit for presidency simply because "he would not speak English in America!" Yet it is on the record that when addressing the UN at the recent UN 50th anniversary, Boris Yelstin of Russia, Fidel Castro of Cuba and Libya's Muamary Gaddafi spoke in their mother tongue. And they did so with pride. More than 30 years of independence some people still think Kiswahili is associated with backwardness!" (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles —Appendix No. 1a)

Mr. Chipindula, Mr. Kanyorota Katanga, Mr. Ludovick Ngatara and Prof Maghimbi have also made similar associations about Kiswahili. On the relationship between Kiswahili and backwardness, Mr. Chipindula (The Guardian of August 4, 2000) observes:

> "[…] We should learn from them and avoid making similar mistakes. Actually, the ordinary Tanzanian of today is poor than he/she was only three decades ago simply because of experimental policies, which never took off the ground. Accordingly, I consider the proposed use of Kiswahili in secondary schools and colleges of higher learning as presented by Mr. Abel Mwanga is yet another experiment which will eventually fail and take our education system and the economy a hundred years back." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles —Appendix No. 1a)

Likewise, Mr. Kanyorota Katanga writing in The Guardian of February 17, 2000 observes:

> "[…] The Sunday Observer of February 6, 2000 reported that our local book, even when are produced in Kiswahili, were of poor quality as compared to foreign ones, obviously from Uganda and Kenya, thus losing out on books market badly." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles —Appendix No. 1a)

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While Mr. Ludovick Ngatara writing in The Guardian of August 16, 2000 rationalizes that

> "[…] The reason being given for wasting to 'Kiswahilisation' the education system is, if countries like China, Korea, Sweden, Germany, Finland, etc., etc., have managed top satisfy their academic requirements in their national languages, why not Tanzania? What these Kiswahili zealots seem to be forgetting is that true economic self-reliance is the determining factor behind any country's ability to retain its national language as a teaching medium. Had Tanzanians succeeded in their resolve to become self-reliant economically during their 30 years' experiment in 'Ujamaa' (Socialism), the propagators of Kiswahilisation would have been quite justified on the same grounds as those of the other countries currently being envied and imitated. But trying to do so now, while Tanzania still remains a nation of 'omba-omba' (beggars), is tantamount to deliberate economic suicide, analysts say." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles —Appendix No. 1a)

Prof Maghimbi writing in The Guardian Newspaper wants to know what is so special about the language that those people who write and speak it fluently don't recommend it for others? and who wants the Tanzanian manpower to be the low class in the international labour market?" He further wants to be given evidence of Kiswahili's development and science and technology, which he claims does not exist he ends by stating that for us knowledge is in English because for many people knowledge is in English (Appendix No. 1a).

Furthermore, the cultural crisis caused by the prominence and the increased symbolic and material value of English has led a number of people to re-examine ESR and *Ujamaa* political and economic philosophy. The argument that emerges partly blames Kiswahili for the failures and dismal economic performance experienced by Tanzania during the ArDe and *Ujamaa* period. Mr. Chipindula writing in The Guardian of August 24, 2000 has this to say about Kiswahili and development:

> "[…] I would like to remind Mr. Mwanga that the various experimental policies such as the Arusha Declaration, the nationalization of sisal, coffee, tea farms and several others have failed miserably resulting in Tanzania being among the poorest countries in the world despite the presence of abundant natural resources. We should learn from them and avoid making similar mistakes. Actually, the ordinary Tanzanian of today is poor than he/she was only three decades ago simply because of experimental policies, which never

took off the ground. As a Tanzanian I am sick and extremely tired, as millions of other Tanzanians are, of having to come to terms with nothing but sheer experimental policies which have contributed immensely to the impediment of a speedy and consistent development in our country. Accordingly, I consider the proposed use of Kiswahili in secondary schools and colleges of higher learning as presented by Mr. Abel Mwanga is yet another experiment which will eventually fail and take our education system and the economy a hundred years back." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles —Appendix No. 1a)

In addition to the above, Mr. Chipindula continues to argue that Kiswahili is a language of failures and ignorance. He says:

"[…] Accordingly, I consider the proposed use of Kiswahili in secondary schools and colleges of higher learning as presented by Mr. Abel Mwanga is yet another experiment which will eventually fail and take our education system and the economy a hundred years back." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles —Appendix No. 1a)

And Mr. Kanyorota Katanga in the same article submitted to the Guardian of February 17, 2000 indirectly points an accusing finger to Kiswahili.

"[…] It is not English which was failing us as ashamedly said recently but our teachers and educators are failing us miserably for English is succeeding in many developing countries as a medium of instruction. Why not in Tanzania?" (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles —Appendix No. 1a)

Similarly, Mr. Ludovick Ngatara in the same article disagrees totally with the reasons put forward in favour of Kiswahili. He says:

"[…] The reason being given for wasting to 'Kiswahilisation' the education system is, if countries like China, Korea, Sweden, Germany, Finland, etc., etc., have managed top satisfy their academic requirements in their national languages, why not Tanzania? What these Kiswahili zealots seem to be forgetting is that true economic self-reliance is the determining factor behind any country's ability to retain its national language as a teaching medium. Had Tanzanians succeeded in their resolve to become self-reliant economically during their 30 years' experiment in 'Ujamaa' (Socialism), the propagators of Kiswahilisation would have been quite justified on the same grounds as those of the other countries currently being envied and imitated.

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While there is still time before the relevant authorities are completely enmeshed into the Kiswahilsation trap, the government should be wary to ensure complete destruction of the trap before it causes woe to the whole nation." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles —Appendix No. 1a)

Those who argue for English in the medium debate subscribe to the thesis, which maintains that English has become globalised for historical and practical reasons, and that it can help the development of poor countries without necessarily endangering their cultures. This is contrary to the reality of what English is doing in Tanzania as observed by Mrs.Martha Qorro (Appendix No. 2), Mr. Rugee (Appendix No. 3/1), Mr. Maila (Appendix No. 3/10), Mr. Chedi Chikira (Appendix No. 1/23) and the Special Correspondent (Appendix No. 1/14).

5.6   Conclusion

An ignorant person does not make these ideas and perceptions about Kiswahili. People who are educated and can use English very well make them. Maghimbi puts this correctly when he argues that all human development is a very elitist phenomenon. Few invent, discover and organize and the rest follow and benefit (Appendix No. 1/5). What we have here is a confidence crisis in the cultural systems. It shows the extent to which people have lost confidence in their language and by implication their culture. Even the government acknowledges that there is a language crisis. This is expressed clearly by Prof. Juma Kapuya, Minister for Education and Culture in a statement quoted by Mr. Peter Orwa in The African of February 17, 2000.

"[….] We are now having two crises, namely quality and language. We opted for quality first and the language issue will come later. But the ministry stands to be guided by the public, if this deliberation goes wrong." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles —Appendix No. 1/8)

Intellectuals and government officials in countries like Tanzania are the ones who set the trend for the less fortunate to imitate because they are educated. Education, especially to most people in post-colonial African countries means knowledge and empowerment. Western education brings power and the social,

cultural, political and economic benefits that are associated with it. This has always been there in any society but the colonial discourses made the colonized people believe that knowledge could be found only in the Western educational system and its languages.

Moreover, data used in this study shows that language especially English has and continues to reinforce these attitudes. These consequences of the hegemony of English in post-colonial states are summed up by Dissanayake (1993) cited in Boyle (1997: 170) who observes that as the English language through its tropes and rhetorical force ushered in new representations of society, newer assessments of reality and newer modes of apprehension, the result was the dissemination of a newer configuration of the obliteration of older identities and the creation of novel ones.

This can be explained by analysing ideas people have about English and what possession and fluency in it means to them. These ideas were sown during the colonial period and are now being reproduced and strengthened through education and the use of English as a MOI. English is said to empower and give him/her more control over his/her life by passing through the educational gateways that have been put in place in the society. That this argument is reflected in a number of practices in Tanzania is undoubtedly clear in this discussion. It shows that English has taken up an important position in the educational system in Tanzania and become the most powerful means (next to economic purchasing power) of inclusion into or exclusion from further education, employment, or other influential social positions in society.

This discussion has recast the issue of language-in-education by shifting focus away from debates about policy as such. Instead, the main proposal has been on describing and exposing the value of English and its consequences in the socio-cultural and economic fabric of Tanzania. The consequences of the increased value of English are much more evident in education with grave implications in the distribution of opportunities, access to knowledge, information, issues of cultural identity, speaking rights and political representations. These are summarized in Figure 5.6.1. The next chapter examines how these perceptions and views manifest in the social, educational and economic life in Tanzania.

Figure 5.6.1: The Value of English in Tanzania: ideas, perceptions and attitudes

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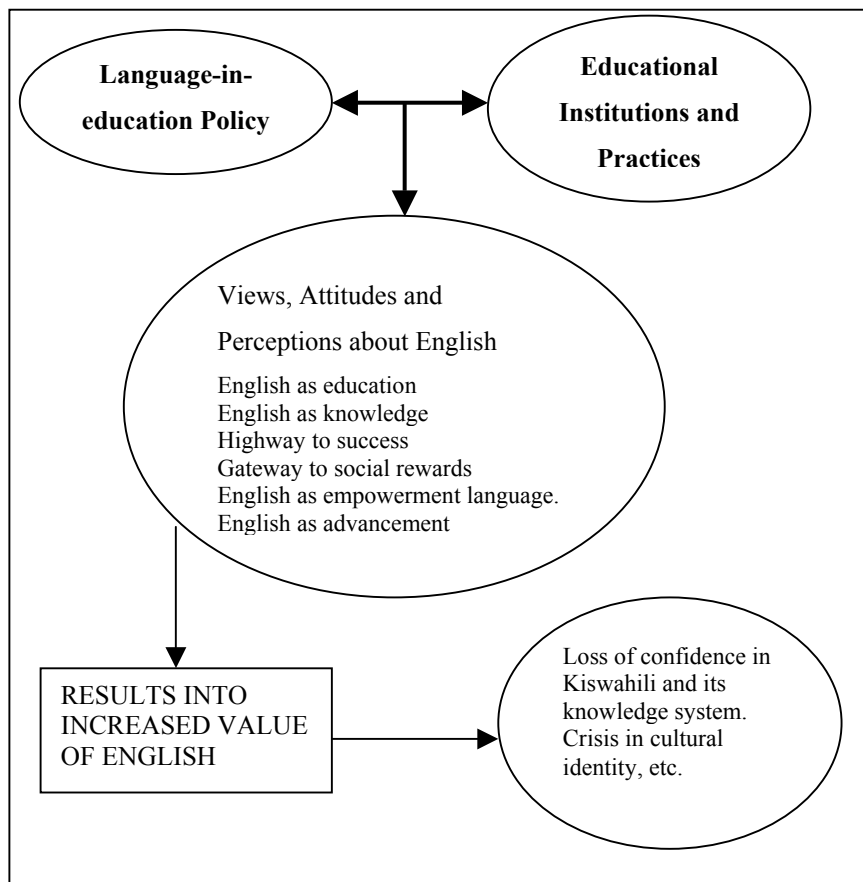
CHAPTER SIX

LANGUAGE POLICY, EDUCATION, ENGLISH AND INEQUALITY

6.1   The Reality of the language situation in the classroom

The discussion on English or Kiswahili in Tanzania is an old one. Tanzania like most sub-Saharan countries is multilingual but according to Blommaert (1997b: 253) it is a country in which the absence of a meaningful formal language policy has not precluded the development of a rather clear complex of informal language politics. However, it is argued in this section that a policy on language in education exists because the government has been defining language policy and subsequently controlling language use through the education system by passing edicts such as prescribing the medium of instruction to be used at each level of education.

Since Tanganyika's (later Tanzania) independence in 1961, it was decided to use Kiswahili as the official language in the conduct of government business. Later in 1969, Kiswahili was declared MOI in primary education while English was retained for use in post-primary levels of education. Moreover, the 1995 and 1997 documents from MOEC: "Education and Training Policy" and "Cultural Policy" (*Sera ya Utamaduni*, MOEC, 1997a) state that the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in entire education system and training shall be designed and implemented, Kiswahili will be a compulsory subject from nursery to secondary education (O-Level) and English will continue to be the medium of instruction in post-primary education (see MOEC, 1995a: 45).

These policy statements have made legitimate two unequal languages, English and Kiswahili by specifying their domains of use in the education system and society in general. We have here two languages valued differently in which English has acquired both symbolic and economic value because of its sanctioned domains of use. Hence the argument that linguistic practices that are made available through education depend on their ability to give access to desired positions in the labour market is salient here. With this perspective in mind, it is easier to understand S. Yahya-Othman (1997: 4) who argues:

"[…] Given that language policies, as all others, are constructed out of social, political and historical forces, the 'untypical' Tanzanian decision can be explained on the basis of two forces: the historical one in which the position of Kiswahili has been the consequence of political/ideological forces rather than technical/scientific pressures from the ruling elite."

It is also important to note that a discussion of the position of English in the education system of Tanzania raises questions about who decides on the language to be used for instruction in schools, why Kiswahili is assigned to cater for the lower levels of education and English is given prominence in higher levels of education, why English is given prominence in Tanzania's education system where there already exists a language for wider communication? Moreover, the linguistic situation in education in Tanzania runs counter to the premises on which the current language-in-education policy is based (see Chapter 1.3).

Data collected for this study illuminates the linguistic situation vividly. For example, Mr. Chiganga, of MOEC brings out clearly the linguistic situation in the classroom. He explains this by referring to a play, which was staged by students from Zanaki secondary school in Dar es Salaam during the Annual Kiswahili Day in February 2000.

"[….] A teacher enters a form one or three classroom. He wants to teach Geography or History or any other subject. The teacher's knowledge and command of English is poor. He finds it a problem to express himself in English. Regardless on this, he tries but the structure and forms of English prove to be too difficulty for him. His vocabulary in English is inadequate. However, the teacher knows his Geography well. When he attempts to explain or to teach in English, students do not understand. This makes students noisy. They say to the teacher, 'we do not understand you, madam. Now why don't you say it in Kiswahili? We do not understand. Please madam, explain in Kiswahili. And we are wasting time without understanding you.' Eventually, the teacher decides to explain in Kiswahili. But before the teacher begins to explain in Kiswahili she checks the whereabouts of the Headmistress or an inspector. She/he finds that all is clear. Then, she begins by telling the student, 'it is like this....' The teacher describes and explains the skill very well. Students exclaim, Aha! 'So that is how it is. We understand you now, madam. We have now understood. Thank you very much, madam.' The teacher informs the students that the notes will be in English. Students copy the notes in English, but what they learned was taught in Kiswahili. And you can imagine how happy the students were. The students say, 'so it is only this one. Why? This is simple. We were wasting our time for something,

which is simple. We know it'. (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews —Appendix No 3a) -own translation.

The headmistress of Jangwani Girls made the following remarks when I informed her that I would be investigating the relevance of using English as a MOI in secondary education. She told me that of the 60 or so teachers in her school, only 10 understood English well and used it correctly. This means that 90 percent of his staff used incorrect English in their teaching. Literature on the use of English as an instructional medium in secondary education reveals that this situation prevails in most public secondary schools in Tanzania. This evidence collaborates literature on the classroom language situation in Tanzania (Rubagumya (1986:290), Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1987, 1997), Blommaert (1996), Mongella (1990), Msanjila (1990), Mlama and Matteru (1978), and Qorro, 1997. Evidence collaborating the views expressed by Mr. Chiganga (Appendix 3a) and Mr. Maila (Appendix No. 3/10) about students' inadequate proficiency in English making them unable to learn anything through English is also available (see Criper and Dodd, 1984 and Mvungi, 1974, 1982). Exhaustive discussions of the sociolinguistic profile of Tanzania have been offered in Chapter 2.2 and 3.4.3.

These observations and facts raise a number of questions. Given the language situation in the classroom, what percentage of teachers in secondary schools is qualified to teach in English? If most of the teachers in secondary schools teach in incorrect English, why should we continue to believe that students would learn English and most importantly other subjects when it is used as a MOI and what is the basis of this belief? Why and who benefits from the current language-in-education policy in Tanzania? The next section attempts to provide answers and explanations to some of these questions.

6.2   English and education in Tanzania

The government statement on the language-in-education policy in education produced by MOEC reads:

"[….] English is the medium of instruction at secondary school level and most instructional media and pedagogical materials available at this level are also written in English. This situation is likely to remain so for a long time in the foreseeable future. In this policy document, it has been proposed that English be taught as a subject from Std. I. It is therefore, expected that at the end of seven years of primary education, pupils will have acquired and developed adequate mastery of this language, both spoken and written, to cope with the English language proficiency demands at secondary, post-secondary levels and the world of work." (MOEC, 1995a: 44-45)

The view of the government on MOI rests on the fact that 'most instructional media and pedagogical materials available at this level are also written in English' and 'the world of work.' The argument that English is important in the world of work in Tanzania runs counter to the fact that the majority of the labour force, the few industries and factories, and business in Tanzania use Kiswahili as its language of communication. Secondly, if it was possible for the government to translate the required instructional and pedagogical materials into Kiswahili for primary education in 1967, why has it not been possible to do the same for post-primary education since the 1970s? What other reasons underpin the government language policy? What is there in English that makes it an indispensable MOI in post-primary education? These are legitimate questions that beg the attention of language policy decision makers and language planners.

In general, evidence from Newspaper articles and OFIs reveals that English is equated with education, confers social status and prestige, enhances an individual's professional and career development and thus the latter may also be or is associated with progress and development, civilization and culture. In attempting to account for the source of ideas associated with English in Tanzania, one needs to critique the language policy in order to unveil the premise on which it is built. For example, data from set 2 of the data corpus (Open Field Interviews -Appendix No. 3) reveals several reasons, which probably could be used to explain the dominance of English in education and society in general. Mr. Rugee, an inspector of English in secondary schools makes this observation in regard to English.

"[....] There are certain persons who have a vested interest in it. There is this group of people at the university of Dar es Salaam who want to launch their

own personal projects into the teaching of curriculum at secondary school level in Kiswahili. Okay but they are the same people who send their children outside the country to become proficient in English. So you have double standards. The poor Swahilis will have an education in Kiswahili which limits them and the sons of the well to do will go outside and they are already doing that and in less than ten years time we will have very divergent groups of people. Swahilis working in Kariakoo, sweeping the streets. People who have had a positive best proficient in language get all the best jobs. So there is that's why some people are resisting and want English to remain the language of instruction. " (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews —Appendix No 3a)

The language policy pursued by the government can partly be explained as consequences of attitudes and aspirations people have about English. Mr. Maila observes:

"[…] Yes. Well you see part of this was a problem we have of the crisis of identity, of identity. Some little fellow comes up. Think they speak English. So they think it is very cool to speak English. So I listen to some of it and I wonder. They try to imitate Americans and so on and they make it into money out of it. It is very simple. I told you because he hears. He has been told that oh you know. English oh .If your son does not speak English. If your son speaks English. First of all the mere fact that their son or daughter has gone to school. Just gone to school is enough. Never mind what they learn. But number two. That they also learn English and become a little *Wazungu.* Oh this is very big. So the problem is not English. It is an ideology of inferiority because our own leaders can believe in this. This tells you the sickness in our society. If our leaders believe this so what do you expect them (people) to believe in because the leaders set the example? (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews —Appendix No 3a)

Furthermore, when asked why English was the choice language to most people, Mr. Mwendwa, a teacher with over 25 years of teaching English employed by a Catholic Seminary in Morogoro remarked that because English has been used in education since the British colonial period up to now, anyone who speaks English is considered to be educated.

On the other hand, the continued use of English in post-primary education can also be explained by the general belief that English is synonymous with education. Mr. Rugee explains why this belief is strongly entrenched in society:

"[….] Why people insist for their children to learn English very well? It is assumed that once you have mastered the language then you can pursue your studies much better in whatever discipline you are pursuing. So that's why there is now a craze of parents taking their children to English speaking schools with the belief that once students are able to speak English very well, then they can follow most of the studies since the post-secondary curriculum offered in English. And I think that is the main reason." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ─Appendix No.3a)

While Mr. Rugee talks about what parents think about English and what it can do to one's children, Mrs. Buremo, an English teacher at Jangwani Girls and Mr. Mwendwa attribute the dominance of English in education to colonialism. For example, Mrs. Buremo has expressed the same opinion regarding English (see chapter 5) as well as Mr. Mwendwa who observes that

"[….]This is historical. As far as Tanzania is concerned, we were governed by the British. Now from that point of view we inherited everything that was British and of course those who went to school during the time of the British are still alive and some and most of these people compare the present type of education and the type of education they got and the present situation. When they compare they find that first of all the first thing they will talk about they don't talk about the real situation. They talk about the standard of English because they judge somebody simply from the way somebody can communicate in English. When they see that someone cannot communicate successfully in English then they automatically say that fellow is not is uneducated simply because he has not mastered the language...." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ─Appendix No.3a)

These observations are rooted in the colonial enterprise in which the desire to learn colonial languages was informed by the belief that they could enable children to perform well in school and subsequently gave the Africans economic power and prestige. The colonial education system together with its created and orchestrated belief that English speaking is a sign of being educated have had great effect on creating positive attitudes toward English in Tanzania. It is perhaps because of this reason and attitude that a number a number of people feel ashamed to admit that they do not know English. It can be argued that the language-in-education policy is a continuation of the same policies that were put in place by the colonial administration. For instance, parents refused to embrace an education that was

agricultural and technical biased during the colonial period because academic education would enable their children to move into the modern economy. Consequently, what we are witnessing in present-day Tanzania is a shift in attitudes and perceptions that favour English-medium education. Similar opinions about an English-medium education have also been expressed in the literature. For example, Rubagumya (1986:289) observes:

> "[…] It certainly was true during the colonial period when some parents saw the teaching of Kiswahili in schools as a deliberate step taken by the colonial government to give African an inferior education. At present, it seems that this attitude by parents, teachers and students is likely to change — albeit slowly —with the changing status of Kiswahili. However, we must not lose sight of the reality today: a person who speaks English has some advantage over someone who does not, hence the persistent prestigious image of the language."

These observations make me concur with Blommaert (1996:208-9) who argues that language policy in education pursued in Tanzania is a two-tier system in which:

> "[…] The choice for a particular sociolinguistic pattern is seen as a wise and logical choice inspired by a will to build a coherent, harmonious nation, viewed ethnically. That a society can be ethnically peaceful, but deeply divided along socio-economic lines seems to be best a secondary consideration. Yet, Tanzanian linguists and educationalists have for years been bemoaning the fact that Tanzanian language policy especially: the maintenance of English as the language of instruction in post-primary education has created a dual society, in which a small elite has access to English and uses it as a part of its symbolic status-making repertoire, while the masses have no access to this exclusive (and excluding) resource."

Issues that relate to English in education in Tanzania touch on equity of access to education itself and quality of education that is differentially made available. As Bourdieu and Passeron (1998) have described, the educational process is one in which a new relation to language and culture is transmitted in an apparently autonomous institutional setting that nonetheless constantly contributes to the reproduction and legitimisation of the established social order. The association of English with education is partly also due to the economic situation prevailing in

Tanzania. For instance, there are so many loans, grants and assistance of funds and technology from developed countries including English-speaking nations such as Canada, US and UK. This may sometimes require technical training from donor countries in the use of these technical packages. Goods and commodities imported or those brought in the country by donors have their instructions in English. All of these influence the use of English and go a long way toward strengthen the belief that English is education, science and technology.

6.3   English and Inequality in Tanzania

The relationship between English and education in Tanzania has social, cultural and economic repercussion. English in Tanzania forms a spider's cobweb. Bourne (1997) observes that it is entangled in a complex web that has implications for other social issues, cultural processes and resource allocation both internal and external generated. For instance, Roy-Campbell (1992) has remarked that the prominence of English is among the major conditions that are attached to IMF and the World Bank loans to Tanzania. Mr. Chiganga of MOEC is of the opinion that the government's decision to continue using English in post-primary education is probably due to pressure from outside. He elaborates further:

> […]I am not sure of this but I think there is some kind of pressure. As you have said, a silent one which is never stated in words but can be observed. It is not written but you can conclude that way because these people give us aid and communication throughout the negotiation for aid assistance is in English and when they come here they give assistance in the development of English language textbooks and in many other different development projects. It is possible that there is some pressure bought to bear on the government. There is some pressure. Pressure. It is called hidden pressure. That this is the language, which ought to continue to be used as a medium of instruction. (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ─Appendix No.3a)

One needs to ask why does the presence of foreign aid and its associated packages described above by Mr. Chiganga justify the continued use of English in post-primary education? How is the relationship between English, foreign aid and expatriate tied to the continued use of English as MOI in education? Is the education provided in Tanzania targeting the needs of the expatriate and donor agencies? Does

the language-in-education policy really serve the needs of the majority in Tanzania? These questions are also basically about the purpose of education in Tanzania and the relevance of its objectives. In addition, it becomes difficult to comprehend how the educational objectives articulated in ministry's document on education and training are to be implemented through a language that is least understood by both teachers and students. As such the argument presented by the people referred to by Mr. Chiganga coalesces in the concerns expressed by Pennycook (1995:35), who problematizes the spread of English because it fails to account for the social, cultural and economic effects of English.

In accounting for the inequalities, which are a consequence of English as a MOI in schools, one is inevitably forced to seek answers through analysing the ideological discourses that structure the spread of English as a Second (ESL), Foreign (EFL) or International Language (EIL). The pertinent question is which groups of people in society "cash" in the use of English as a medium of instruction in education since the language of school instruction in any culture is very highly standardized and as such it is not always accessible to all people, especially lower class children and children of marginal groups (Omari, 1982:90). This observation is not typical of English alone because even Kiswahili can deny access to students or groups of people who have poor proficiency in it. What I have in mind here is a question of the degree of the impact English has compared to Kiswahili in Tanzania where the majority are more conversant in Kiswahili.

Briefly, the argument developed in this study exposes how a symbolic resource such as Standard English is made available as cultural capital (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1998; Bourdieu, 1994b) to further strengthen the existing unequal social relations globally. That is why I am of the opinion that the MOI problem in Tanzania is bound up with issues of power, domination, legitimacy and social stratification. For example, Boyle (1997: 169) has observed that English under the innocuous guise of a helpful language for business and travel, has become a potent force for cultural and economic domination. In interrogating further the data used in this study, one finds that English in Tanzania has become linked to employment opportunities. It is used as a yardstick for employing Tanzanian youths graduating in higher institutions of learning.

My view is that English does not necessarily guarantee success. However, the attitudes and perceptions, which emerge from the medium debate runs counter to this observation. For example, Mr. Rugee observes that one of the social consequences of this attitudes and perceptions is:

> "[…] the poor Swahilis will have an education in Kiswahili which limits them and the sons of the well to do will go outside and they are already doing that and in less than ten years time we will have very divergent groups of people. Swahilis working in Kariakoo, sweeping the streets. People who have had a positive best proficient in language get all the best jobs." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ─Appendix No.3a)

In discussing this, it is imperative to make a new reading of the effects of a valued resource. The language-in-education policy especially use of English as a medium in post-primary education has had several effects some of which lead to the creation of 'very divergent groups of people' or second-class citizens who do not know English. These subsequently fail to participate fully in society and benefit from the education that is offered through English because they lack the required linguistic resources. Since English has become a valued resource, its accessibility has also become regulated by formal institutions especially education. The fact that Tanzania uses two different languages in its education system- Kiswahili for the primary and English for post-primary education creates learning problems to most students and hence poor quality education. Moreover, understanding the language of instruction is certainly not the only factor that determines the quality of education that students finally acquire. It is certainly a key factor and an independent one towards achieving a high quality of education.

Likewise, it is also important to examine and critique what lies underneath the cultural and economic value of English in Tanzania. I argue that English in Tanzania is responsible for exacerbating the social inequalities observed by Mr. Rugee, which exist in society. Inequality sprouts from many factors but I consider access to a language resource and knowledge of English in Tanzania to be a major one especially when it is the legitimate language of the education system.

The study conducted by Williams (2000) in Malawi and Zambia discussed in Chapter 2.7 is testimony to how language policy working through education has

raised the symbolic value of 'English' through controlling access to this resource and cultural capital. In this vein, it is correct to argue that schooling, the public institution to which we turn to when we manipulate the language situation in a country or local community (Ricento and Burnaby, 1998) is also the arena where language ideology, especially use and forms of legitimate language such as SE is enforced and practiced. There is a strong and substantial relationship between access to valued resources and socio-economic inequalities. The reasons, which Mr. Rugee gave for the current language policy in education in Tanzania discussed earlier in this section, can equally be used to explain how English is implicated in the maintenance and further reproduction of inequalities in society.

6.4   The Ideology of Standard English (SE) and social inequality in Tanzania

It follows then that the examination of the position of English in the education system in Tanzania is a discussion about the ideology that informs SE in the world. I propose that debates about the prominent position of English in post-primary education in Tanzania should be viewed as a struggle over the management of a resource and representations of particular ideological discourses through the legitimated resource. In view of this observation, SE is a symbolic resource because its ideology is about status, prestige and power, all of which are cultural capital. Bex and Watts (1999) observe that notions of SE vary from country to country in both the ways in which such a variety is described and also in the prestige it is held and the functions it has developed to perform.

Status and prestige are emblematic of SE in countries where it has got a foothold. For instance when Ms. Kalibha, of MOEC was asked whether she would send her child to an English-medium primary school, she reacted strongly against the idea. She says:

> "[…] I wouldn't prefer that. Well in my opinion most of these English medium schools sort of I mean they tend to make children feel that they are coming from well off families because you know these schools are expensive compared to our normal government primary schools. So they tend to make the children feel that way. That they are superior. I wouldn't because I don't

want my children to have that feeling. I don't want to, it is going to spoil my children because they will feel that they are better than the other who are not going to these schools." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ─Appendix No.3a)

While Ms. Kalibha talks of prestige and superiority, Mr. Chiganga from the same ministry gives us a different reason in addressing the issue of English-medium primary schools. He says:

"[…] I think these schools meet the desired needs of customers such as parents and other people. There are people who believe that if a child knows English well then he or she is educated. Now people who are interested in investing in education take this opportunity, this expressed need to make money. Because a person builds his school and calls it English-medium. It is true that everything in these schools is in English but if you look carefully at the curriculum of the subjects in these schools and the way they are taught you will realize that they are very weak. But because the school is using English, then those customers with this expressed need for English are happy. They are satisfied. For example, my objective is to make sure that my child knows English. This thing about knowing mathematics will not be a problem to the child while in school since the child already knows English. It will know mathematics. This is what some parents think and believe in. If he or she knows English the child will automatically know Geography, Mathematics, etc. These subjects will get in by osmosis. That is why parents, who want their children to know English send then to Kenya and Uganda. It is because of these reasons. Because in these countries they use English and English according to some people, if you know English then you become educated. And that this is best medium of instruction." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ─Appendix No 3a) -own translation]

My reading and interpretation of what Ms. Kalibha is trying to express is that English creates in the mind of the learner a sense of superiority. Children who attend English-medium schools develop certain attitudes toward Kiswahili, toward people who cannot speak English correctly and toward a Kiswahili-medium education. It is by problematising the continued use of English in the education system that one can grasp the gravity of the symbolic and economic value of English. SE as a cultural capital is used for among many other things such as a marker for different forms of social discrimination (Watts, 1999b) alluded to by Ms. Kalibha since it confers a particular social status, honour, fame, respect, etc. to particular groups of people in society. Both Ms. Kalibha and Mr. Chiganga are not specific about who goes into

English-medium primary schools. They imply that a particular group of people in society can afford and are prepared to do so. It is however, the special correspondent writing in The African newspaper of November 5, 1999 who identifies the social group, which reaps the dividends accruing from English.

> "[….] Admittedly the continued use of English as the medium of instruction in schools and tertiary levels learning helps to maintain the existing unequal relationships between the developing and developed countries. Secondly, the use of English in Tanzanian schools creates conditions that help to maintain inequality between the less-to-do-people and the middle and upper socio-economic class. And because the minority, upper and middle class wields considerable political and economic power, those who do not speak English (the majority) are likely to remain poor peasants and unskilled labourers........ And because the minority, upper and middle class wields considerable political and economic power, those who do not speak English (the majority) are likely to remain poor peasants and unskilled labourers" (Set 1 of the Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No 1a)

Similarly, both Professors Maghimbi and Issa Omari of UDSM writing in The Guardian newspaper at separate dates specifically identify the kind of people who benefit from English. They also show how English is largely responsible for the socio-economic inequality in Tanzania. Prof Maghimbi, writing in The Guardian of February 20th 2000 says:

> "[…] The elite is able to mobilise their resources and send their children to good local schools and in even foreign schools. Tanzanian education is now divided between some good schools for the elite and many average schools for the poor. .....at the same time, those who can afford very high quality schools should be encouraged to use them for their children and open more. These will also move the nation forward. After all, human development is a very elitist phenomenon. Few invent, discover and organise and the rest follow and benefit." (Set 1 of the Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No 1a)

Prof Issa Omari writing in The Guardian of April 15th 1999 says:

> "[…] Similarly, English medium schools for the rich will mushroom and create a caste system where a few will have better education and better prospects for jobs. Let us avoid that path. No one doubts the capacity of Kiswahili to grow, and it is already a highly respected language. We are all

proud of that as good Tanzanians, but let us not use nationalistic sentiments to propel a course of decision making that may lead to a disaster. We have had enough of them and our mass media should protect readers by being balanced, scientific and fair." (Set 1 of the Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No 1a)

Thus, English in Tanzania has become a barrier in that it impedes vertical social mobility since the latter is only possible where one has this particular linguistic capital (fluency and knowledge of English), which is used by groups who posses economic, social, cultural and political power and status in local and global society. As an imported language, English emphasizes divergence and inequality and quite often separates the elite from the masses and the ruling group from its followers. The citation from the correspondent with the African newspaper above testifies to this observation. The ideas expressed above verify Eggington and Wren's (1997) observation that 'possession' of English means competence in SE that empowers one to have more control over one's life by passing through the educational gateways in the social system.

Subordinately connected to this argument is one which states that a Kiswahili-medium education is of poor quality. For example, some writers such as Mr. Chipindula have stated clearly that a Kiswahili-medium education is for the poor. This is what he wrote in The Guardian of August 4th 1999.

"[…] Lastly, I do believe that the government under President Benjamin William Mkapa who also happens to have an excellent command of English will not be swayed by opportunists who advocate the use of Kiswahili under the pretext of patriotism ... while knowing clearly that Kiswahili medium schools and colleges will be for the poor Tanzanians who will not afford to send their children outside Tanzania to acquire a sound knowledge of English." (Set 1 of the Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No 1a)

While Professors Maghimbi, Omari and Mr. Mr. Rugee among others argue that English creates divisions and social inequality in society, other writers believe that English can be used to correct the socio-economic asymmetries that are apparently observable in Tanzanian society. Mr. Kanyorota Katanga writing in The Guardian of February 17th 2000 says:

"[…] We only stand to gain through instant inter-connectivity and we shall regret tomorrow if we hurriedly switched the medium of instruction with such dire consequences as further deterioration of the quality of education and the creation of two classes of the haves through the English medium and the have-nots of the Kiswahili medium. Kiswahili is not facing any threat but English and Tanzania are already losing a lot by being indifferent on the improvement of our mastery of English language." (Set 1 of the Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No 1a)

It is difficult for English to realize the objectives suggested by Mr. Kanyorota because evidence shows that the persistence of using English as a MOI continues to increase the socio-economic gap that already exists in society. Furthermore, studies done in Tanzania by Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1987), Mvungi (1974, 1982), Mlama and Matteru (1978) and many others show that in many public secondary schools, most students and the majority of teachers do not understand English. This translates in academic underachievement leading into poor performance in subjects that are taught through the English medium because students fail to use language to formulate and relate it to their on purposes and view of the world.

Opposition to use of local languages in education have been recorded in other countries where it is seen as a method of depriving them of the instruction in the kind of English that white people use, and thus condemning them to permanent underclass status (see Sknukal cited in Siegel, 1997). The same has been expressed in Tanzania too. For instance, Prof Maghimbi writing in The Guardian of February 20, 2000 argues:

"[….] Tanzanian education is now divided between some good schools for the elite and many average schools for the poor. … To recommend that the children of the masses be taught in Kiswahili in secondary schools is cheating the masses. Who does not know that if Kswahili is introduced, the standards of education will fall further? …. The agenda is to cheat the masses to accept a kind of South African Bantustan style of education and keep quite. …. What is so special about the language that those people who write and speak it fluently don't recommend it for others?" (Set 1 of the Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No 1/5)

These perceptions and the lustre appeal of an English-medium education probably rest on the assumption that the latter is said to be an equaliser guaranteeing equal access to opportunities. However, this is contrary to evidence available since education can be an equalizer as well as a divisive socio-political and economic force. Moreover, language is also credited with social stratification although local languages tend to emphasize solidarity and social equality in contrast to imported languages such as English. Furthermore, it should however be noted that linguistic homogeneity does not always imply social homogeneity since language use creates and permits the identification of social stratification.

In Tanzania, an imported language has and continues to be a great factor in creating social divisions in society. The pyramidal educational structure of Tanzania shows how society is divided since social positions and economic opportunities are dependent on one's education. Secondary education has since colonial times always been a preserve of a few. The structure of education in Figure 6.5.1 together with the data from Table 6.5.1 show that secondary education is available for only a few in Tanzania. The following facts are quite apparent from Table 6.4.1.

(a) Enrollment in secondary education is only 5 percent.

(b) The transition rate from primary to secondary school is only 16 percent compared with 21 percent and 59 percent respectively in other low-income countries.

(c) That between 1992 and 1996 the total number of students entering secondary schools grew from 13 to 15.7percent compared to 3.4 to 8.6 percent of the years between 1984 and1987. During the same period, private secondary schools accounted for the majority of Form I entrants (an average of 54.9 per cent each year).

Table 6.4.1: Enrolment into Form I in Tanzania 1984-96

Year	Std VII leavers ('000)	Form I Entrants ('000)			Trans. rate (%)	Private sector share of Form I entrants (%)
		Public	Private	Total		
1984	649.6	10.1	11.7	21.8	3.4	53.8
1985	429.2	10.9	12.6	23.5	5.5	53.7
1986	380.1	11.7	15.7	27.4	7.2	57.3
1987	380.8	14.6	18.0	32.6	8.6	55.2
1988	348.0	15.7	20.8	36.5	10.5	57.0
1989	267.7	18.6	23.6	42.1	15.7	56.0
1990	306.7	19.7	27.6	47.2	15.4	58.3
1991	383.4	19.3	29.0	48.3	12.6	60.1
1992	346.5	19.3	25.7	45.0	13.0	57.1
1993	363.4	20.3	27.0	47.2	13.0	57.1
1994	370.5	21.6	28.7	50.1	13.6	56.9
1995	386.6	25.2	28.5	53.7	13.9	53.1
1996	359.3	28.3	28.0	56.3	15.7	49.8

Source: Government of Tanzania. 1997 <u>Basic Statistics in Education, 1992-96</u>, Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Education.

The data from the Figure 6.6.1 and Table 6.6.1 depicts a situation where education can lead to social stratification and inequality since one's personal development and cumulatively society's depend on access to education. This situation, in addition to the current poor economic performance has made S. Yahya-Othman (1997: 20-1) to note that the use English will keep more children out of secondary school education widening the differences between the educated and the uneducated further. Furthermore, the liberalization of the economy and ensuing free market would further make English a valuable commodity in great demand putting those who lack it at a great disadvantage.

Figure 6.4.1: The structure of education in Tanzania
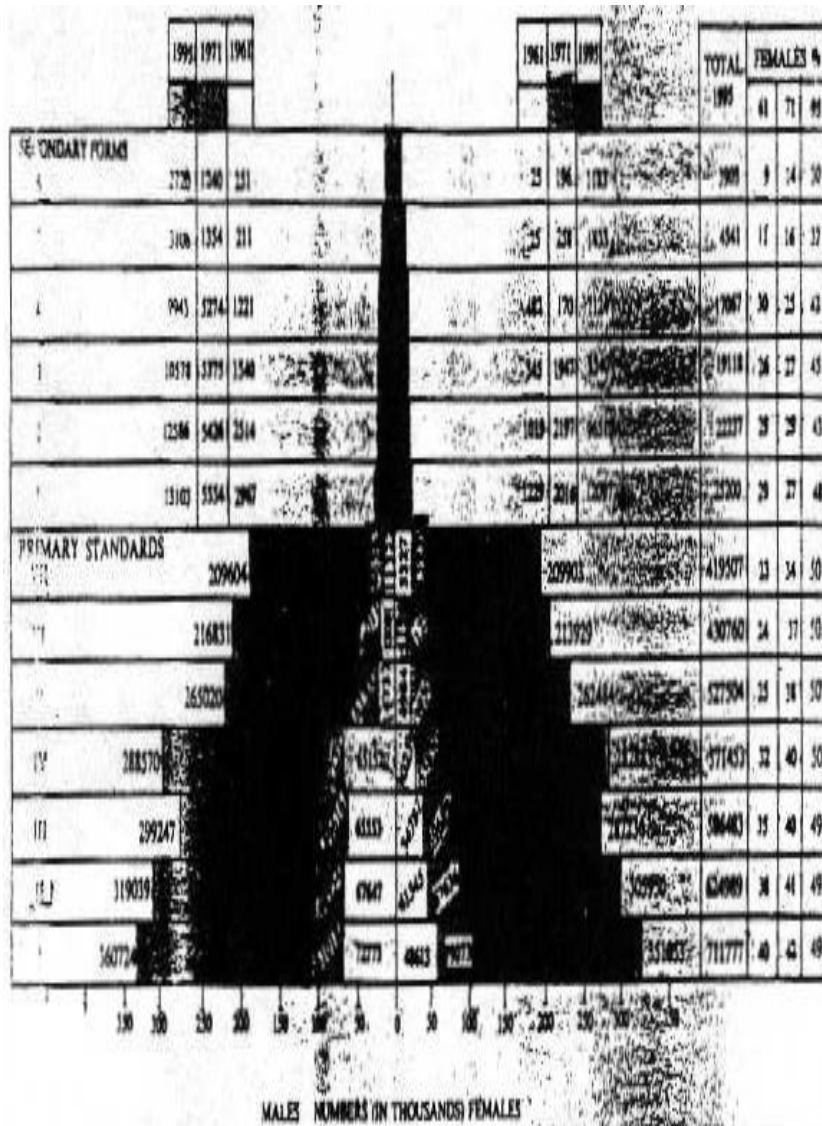
Source: United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education and Culture, *Basic Statistics in Education 1991-1995, National Data*. Dar es Salaam, June 1996

Elsewhere in some Third World countries the social, cultural and economic effects of English are quite apparent. For example, the Report of the Government of India of 1963 (cited in Pennycook, 1998:92) states:

"[….] At present an acquaintance with the higher branches of knowledge can be obtained only by a study of the English language, and it is this which presents the greatest obstacle to the general and rapid propagation of useful knowledge in the country, and which delays the approach of any change for the better in the ideas and morals of the people. By this the growth of Public Education is stunted and withered, and a few only, through a medium difficult of access, can cull the fruits of learning, which should be easy of approach to all."

The report from the government of India continued to note that

"[....] while maintaining and promoting English education, can we not adopt a vernacular language, as a medium better suited than a strange tongue for the general diffusion of knowledge and the general reform of ideas, manners and morals of the people — cannot European enlightenment and civilization be better taught through a language which is understood, than through one which is foreign and unknown and can never be acquired by the vast majority of the 140 millions of British India?" (Pennycook, 1998:92)

The MOI debate in Tanzania is a contest between those who prefer English against those who favour Kiswahili. The argument presented on either side of this wide divide reminds us of the thesis expressed by the Indian government recorded above. Data used in this study also chronicles clearly the views expressed in the Indian government report. Mrs. Martha Qorro of UDSM sums up the debate this way:

"[….] In my own opinion, the debate on medium of instruction is not about making a choice between English or Kiswahili. It is according to my opinion to choose English or education. What suffers most when English is used is education. In other words this means that to use English as a vehicular language is to deny those who do not know English education, which is their right. Because I cannot get the correct term for this kind of situation, I will call it "The Policy of English Without Education" although with this kind of policy it is highly possible that those who do not understand English will not learn English nor will they get education. If we want the majority of our students to get education we will have to stop using English. In such a

situation, and because I fail to get an appropriate term, I would call it 'The Policy of Education and English" With tjis kind of policy, we will be certain that the majority of students will get education. And in addition to that, steps will have to be taken to find new approaches for teaching English better" *(*Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No. 2)-own translation]

There is no doubt therefore, that English in Tanzania plays an important role in creating divisions along economic lines. It serves what Pennycook calls a "gatekeeper" for access to better jobs, higher education, and better prospects for advancement. S. Yahya-Othman (1997:15) argues to the Tanzania elite, English

"[…] internally serves to distinguish them from other Tanzanians, setting them apart from the underprivileged classes. Together with other manifestations of upward mobility, such as palatial houses and ostentatious cars, English has been a mark of distinction of those who have "made it" in Tanzanian society. It is the stamp of one's education: if you can speak English, you are assumed to be educated. .... externally, English is an important component in the maintenance of contacts with the metropole. The Tanzanian bourgeoisie is constantly appealing to external values and external impetuses for change. .... In this context, English is essential in order to maintain continuity in the education of these children."

S. Yahya-Othman's remarks partly explains the mushrooming of English-medium primary schools and international schools in most urban centres (especially Dar es Salaam, Moshi and Arusha) in the 1990s and the parents' decision to send their children into private secondary schools. This trend can be observed in Table 6.5.2 (see also Appendix No.4).

Table 6.4.2: **Registered Non-Government English-Medium Primary Schools(EMPS), 1978-2000**

	YEARS											
	78	84	90	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	2000	Total
REGION	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS REGISTERED											
Dar es Salaam	1	1	-	1	-	1	3	4	1	2	4	**18**
Arusha	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	1	1	2	**9**
Mwanza	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	-	1	**7**
Mbeya	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	2	**6**
Shinyanga	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1	**6**
Tanga	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	**6**
Iringa	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	**5**
Kilimanjaro	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	1	-	**5**
Morogoro	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	**4**
Kagera	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	**3**
Dodoma	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	**2**
Ruvuma	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	**2**
Kigoma	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	**1**
Mara	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	**1**
Singida	1	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**1**
Tabora	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	**1**
Total No. of Schools	9	2	1	1	1	5	8	5	9	23	13	77

Source: Compiled from list of Registered Non-Government Primary Schools, MOEC, August, 2001

The figures in Table 6.5.2 show that in 1978 there were only 9 English-Medium Primary Schools (EMPS) in the country compared to 1999 and 2000, which registered 23 and 13 EMPS respectively. By 2000, Dar es Salaam had 18 EMPS, about 23.32 percent, followed by Arusha, Mwanza, Mbeya and Shinyanga. The years 1995 – 2000 show a remarkable increase in EMPS with the year 1999 recording the highest number of schools registered in the country.

It is believed that in these schools English is taught well. This has been articulated well by Prof Maghimbi, Dr. Faris Ogita, Mr. Rugee and Mr. Mwendwa. There are several reasons, which make parents opt to send their children into these

schools and private secondary schools. These include the availability of teaching and learning materials, good and dedicated teachers, a good learning environment, etc. However, English is the main force that makes parents send their children in these schools. Prof Maghimbi observes:

> "[....] We all know the advantages of English versus Swahili. The person who can speak and write fluent English has tremendous advantage over the one who cannot write and speak fluent English. The one who commands English can get a job in the country and outside the country more easily, she can travel more easily, she can go to study abroad and whether you like it or not she commands a higher social status. The one who commands English has also much more literature (in any subject and field including fiction) to read than the English illiterate. Rich Tanzanians and some Tanzanians who are politically powerful are now sending their children abroad (Britain, Kenya, USA, India, Uganda, Swaziland, etc.) to study. These people are sending their children abroad not just to get education as such but also to learn English. Parents know the advantage of being fluent in spoken and written English.... English medium primary schools are also famous in Tanzania. These include the International School of Tanganyika, Kifungilo, Olympia, St. Constantine, etc. Famous secondary schools in Tanzania (International School of Tanganyika, Kifungilo, Uru Seminary, Mazinde, etc.) are liked by parents because they are good in English." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper and Workshop Articles ─Appendix No. 2)

In addition to the above observations, and Mrs. Magesa's remarks referred to earlier in this discussion, parents view acquisition of English by their children as a gateway from the grind of agricultural life and into the wider world where English seen as the language of science and technology is the only assured highway and the economic lifeline. Statements from MOEC and MSTHE, politicians and other government functionaries continue to perpetuate and reinforce this view of English making it a universal characteristic of the language.

This may account for the presence of English in adult education programmes in Tanzania prompting Schmied (1991) to comment that adults take advantage of the English courses either because they think they provide them with economic or occupational advantages or because they want to be able to help and understand their English learning school children. Similar perceptions about English have also been expressed by parents in Hong Kong where Morrison (2000: 474) reports that parents in Hong Kong send their children to English medium instruction (EMI)

schools in the pursuit of enhanced life chances for them in a market-driven society that is part of the world economy.

The debate on MOI and language-in-education policy shows how the views that are used to legitimate the rationality of the spread of English and its continued use in the world beyond the former British colonies are projected and promoted. The notion of English as the language of science and technology is rooted in the modernisation ideology associated with it and as such informs and underpins ELT as either an ESL or EFL or EIL. According to Phillipson (cited in Williams, 1998) the functional argument credits English with real or potential access to modernisation, science and technology, among many others. Thus, the current 'song' of English as the language of science and technology from government ministers, politicians, etc., continues to entrench the legitimacy of English in people's minds. It is this, which probably prompted Ms. Kalibha to comment:

> "[….] I think I get what you are trying to say that sometimes may be something which we sort of I don't know whether we should call it adopt. We adopt it from you know these big people who finance us. I mean I think it's there is some politics behind it whether we like it or not. There is some politics behind and honestly that's why you find that sometimes you will hear one politician saying something about the use of English then another day you will hear another politician saying something different. In fact sort of contradicting with what the other person said about the same language. You hear someone saying Kiswahili. Then on another day you find another politician saying you know what. English is the language of science and technology. I mean politicians. The same politicians working in the same government saying two different things."(Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ─Appendix No. 3a*)*

That the ideology of SE has found its way into government policy comes as no surprise because thoughts of this kind reflect the consequences of the metaphors of English (Eggington and Wren, 1997). Explanations of this and similar phenomena, which are being promoted and disseminated in Tanzania, can be sought in the ideas people have about English. Eggington (1997:42) commenting on what it means for one to 'posses' English, observes:

"[…] Means that if an individual or a nation wishes to gain access to or contribute to, a huge portion of the world's current scientific knowledge, the language of access is English. English has become the key to unlocking the world's information storage and retrieval systems. For instance, most new scientific terms and technological terms are created using English based lexical and phonological features regardless of the native language of those researchers and developers."

English enters and dominates post-colonial states world mainly through education where it is used as the MOI or in other cases as the language of science and technology. Kachru (1995:295) observes that it may gain dominance by not displacing the native language such as Kiswahili and may even concede dominance to the former in certain areas, but English ill establish itself as an important, possibly official language in what Kachru calls a 'kind of dual control.' Such has been the case in Tanzania, where it has remained the MOI in post-primary education since independence. I presume that Mwalimu Nyerere quoted by Mr. Mussa Lupatu of the Daily News of February 9, 1990 (Appendix No. 1/24) acknowledged this observation when he remarked that English was the 'Kiswahili' of the World

6.5   Conclusion

The ensuing discussion has illustrated the extent to which the ideology of SE has diffused in the educational institutions in Tanzania. English has usurped an important position in many educational systems around the world becoming one of the most powerful means of inclusion into or exclusion from, further education, employment, or other influential social positions.

My intention in this chapter has been to unravel the way in which social power relations are implicated in legitimate language. This discussion has been about politics and visions of the world as seen from the point of view of English and the ideology that informs it on one hand and from those people who aspire to acquire this resource. The realities of inequality cannot be understood in terms of the assumed unequal exchanges that exist between different economic and political orders and epistemologies; but rather should be seen as the outcome of social processes that are contingently located in ongoing struggles over meanings, values and resources. In my view language fits well in this equation since English in

Tanzania manifests a multitude of aspirations and expectations. In doing so I have tried to unravel the ways in which social power relations are implicated in legitimate language.

The discussion has also shown how education institutions are implicated in the reproduction of inequality in society. Education as an institution is a channel through which the SE ideology is produced and reproduced in a myriad ways (see Watts, 1999b). In this chapter, I have argued that the struggle for the promotion of the SE ideology and all that it represents is waged through this influential social institution. This discussion has recast the issue of language policy in education by shifting focus away from debates about policy as such. Instead, the main proposal has been on describing and exposing albeit briefly the consequences of the MOI in schools of which the most evident is the socio-economic inequalities in Tanzania.

The discussion has also shown how the ideology of Standard English has found legitimacy in educational practice, in influencing parent's view about education and beliefs in what English can do to their children. In all, these echo Postman and Weingartner (cited in Brown, 1997) who argue that education systems around the world are voices of the bureaucracy, voices of political and economic status quo. And lastly, the formal institutional structures such as language policy and education form a marriage of necessity to implement Postman and Weingartner's thesis. English to a large extent therefore configures in the creation of social groups in society with different linguistic resources increasing much further the social, cultural, political, and economic inequalities.

Briefly the argument presented in this chapter is summarized in Figure 6.6.1. The diagram shows the meanings that are attributed to MOI using English and how the educational system is the primary producer of these discourses. That is why Morrison (2000: 473) has remarked that schools, through their MOI, are implicated in the reproduction and production of advantage in society since linguistic capital is both the medium and outcome of the pursuit of enhanced life chances. English becomes a conduit for the realization of the propositions expressed by such metaphors as 'highway', 'gateway', and etc. Putting it in a different way, English is like a container or a household grain store. In order for one to get into this grain store one should be the owner or given permission to enter. It is at this point where

education enters the equation. The catch is that not everybody in the household can enter the grain store. It is only those who have the key or in this case those who possess the knowledge of English can take their share of knowledge available in the household grain store. Once one has gained access into this via English then the doors are open for him/her to reap the social rewards.

Figure 6.5.1: Medium of Instruction, Discourses of SE Ideology and Linguistic Capital
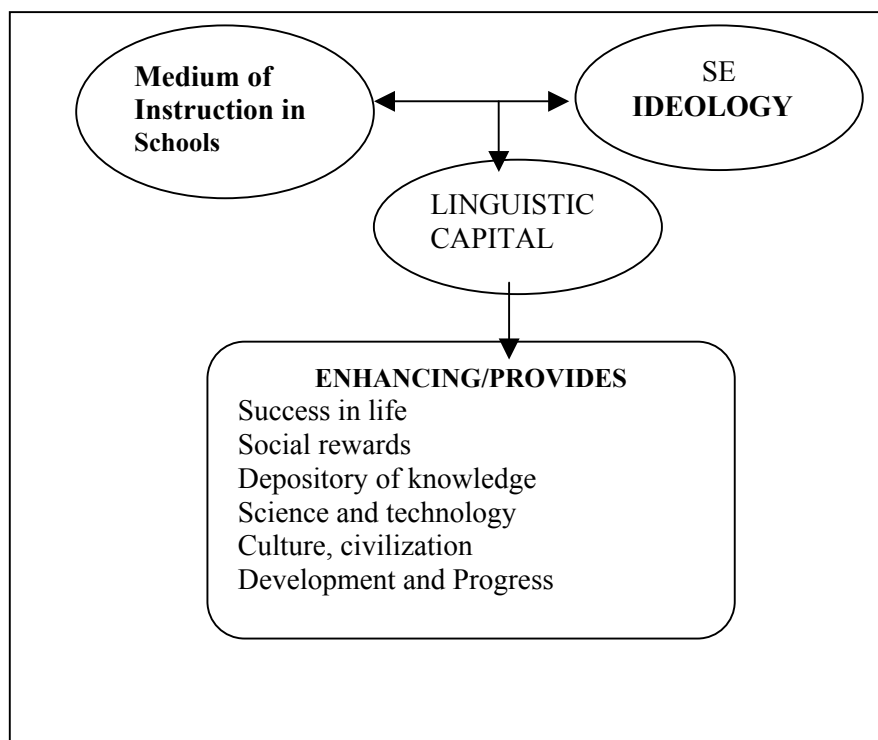
This is the reality in Tanzania where English has become the determinant factor. Those who are not able to remain poor as Mr. Rugee *(*Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interview Transcripts ─Appendix 2a) and those with English will occupy positions of influence and power. The consequences of such a situation is that the education system in Tanzania leads to scientific, technological and

economic marginalisation by keeping the majority of the youth of today and tomorrow from this household grain store.

The next chapter takes the discussion into the discourses of education and development. These in my opinion are also linked to the variuos meanings that are associated with English.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

ENGLISH AND DISCOURSES OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

7.1   Discourses about education and development

This chapter builds upon the discourses emanating from the MOI debate in education discussed in Chapters Five and Six. I begin this chapter by proposing that the MOI debate is a good arena of competing discourses about many things among which education takes center stage. For instance, most discussants in the debate on language-in-education discuss education in terms of a type that would take the nation into the 21st century of science and technology. Since language is an important element of social organization and control that can be used in improving social life, it is therefore argued by the discussants that a language such as English is the assured route towards achieving the above goal. For example, Mrs. Martha Qorro observes:

> "[...] There are people who argue that English should continue to be used as the medium of instruction. They seem to associate or rather equate English with education. To them it is impossible to get education without English. Among the reasons that have been advanced to oppose the change in the medium of instruction include: if Kiswahili is used, the quality of education will deteriorate further; Kiswahili has not been prepared well enough to assume this function; since English is used as one of the criteria in employment, students who complete post-secondary education will become unemployable; since most knowledge is found in books that are written and printed in English, the nation will lose if English is not used.] (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Workshop Article ─Appendix No. 2) -own translation

Maghimbi subscribes to the reasons put forward to oppose the formalisation of Kiswahili as the sole MOI in post-primary education and argues very strongly for English.

> "[….] Who does not know the power of Babel (the power of language)? English can empower young Tanzanian men and women to bring a technical

and scientific revolution (i.e. an industrial revolution)" (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No.1a)

These two excerpts are indicative of the type of contentious discourses that show the different meanings of English and how these meanings are used to explain problems that confront the education system in Tanzania. In my opinion, the discourses from the contesting sides in this debate open a window that provides an opportunity for one to examine how the ideology of SE gains social credibility and political influence in education institutions and society, and the unfolding of linguistic ideologies and practices in the making of political authority (Gal and Woolard, 2001:2). The debate is also a forum for re-appraising nation-building efforts and the kind of nation that is imagined. For example, Dr. Zakaria Mochiwa of the Kiswahili Department UDSM writing in the Guardian of January 31, 2000 observes:

"[…] Thus, scholars from the field of natural sciences and engineering, for example, can participate in discussions on social phenomena. Under such circumstances, chances are, no facts come to light. As a result the debate becomes a triviality. It is important to get a worm's eye of the view of the issue. What is the issue? The choice of a medium of instruction in Tanzania Education and for that matter, any education system worth the name hinges on a number of considerations. Put differently, those who decide on which language will be used on the medium of instruction must at least answer three questions. The essence of education and its purpose. There is every reason to suspect that those who participate in this embarrassing debate, that is, those who argue against the use of English as medium of instruction, do not share a similar, let alone, identical definition of education. Under such circumstances, one does not expect any reasonable consensus of its purposes in Tanzania. A common definition of education clarifies the purpose, the essential components and the result of the process. With a specific definition in mind, the appropriate medium of instruction would not have been an issue at all. The vigorous role of the medium of instruction would have been crystal clear. That our high level manpower, including members of one of the thinking tanks of the country-the University of Dar es Salaam- are bogged down in this debate is indicative of an education system without a vision." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No.1a)

The discourses of English in Tanzania question and critique the objectives of education referred to in Chapter 6 and the cultural beliefs in society. The MOI

debate and language policy in Tanzania is also about the role of language and discursive forms in such nation-making processes as the invention of national traditions, the production of news report and popular fiction, and the creation of state-produced narratives that locate citizens in the flow of national times (Kroskrity, 1999: 24). My view is that the wholesale embracing of English as a highway to development and education, which has filled the vacuum created after the shelving of ArDe, ESR and Ujamaa philosophy has had great effect on the cultural map in Tanzania. It is therefore not surprising for the debate on language policy to encompass issues of educational philosophy and national culture. Mr. Chedi Chikira, Mr. Gama Mwanga and Dr. Zakaria Mochiwa use this public forum to critique the national vision on development, education, culture and beliefs. Mr. Gama Mwanga writing in the Business Times of April 19, 2002 claims:

> "[….] The school curriculum is at a loss as to what beliefs, morals, values and attitudes to impart on the children today. … Experts say that the period from 1985 has been characterize by a silent drift from Ujamaa vision without any clear articulation of the new direction. A host of internally and externally initiated strategies, ideas, trends, fashions and fads have characterized the Tanzania socio-economic picture."

The discourses emanating from the MOI debate attempt also to explain what went wrong with the education system and development in the 1970s. For example, Mr. Mwendwa tracing the origin of the decline in education in Tanzania observes:

> "[…] during that period there was an urge from the political side to start universal primary education (UPE). Now when Universal Primary Education started in nineteen seventy-six, many teachers had to be recruited. Now of course the caliber of teachers didn't matter. It was just the quantity which was of course bad. I mean we were after the quantity and not the quality. So good and bad were recruited as teachers. During the seventies adult education was going on very well. Now Universal Primary Education got in teachers some of whom were not good. They caused this problem and this problem went on further with the urge of this nation to increase the number of students in primary schools and of course also definitely later to expand secondary education. But the main reason was the large number of schools, which were opened. We had a big number of schools opened but we didn't have the qualified teachers to teach these schools. It was the kind of revolution you know whenever you have such a revolution in any nations people don't look at the practical side of it. And problems which may crop up so. Of course we

could say that we were ill-prepared for it, although to some extent we succeeded in other ways by making a lot of people literate."(Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ─Appendix No. 3a)

And Mr. Ludovick Ngatara argues that falling standards in education are due to the use of Kiswahili in schools.

"[…] Since Tanzania adopted Kiswahili as its national language soon after independence and as a teaching medium at primary school level, complaints of educational standard decline have grown. We can improve education in our schools without dropping Kiswahili as a subject. This will be cheaper because we will worry only on publication of books either through writing new ones or translating the existing publications into English to suffice the syllabus. In this case, a lasting solution still remains that of adopting English as a medium of instruction right from the nursery school level upwards." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No. 1a)

The above statements may also be used to illustrate how language, especially English through education is linked to development since education is the central institutional and cultural site through which social, political, economic ideas and linguistic practices are disseminated. Changes brought about in the education sector can result in very deep side effects on all of society. It is this recognition that formed the basis of the educational reforms in Tanzania proposed by Nyerere in ESR. Nyerere unlike many leaders of newly independent countries in Africa saw education as closely tied to social environment. The educational system proposed in ESR of 1967 (Nyerere, 1967) broke rather sharply with colonial programmes. ESR placed greater emphasis on practical aspects of education. Likewise, the adult education programmes of the early 1970s were based on the assumption that investment in education would produce a literate population that could become aware of their situation and consequently be in a position to interpret correctly interventions in agriculture and adapt them to suit their local situation thereby improving their living standards. For instance, Nyerere (1979:33) argues:

"[…] The importance of adult education, both for our country and for every individual, cannot be over-emphasized. We are poor and backward, and too many of us just accept our present situations as the 'will of God', and feel that we can do nothing about them. In many cases, therefore, the first objective of

adult education must be to shake ourselves out of a resignation to the kind of life Tanzanian people have lived for centuries past."

Thus, Nyerere had a clear vision of the kind of society he wanted Tanzania to become. This he believed could be achieved through education. Language especially Kiswahili occupied a pivotal role in the realization of these educational interventions. Dr. Zakaria Mochiwa exemplifies this vision more:

> "[….] Tanzania was incredibly lucky to have Julius Kambarage Nyerere (RIP) as her first president. We owe him a lot of thanks for his in-depth analysis of education in Tanzania. Unfortunately that blueprint of education was if anything at all underutilized. One cannot help wondering whether the document: those who were supposed to implement it ever understood Education for Self-Reliance. Yet, this was a document containing a clear vision of education characterizing the end product, namely, an inquiring mind with self-esteem, self-confidence, independent and analytical thinking. The education process, according to Dr. Nyerere, facilitates the recipient's discovery and development of his or her talents. To Dr. Nyerere, education is close to a rite of passage, it is cultural. Unfortunately, however, Dr. Nyerere did not articulate a language policy, which would have been consonant with his vision. This would not have been a big deal if there were people who could give the document an operational definition."(Set 1 of Data Corpus:- Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No. 1/12)

The existence of the partial perception and acceptance that language and education are necessary ingredients in development is based on a widely held belief. For instance, over most of post-colonial Africa, the belief that formal education is a prerequisite to development is firmly entrenched. According to Arce (2000) the faith in the ability of education to contribute to development has roots in the post-war experience of Europe and parts of Asia and Latin America, where development was achieved through industrialization. The industrialization model of development assumes that the inculcation of a set of skills, attitudes and values borrowed from the Western world is a necessary first step. Schooling therefore becomes an ideal useful means for this transformation.

However, schools in post-colonial states have been promoted as meritocratic institutions since they encourage individual achievement rather than structural changes needed to bring about development. Besides, Collins (1999:224-5) argues that the modern school is an elaborate institutional system where the division

between private and public with differing resources between public and private systems and within the public system contributes to the reproduction of society-wide hierarchies of school-certified symbolic differences. Linguistic practices are also partly responsible for these symbolic differences as they enable one to access information and knowledge. Language, as observed in Chapter 2 enables and is implicated in the realization of social stratification. Evidence from the data corpus of this study describes the apparent linguistic difference among and within the nation. It is this linguistic difference which is reified in the discourses of emanating from the medium debate since English is perceived as the language of business and the acquired stuff that allows the possessor to advance in the great chain of being (Collins, 1999:215).

Discourses about development in Third World countries revolve around the issue of poverty. Poverty in the Third World has been of great concern for both national governments and international organisations such as the IMF, The World Bank, and etc. Williams (2000:1) writes that a variety of economically oriented proposals have been put forward as to how it may be alleviated or even eliminated through the imposition of structural adjustment programmes and the cancellation of national debts. A substantial amount of investment has been put into education on the basis of its potential impact on society. The popular view of the role of education in development rests on the assumption that it enables individuals to acquire knowledge and skills, which in turn promote national development. Language enables the acquisition and internalisation of knowledge and skills.

Like language, the language of development is a representational field consisting of a combined set of linguistic representations and linguistic constructions of cultural practices, ideas, concepts that are an amalgamation of different but contentious perceptions, views, desires and values (Arce and Long, 2000). Development in post-colonial states has been mostly from the top. Consequently, meanings and discourses about development originate from the elite and for most of post-colonial Africa, international organizations have had a large share in defining the development agenda. International financial lending organizations such as the World Bank and IMF who formulate and fund development policies, and oversee

their implementation have tended to further reproduce discourses about development that are based on Western models.

The dominance of English in the education system and development in Tanzania is a case of the importation of the largely Western notion on the relationship between language, education and development. These have helped to perpetuate a series of attitudes, which become ideological on the understanding that language is located in social action and can therefore, and quite often it is manipulated by powerful groups in society. Just as discourses about English have created attitudes and perceptions that equate it with survival, advancement, modernity, scientific and technological development, so is the language of development from international development agencies and donor organizations. The former use linguistic representations of development that produce constructions such as democracy and governance, free market and efficiency, liberalization, and etc., which form a constellation of conditions attached to loans and grants.

It is therefore not surprising for many people to associate English with development because the colonial enterprise made the colonized believe that Western culture, values, thoughts and systems of analysis were superior to their own (see Mr. Maila in Appendix No. 3/10). There is also ample evidence from the discourses on the medium debate, which conclusively associate and link English with development, e g. Mr. Kanyorota Katanga (Appendix No. 1/9) and Prof Maghimbi (Appendix No.2). A quotation from Prof Maghimbi writing in The Guardian issues of 28, 29 May and 3rd June 1996 illustrates this clearly in which he attributes the failure in economic development and falling standards in education to Kiswahili.

> "[….] The risk in experimenting with Swahili is lowering and disrupting our educational standards and losing in the international economy and losing in international technical and scientific transfers. You can experiment with one or two schools but no the whole country. Even experimenting with one or two schools may end up punishing a few students if the experiment is based on invalid and unreliable data and on ideological and not scientific premises." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No. 2a)

In addition, definitions and meanings of development from financial agencies and donors that are imposed on countries such as Tanzania use a language similar to the one that is used to describe English. The view of English as beneficial assumes rather naively that people and nation-states deal with each other on an equal footing when clearly they do not. However, the relative inaccessibility of post-primary education in Tanzania coupled with the use of incorrect English in this education sector makes it even more difficult for the bulk of the student population to acquire the necessary knowledge and skills for them to participate fully in nation building. As Myers-Scotton (1990) argues, the ultimate result of this confluence of social, educational and language policy dynamics is a distinct separation of elite and non-elite language use patterns and a closure on access to power. This leads to the exclusion of the majority in participating in the productive life of the nation as well as the political and economic disenfranchisement because of their inability to communicate in English. The Special Correspondent writing in The African of November 5, 1999 explains clearly the implications of the 'English, education and development' equation (see Appendix No. 1/14) giving more credit to the above position.

Nonetheless, English may assist in development especially when it is used by the scientific and research community to access scientific literature and the Internet to keep abreast with developments in their disciplines. This may eventually translate into development where knowledge and information accessed through English is adapted to solve local problems.

It has been noted in the earlier chapters that languages express specific viewpoints and commonsense that may take many forms, which eventually become a body of precepts (Barrett, 1997). English, building upon the ideology of colonialism and as the language of science and technology in this era of globalization has tended to monopolize and produce influential discourses about education and development. That is why English in Tanzania is synonymous with education and development.Mr. Chipindula makes the connection between language and development and *inter lia* considers the use of Kiswahili in the education system a problem to development. He says:

"[…] We should learn from them and avoid making similar mistakes. Actually, the ordinary Tanzanian of today is poor than he/she was only three decades ago simply because of experimental policies, which never took off the ground. Accordingly, I consider the proposed use of Kiswahili in secondary schools and colleges of higher learning as presented by Mr. Abel Mwanga is yet another experiment, which will eventually fail and take our education system and the economy a hundred years back." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No. 1a)

Discourses that link English to education and development focus people's ideas and thoughts away from pertinent issues and problems that confront them. Mr. Mkumbwa Ally observes:

"[…] There was an interesting discussion on this subject over Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam the other day involving a section of Kiswahili experts. They appeared embittered by people arguing that it was inopportune to adopt the Kiswahili medium in our education system. So, is it Kiswahili or money that we are lacking? Obviously, the problem is deep rooted, because like health, water supply and other social services, education is no longer forthcoming. In my submission, the panacea to the problem of poor education is self-reliance, and we must start with repairing those crumbling classrooms, supply of desks, books and other teaching aids before worrying about Kiswahili, which is the national language." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No. 1/17)

Even students whose interviews were reported by Mr. Abdi Muyanza in the Daily News of March 22, 1996 seem to have a clear understanding of the problem confronting the education system. They recognize that there is a language problem but do not believe that solving the latter alone would improve education standards in the country.

"[….] John Haule (16) a form 2 pupil in Mnazi Mmoja secondary school says he would support any official decision regarding language policy in our school system so long as it improved the standard of education. He personally prefers English to be the medium of instruction especially at the secondary level. We have English as the medium of instruction, but I think that in itself it is not helping matters. We are out of books and our school for instance does not even have a library, says John. He says that the problem facing pupils is not that of the language used for teaching. rather it is the way they are being taught. He complains of shortage of facilities adding, "I also think our teachers are not motivated enough so as to teach us full time and stop

worrying about other things. Getrude Nyalioto (20) of form (4) and Hamida Ahamed (14) of form (2) Zanaki secondary school say that authorities should look into some ways of making sure that all schools have enough textbooks and enough teachers. These issues are more crucial than the question of whether pupils are taught in English or Kiswahili says Getrude." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No. 1/20)

7.2   Language ideology (LI), education and development

Attitudes and perceptions about the role of English in development and education create doubts and reduce confidence in the capability of other languages such as Kiswahili as viable communication media for development and education. What is observed above is a consequence of the myth of SL ideology, which can also be used to explain the strong belief in English. The mystical power of English grows out of SL mythology discussed by Lippi-Green (1997: 53), who observes that the of SLI myths are firmly founded in the understanding that they are mystical and imaginary constructions that are transformed in the course of their existence to become part of our shared cultural heritage. According to Ann Oakley (cited in Lippi-Green, 1997: 63), the function of SLI myth is to validate an existing social order since myths enshrine conservative social values, raising tradition on a pedestral, thus express and confirm, rather than explaining or questioning the sources of cultural attitudes and values consequently anchor the present in the past it is a sociological charter for a future society which is an exact replica of the present one.

It is these social constructed imaginary myths of SLI, especially SE, which can account for statements such as those produced by Prof Maghimbi, Mr. Kanyorota Katanga, Dr. Faris Ogita, Mr. Ludovick Ngatara and Mr. Chipindula (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No.1a). These strong claims are made against available data, which shows that using English does not guarantee the realization of the kind of education and development that is believed to flow from English. For example, Prof Maghimbi among others recognizes that students under-perform in schools because

> "[…] It seems that low educational standards are directly caused by poverty. Schools, which are not well funded by parents or government or missions, are likely to do well. These schools are not likely to have proper and adequate buildings, libraries, nooks and even food for their pupils" (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No. 1a)

The discourses that credit English with development and education are rooted in the SLI myths noted above. For instance, one of major distortions created by the myth of SLI, which is quite apparent in the medium debate and language policy in Tanzania, is knowledge ─its source, dissemination and process of acquisition. The proposal that seems to have gained currency and legitimacy in the MOI and language policy debate is that most knowledge is available in English; that English has the capacity to express scientific and technological concepts and principles better than any other language(s); that an English-medium education is presumed to be of a higher standard compared to education in any other medium. These are clearly expressed by Kanyorota, Dr. Faris Ogita, and Maghimbi.

Mahondas K. Gandhi (cited in Sonntag, 2000:135) who observes that of all the superstitions that affect India, none is so great as that knowledge of the English is necessary for imbibing ideas of liberty illustrates in clear terms the consequences of SEI. One gets a very clear picture of the effects of the myths of SLI, particularly the ideology of SE in this context when statements from Mahondas K. Gandhi above, Mr. Chipindula (Appendix No. 1/3) and Prof Maghimbi (Appendix No 2) reproduced below arte compared.

> "[…] What Mr. Mwanga is actually proposing is that in a few years time our nation will have very few Tanzanians if any who will be lucky to master English as it is and be able to communicate effectively with the world. Moreover, very few Tanzanians will be able equipped with sufficient English to discuss effectively with our neighbours and other foreigners on important issues concerning our country. … Accordingly, I consider the proposed use of Kiswahili in secondary schools and colleges of higher learning as presented by Mr. Mwanga as yet another experiment that will eventually fail and take our education system and the economy a hundred years back." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No. 1/3)

and

"[…] And what is wrong with English? Everybody knows that English is technically superior to Swahili. The only way forward for the time being is to strengthen English and Mathematics. We all know the advantages of English versus Swahili. The person who can speak and write fluent English has tremendous advantage over one who cannot write and speak fluent English. The one who commands English can get a job in the country or outside the country more easily, she can travel more easily, and she can go to study abroad and whether you like it or not she commands a higher social status. The one who commands English has also much more literature (in any subject and field including fiction) to read than the English illiterate." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper and Workshop Articles ─Appendix No. 2)

Besides parroting the same ideas expressed by Macaulay and Lugard (cited in Pennycook, 2000a), they clearly show that there are strong socio-political and economic interests that underpin the ideology of SE and consequent prominence of English in Tanzania and the world at large. This leads me to concur with Pennycook, (2000a: 63) who argues that language users' ideologies bridge their socio-cultural experience and their linguistic and discursive resources by constituting those linguistic and discursive forms as indexical chains tied to features of their socio-cultural experience. Thus, linguistic constructions borne out of the SLI produce ideas, discourse, or signifying practices in the service of the struggle to acquire or maintain power. It may then be taken as the tool, property, or the practices of dominant social groups while the cultural conceptions and practices of subordinate groups become non-ideological. As J. B. Thompson (cited in Woolard, 1998:7) argues, ideology is signification – essentially linked to the process of sustaining asymmetrical relations of power to maintain domination by disguising, legitimating, or distorting those relations since dominant ideas in any society are those which are formulated by the ruling class in order to secure its rule. Karl Marx (cited in Strinati, 1995:131) explains this clearly.

"[….] The ideas of the ruling class are, in every age, the ruling ideas: i.e. the class, which is the dominant *material* force in society, is at the same time its dominant *intellectual* force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has the control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that in consequence the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are, in general, subject to it…the individuals composing the ruling class…rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age.

Consequently their ideas are the ruling ideas of the age." (italics in the original)

Discourses from the debate on language policy and MOI credit English with development, create or imbibe linguistic constructions and particular frames of analysis, which are used to define development and education. Because of its nature, the SLI masquerading as SEI misrepresents social reality. According to Pennycook (2000b:108) English affects people in as much as it is the purveyor of thoughts, cultures and ideologies that affect the ways in which people think and behave. It means that we can map new relations between English and various cultures, discourses or ideologies. In its strongest version, English produces inherent ideological effects on its users — the discursive effects of English. Consequently, language policy and planning programmes for education and development in Tanzania have used the standard language ideology, which ranks languages to regulate access to speech varieties to prestigious institutional uses and their speakers to domains of power and privilege (Collins cited in Woolard, 1998:17).

This situation is quite clearly apparent in Tanzania where English and Kiswahili have differentially been privileged to be the official languages and media of instruction in post-primary and primary or basic education in the public sphere (see Cultural Policy Statements, MOEC, 1997a). Thus the ideology that informs the development policy like that of standard language is a feature of post-colonial language policy and associated language planning strategies. It is based on efficiency assumption and founded on an implicit ranking of languages and development ideology that inaccurately censures languages just as it arraigns societies to perennial status as underdeveloped when compared to developed countries.

What emerges from this is that the discourses about English are 'a regime of truths' (Foucalt, 1980 cited in Rassool, 2000:386) that become hegemonic ideologies -a realized complex of experience, relationships and activities grounded in an intentionally selected version of a reshaping past and a pre-shaped that are powerfully operative in the processes of social and cultural definition and identification (Williams, 1989:58). These ideologies represent and convey group

beliefs that are expressed in value statements describing moral, religious, political and economic norms. They are a system of self-serving mythical or alternative deceptive ideas defined in contrast with the true ideas of 'our' science, history, culture, institutions or party (van Dijk, 1998:15). For example, in the case of English these norms are expressed metaphorically such as "the highway to success", "language of survival", "language of empowerment", etc. The readings people make out of these become translated in statements such as those, which are found in the medium of instruction debate (see Mrs. Magesa -Appendix No. 3/6 on education and development in Tanzania).

This ricochets the SEI, which may hold truth but it is only for a few people especially the elite since standard languages such as English create linguistic barriers and exclusion processes within the social public sphere. Its continuation as the language of education benefits a small percentage of Tanzanians. To the majority, they remain a utopia like the 'promised land' because their access and distribution is differentially made available. Kwilenga notes that it is impossible to believe the meanings people make out of SEI because if you look at the situation of our student nowadays English is actually a barrier (Appendix No. 3/3). In addition, there is ample evidence in the literature to verify the deceptiveness of the meanings of English (see Williams, 2000; Pennycook, 1998; S. Yahya-Othman, 1997); Roy-Campbell and Qorro, 1997). Similarly, Mr. Chiganga observes humorously that the deceptiveness of SEI can make one laugh. He says:

> "[...] But because the school is using English then those customers with this expressed need for English are happy. They are satisfied. For example, my objective is to make sure that my child knows English. This thing about knowing mathematics will not be a problem to the child while in school since the child already knows English. It will know mathematics. This is what some parents think and believe in. If he or she knows English, the child will automatically know Geography, Mathematics. It will get in by osmosis." (Set 2 of Data Corpus- Open Field Interviews —Appendix 2/7) - own translation

The wonders of English are difficult to comprehend and worse still are untenable in Tanzania as Mr. Kwilenga observes in his reaction to the proposition that English provides access to information and opportunities. He argues:

"[…] I think I would call that a hysteria. You know hysteria is a kind of disease. This English complex. We call it hysteria in the sense that actually we are told that the international schools but actually they are English medium. People are made to believe that they can acquire English but actually if you acquire it where will you use it?" (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ─Appendix No. 3/3)

Given a situation where the likelihood of making use of English even for those few who know it, the discourses about English become 'paper tigers' that have no practical utility to the majority. The reality in the classroom and in society is quite different because the deception of the discourses of English and its ideology do not hold even for those who have attended English medium primary schools join the normal primary schools in Tanzania perform poorly. Thus children are sent to English-medium schools partly for prestige (Ms. Mwasi (Appendix No. 2/4)

The ideology of English is like Bourdieu's 'concept of habitus' in which men and women are inculcated with a set of durable dispositions that generate particular practices. These dispositions eventually become knowledge culminating in prescriptions that have the function of organizing and legitimating the actions of the group. Some of the prescriptions describing English as the language of opportunities (referred to in Chapters Five and Six), and an ideal tool for democracy that opens doors to the wonderful domains of education, science and technology carry meanings that are recycled into linguistic constructions describing development.

The meanings that are used to define English such as civilization, religion, knowledge and modernity among others are clearly apparent in the debate on the MOI. For example, Maghimbi writing in the Guardian of February 16, 2000 says that there is no scientific and technological development in Kiswahili and that to him and many others knowledge resides in English (*Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No. 1/10*).

It is not only Prof Maghimbi among the discussants in the MOI debate who subscribes to this kind of logic, but several people including students, teachers and lay people. A statement made by Dr. Faris Ogita (Appendix No. 1/4) referred to in this discussion in connection to English and development is another typical example of the strength of world-wide meanings and mystical powers of English. Even people who hold influence because of their economic and financial power have

argued in favour of English. Mr. Reginald Mengi Chairman of IPP Media Group (cited by Wenceslaus Lukigo and Emmanuel Onyango, 2002) argues that the concept that Tanzania should promote Kiswahili as a national language and leave behind English language, an international language used as a medium of communication for business worldwide, will keep the nation out of race in this age of economic globalisation. In short, for many parents in Tanzania, provision of education through Kiswahili is seen as a mechanism to prevent access to power because English to many people has come to symbolize the language through which access to power, influence and international ideas is possible.

The persistence of these perceptions, attitudes and beliefs about the magic powers of English were sown long before by the colonialism. English has become the panacea of education and development problems confronting Tanzania. This is clear in the argument presented by Prof Maghimbi, Mr. Kanyorota Katanga, Mr. Ludovick Ngatara, Mr. Chipindula and Ms. Bitulo. Part of the explanation lies in the colonial heritage that is clearly pointed out by Mr. Maila (Appendix No. 3/7); Mr. Mwendwa (Appendix No. 3/12) and the collective conquered consciousness noted by Heugh (1999:306).

> "[....] in many countries arisen where an international language has come to signify the point of access to power, whilst the local languages may have been used in education. One of the ironies is that they were used in this capacity, not so much in order to guarantee more effective education, but to ensure separate development as conceived of under the British colonial rule and perfected under apartheid."

However, as observed elsewhere in this study available evidence yields a different picture. For example, Stroud (1999:346) argues that elsewhere on the African continent voices could be heard calling attention to the ways in which metropolitan languages hampered the development of African post-colonial identities. The Special Correspondent (Appendix No. 1/14); Prof. Issa Omari (Appendix No. 1/18); Mr. Chedi Chikira (Appendix No. 1/23); Mrs. Martha Qorro (Appendix No. 2); Mr. Rugee, Mr. Chiganga and Mr. Maila (Appendix Nos. 3/1, 3/7, and 3/10 respectively) —all discuss in clear terms about the untruth of the mystical powers propagated by SEI in Tanzania. In a way, the debate has

demonstrated the extent of the confusion in people's minds about language questions and the nature of the motives of language policy and planning in education and development, which different groups of people hold in Tanzania. However, what is clear is that the SEI has had great consequences on how people relate language to education and development.

7.3   English and development

It has been argued elsewhere that the basis of 'one language' 'one nation' typical of postcolonial policies in sub-Saharan Africa was linked to nation building and unity. It is according to Coulmas (1994), an ideological linkage of national building and a single language. It rests on the thinking that multi-lingual, which is characteristic of most sub-Saharan Africa would bring disunity within the nation state. The basis of this uncritical adoption of ex-colonial languages can be sought in the "efficiency and modernization", "national integration", "nation-building" ideology reflected in most post colonial language policies and planning (see Blommaert, 1999a). These positions are also informed by the SLI because language policy creates the supremacy of English locally and globally. Ricento (2000: 11) observes that the argument on which the SLI is built states that only developed languages (or ones that were capable of being developed) were suitable to fulfill the role of 'national' language because developed languages were written, standardized, and adaptable to the demands of technological and social advancement.

This position runs throughout the arguments that favour the continued use of English in the education system and development in Tanzania. Mr. Chiganga observes that unofficially, some government officials hold the view that development is tied to English. He explains this by providing a short but exhaustive descriptive dating of the campaign to have Kiswahili declared as the sole medium of instruction in education. He ends by providing a probable reason that has made the government hesitate to adapt Kiswahili as the sole medium of instruction in education.

> "[…] But also there some people who have been heard saying so. These same Tanzanians have been quoted to have said so. Every time you ask them like you are doing now asking me questions and things of that nature. We have

dared to ask some people. What do you think? Will it be reasonable to use Kiswahili in? And they would respond. 'You people do not know. If you use Kiswahili. If you declare Kiswahili to be the language of instruction, you will not be given any aid assistance. They say that this is what aid donors think'. And also that all countries which share a border with Tanzania will be using foreign languages in teaching. It will be you alone. You will be an island You will isolated." There are people, Tanzanian who use this kind of strategy. "That you will be a very strange country. You will be isolated. You will not communicate well with your neighbours. You will be very strange people." Therefore they discourage you and you find that the change will not be a good thing. That is to use Kiswahili as a medium of instruction." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ─Appendix No. 3/10) - own translation

It is clear from the above that English in Tanzania is tied to development. There is some kind of pressure from outside that links development aid given by international lending agencies such as the World Bank to English. For example, Mazrui (1997) has noted that the World Bank's policy on language-in-education seems to favour the use of local languages in education but its continued advice in education to governments has made the former to opt for the use of the international language. This observation can lead one to argue further that English is used by the international financial lending agencies to fulfill their agendas.

The recognition of the role of language in development is also available in the literature and quite apparent in the policies of the financial lending institutions too. What is lacking is how language can effectively be used to initiate and sustain development. In the context of this study, the riddle is how English is to become a highway to development in Tanzania where only less than 10 per cent of the population have competence in it. The observation made by Pattanayak (1986:5) about language and developments ought to be read as a critique of English's role in development.

"[…] Language has been the object of intense passions, prejudice and patronage, but seldom has it been a concern for those working in the area of development planning. and yet as a factor providing or withholding access to education and therefore to human resource development, as a key to knowledge, information and communication, as an indicator of appropriateness of technology, as a major element in elite formation and alienation, as a barrier to or equalizer of social, political and economic

opportunities, language plays a central role in the modernisation and development of the country."

The linkage of English to development that is portrayed in the MOI debate narratives in Tanzania is in line with the reasons that favoured the adoption of ex-colonial languages or the promotion of widely spoken local varieties such as Kiswahili as languages of development. The basis on which this selection was made neglects the fact that any language that is legalized and legitimated as the official language and for that matter the language of education has the potential of creating barriers to some groups of people in society who lack the linguistic practices of such a language. This is what has happened with the dominance of English in Tanzania. Furthermore, the argument that assigns English with development in the narratives of English in Tanzania fail to address issues such as the social, cultural and economic consequences, the kinds of messages, attitudes and relationships that are communicated through the use of the legitimate language.

It has also been argued elsewhere in the narratives used in this project that the introduction of Kiswahili in the school system and the political philosophy of *Ujamaa* that began in 1967 led to deterioration in the standard of education and an increase in poverty. Similarly, since English is said to be the language of science and technology, then logic tells us that it can stimulate development. Prof Maghimbi subscribes to this argument and is supported by several discussants including Mr. Ludovick Ngatara who connects development aid from funding agencies to English.

> "[…] There will also be incapacity to satisfy literary and academic requirements of foreign investors whose working guidelines, technologies and operational instructions are based on non-Kiswahili terms" (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No. 1a)

The legitimacy and universalisation of the discourse that English is development is not the monopoly of government officials and people in the academia. Even students such as George Mpejua quoted by Mr. Abdi Muyanza writing in the Daily News of March 22, 1996 thinks that without English, Tanzania is doomed to stay poor:

"[…] George Mpejua (20) who is in form 4 at Lumumba secondary school says that even if Kiswahili were to be used as the medium of instruction in schools all the way to university, the importance of English should not be forgotten. "English is an international language and if we don't master it, we risk being isolated from the rest of the world," cautions George." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No. 1/20)

Elsewhere students have also expressed similar perceptions about English in a study conducted by Kadeghe (2000:153-4) in which they (students) linked English to education. They stated that science comes from the West, thus it can only be taught in English, which is an international well-researched and rich language while Kiswahili is not suitable for science because it has never produced anything scientific. Again one can argue that what is observed is a clear incidence of SEI. The linkage of English to science and technology re-enacts the conceptual metaphor of 'English as science and technological development'. This linkage has substance only when one considers the fact that most of the scientific and technological literature is written in English. However, acknowledging this fact does not make English the language of science and technology because as Mrs. Qorro (Appendix No. 2) Mr. Chiganga (Appendix No. 3/8 and Mr. Maila (Appendix No. 3/10) point out the economic and scientific development of Japan, Germany, Russia (Soviet Union) and China was not due to English but through using their own languages.

The majority of the discussants of the debate on medium of instruction who favour English have failed to address the relationship between English and the wider inequitable distributions and flows of wealth, resources, culture and knowledge in society. They are of the opinion that the use of English opens the doors for development. For example, Prof. Issa Omari argues:

"[…] My contention is that Tanzania should develop as a modern perfectly bilingual nation of Kiswahili and English speakers, with Kiswahili used as the medium of instruction in primary schools and English taught right from class three as a language, and remain the medium of instruction in all post primary education and training institutions. During this era of globalization of information, trade, economy, and technology, even nations such as Cuba, China, Russia and Japan are rushing to get to the main stream of international trade and communication, often conducted in English or French. They are paying dearly for that. I would argue that the education system in Tanzania will further deteriorate and English mastery worsen if we diverted our

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resources and energies to the universalization of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction rather than concentrating our attention on teaching well and more; preparing our youths for the 21st century." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No.1a)

The linkage of English to development is aptly also expressed by Dr. Faris Ogita (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No.1a) who observes that denying our people the ability to read English means to cut them off from the world's knowledge and from many possibilities on how to raise their standard of living. The recognition of the importance of the possession or competence in English has also developed strong roots in education, especially among teachers. The narratives from secondary school teachers interviewed in this study contain statements to this effect. For example, Mr. Malima (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ─Appendix No. 3a) a language teacher argues that English matters because almost all the information including curricula materials are in English.:

This is especially true when the school curriculum is written and implemented in English. The equating of English with development has also been used indiscriminately to express perceptions about professionalism and expertise where English is said to signify the former. Notwithstanding evidence in the literature and the Data Corpus for this study which shows that English does not guarantee development, a kind of mindset has been built into the thinking and analysis of issues which credits English to be the answer to most of the educational and development issues. For example, Mr. Mwendwa collaborates this logic of thinking when he refers to what people say about English. He observes:

> "[…] I think the reason let us go back to the reason why people em value English so much. People value English so much because first of all English in the secondary school is one of the key subjects apart from English there is Kiswahili. Because everybody internationally everybody regards English as one of the most most say most common language. internationally English is the answer to almost everything. Because people will not know their stuff simply because they don't know English." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ─Appendix No. 3/5, 3/12)

However, there are dissenting voices to this viewpoint. Mr. Chiganga and Mr. Maila question the validity of linking English to professionalism or expertise. Mr.

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Chiganga is convinced that one can be a professional without necessarily having a good command of English. He says:

> "[…] However, as I have already mentioned, using Kiswahili as a medium of instruction does not mean that English should not be taught. Nor does it mean to weaken English. This should be understood well by the people concerned. They should teach English well. Something which I want people to understand is that there are examples of countries which use their languages as media of instruction up to university. Sweden, Finland and Germany. They don't use English as a medium of instruction in France or Japan. An electronics professor in Japan may know only three words in English. He may know "Good morning" only. And may be "how are you." He does not know English. But he learnt electronics in Japanese and besides he is a professor and understands and knows electronics very well. He teaches it very well and operates electronic machines efficiently. It is not English, which gave him his knowledge in electronics. He learnt it in Japanese. The Swedish people defend their language. But some of them learn English too. These Swedish or Danish engineers. They are building the road from Ubungo to whatever to Mlandizi. These people do not know English. But now they know Kiswahili better than English, of which they know very few words. They know their language. But they are engineers and there is nobody doubting or questioning their credibility as engineers simply because they do not know English. They are building the road very well. They are doing a fine job. These are qualified road engineers. English is not a criteria for a person to become an expert or a specialist in a field." (Set 2 of Data Corpus - Open Field Interviews - Appendix No. 3/7) -own translation

While Mr. Chiganga questions the validity of statements that link English to expertise and professionalism, others including Mr. Maila are concerned with deeper issues of the dominance of discourses of English to the whole society. Without mincing words, the correspondent writing in the African of November 5, 1999 specifically states that linking English to education and development in Tanzania is an illusion. Instead he clearly illustrates the unequal relationship between nations in which English is dominant and the inherent consequences of such relationships.

> "[…] On the contrary, those who contributed to the debate attempted to make a comparison between Kiswahili and English which was just equal to comparing two opposing cultures, one dominating the other. .... This is because in order to get access to scientific and technological information available in English, the poor and developing nations will by all means depend entirely on developed countries for economic, political and social

support and facilities such as computers and software. Secondly, the use of English in Tanzanian schools creates conditions that help to maintain inequality between the less-to-do-people and the middle and upper socio-economic class. And because the minority, upper and middle class wields considerable political and economic power, those who do not speak English (the majority) are likely to remain poor peasants and unskilled labourers." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No. 1a)

The observations discussed so far illustrate how discourses about education and development spring from discourses about English. However, there is a problem with this kind of discourse. Figure 7.3.1 depicts the logic of the discourse of English in which English is the 'operating software' without which a computer cannot work.

Figure 7.3.1: Relationship between English, education and development
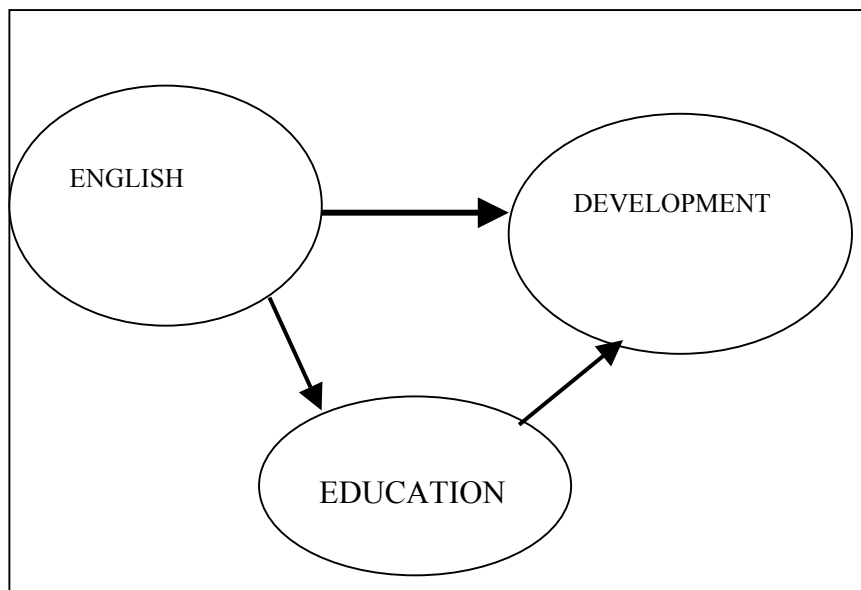
The description of English as a highway to opportunities, information, gateway to social rewards, social mobility, civilization, language of globalization, etc. all of which describe multifaceted phenomenon such as development portrays the idea of a canal through which goods flow without any hindrance. The description

of English as the road to development conjures into the mind a flow that is evenly distributed across space and time. This logic is misleading because the 'flow' of English into poor nations sets in a chain of processes and events such as diffusion of Western ideas, culture, business and commerce. Flows also engender asymmetrical power relations between the source and user. Just as the Bible was used to prepare and pacify colonized nations for plunder by colonialism, English is performing the same activity more efficiently than the latter in this period when the world is become a global village.

The flow of English in countries such as Tanzania leads to the formation of a network that enables the local classes who use their knowledge of English as cultural and symbolic capital and a commodity, first to strengthen and dominate the non-elite in their localities and secondly to link with the global power elites. To illustrate this let me quote at length the thesis advanced by Maghimbi in support for the continuation of English as medium of instruction in education.

> "[….] The use of English in our school system is an advantage and not a disadvantage. This is so when the question of language is viewed from a technical and scientific point of view and not from an ideological point of view. The use of English allows our scholars and students to have access to a wide range of literature, which is not available in many other languages including Swahili. Our scholars and high level manpower can also train in English speaking countries (England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Australia, USA, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, etc.). Our scholars and high level manpower can also use English to train in many other countries, which use English in their education systems like Holland, Sweden and Switzerland. ... The tendency for the 21st century will be for the world to move closer as trade barriers across nations are broken. Internationalization rather than localization should thus be our spirit in the academic world otherwise we may not be able to fully reap the benefits of a world getting smaller in commerce, science, technology and banking. ....We all know the advantages of English versus Swahili. The person who can speak and write fluent English has tremendous advantage over the one who cannot write and speak fluent English. The one who commands English can get a job in the country and outside the country more easily, she can travel more easily, and she can go to study abroad and whether you like it or not she commands a higher social status" (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper and Workshop Articles ─Appendix No 2).

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Several questions can be raised from Maghimbi's thesis. First, who benefits in the dominance of English in Tanzania? Evidence from the Data Corpus for this study shows that the dominance of English in the socio-economic and political fabric in Tanzania benefits the ruling elite. For example, Lucas Liganga, reporting for the Daily New of May 31st 2001 writes:

> "[…] Aspirants to the East African Legislative Assembly will be interviewed in English on June 13, before they are nominated for election to the regional body. "It's in the rules that interviews will be conducted in English," said the Speaker of the national assembly, Mr. Pius Msekwa, yesterday in Dar es Salaam in an interview with the Daily News. All the aspirants had been given the rules, he added. Mr. Msekwa said it is necessary that the interviews be conducted in English because proceedings of the East African Legislative assembly, embracing Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania will be in English."

The benefits of English described by Prof Maghimbi are quite apparent in the newspaper report cited above because attitudes towards language may vary with time and circumstances. This also shows how linguistic practices gain political authority where for example, Kiswahili is associated with local administration, politicking and commerce while English is closely linked with professions and higher status jobs. It is because of this that the elite realize that adapting indigenous languages with a wider communication such as Kiswahili for education would provide more equitable access to opportunities and power. One can conclude from the evidence used in this study that attempts to plan language so as to produce more even distribution seem bound to meet opposition from entrenched privileged groups who know and realize that the reduction of [its] status may undermine their own status. This explains the hesitancy of the Tanzanian government from spelling out a concrete policy on language and a clear plan of implementation despite the edicts that it has passed on language.

My observation is that little or no attention has been put in examining the relationship between the failure of development projects and the failure of education in a multilingual society on the one hand and how this 'flow' of English is efficiently adopted in countries such as Tanzania and the effect of the ineffective adoption of this 'flow' on the other. The failure to pay attention to this relationship is clearly

noticeable in the argument proposed by Prof Maghimbi, Mr. Kanyorota Katanga, Mr. Ludovick Ngatara, and Mr. Chipindula who associate Kiswahili with poor quality education and failure of development projects. Mrs. Martha Qorro however, is convinced that English is not the only 'highway' to development. She argues:

> "[...] There is no one single country in the world that has managed to development by using a foreign language as a medium of instruction in schools and colleges. By the same token, use of a foreign language as a medium of instruction does not prepare the school graduates for service in their communities. Furthermore, when their proficiency in the target foreign language is low, the majority of students cannot get the required knowledge and skills." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper and Workshop Articles ─Appendix No. 2) -own translation

Djite (cited in Heugh, 1999:305) also observes that reliance and dependence on superimposed international languages to achieve development in Africa have proven to be a failure (see also Mrs. Martha Qorro's argument in Appendix No. 2), and instead of leading to national unity, this attitude has significantly contributed to the socio-economic and political instability of most African countries.

The ensuing discussion has shown that English is said to be the answer to the problems of education and development in Tanzania. However, one needs to examine critically the discourses and meanings that equate English with education and development since as Arce (2000:32-3) observes discourses of development are struggles over meanings, representation and images. It is true that at some point in time and to some, possession of English confers prestige and social status but it does not guarantee all the good things that are supposedly said to accrue from possessing it.

The issues requiring our attention are the 'hows' and the 'whens' of this flow. These have been echoed by Mr. Maila who wants to know who benefits in a situation where English influences decisions about education and development and what is the eventual outcome of such discourses. These outcomes are that a minority of people are able to influence a government to throw away the interest of the people, ignore reality and to persist in something that is completely stupid. He further observes that if English is the only way to succeed of course everybody is

going to well learn it but <u>how many are going to succeed</u>: and this will definitely lead to divisions because those who are going to succeed are few opposed to those who won't succeed because they won't have learnt that English (Mr. Maila -Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ‒Appendix No. 3/10).

The reported observations reminds me of the cultural imperialism referred to earlier in Chapter 2. The fact that English becomes the force that stimulates and drives development (*gurudumu la maendeleo*) hides the agenda that underpins the discourses of English. I argue that English and its string of discourses enable educational programming through external funding support and is one of the primary mechanism by which the core states have historically imposed their cultures and ideologies (modes of thought and analysis) on the world. English as a core language in the periphery nations such as Tanzania is linked with international exploitation especially when the latter is the language of international communication and globalization.

Given the metaphor of 'flow', issues of how and when still beg further explanation. When does a person appropriate the linguistic resources at his/her disposal for personal, social and economic improvement? And how does education enable an individual to appropriate language for his/her personal development? When does language as observed by Mikhail Bakhtin become "one's own" so that he /she can use it for development?

My observation leads me to argue that the use of English in Tanzania makes the language appropriation process difficult for the majority of the students. The majority of secondary school students encounter great problems in learning through the medium of English. Students become spectators in the teaching-learning process. A Kiswahili saying "*Utaishia kunawa tu*"- meaning that one will only wash his/her hands to discover later that there is no more food on the table, expresses this situation better. That is, by the time a student finishes to process meaning expressed in English, the teacher has moved to another topic. So she /him does not get the opportunity to validate what she/he thinks she/he knows.

This dilemma is expressed well by Mr. Chiganga when he describes a play students of Zanaki secondary school performed at the Kiswahili Annual Day in February 2000 in which the students request their teacher to teach in Kiswahili. It is

worthwhile to quote an excerpt as retold by Mr. Chiganga for one to get a clear picture of the situation. Both students and teachers at this level find learning and teaching in English a problem.

> "[....] This kind of teaching happens even in Mathematics classes. A student is attending a lesson and is given a solution to solve in mathematics. She is asked, 'a cooperative shop bought goods worth twenty thousand shillings. After they sold the goods in the following manner.' Things, which were bought by the shop are listed in English on the board or piece of paper. 'This that price, that one this price, etc.' The student is then asked, 'what profit did the cooperative shop get?' The student is dumbfounded. He or she does not understand. The student asks, 'what is the meaning of this?' If she or he gets someone to translate and tell her or him that it means, "A co-operative shop bought some goods worth twenty thousand shillings and sold the goods in the following manner; box of matches this price, this item this price, and etc". Now the question is, "what profit did the co-operative shop get?" The student is very happy. First he or she is surprised. And says to him/herself, 'the problem is simple'. It is English which has made the student fail to understand the question." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ─Appendix No. 3a) -own translation.

This problem does not only affect students at secondary education level. It has been recorded that students and their lecturers at UDSM and other higher learning institutions in Tanzania conduct most of their academic discussions in Kiswahili. For instance, Mr. Lwaga Mwambande covering a seminar at the University of Dar es Salaam quotes Prof Ishumi who says:

> "[…] It is time Tanzanian resorted to Kiswahili because English no longer works as a medium of instruction at university level, Abel Professor Ishumi of the Faculty of Education, University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) has declared. The don, who is one of the 11 academicians selected as the UDSM academicians of the millennium, says he has been talking to university students to know what they think, but they failed to express themselves in English articulately. "Are we going to cling to English as a medium of instruction (in schools)? It no longer works... We should pay more attention to it as a subject," he said to a panel of discussion to mark the African University Day at the UDSM on Wednesday evening. Prof. Ishumi, who said Tanzania would not be realistic to cling to English, further said that if one wanted to know what a student was thinking, one could get it better in Kiswahili" (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No. 1/13)

And in article in The African of November 11, 1999 it is reported that

> "[…] Far from that, a research conducted by the Department of Kiswahili of the University of Dar es salaam in various institutions in the country, revealed that Kiswahili has enough vocabulary. <u>It was also observed that 85 per cent of debates during private studies among students are conducted in Kiswahili popularly known as *Kiswakinge*. Only 5 per cent of the debates are conducted in English - the language of instruction. It has been found out that when teachers, lectures or tutors and students want real communication, they switch from English to Kiswahili in order to simplify the teaching and clarify the elaboration</u>." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No. 1/14)

7.4   Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the discourses of English are re-interpreted into discourses about education and development. The discourses of English become frameworks for analysing non-linguistic problems such as education and development. Figure 7.4.1 provides a vivid illustration of the 'flows' or benefits from English.

The discussion has shown how the conceptual metaphor of 'flow' is adopted wholesale without accounting for the results and imbalance that accompany such flows. The implication of the narratives from the medium instruction debate describe a foregone conclusion that education and development flows from English and consequences resulting from these positions are swept under the rhetoric. If they are mentioned at all, they are over-eclipsed by the gains accruing from English.

Figure 7.4.1: Flows from English
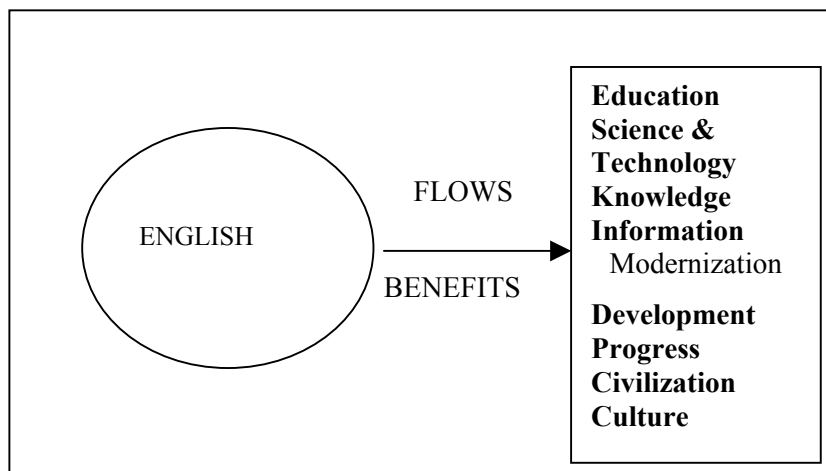
Furthermore, the invincibility and illusory nature of the SEI continues to mystify class interests because social divisions are manifest in the language we speak. The discussion has also shown that ideas, which are favourable to the ruling elite are taken as objective facts so as to disguise their self-interest (Haslett, 2000). For example, when Prof Maghimbi says, "for us knowledge is in English. Actually for *many other people (and us)* knowledge is in English" (Appendix No. 1/10), the phrase 'many other people (and us)' hides the true identity of the dominant group. In addition, when he says "English votes with its feet in the market" (Appendix No. 1/10), he is rather stating the obvious that 'facts speak for themselves'. This is the same as saying that this is known and universally accepted. As Zizeck (cited in Haslett, 2000:53) observes facts never speak for themselves but are always made to speak by a network of discursive practices.

What one is observing here is that English has built around it a network of strong discourses that appear to be true because they favour groups that use its knowledge of English to access information and knowledge for social, economic and political gains. This is the group that benefits from the flows from English. The next chapter examines the implications of language policy and planning and SEI and consequent landscapes in Tanzania.

Let us end this chapter with a riddle in *Kijita*. This riddle together with the Kiswahili saying *'Utaishia Kunawa Tu'* referred to above show how English has become a visitor who is received with a lot of expectations in society but these expectations are realized by only a few.

> *"Bhanu bhabhili bhagendele okukesya omufumu. Ejile bhakinga ikewaye, ayanile umwila ecitebhe. NIGA UNU EMILWE ECITEBHE? (*Two people went to pay homage to medicine man. When they arrived in his compound, they were received very well by but one of them was not given a chair. WHO WAS NOT GIVEN A CHAIR? **-** own translation**)**

PART II

CONCLUSION

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CHAPTER EIGHT

**IMPLICATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE DOMINANCE OF
ENGLISH IN TANZANIA**

8.1   The landscapes of English in Tanzania

The previous chapters have presented the meanings and discourses of English in Tanzania in terms of education and development. They have shown that the discourses and meanings of English are associated with various imagined social, cultural and economic landscapes. A number of claims about English are displayed in the MOI debate and language policy in Tanzania.

This chapter is about these claims, their materiality and consequences. This chapter is divided into six sections, of which section one introduces the presentation by examining the landscapes of English in Tanzania by focusing on their economic implications, a reality that is worth considering. Section two discusses briefly the effects of English on the development of Kiswahili, the national language. Section three discusses the validity of the claim that English guarantees greater employment opportunities and enhances performance in academic subjects, which are taught through it. Section four takes the position that economic dependency and marginalisation is partly a consequence of the dominance of English. In this section I argue that the dominance of English and its continued use as MOI in post-primary education is responsible for increasing the social and economic inequalities that were inherited from the colonial administration by the nationalist government. Lastly, section six examines the effects language policy and the growth in the status and value of English because these reflect in turn the status of the people who use it. The last section summarizes the argument put forward in this chapter.

The landscapes of English in Tanzania remind me of a story of a deformed king, which was narrated to me by someone or I read somewhere. The story runs like this:

"A deformed king who had a short leg, a crooked spine and a disfigured arm wanted to be painted. So he commissioned a painter. The first painter thought to himself, 'if I paint the king the way he looks like, he will definitely not be pleased with the portrait and this would lead to my death'. So he decided to paint his majesty like a normal person with all the regalia that goes with kings. When the king saw the portrait, he became furious because he knew that the portrait did not depict him but was done to deceive him. He ordered this painter to be killed and commissioned another one. The second painter knew the fate of the first painter. So he decided to make a portrait of the king the way he really looked like. The king was not happy with this portrait. He ordered the second painter to be executed. A third painter was commissioned again to draw a portrait of the king. He knew what had happened to his fellow two painters. So he decided to make a portrait that would depict the king as a hunter acting as if he was going to shoot an arrow to an animal. In this portrait the king's deformities did not come out. The king was very pleased with this portrait and awarded the painter very well."

The landscapes of English in Tanzania are like the portrait of the king that was made by the third painter. The picture one gets from the third portrait in our story hides the deception and implications of the ideology of English that is responsible for its multifarious discourses and meanings. I have in the course of discussing these discourses alluded to the implications of the landscapes that are envisaged when one has competence in English. This chapter is a retelling of the implications of the discourses and meanings of English in Tanzania.

The discussion in the previous chapters has been an act of peeling an onion. Every lobe that is peeled off the onion represents and presents various discourses and meanings of English in Tanzania. It has been difficult to separate the lobes in order to bring to light each of the different and contentious perceptions, viewpoints, and meanings since these are so intertwined that the act of making these distinction is by itself a process of understanding language politics. I do not claim have made a thorough distinction and identification of the various viewpoints and perceptions of English in Tanzania, because this is a reinterpretation of the meanings and discourses as they emerge in the data corpus. Secondly this task was made more difficult by the absence of a body of literature on Kiswahili versus other local languages and their use in Tanzania. This would have provided me, and even the subjects who have produced the narratives used in this study with a starting point from which to assess their attitudes, perceptions and viewpoints about English.

Therefore this lack of prior evidence has tended to reinforce the stereotypes, false images and false symbols of the ideology of English and its associated discourses.

The situation that unfolds in Tanzania through the MOI debate is partly a result of the prevailing economic conditions. This has made people realize that to mitigate the effects of these socio-economic changes require among other things, to pursue an English-medium education. It is therefore probably correct to propose that the opposing viewpoints that emerge from the MOI debate attempt to make sense of the issue of English and education in Tanzania. This is the case because quite often language policy decisions focus on general global societal benefits, paying little attention to particular interests of groups or individuals in society. Even with this overriding objective in mind, the consequences of language policy have been shown to favour groups that hold the reigns of power or hold great influence in society out of which their linguistic variety is selected to be the national or official language. This way, speakers of other varieties are not heard. This has been the case with the choice of ex-colonial languages in post-colonial states although some can argue that Tanzania is a different case because of the presence of a language of wider communication. My position is that language policy and education in Tanzania have continued to project the importance of English at the expense of Kiswahili and Elgs (see section 8.2).

Regardless of Kiswahili being the national language in Tanzania, the picture that unfolds from the MOI debate is also a pointer to the implications and consequences of a powerful language such as English supported by a strong economic system. The result of the dominance of English together with the way it is distributed through acquisition has resulted into the said 'social rewards' being appropriated by a small proportion of the population. This makes it the medium for elites, thereby intensifying the relative disparities of power given the unequal access to it in Tanzania. For example, the Correspondent in The African argues that

"[…] Secondly, the use of English in Tanzanian schools creates conditions that help to maintain inequality between the less-to-do-people and the middle and upper socio-economic class. And because the minority, upper and middle class wields considerable political power, those who do not

speak English (the majority) are likely to remain poor peasants and unskilled labourers." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles –Appendix No. 1/14)

In the course of this discussion, some issues have spilled over into others because the membrane that separates the lobes of the onion is very thin, transparent and permeable. This chapter is intended to set right this fluidity in the ideas flowing from the debate by organizing the discussion around the specific issues this study set to explore. The issues that were pertinent to this project revolved around three questions. How does the current language policy in education organize the differential distribution of cultural capital, especially of linguistic capital? What is the basis of the expressed need and demand for English in Tanzania? And what are the socio-cultural, ideological and political effects of English as a medium of instruction in post secondary education? Therefore, the discussion in this chapter concentrates on the socio-cultural, ideological, economic and political implications of English in Tanzania. Let me illustrate this with a vignette.

Vignette

Juma Akilimali a secondary school graduate and his wife Monica have organized a party for their 7-year old daughter, Scholastica. She has just received her Eucharist a few hours ago from the Lutheran Church in the neighbourhood. Scholastica, the seventh and last-born of this family that is rich by Tanzanian standard is all smiles. Scholastica is a Standard 1 pupil in an English medium primary school that is within walking distance from her home. Her classmates have also been invited to this Eucharist party. The lawn-cum-garden in their house compound has been arranged in such a way that Scholastica sits facing the invited guests. A small area of about 2 by 6 meters between Scholastica and the invitees has been set aside. It is like a stage. Food and drinks have already been served. The invited guests have eaten and drank to their satisfaction. The host and the women assisting her have finished tidying up the place. The next event on this special day for Scholastica is about to begin. Scholastica and her friends go inside the house through the backdoor into the kitchen. After a few minutes, they come out through the front door dressed in the school uniform. They are singing a song. When they reach the stage, they stop singing. Then, like a radio cassette they begin to sing English kindergarten rhymes and lullabies. The children's singing attracts people passing by. Some stop, watch and listen from the fence. The majority of these uninvited guests who have betrayed by their ears and eyes do not understand what the songs mean. Meanwhile all the invited guests are cheering, clapping and the women are ululating. One can see from

their smiling faces that they are happy and pleased with what the children had just done. The children are congratulated. More songs will come later, but at the moment more drinks are served." (Constructed from personal observations)

My experience of the events described in this vignette tells me that celebrations that follow immediately after religious ceremonies are expected to focus mainly on spiritual and religious matters. Instead what we have here is an occasion in which English is valorized. It is now common to find that occasions such as marriage ceremonies and accompanying celebrations, get-together parties, etc. are spiced with anectodotes of English that project certain attributes of English. Traditionally, wedding celebrations in Tanzania are normally a communal affair attended by people from diverse walks of life. The master of ceremony (MC) of such a gathering knows that most of the invited and uninvited guests are Swahilis. However, over half of his conversation is made in English or each sentence he says in Kiswahili is translated into English.

One wonders what motivates the MC to translate most of his announcements into English to a wholly Kiswahili speaking audience. It seems to me that there is a tendency to equate knowledge of English or any other semiotic form of the so-called Western culture with high status and prestige. Accordingly, in today's Tanzanian society, especially in urban centres, one is expected to conspicuously demonstrate this knowledge of English as an identity mark that distinguishes him/her from the others and also that he/she is educated. Mr. Chedi Chikira (see Appendix No. 1/23) has described this clearly:

This also reminds me of a popular joke between the Zaramo of Bagamoyo, Dar es Salaam and Kisarawe districts and the Waha of Kigoma region in Tanzania. The joke runs like this:

"Two friends from Kigoma were going to Dar es Salaam. One of them was called Kalimanzila. Before they arrived in Dar es Salaam, Kalimanzila told his friend that he should not call him Kalimanzila. Instead he should call him 'Brother K'. His friend asked Kalimanzila why he should call him 'Brother K'. Kalimanzia responded by telling his friend that when the people of Dare es Salaam hear him calling Kalimanzila 'Brother K', they

will think that they are not from the village." (Constructed from personal experience)

What makes this joke salient to this discussion is what 'Brother K' means to Kalimanzila and his interlocutors. My interpretation of the name 'Brother K' is that it does not performs the same functions that are attributed to code switching. It indicates to Kalimanzila and his interlocutors that he does not come from the village because villagers have erroneously been defined as backward and traditional. Secondly, for both it is a mark of being educated and Westernised. Thus, making use of some English words on one's speech or changing one's name to look or sound like English, as shown in the above joke is almost synonymous to being refined, progressive and or modern.

The translation of words, phrases and sentences from Kiswahili into English result into code switching whose primary purpose of which is to enable someone be understood by borrowing a term from another linguistic variety which expresses exactly and clearly his/her intentions. However, most of the code switching in the Tanzanian context represents a transformation in the social position and character of the individual speaker as observed by Mr. Chedi Chikira (see Appendix No. 1/23) and Ms. Bitulo below.

> "[....] and unfortunately, I believe it is because some people feel that they can't express themselves very much in Swahili in English and that's why even in the 'Bunge' (National Assembly') they mix. You have to show that am educated. So you use a lot of say in for example English. You translate what you have been saying in Swahili. Some of it I think is okay. They need English in Tanzania. They feel that if you don't mix Swahili with English then you don't look educated. Educated and civilized."(Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews –Appendix No. 3/2)

This type of 'aesthetic' code-switching, which is evident in most of the narratives of the speeches of government ministers, parliamentarians, politicians, the youth in the street, in conversations on television and radio talks, in the print media (newspapers) and even in some of the interview transcripts used in this study is a result of language policy. This particular code switching between Kiswahili and English in Tanzania, tends to lean toward internationalism linking the elite in

Tanzania with the international elite serving first for the latter to gain recognition and acceptance and secondly, it sets them apart from the 'other' in the social contexts in which it takes place. This code switching has in some way also raised the value of English resulting into people failing to distinguish English from education (see Mrs. Martha Qorro: Appendix No. 2). The result of this is the breeding of a belief that English is education and the perception that one would look foolish and uneducated if she/he does not put in a word of English here and there in her/his utterances. Blommaert (1998) has observed that this is related to linguistic hierarchies in which English is seen a better language than Swahili for doing X or Y, thus linking language use to noticeable features of social structure. These observations show the perceptions and attitudes towards English, and consequent identities that are expected to be formed and resulting social rewards a person harvests in lieu of his/her knowledge of English.

This situation is pictured well by Breitborde (1998:132) who observes that the acquisition of English in Liberia was the necessary condition on which civilization and along with dress was perhaps the most efficacious means by which civilized posture could be expressed and identified in social interaction. Code switching and events such as those described in the vignette and the 'Brother K' joke provide a window through which one can observe how the process described above is reflected in present-day Tanzania. Let me now look at the implications of the value and dominance of English in Tanzania by looking at its presumed connections to the development of Kiswahili and Elgs.

8.2 English and the development of Kiswahili

It is claimed in this section that English and language policy in Tanzania are inhibiting factors in the development of Kiswahili. It is also posited that English has worked at the disadvantage of Elgs and Kiswahili because like the wondering minstrel in the Mikado, with songs for any occasion, English has the right word for whatever it may be (Claiborne cited in Pennycook, 2000b: 109). The dominance and prestige of English in Tanzania in the 1980s, 1990s and at the turn of the 21st century is indicative of the unequal power relations between ex-colonial languages and

indigenous local languages of which some were instituted as national languages such as Kiswahili. The complementarities of English that is supposed to exist with Kiswahili and Elgs is not there. Quite often this tends to favour of English because the socio-economic and market forces sustain it, and the educational system reproduces and legitimatize the relations of power and knowledge implicated with English.

There is ample evidence from the data used in this study, which is testimony to the above proposition. The argument presented by Mrs. Martha Qorro, The Special Correspondent of The African Newspaper, Mr. Chedi Chikira, Mr. Maila and Mr. Chiganga posits that the government's LP condemns Kiswahili and Elgs to less significant roles and domains. The government document on language as described in the Cultural Policy of 1997 (MOEC, 1997a) categorically states that English will continue to be the MOI in post-primary education for along time to come, Kiswahili will be developed and local languages (Elgs) will remain resources for the development of Kiswahili and cultural heritage.

In order to understand this one ought to view the MOI and language policy debate as a contact zone where cultures meet, clash and grapple each other often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power. This is the case between English and Kiswahili in Tanzania. It is also necessary to juxtapose the history of the coexistence between peoples of Tanganyika (Africans, Asians and Europeans), English and Kiswahili, and ELgs during the colonial administration. It is through this kind of historical parallel reading of different people and cultures that one can understand that relationships are never equal and that there has never been anything like an equal dialogue (Edward W. Said cited in Viswanathan, 2001: 271)

Kiswahili was easily accepted because it did not belong to any dominant group in Tanzania and had already been used as a lingua franca in local administration, local commerce and business, and the lower levels of education since the German colonial administration. Kiswahili experienced an unprecedented expansion during the struggle for independence and in the *Ujamaa* construction years because it became the legitimate language of politics and democratic participation in nation building. For example, Mazrui and Mazrui (1998:129-30) when comparing the fortunes of both English and Kiswahili in Tanzania observe:

"[....] But it was not only the political sphere that post-colonial Tanzania made greater use of Kiswahili. Prior to independence, English was the official language of the country. Its acquisition meant greater employment prospects for its citizens. After independence and after Tanzania's move to the left with the 1967 Arusha Declaration in particular, Kiswahili was made the language of official business and the medium of instruction in primary schools. In addition to its sentimental value as the language of Tanzania's sovereignty and national identity, and its multifarious instrumental value in the economic, political and social spheres, therefore Kiswahili now acquired an additional instrumental dimension as the language of white collar employment. Tanzanians were encouraged to heighten their proficiency in the language partly because it widened their economic opportunities in the society."

In the same period, English became stigmatized as the language of colonialism and capitalism (Blommaert, 1998). Consequently, its former domains were taken over by Kiswahili. However, since Kiswahili is the medium of communication in less prestigious domains such as primary school education, lower courts of law, and government communication and correspondences, one can argue that this is itself an inhibiting factor in its development. The reverse of what is described above about Kiswahili happened in the 1980s when the pendulum swung in favour of English. This is succinctly expressed in Prof Maghimbi's statement below.

"[....] There is only one language in the world which tries to compete with English. This is French but even in France 60% of all the students opt for English as their second language in school. Ideological arguments should be replaced with technical and scientific arguments in the debate on English and Swahili in Tanzania. Those who advocate Swahili to be the new academic language must again remember that Swahili has no system of concepts, terminology and theories in Swahili in any subject. And the teachers of subjects do not know the terminology, concepts and theories in Swahili and they do not know how to put them together to make subjects in Swahili. There is no any major academic work, which has been translated from English, French, German etc. to Swahili. The few concepts which are translated to Swahili do not represent a language which can be used to teach in Swahili." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No. 2a)

In one way the discourses of English in Tanzania reflect the legitimation process as evidenced by the government's rhetorical statements on the issue of language. English has then become the language of modernity and progress, while

Kiswahili becomes associated with traditional, obsolescence, and backwardness (i.e. the 'Brother K' joke in Section 8.1). This is what Prof Maghimbi, Mr. Ludovick Ngatara, Mr. Kanyorota Katanga want to be understood. For instance, Prof Maghimbi questions the development of Kiswahili (see Appendix No. 1/10). However, Mrs. Martha Qorro argues that English has inhibited the development of Kiswahili because

> "[...] language is not made in laboratories and then disseminated to users. Instead people use language and its use leads to its development and expansion. It is therefore difficult to know the inadequacies of a particular language before it is put to use. Language users and experts through vocabulary coining and borrowing deal with these inadequacies. The argument that Kiswahili has not been developed and to ask the linguists to explain how they plan to develop Kiswahili, is in my opinion a failure to understand the principles and theories of language planning, development and spread." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper and Workshop Articles ─Appendix No. 3) -own translation.

The argument here is that languages grow, develop and spread out of their being used in both formal and informal domains. It is an indisputable fact that the education sector is the major institution that can make a language develop and spread if it is used as its MOI at all levels of education. The language-in-education policy in Tanzania has provided few avenues for Kiswahili to develop. Mrs. Martha Qorro's presentation on the subject illustrates the implications of language policy on the development of a language such as Kiswahili. She revisits the historical development of languages in Europe and explains how languages such as English, French, German and Spanish reached the mature stage that the proponents of English describe.

> "[…] *Hata hivyo, ili kuondoa wasiwasi unaosababisha kuwepo kwa hoja hizo tunahitaji kutenganisha mambo mawili, nayo ni: kufundisha Kiingereza kama somo kama vile Kifaransa, na kutumia Kiingereza kufundishia. Nchi zilizoendelea zilianza kupata maendeleo na mafanikio baada ya kuweza kutofautisha mambo haya mawili. Nchi za Ulaya magharibi zilipambanua mambo haya mawili miaka kati ya 150 hadi 270 iliyopita kwa kutambua kuwa kutumia Kilatini kufundishia kunawanyima walio wengi elimu. Wakati huo Kilatini kilikuwa kinafahamika kama lugha ya wasomi, sayansi na teknolojia. Utambuzi huo ni pamoja na kuelewa kuwa ni muhimu kufundisha lugha hizi*

zinazoitwa za sayansi na teknolojia, lakini wakati huo huo ni muhimu pia kutoa elimu kwa lugha za jamii zinazohusika ili elimu ya sayansi na teknolojia isiwe hazina ya watu wachache tu, bali inufaishe jamii kwa ujumla." [… in order to deal with the anxiety expressed over the death of English in Tanzania, it is necessary to make a distinction between teaching English as a subject like French and the use of English as a medium of instruction. The countries of Western Europe made the same distinction between 150 and 250 years ago through recognizing that using Latin as the medium of instruction in education made the majority of its citizens fail to get education. During that time, Latin was the language of the elite, science and technology. This distinction showed them that the teaching these languages of science and technology must go hand in hand with a corresponding recognition of the importance of providing education through local languages. It made them avoid making science and technology the preserve treasure of few people.] (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper and Workshop Articles (Appendix No. 3). -own translation.

The use of languages other than Latin in the education sector of developed countries of Western Europe made it possible for languages such as English, French, Spanish, Germany and Russian to develop and bring science and technology within the reach of a majority of its citizens. On the contrary, the dominance of English in the post-primary education sector is an obstacle to the development of Kiswahili in Tanzania because many of the people who are trained in English end up being English-oriented and feel comfortable operating in English rather than in Kiswahili. This perhaps accounts for prevalence of code switching that is quite evident in the speeches and conversation of parliamentarians and other government executives referred to by Mr. Maila (Appendix No. 3/10). Consequently, Kiswahili has increasingly been pushed out of the arenas of science and technology, and literary culture as well as the opportunity to develop a legislative registers especially from the 1980s onwards

The dominance of English in the education sector in Tanzania limits the internalization of theories, concepts and principles of science by students because they are communicated or made available in a language that is not well understood (see also Appendix No. 1/4). The implication of this is quite evident in Mr. Chiganga's narration of the play that shows how English limits students' comprehension of scientific and technological information. With these observations

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in mind, one wonders when the revolution, which is expected to spring from English described by Maghimbi (Appendix No. 1a) going to take place.

In addition, Mrs. Martha Qorro observes that the consequences of using English as MOI in education are quite apparent since

"[…] *Kwa kutumia hoja za uelewa na ugunduzi uliofanywa Ulaya tunaweza kuhusisha mifano michache hapa nyumbani ya utundu unaofanana na ugunduzi unaofanywa na wanafunzi wa shule za msingi kama kutengeneza redio, simu, n.k. Je ni kwa nini ugunduzi huu hatuusikii katika shule zetu za sekondari? Mimi naamini ni kwa kuwa wanafunzi wengi hawaelewi mada mbalimbali Kiingereza kinapotumika kufundishia katika shule za sekondari.*" [By using the evidence from Europe, we can associate it with a few examples in Tanzanian primary schools where students have been reported to assemble a radio and other technical equipment. Why are students in secondary schools less innovative compared to primary school students? I am personally convinced that the majority of students in secondary schools do not understand many of the scientific and technological concepts when English is used] (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper and Workshop Articles ─Appendix No. 3). -own translation.

Given the limited use of English in Tanzania together with the way in which it is made available in schools it is obvious that the revolution that is supposed to spring from it will probably take another century to happen in Tanzania. This is true because schooling gives individuals tools with which to find and open doors or it may also give individuals nothing remotely meaningful to let individuals get the necessary tools and skills for them to function in society. English in Tanzania acts as a barrier and constrains individuals from achieving these objectives. Likewise, this has in one way also discouraged the need to learn and use Kiswahili because its value in the job market is not evident. For example, Mr. Mwendwa observes that the job market wants people who are competent in English especially in private and former public corporations that have been privatised (see Appendix No. 3/3).

Furthermore, one needs to point out that the privileging of English as the language of higher courts of law in Tanzania continues to peripheralize Kiswahili from the legal discourse. According to Mazrui and Mazrui (1998:109) this has had certain adverse implications for the rule of law since it affects law making as well as enforcement, legal ideology and legal rights, judicial staffing and the administration

of justice. Notwithstanding these facts, the government continues to accept projects such as the English Language Teaching Support Project (ELTSP) by the British Council to strengthen English in the education system. Mr. Maijo (Appendix No. 3/11) has also remarked that campaigns to strengthen the use of English in the academia are done on the basis that this is the language of science and technology.

In such contexts, teachers and students alike consider Kiswahili to be less important compared to English. Teachers of subjects other than languages are convinced by the discourses of English that Kiswahili cannot express scientific and technological theories and principles accurately. In this kind of environment in which the two most important components of the educational institutions are suspicious of the legitimacy of Kiswahili and its ability to deliver knowledge and information, the chances of Kiswahili developing are quite negligible. My position is that the language-in-education policy has had great consequences for the development of Kiswahili mainly because English has become equated with education, knowledge and information while Kiswahili is associated with negative aspects. This is the case because the government policy on language has struck the final nail in the coffin of other languages in Tanzania through categorizing them as resources for the development of Kiswahili, and seen as cultural heritage making them to look like artefacts in a museum.

8.3   English, employment opportunities and performance in academic subjects

The argument, which claims or associates and/ or equate English with knowledge in Tanzania has had great impact on education in a myriad ways. This primary argument has produced secondary claims that credit English with good performance in academic subjects and hence higher standards of education. Let me begin first with the latter claim before proceeding onto its sister claim that associates English with greater employment opportunities because all of them are produced by the same source.

It is claimed that the continued use of English as a MOI in education guarantees quality education because among other things, there is abundant

information and literature written in the latter compared with Kiswahili. For example, Prof Maghimbi, Mr. Kanyorota Katanga, Dr. Faris Ogita and Mr. Ludovick Ngatara subscribe to this claim. For example, Prof Maghimbi observes that:

> "[….] There is no any major academic work which has been translated from English, French, German, etc. to Swahili. The few concepts, which are translated into Swahili do not represent a language which can be used to teach in Swahili. The very few translations of concepts (not theories) available reflect the youngness of the Swahili as an academic language because there is no agreement on the concepts. … The use of English allows our scholars and students to have access to a wide range of literature, which is not available in many other languages including Swahili." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper and Workshop Articles ─Appendix No. 2)

and Mr. Chipindula claims that reverting to Kiswahili as a MOI would most certainly bring confusion and chaos mainly because the absence of Kiswahili textbooks in most of the subjects in the curriculum of post-primary education (Appendix No. 1\3). Lastly, Dr. Faris Ogita (Appendix No. 1/4) claims that :

> "[…] The available literature in Kiswahili does not even fill up a room of 10 square meters to the top, whereas there are millions of publications in English. To deny our people the ability to read English means to cut them off from the world's knowledge and from many possibilities on how to raise their standard of living. English has the largest literature."

While Mr. Chipindula and Prof Maghimbi claim that the paucity of theories and literature in Kiswahili disqualifies it as an academic language because the use of English has many advantages, one of which is enhanced performance in academic performance, Mr. Ludovick Ngatara (Appendix No. 1/2) argues that using Kiswahili as a medium would make Tanzanians unable to communicate and express themselves intelligently when traveling or based outside the borders of their country on subjects they have thoroughly covered in Kiswahili therefore giving a look of unlearned persons.

Related to this, is the claim that an English-medium education increases an individual's employment opportunities. For example, Dr. Faris Ogita (Appendix No.

1/4) claims that for Tanzanians, English is the key to large parts of mass media such as radio, newspapers, TV, internet and several others. He claims further that job applicants who know English have better chances than others. And Maghimbi observes that:

> "[….] The only way forward for the time being is to strengthen English and Mathematics. We all know the advantages of English versus Swahili. The person who can speak and write fluent English has tremendous advantage over the one who cannot write and speak fluent English. The one who commands English can get a job in the country and outside more easily, she can travel more easily, and she can go to study abroad and whether you like it or not she commands a higher status." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper and Workshop Articles ─Appendix No. 2)

Mrs. Magesa (Appendix No. 3/6), Mr. Maila (Appendix No. 3/10) Mr. Mwendwa (Appendices No.3/5 and 12), and Mr. Malima (Appendix No. 3/8) argue that an English-medium education is better for the individual in terms of opportunities for employment and professional development when compared to a Kiswahili-medium education. What one needs to critique is how English can be used to realize these claims in Tanzania. Can these claims be achieved through the current education system? Mr. Maila (Appendix No. 3/10) acknowledges the importance of English in the individual's educational and professional development but asks whether this is true for the majority of the people.

There are other voices in this debate, which argue that these claims are not feasible in Tanzania. For instance, the Special Correspondent in The African argues that this is not possible because

> "[…] The use of English to a poor country like Tanzania makes it lose many technicians and intellectuals to be because many of them fail their examinations, which are conducted in a language they do not understand well. If one does not understand a question, how can he or she answer it correctly? As a matter of fact this hinders a student's performance…. After all knowing how to speak and write English is not a true measurement of academic achievement among learner." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles ─Appendix No. 1/14)

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Furthermore, evidence shows that graduates from the post-primary education sector where the medium is English perform poorly and the majority of them do not get employment. Mrs. Martha Qorro has observed that this is a consequence of:

"[…] *Vijana wakielewa wanachofundishwa shuleni na vyuoni, uwezekano ni mkubwa wa wao wenyewe jinsi ya kujitafutia ajira kuliko hali hii ya sas ambapo hawaelewi walichojifunnza. Je hawa vijana asilimia 90%hadi 95 % wanakosa elimu kwa kuwa wanalazimika kutumia Kiingereza kama lugha ya kujifinzia elimu wataweza kufanya nini zaidi ya kusubiri kutumwa tu! Je hayo ndiyo malengo halisi (yaliyofichika) ya elimu? Au haya ndiyo malengo ya watunga sera wachache wanaonufaika na kutumia Kiingereza kwa kuwa watoto wao hawana tatizo la kutumia Kiingereza?"* [When students understand what they are taught in schools and colleges, the chances of their getting employed are greater than it is now because they do not understand what they are being taught. 90 to 95 percent of the youth do not get proper education because they are forced to learn through a language, which they do not understand., They will remain servants waiting to be sent on errands and given commands. Are these the actual objectives of education or there are other hidden ones? Can one say that these are the educational objectives of the few policy makers who benefit from using English as a medium of instruction because their children have no problem with English?] (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper and Workshop Articles ─Appendix No. 2) –own translation

Research evidence from Mvungi (1974) and Mlama and Matteru (1978) conducted almost three decades ago with the objective of looking into the allegation that standards of education in Tanzania had been falling because of using Kiswahili as MOI concluded that falling education standards and poor English were due to other factors, including poorly trained teachers, inadequate teaching and learning facilities, and lack of motivation among teachers because of poor pay. These have also been collaborated by Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1987), Criper and Dodd (1984) who singled out English, the MOI as being partly responsible for this situation.

Evidence from data used in this study shows that no significant change towards improvement of education standards has been registered since these studies were conducted. English has also been singled out as one of the factors for explaining falling education standards in Tanzania. For example, Mr. Maila observes:

"[….] I can tell you because I have seen theses coming from the University of Dar es Salaam. I see phds written from the university. I have corrected some of them. Masters papers. Professors writing there. And they brought their books their manuscripts here and I say what are we talking about. What language are you using because it is not English. Certainly. And if you kid yourself that you are writing English you are making a big mistake. What you are writing is some gobbled things. Gobbled nonsense I cannot understand. So the trouble is these people who are talking about English don't realise that there is no English being taught in our universities or in our schools. It is another language. This is not English." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ─Appendix No. 3/10)

In addition, Justin Galabawa (cited by Njau, 2002) argues that the lack of linguistic skills is a major problem, which hinders local graduates from filling some of the job vacancies as this erodes their confidence and ability to do in-depth analyses. This is contrary to the claim that 'English will help us in the transfer of technological, managerial, scientific and organizational skills from more advanced countries to our country' (Prof Maghimbi: Appendix No. 2). The consequent functional benefit of English has not been realized because school and university graduates, who are the products of this English –medium education system do not possess suitable language skills, basic mathematics knowledge and basic scientific skills. Lack of the former makes them uncompetitive in the labour market. Robert Mihayo writing in The Business Times of June 7, 2002 reports:

[….] If there had been any lingering doubts whether there was an education crisis in Tanzania, then those doubts must have by now been laid to rest. That there is not only a close correlation between education and poverty – and that there is also a real crisis in the education sector –was sadly but very powerfully demonstrated in the recent lesson from Zanzibar. According to press reports from the Tanzania People's Defense Forces wanted recruits for the army from the Isles. They couldn't get any. Many youths turned up to be considered for recruitment; but did not qualify. Thirty-eight were disqualified because they could not count from one to ten in English! According to a member of the interviewing panel, "one of them managed to count from one to five, and could not go any further. We tried to help him get to ten with much difficulty." The climax of this tragic-comedy came when the ex-Form IV lad was asked to count beyond ten. "When we asked him to count beyond 10, he started saying ten one (11), ten two (12) and ten three (13), and so on! 'How on earth would one reasonably expect a mere Form Four leaver to count from one to ten?' one of the youths was heard grumbling. Well, this

episode reflects the crisis of the entire education sector in Tanzania. For, this crisis is neither confined to the secondary level, nor to Zanzibar alone."

The question here is why is there a linguistics problem, which invariably means poor proficiency in English when the former is both the medium and a compulsory subject at this level of education? If the evidence reads different from the envisaged English associated attributes, why do people continue to believe strongly in the magical powers of this language? This can be explained through a critical examination of the myths of SE ideology because the former succeeds in situations where even the facts, which at first sight contradict it start to function as arguments in its favour as in the case described above. This gives us a clear reading of the hidden meanings and discourses that describe the attributes of English and helps to uncover the extent of the distorted reality of the landscapes of English in Tanzania.

The implication of this is academic underachievement leading to a low level entrepreneurship and innovations. The latter makes school graduates from the education system unemployable because they are less competitive and hence they fail to secure jobs in the local labour market and employers lament of finding it difficult to fill vacant job posts in their establishment with Tanzanians. Briefly, the preceding discussion shows that putting too much faith in English (Mr. Mwendwa – Appendix No. 35 and 12; Mr. Rugee –Appendix No. 3/1;Prof Maghimbi – Appendix No. 2) breeds further ignorance and increases dependence and exploitation as the Special Correspondent in The African concludes (see Appendix No. 1/14).

8.4 English, economic dependency and marginalisation

I have stated elsewhere in this discussion that the MOI and language policy debate is a confluence of competing and contentious discourses about the materiality of English in Tanzania. One of the discourses claims that the dominance of English in Tanzania leads to socio-economic dependency and marginalisation. In order to understand the implications of English to economic development in Tanzania it is necessary, first, to examine the relationship between language and development.

The government's statement on the relationship between education and development reads that this depends on the extent to which the kind of education provided and its methods can meet the expectations of the individual and the needs of society (MOEC, 1995a:ix). I propose that development involves relationships in a cultural context in which language is an important ingredient because it is through language that labour can be mobilized at the local level, people can gain knowledge of new technologies of production and reproduction whose understanding may be important to economic development. The failure to account for the relationship between language and economic development on the one hand and the linking of English to development on the other, ignores and downplays the linguistic realities of that particular society for which development is planned for. Given these observations, a language-in-education policy that favours English is not a well thought out strategy towards meeting the educational and developmental needs of the individual and society.

The discourses of English that equate it with innovation, progress and development do not mention the fact that behind English lie very strong economic interests. Let me illustrate this by using the example of a textbook. The textbook is a socio-cultural, political and economic product. In most cases it is imbued with and projects certain ideas and particular systems of analysis. Language textbooks, especially those used in the teaching of literature are discourses of particular patterns of life, experiences and histories of people. Their selection must in most cases seen to meet the social, cultural, political and economic needs of the dominant group(s) that wields power at that particular moment in the history of a nation.

Thus a novel or play produced in UK or US creates in the student certain aspirations and attitudes towards particular life styles and views about the world. This may inculcate into the learner particular frames of analysis, which he/she will find to be more superior compared to the student's cultural frames and schema of analysis. This may lead to cultural disorientation, which can easily take in SE ideological discourses.

The distorted belief of associating English with economic development is justified by the claim that its continued use in the education system is necessary because it is purportedly tied to grants and loans from donors and funding agencies

(see Mr. Chiganga –Appendix No. 3/7; Mr. Mwendwa –Appendix No. 3/5 and 12). It is further claimed that the continued use of English is necessary because of foreigners and expatriate who work in Tanzania (Mr. Ludovick Ngatara – Appendix No .1/2; Mr. Chipindula – Appendix No. 1/3 and Mr. Kanyorota Katanga – Appendix No. 1/9) In addition to this, one author (unknown) has made the following observations:

> "[….] We must have heard how in their conference last year, investors complained that they were unable to move freely around because whenever they wanted assistance, there was reluctance from city residents because they could not respond to their questions in English. How then are we going to work with them if we insist on Kiswahili? Don't we think that with the revival of the East African Community, our neighbours Kenyans and Ugandans will take advantage of our lack of knowledge experience to secure jobs in our country? Aren't job adverts nowadays giving knowledge of English a prerequisite?" (from Swahili Articles: http:www.newafrica.com/Swahili/articles.asp?ID=11938. 28 September, 2002)

Inevitably, one is bound to ask whether English is present in Tanzania to cater for the needs of foreigners and donors? Is the education system put in place to satisfy the needs of Tanzania or foreigners, expatriate, donors and international organizations? These questions prompted Dr. Yunus Rubanza (cited in Asha Mnzavas Appendix No. 1/21) to observe that the goal of education has always been to help Tanzanian better their lives and not cater for foreign languages, and that at the end of the day, our education system is intended to help neither an international organization nor an embassy but a farmer in the village who does not know English.

One can only surmise that the continued use of English in Tanzania would increase dependency on the international community. As Cameron (1995:43) notes that commercial interests were at the root of the standardization process because the contemporary publisher has an economic investment interest in linguistic expertise and its acceptance as such by the widest possible public. Let me explore further the observation made by Cameron above by juxtaposing it with economic development through English as depicted in Figures 7.1 and 7.3.1.

My reading of the two leads me to conclude that economic progress tends to favour the elite who also happen to hold the reigns of power because they are able to interpret correctly knowledge, scientific and technological information packages. The continued use of English in post-primary education clearly points to an elitist direction, which tends to increase the distance between the educated few and the mass of the population making it (English) a formidable barrier to the participation of the majority of the population.

The reverse is that a language-in education policy that leans toward Kiswahili or any local language of wider communication will tend to diversify opportunities, consolidate national unity and disseminate information to a large clientele. One can argue that the presence of Kiswahili as the language of a wider communication in Tanzania can act against the destabilising effects of English on society. The data corpus used in this study has shown some of the effects of English on society, one of which is economic dependency. Statement from the narratives of Mr. Chiganga (Appendix No. 3/8), Mr. Maila (Appendix No. 3/10), Mr. Mwendwa (Appendix No.3/5), Mr. Rugee (Appendix No. 3/1), and articles from Mr. Chedi Chikira (Appendix No. 1/3), Prof. Issa Omari (Appendix No. 1/18) and the Correspondent of the African Newspaper (Appendix No. 1/14) show how the majority are unable to appropriate English, resulting in their being excluded from participating in development. They also emphasize how the dominance of English in Tanzania leads to the marginalization of the majority of the population.

Given this evidence and the fact that there already exits a language of wider communication in the country, why is there such a great clamour for English in Tanzania? The answer to this question may be found in the following explanation. The justification of using English in Tanzania can be sought in reasons such as; "to deny our people the ability to read English means to cut them off from the world's knowledge and from many possibilities on how to raise their standard of living." (see Dr. Faris Ogita – Appendix No. 1/4 and Prof. Maghimbi: Appendix No. 2). This reminds me of similar positions advanced in the US by the proponents of the 'English Only Movement'. It means that knowledge of English makes available more possibilities for development while users of other languages such as Kiswahili in Tanzania and Spanish in the US are posited to live as semi-citizens in the ghetto and

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persist as ignorant voters (Woolard, 1989) and are subsequently condemned to a life of subsistence.

The language-in-education policy that privileges English may result in deprivation and blocking of avenues of development for the majority. If one examines again the educational structure depicted in Figure 6.4.1 and Table 6.4.1, it is possible to conclude that the majority of the people who lie at the bottom of Figure 6.4.1 will find themselves at a disadvantage as Mrs. Magesa (Appendix No. 3/6) has observed. In a country where resources are scarce, progress and development depend on education, few are educated beyond primary education, and where the language-in-education policy leans toward English, chances are that the dependency on English as the communication medium for its development would increase the degree of marginalisation of the majority of the population and entrench the country further into economic dependency. The next section focuses on claims that associate English with education, culture as well as the socio-economic consequences of the dominance of English in Tanzania.

8.5 English, education, culture and socio-economic inequality

8.5.1 English and education

The proposition associating or equating English with education in Tanzania reflects the strength of the metaphor that describes the latter as the depository of knowledge, information, science and technology. This is responsible for claims that attribute English to education and the rhetorical argument that if English is not used, Tanzania will become isolated from the rest of the world (see Mr. Chiganga – Appendix No. 3/7). In order to examine and substantiate the fallacy of this claim in the Tanzanian context, I will first begin by comparing events, which are apparent in a play narrated by Mr. Chiganga and observations made by Edward W. Said responding to a question on the role of English.

> "[….] Later the Headmistress became suspicious. May be she was told by some people that her teachers use Kiswahili in the classroom to teach subjects other than Kiswahili. The Headmistress called a staff meeting in which she severely rebukes her teachers. According to the play, the headmistress is not very happy with her teachers. She reminds them of the government policy,

which states that every person in the school should use English. Teachers should communicate in English amongst themselves and with students. The discussion in staff meeting urged teachers that they must teach in English and students should likewise speak in English. At the end of the staff meeting it was decided to design stickers that would be put in different places in the school. The stickers read: 'Speak English'. The meeting also decided to make another sticker. This was made of wood and it was supposed to be won by a student who was caught speaking Kiswahili or any other local language within the school. The phrase 'Speak English' was written on the wooden sticker. The sticker was attached with a string, which the culprit was required to wear like a big necklace The prefect is collects the sticker from the class mistress or master at the start of the school day. He/she goes with it in the classroom and waits for the opportunity to give it to another student who speaks a different language from English. The prefect hangs the wooden sticker on his/her neck. This student, whoever it is, becomes the culprit and she or him waits for another student to make a similar mistake. When this opportunity comes she or he passes the sicker to the next victim. The play shows that one student tried to speak in English but could not continue because the language was too difficult for her. According to the play, she put in one word of Kiswahili,. The prefect gave her the sticker. The girl who was given the sticker became angry and began to fight with the prefect. The play shows that the fighting spread to all students in this particular classroom at Zanaki secondary school. The sticker was being thrown this way and that way amongst the students because almost everyone in the class was speaking in Kiswahili. There was pandemonium, noise and confusion in the classroom. The teacher heard the noise and came to investigate. The teacher intervened to stop the fighting while speaking in English. Students responded in halting English. Finally, one of them marshaled some guts and spoke in Kiswahili. When she did so, she was again given the sticker in front of the teacher. The confusion started again."- own translation (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ─Appendix No. 3/7)

and

"[....] That is to say, the school I went to in Egypt before I came to this country was called Victoria College─it was modeled on a British public school. When you enrolled in the school, they gave you a handbook, which contained a little statement, "English is the language of the school." If you were caught speaking Arabic, which was the native language, you would be punished." (Viswanathan, 2001:263)

Both narratives describe the process of subjugation and humiliation, which has continued since colonial times and echo Mahondas K. Gandhi's observation on the consequence of English in India discussed in the earlier sections of this chapter. In these excerpts, English is used as a repressive tool through the education

institutions, one of the ideological state apparatuses. The actors in the play narrated by Mr. Chiganga show the extent of the psychological humiliation that accompanies the wearing of the "Speak English" necklace. The necklace 'Speak English' creates a sense of inadequacy, helplessness and anger against a strong non-physical power over which both teachers and students alike have to submit.

One could argue further that although the play is fiction, it nonetheless mirrors and reflects the reality of the lives of the actors. This play brings out the significance of the implications of using English in post-primary education. The frustrations and humiliation that accompanies the students' and teacher's failure to make themselves heard and understood is a normal occurrence in most secondary school classrooms in Tanzania.

Education promises change and improvement in society. It promises individuals a chance in the game of social mobility, more access to material resources and a greater capacity to participate actively in the process of governing. The discourses emerging from the medium debate venerate education that is offered through the medium of English, which it is argued can lead to the fulfilment of the promises of education. It is this kind of logic that makes Prof. Maghimbi to strongly argue for English because the implication of lack of knowledge of English means limited knowledge, few opportunities for advancement, and low status. Instead, knowledge of English 'makes available world knowledge', 'multiplies possibilities for improvement of standards of life' and 'has higher social status'. Prof. Maghimbi articulates this position clearly.

> "[....] To deny our people the ability to read English means to cut them off from the world's knowledge and from many possibilities on how to raise their standard of living. We all know the advantages of English versus Swahili. The person who can speak and write fluent English has tremendous advantage over the one who cannot write and speak fluent English. The one who commands English can get a job in the country and outside the country more easily, she can travel more easily, and she can go to study abroad and whether you like it or not she commands a higher social status." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Article –Appendix No. 1a)

The thesis that English is education and/or knowledge has been refuted by Mrs. Martha Qorro in this study and other writers who have contributed to the MOI

debate. For example, Prof. David P. Massamba reacting to the argument that if English stops being a MOI, academic standards will be adversely affected observes that:

> "[….]. Well, to me that is a very strange argument because it's tantamount to saying that English as a language is a prerequisite for good academic standards. Such an argument is very false. People need to be reminded that a medium is simply a carrier of knowledge, is in itself not knowledge." (from Swahili Articles: http:www.newafrica.com/Swahili/output.asp?ID=11940. 28 September, 2002).

Crediting English with opportunities for advancement is not limited to Tanzania alone. Sullivan and Schatz (1999:272) have noted that powerful assertions such as 'life without English proficiency in the United States is a life of low-skilled, low-paying jobs, without the ability to take part in democratic society, and that knowledge of English leads to the realization of the America dream.' However, the realization of what is imagined above is difficult because of the way English is delivered in the school system. The school system assumes that most learners are blessed with the same equal aptitudes for languages. When these two factors are put together it is difficult for the subject content conveyed through English to be understood by most of the learners (Mrs. Martha Qorro – Appendix No. 2). In addition, rhetorical arguments favouring the continued use of English as a MOI in Tanzania do not take into account the fact that students' interests are best served when they are actively involved in a dialogue in which their voices contribute, along with those of teachers and recognised authorities to the continuing attempt to make sense of their situation.

The process of English acquisition in Tanzania was found lacking, prompting the government to implement the recommendations of the Criper and Dodd study of 1984. Yet after about 10 years of the ESTLP in Tanzania, students' proficiency in English has not significantly improved as Mrs. Martha Qorro observes (see Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles -Appendix No. 2). This state of affairs has led Ms. Bitulo to observe:

"[….] No, I think there is something wrong with may be the teaching of English itself. The methods or in the materials or somewhere people have gone wrong in presenting English. That's why a pupil finishes Form Six without making a she can't make a straight sentence. A simple. I think it is the teaching method." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ─Appendix No. 3/2)

Ms. Bitulo expresses her frustrations over the way English is taught in the classroom. The classroom observations I made during this study revealed that teaching relies on memorization and reproduction of facts and ideas, is devoid of problem solving techniques, dependent on copying from textbooks and teacher's guides. Likewise, classroom learning largely relies on memorization and reproduction of knowledge, quite often demonstrating poor comprehension and low understanding of theories, concepts and principles. Consequently, the reality of the claim that equates English with education becomes mere rhetoric, since as it has been observed other factors outside the classroom impinge on the quality of education. Mr. Ibrahim Kyaruzi writing recently in the Business Times observes that:

“[….] Primary education is constrained by lack of decent infrastructure as many schools are in a state of disrepair. Others have no classrooms resulting in congestion of over 100 pupils in classrooms meant for 45 pupils, and often kids sit on floors or under trees. Less than 10 per cent of primary school leavers get a chance to enter into public secondary schools, and a similar proportion gets into private schools. Many qualified children getting over 50 per cent of the marks are left in the cold. The pricing of education services at secondary school level is less than $100 per annum in public schools and $300 fro private schools. Yet an estimated 50 per cent of the population live below poverty line meaning they can hardly afford these rates.” (http://www.bcstimes.com/cgi-bin/bt/viewnews.cgi?category=1&id=1024030668 June 14th, 2002)

It follows from this that students with an aptitude to languages or have grown in an environment where English is used or their parents possess this cultural capital or have influence and possess the wherewithal to buy this commodity by employing the services of an English teacher, are likely to succeed in school and take advantages of available opportunities. In Tanzania these happen to be few, and for the majority the law of natural selection takes its course unimpeded.

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Briefly, the claim that English opens the gates of knowledge, which has sustained its continued use in post-primary education has not borne the results expected. Instead, it has made the acquisition of knowledge, information and skill difficult and a preserve of few while the majority hankers for something they cannot get. It has consequently continued to reproduce and maintain the elitist education that ESR attempted to correct.

8.5.2   English and culture

The proposition that knowledge is found in English is linked to a related claim that associates it with civilization and culture. Evidence from data used in this study testifies to this claim (Prof. Maghimbi –Appendix No. 2, Dr. Faris Ogita – Appendix No. 1/4). Mr. Maila (Appendix Nos. 3 and 3/10) argues that ex-colonial languages such as English in Tanzania were used to tell the colonized that they were inferior. This was possible through the linguistic categories of description and representation because literature and school textbooks of the colonial period played key roles in structuring commonsense understandings of cultural inferiority and social separateness. Narratives from the field interviews and newspaper texts in this study, which associate English with education of good quality, knowledge and information on the one hand, and Kiswahili with poor quality education, immaturity and backwardness on the other, collaborate the above observation. Mr. Mwendwa describes the logic that sustained and has continued to support the use of English in Tanzania across different historical periods. He says:

> "[….] I think what I can say about this thing is that because English has been the language of education in the country so anybody who speaks it is considered to be educated and that is why many people aspire to acquire it. They want to know the language. Even the street boys and *dala dala* bus conductors would like to know English. They like to know the language. One day I came across a conductor who wanted to speak to some foreigners. Of course every white person seen in Tanzania is understood to have come from overseas. Now they wanted to ask those fellows where they were going. And they couldn't do so because of the language. One of them, I mean joked with the other fellow who failed to express anything to those people by telling him he should have learnt English to be able to ask those passengers where they were going. So actually English is seen as something which is very important.

And in fact that is why some well to do parents in Tanzania today send their children overseas for primary education." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews ─Appendix No.3/12)

Furthermore, the valorization of English also means that people begin to believe that their language and cultural knowledge has nothing to offer because it will not deliver the promises that accrue from an education offered through English. Breitborde (1998:121) writes that speaking English was a central part of the civilized life style and the use of English was fostered by beliefs regarding the propriety and superiority of civilized customs (see also Mr. Maila: ─Appendix No. 3/10). The equating of English with education of good quality, civilization, culture, science and technological development on the one hand, and local indigenous languages such as Kiswahili with poor quality education and backwardness as expressed by Prof Maghimbi, Mr. Ludovick Ngatara, Mr. Kanyorota Katanga, and Dr. Faris Ogita is partly explained by what Breitborde has observed about English and Urban Liberians in Liberia. Similar viewpoints and opinions about English have been recorded by Spitulnik (1992) who has noted that Zambian leaders regard English as a language of superior persons and consider other speakers of ethnic languages to be insignificant and unworthy of attention granted to English speakers.

Language policy decisions determine which languages will receive the most attention through allocation of domains of use and hence prestige as is the case with Kiswahili. Due to this deliberate policy decision, some languages are labelled as immature and their speakers defined as unintelligent and socially inferior (see also Mr. Ludovick Ngatara -Appendix No. 1/2). Assigning hierarchical status positions to language divides a nation into different social groups that possess unequal opportunities depending on which linguistic variety they have access to. Moreover, the creation of hierarchies of languages in a state culminates also in the formation of cultural hierarchies in which the Western culture is given high status rating. The relationship between English and education on one hand, and English, culture and civilization on the other, is clearly evident in Reverend Alexander Crummel (cited in Breitborde, 1998:121):

> "[.....] let us aim at the cultivation among us, of all that is sensitive honour, those habits of honesty, that purity of manners, and morals, those domestic virtues, and that evangelical piety, which are peculiarly the attributes of Anglo-Saxon society, states, and homes. So, by God's blessing, shall we prove ourselves not undeserving of the peculiar providence of God has bestowed upon us; and somewhat worthy of the inheritance of the Great and nobling English language."

Stated differently, the acquisition of English means submitting to its so-called superior culture because that is what we are made to believe especially when such statements like that of Reverend Alexander Crummel appeal for authentication to God. Moreover, education is not only as an agent of the implementation but also an arena for the interface of macro-level ideologies and micro-level linguistic behaviours in the everyday life of speakers.

English as the language of colonial administration and of instruction in post-primary education was used to create a new being as shown by Mr. Maila (Appendix No. 3/10) and earlier suggested by people like Reverend Alexander Crummel who realized that English and its culture provided more opportunities for personal progress and development. English instilled in its graduates a viewpoint that ridiculed the indigenes, their language and culture just as Edward W. Said observes that the view of the Orient was created and accommodated, and/ or perhaps used to subordinate the Orient during the period of imperialism in Egypt (Viswanathan, 2001:268).

Nonetheless, it can be argued that the insurgence of English in the post-Ujamaa period in Tanzania has made it a more effective medium for training the African mind than Kiswahili. This is substantiated by statements expressed by Prof Maghimbi, Mr. Kanyorota Katanga and Mr. Ludovick Ngatara (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles —Appendix No. 1a) in defence of the continuation of English as MOI in education.

The 'Brother K' joke explains the extent of the dominance of Western culture through its languages such as English. Let me end this section by illustrating the degree of the valorisation and veneration of English, and Western culture in general through comparing texts from two different historical periods and geopolitical locations. This is what Reverend Alexander Crummel (cited in Breitborde,

1998:121) wrote in 1862, over a century ago about the value of English and its culture.

> "[.....] the acquisition of [English] is elevation. It places the native man above his ignorant fellows and gives him some of the dignity of civilization. New ideas are caught up; new habits are formed, and superior and elevating wants are daily increased."

Almost two centuries later both Prof Maghimbi and Mr. Ludovick Ngatara write respectively that:

> "[…] We all know the advantages of English versus Swahili. The person who can speak and write fluent English has tremendous advantage over the one who cannot write and speak fluent English. The one who commands English can get a job in the country and outside the country more easily, she can travel more easily, she can go to study abroad and whether you like it or not she commands a higher social status. The one who commands English has also much more literature (in any subject and field including fiction) to read than the English illiterate." (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles — Appendix 2a)

and

> "[….] Another problem will be inability by Tanzanians to communicate and express themselves intelligently when travelling or based outside the borders of their country on subjects they have thoroughly covered in Kiswahili therefore giving them a look of unlearned persons. There will also be turning the country's institutions of higher learning into academic meant solely for the children's of the 'have-nots' while the 'haves' shun them and send their children across the borders and overseas for 'proper education'." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles —Appendix No. 1/2)

8.5.3   English and socio-economic inequality

A reading of these texts shows the apparent process of valorizing English and Western culture at the expense of indigenous language and culture across different historical periods and geopolitical locations. Another reading of Reverend Alexander Crummel, Prof Maghimbi and Mr. Ludovick Ngatara leads to the claim that links language policy, English and education to socio-economic inequality.

This, in other words leads to issues of access and opportunities. How many people will get the opportunity to acquire English and subsequently get 'proper education'? Both Prof Maghimbi and Mr. Ludovick Ngatara observe that the few 'haves' will, while the majority of 'have-nots' will not be able to appropriate the required knowledge of English for them to harvest the social rewards and take advantage of opportunities provided by possessing this cultural linguistic commodity.

This claim gives us a simple mathematical formula denoted by 1+1=2 meaning that "English + Education = Holistic Development" as depicted in Figure 7.4.1. Mr. Ludovick Ngatara, Mr. Chipindula, Dr. Faris Ogita, Prof Maghimbi, Mr. Kanyorota Katanga, and Mr. Mwendwa articulate this in explaining the relationship between English, education and development (see Appendix 1, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 9 respectively and Appendix No. 3/5 and 3/12).

The reverse of this formulation in view of the argument developed above would read **"English + Education = Socio-economic Inequality"** where a few people in society will be able take positions of influence and power because of their poor knowledge of English (see Appendix No. 1/14, 1/18, 1/23 and Appendix 3: Nos. 3/1, 3/4, 3/7 and 3/10). These observations collaborate the thesis that the prestige of the imperial language converted it into a resource relevant to class formation.

Table 6.6.1, which describes secondary school enrolment, Figure 6.6.1 for the structure of education in Tanzania and the statistics given by Mr. Ibrahim Kyaruzi in section 8.5.1 provide indisputable evidence of the consequences of education in a society in which education is one of the very few means of advancement. Furthermore, the continued use of English in education will strengthen, reinforce and reproduce the unequal distribution of opportunities and resources internally. Internationally it increases the brain drain where the educated leave their Third World countries to look for greener pastures in the West because economies of poor countries such as Tanzania are not able to create the necessary infrastructure and institutions to make use of its few educated people. In addition, for those few who are competent in English and experts in their disciplines, English encourages resource transhumance.

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What English is doing in Tanzania is to ensure that the education structure remains the way it was during the colonial period, and that the social divisions based on the unequal distribution of resources (including English) are maintained and reproduced (see Appendix No. 1/14 for consequences of continued use of English as MOI in post-primary education).

The dominance of English in the socio-political and economic fabric life of the nation may also have implications in the administration of justice. Given the fact that English is the language of higher courts of law and most of the laws of the land, justice tends to favour those who know this particular language. Even where courts uphold the principle that individuals have equal rights before the laws of the land, this may prove difficult to deliver since their translation and application is dependent on the few legal experts and lawyers. This leaves the majority at a disadvantage, who may find that the presentation of their legal rights is not given due consideration because of their ignorance of the laws that are written in a language that is not easily accessible. Although this is not deliberate, such a situation is possible in Tanzanian higher courts of law.

8.6 Language policy and the value of English

The discussion in the preceding sections of this chapter has attributed most of the consequences of English to language policy. This section examines the implications of language policy in the universalisation of a particular linguistic variety because the presence of English in the education system and society in general is largely due to language policy. This section shows and examines the claim that linguistic differences resulting from the language-in-education policy have raised the status of English and made it the legitimate language of education, science and technology. Related to this argument is that this process also entails cultural dominance because historically this was achieved through the imposition of colonial languages on societies with different and diverse cultural, linguistic and social structures. Naturally, the question that requires our attention is why and how English has become so valuable in Tanzania, where Kiswahili is after all the national and

official language. The answers lie in the language policy pursued and implemented through the education institution.

In the preceding chapters, I have tried to show how language is a decision making process with complex economic, social, cultural and political ramifications. I have also proposed that language policy is an important political distributive strategy of power relations since when it used in the education sector it becomes imbued with power and prestige. The use of English in education institutions with their pedagogical practices and processes provides an important vehicle for the development of selected forms of high status literacies over and against local culturally validated ways of knowing (Rassool, 2000). It is this, which leads me to concur with Mr. Maila who argues that the imposition of colonial languages led the colonized to undervalue and shun their culture and knowledge systems.

Mr. Maila continues to observe that the process of undervaluing results from the language-in-education policy pursued by the government in Tanzania. He claims further that this situation would have been arrested and or avoided if the government had concentrated on providing good education in Kiswahili in this country, there would be no need for people clamoring for English (see Appendix No. 3/10). Mr. Maila's observation partly explains the persistent dominant role of ex-colonial languages in post-colonial states. In fact the MOI and language policy debate is also about the persistence of colonial language policies in post-colonial states such as Tanzania.

I argue that Education has played a large part in the maintenance of this policy. For instance, De Swaan (2001: 23) has observed that half a century after independence, the ex-colonial languages have maintained their dominant role in so many post-colonial societies is in part explained by the insufficiency of elementary education. The education system in Tanzania continues to help the educated elite to reap group monopoly profits from its competence in the ex-colonial language and has every interest in prolonging this situation.

In addition to this observation, language policy is about choice, that is, it initiates legalized processes that project particular linguistic varieties and their concomitant linguistic practices at the expense of other linguistic varieties in a community. Linguistic choices are not neutral since language is a representation, a

projection of positions and perspectives, a way of communicating attitudes and assumptions. When the MC in celebrations translates his sentences into English, she/he is actually telling the audience to which socio-economic group the host(s) or the just married couple pretends or aspires to belong, who they are, what they have achieved in life and that this is what you expect or would belong to you if you knew English. What we see in the 'Brother K' joke and the utterances of the MC in a way proves to whoever is listening that English is the gateway to social rewards which result from its status and prestige.

The language-in-education policy pursued in Tanzania today does not depart in substance from the British colonial policy because the MOI in post-primary education has not changed since independence. Mr. Maila describes the consequent valorization of English resulting from the colonial language policy in education in Tanzania vividly (Appendix No. 3/10). The language-in-education policy followed by the post-colonial government has continued to reinforce the value of English. Mr. Maila captures this well when he says:

> "[…] This tells you the sickness in our society. If our leaders believe this so what do you expect them (the masses - own emphasis) to believe in because the leaders set the example. So if they say look. We have to speak English. If all these members of parliament every third word is an English word in their speeches in parliament. What do you expect? People say oh yes. Thus, even the fellows who have absolutely no knowledge of English would put in some few words there and there and they sound ridiculous." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews —Appendix 3/10)

Language policy institutionalizes social processes that make use of these linguistic disparities that are a feature of any language and systematically manipulate them into a highly structured system of linguistic practices to mirror, create, reproduce and reinforce social class and power distinctions. Nida and Wonderly (1971:72-3) have argued that if a language is the exclusive language of education and if it is the essential medium for controlling technical information it may for this reason serve also to 'keep people in their places' and thus guarantee a larger share of control for a privileged few.

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The resultant implications of the language-in-education policy are reflected in the meanings and discourses of English that come out of the MOi debate in Tanzania. These are in my opinion greatly determined by forces embedded in the larger national and international system. That is, the meanings of English and their antecedent associations are responses to people's perception of the socio-cultural and economic environment that envelope them especially with the decomposition of the *Ujamaa* hegemony in Tanzania. In assessing the functions of both English and Kiswahili, Blommaert (1998) makes the following observation in respect to English.

> "[....] Despite the ideological battle launched against English by the adoption of Kiswahili as a national language in 1961, and despite the strong negative attributions given to English in the wake of the introduction of Ujamaa-socialism in 1967 (English was a mark of imperialism and capitalism), English ahs survived as an important language in Tanzania. After 1985, when socialism traded places with liberalism and free market capitalism as the dominant societal ideology, one can even speak of a revival of English." (http://africana.rug.ac.be/texts/research-publications/publications_on-line/English_in_novel.htm. 15 March 2002)

My view is that what lies behind the present clamour for English and its trappings such as prestige and social status is a consequence of this and other social-economic factors that operate in Tanzania. The discourses of many of the discussants in the medium debate and the teachers' narratives on English testify to the symbolic value component and its Q-value (De Swaan, 2001). For example, De Swaan (2001:19) has argued that

> "[….] For similar reasons, people prefer large brands with an established reputation: they assume that large suppliers will manage the manufacturing process more carefully and will be more willing to take back defective products or compensate for damages than the owners of smaller brands are wont to do, precisely because the good reputation of the famous brand is a valuable asset to the supplier…. However, a commodity with a grand reputation confers prestige on its users. Many brand names are designed and manipulated to do just that. The languages of the great powers, or of the 'great traditions', likewise shed some of their glory upon their speakers."

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Arguments presented by Prof Maghimbi, Mr. Kanyorota Katanga, Mr. Ludovick Ngatara, Prof Issa Omari in this study subscribe to De Swaan's thesis and explains in large the persistence of dominance of English in Tanzania. In addition, the persistence of English in Tanzania can also be explained by the fact that it has been the language of administration in the colonial period, and at independence it became the second official language; the language of the elite and academia especially in higher institutions of learning; the language of prestigious professions such as law and medicine; a requirement for the more attractive positions in the labour market within Tanzania (see Appendix No. 3/5 and 3/12). In my opinion, all of these are attributed to the language-in-education policy that operates in Tanzania.

I emphasize that issues of language-in-education should be addressed in relation to the diverse power interests that underscore language policy formulation. These interests include dominant ideologies and the complex ways in which policy meanings interact with the expectations and political and cultural aspirations of groups, whether it is the minority or any other within societies during particular times. If one takes a wider view of the language issues in Tanzania since the independence struggle, a picture emerges, which shows that both English and Kiswahili have had different perceptions and have received different receptions at different historical periods but English has gained supremacy over Kiswahili in the arena of education in present-day Tanzania. Both Mr. Maila and Mr. Masatu (Appendix Nos. 3/10 and 3/12 respectively) have observed this change in the fortunes of both and Kiswahili. For example, Mr. Maila observes:

> "[...] When we became independent something changed. One big change was that people no longer felt that to speak English very well was something particularly interesting. In fact people began to say there was something wrong with the Tanzanian who just speaks English all the time. You know that that expression that someone has 'Kasumba' if he speaks English. The same way people would say when you start dressing with ties and so on. All of these were dropped. They were dropped because in the final analysis they were meaningless in our society. People were happy to communicate in Kiswahili." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews —Appendix No. 3a)

and Mr. Masatu notes:

"[....] There was a kind of negative attitude to people who were using English. And therefore as from there people who were using English, if you were seen speaking English then they could say have what we .... *'kasumba'*. See, that you are not a citizen. Why? You are a citizen. You are a Tanzanian. Your Kiswahili with its culture and.... Then from there people do develop this kind of attitude towards language." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews —Appendix No. 3/12)

Like Prof Maghimbi who says that the English votes with its feet –the market wants English without the help of misinformed politicians (Appendix No. 1/10), Mr. Rugee argues that business and economic forces operate in favour of English in Tanzania. Given the social, economic and political environment of today's Tanzania, it has become correct for many people to rationalize that English is the only viable route through which one can access the benefits resulting from trade and economic liberalization and globalization (see Appendix Nos. 3a and 3/1).

However, one should also recognize that the dominance and value of English in Tanzania is fraught with conflicting interpretations. Data used in this study reveals that English presents ambivalent roles and often viewed as an agent of both functions and various points in between carrying different discourses and ideologies (Cooke, 1999:415). For example, for a parent in Tanzania, English is the only route for their children's advancement in the modern sector. Mr. Rugee –Appendix No. 3/1 and Mazrui and Mazrui (1998) illustrate vividly the extent of the belief in English. Like Mr. Maila (Appendix No. 3/10), Mazrui and Mazrui (1998:179) observe:

"[....] By the time the youngster has been through school, and articulated that ultimate status symbol of command of the English language, both orally and in writing, his family's expectations are in the direction of office work in urban areas or.... It is this sense that the educated in African villages become to some extent rural misfits, and are therefore under social pressure to seek white-collar respectability far from home."

Evidence used in this study reveals that parents in Tanzania who want their children to acquire English concur with the argument presented by Mazrui and Mazrui above and the thesis advanced by De Swaan (2001: 101-2). De Swaan

argues that in order to maximize individual career opportunities, individual citizens, and parents of school children especially, privately decide against the domestic language, which for nationalistic reasons they publicly support as a collective good. This probably partly also explains government officials and politicians' failure to put their full weight behind a policy that favours Kiswahili and hence the ambivalent language policy. This has been and continues to be the view regardless of the practical fact that its acquisition process is again beset with problems making it impossible for the majority of Tanzanian children to be incorporated in the socio-economic system whose vernacular is English (Set 1 of Data Corpus: Newspaper Articles -Appendix No. 2a, Mr. Chiganga (Appendix No. 3/7 and observation made by Mr.Ibrahim Kyaruzi mentioned earlier in this chapter).

This situation has been noted elsewhere in this study but it is noteworthy to cite Schmied (1991:19) who refers to South Africa to illustrate the contending discourses and ideologies of English in Africa.

> "[....] It is interesting to see that the parallel with South Africa today: there many Blacks bitterly resent the denial of access to education through English, since this isolates them from the outside world and deprives them of their common weapon in the fight for liberation. This became evident in the 1976 Soweto unrest, which was caused by the government's attempt to place Afrikaans on an equal footing with English as a medium of instruction in Black secondary schools."

Schmied's observation was made in reference to a particular historical period in South Africa. Nevertheless, the argument it posits is testimony to the perceptions people have about English in Tanzania today. Besides English having ambivalent interpretations, its dominance, which is the consequence of language policy creates a hierarchy of languages in post-colonial states in Africa. Blommaert (1999b) argues:

> "[...] These attempts at sociolinguistic landscaping often resulted in a pryamidic, hierarchical pattern in which the former colonial languages occupied the top, a selection of local languages (usually the most widespread languages) the middle, and the other local languages the bottom of the pyramid. The European languages was often the language of higher education, of business, government and the

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law."(http://africana.rug.ac.be/texts/publications/janonlineindex.htm   -15
March, 2002)

The hegemony of English in Tanzania is mage legal as a consequence of the language policy through the school system is crucial since it has the monopoly over the reproduction of the market on which the value of linguistic competence depends. The dominance of English in Tanzania is not only accepted by the elite but by even those who have had limited education, as Mr. Rugee has observed in his argument in favour of English. This domination of English is also reflected in the narratives of Mr. Chiganga and Mrs. Magesa both of whom describe the perceptions people have about English.

The MOI debate brings to light the internal forces in Tanzania, which struggle to make sense of the dominance of English. The formulations developed by Bourdieu, Gal and Woolard that situate language practices in the context of an ever growing and encompassing global linguistic hegemony such as that of English cannot adequately account for its continued dominance in a country where there already exists a local language of wider communication. One is required to explain the growing value of and the consequent demand and prestige of English within the context in which its domains of use in the country have continued to plummet since independence in 1961.

The reality in Tanzania is that English is not the language used to address the bus conductor, to inquire about the balance at the bank, to ask for stamps at the post office, to reserve a seat at the railway station, to speak to the medical assistant at the health centre, or to make a statement at the police station or is English the business language in the Parliament. In post-secondary education, where English is the language of communication, evidence show that its use is without problems and replete with dire consequences. Mr. Chiganga explains:

> "[....] A teacher enters a classroom whether it is form one or two or even three. He wants to teach Geography or History or any other subject. The teacher's knowledge and command of English is poor. He finds it a problem to express himself in English. She/he tries but the structure and forms in English prove to be too difficulty for him. His vocabulary in English is inadequate. But the teacher knows Geography well. When he attempts to

explain or to teach in English, students do not understand. This makes students noisy. They say to the teacher, "we do not understand you madam. Now why don't you say it in Kiswahili? 'We do not understand. Please, madam explain in Kiswahili. And the time is passing while we do not understand you." Eventually, the teacher decides to explain in Kiswahili. But before she/he begins to she/he has to know whether the Headmistress or an inspector is around. The teacher looks through the window and she/he satisfied that all is clear. Then she begins by telling the student, "it is like this." The teacher describes and explains the skill very well. Students exclaim "Aha! So that is how it is. We understand you now, Madam. We have now understood. Thank you very much Madam." The teacher informs the students that the notes will be in English. Students copy the notes in English. But what they learned was taught in Kiswahili. And you can imagine how happy the students were. The students say, "so it is only this one. Why? This is simple. We were wasting our time for something, which is simple. We know it." (Set 2 of Data Corpus: Open Field Interviews -Appendix No. 3/7) -own translation

The play narrated by Mr. Chiganga (Appendix No. 3/7) shows that there is no learning because it is impossible for any meaningful learning to take place in such contexts of confusion. The teacher and her students in this play are forced to seek the services of another non-legitimate linguistic classroom variety to make up for this deficit. The consequence is that English makes the teacher's command of the subject matter doubtful and erodes her/his self-confidence. In such a situation students look foolish and become frustrated to such an extent that they even begin to suspect their own intelligence.

Can one then conclude, given these depressing observations, that the upsurge in the demand and prestige of English is an alignment and accommodation strategy resulting from the prevailing social, political and economic conditions of Tanzania? For example, Mr. Chiganga in Appendix No. 3/7 observes:

"[….] It is like this. The medium of instruction issue was like this. In the year when the First Development Plan of the Five Years of I think of sixty-nine was written, it was mentioned that the government will take the necessary steps to make it possible for Kiswahili to be the medium of instruction in higher education. This was to begin with Form I and then throughout the other levels of education. However, the plan did not mention a specific date when Kiswahili will begin to be used. Nonetheless, it was mentioned in the plan. As years passed, nothing happened. The way I see it, it is as if it was forgotten. It is possible it was done purposely or it was possibly due to changes in the political climate in the country and even people from foreign

countries. Probably it was because influences from outside. I am not sure about this." –own translation.

I have stated elsewhere in this study that there exists a language policy (see Chapter 2), which exists in the form of regulations and pronouncements, and is clearly stipulated in the government's statement on cultural policy of 1997 issued by the Directorate of Culture, MOEC and the 'Education and Training Policy' document (MOEC, 1995a, see also Mrs. Martha Qorro Appendix No. 1/2; Mr. Chiganga – Appendix No. 3/7). I further propose that the language-in-education policy as stipulated in the official pronouncements and regulations is possibly the government's response and strategy to accommodate the social, economic and political pressures exerted by supranational bodies such as the World Bank and IMF.

Let me illustrate this by looking at the ELTSP of 1986, which grew out of the Criper and Dodd study in Tanzania. The introduction of the ELTSP in 1986 funded with British aid through the British Council is a clear example of how aid from international agencies is tied to the hegemony of English and illustrates the government's response to pressures from international donor funding agencies. It is puzzling to comprehend the decision taken by the government to continue using English as MOI in post secondary education even when available evidence showed that the domains of its use in Tanzania were limited. It is this observation, which has made Mrs. Martha Qorro to revisit the Criper and Dodd study of 1984 in order to show impact of foreign interests on policy decisions.

> *"[...] Wataalamu hawa raia wa Uingereza ambao walidhihirisha kuwa kiwango cha Kiingereza kimeshuka sana walipendekeza, kinyume na ugunduzi wao, kuwa Kiingereza kiendelee kuwa lugha ya kufundishia na kwamba mradi wa kuendeleza lugha ya Kiingereza uanzishwe mara moja. Mradi huo ulianzishwa mwaka 1986. Taarifa ya maendeleo ya mradi huo ya mwaka 1991 inaeleza kuwa jitihada zilifanywa kunyanyua Kiingereza cha wanafunzi kwenye mradi kutoka daraja la 'G' hadi ngazi ya chini au ya kati ya daraja la 'D' na wengine wachache ngazi ya chini ya daraja la 'C'. Kwa tafsiri nyingine uwezo wa Kiingereza katika kiwango cha asilimia kuanzia asilimia 25% hadi 30% au kwa wachache asilimia 41%. Viwango hivi, kwanza kabisa, si taarifa mpya kwa vile wataalamu wa elimu hapa nchini, kwa mfano utafiti wa Mlama na Matteru (1976) uligundua viwango hivyo; pia wale waliokuwa katika Tume ya Rais ya Elimu (1982-84) waligundua na walielezwa jambo hilo la viwango kushuka."* [These experts - Criper and

Dodd (1984) from UK showed that the level of English has gone down. They instead recommended measures that ran counter to the evidence from their study that English continue to be the medium of instruction in post secondary education and advised strongly for the establishment of a project that would strengthen English in the country. The project began in 1986 and its report of 1991 revealed that the level of English had risen from grade 'G' level to 'D' level and that a few students were assessed to be at grade 'C' level. In other words, this can be interpreted that the average English proficiency of students in secondary schools stood at between 25 and 30 percent and a few had attained 41 percent. This is not new information since local educational experts in Tanzania such as Mlama and Matteru in 1976 had come out with similar results. The presidential Commission of Education of 1982-84 also came out with the same results] (Set 1 of Data Corpus: News Paper and Workshop Articles —Appendix No. 2) -own translation

The issue here is: why did the government decide to disregard the earlier recommendations of local experts and even those of its own Education Commission on the issue of the language-in-policy? Instead, it accepted and began to implement the Criper and Dodd recommendations of 1984. What is witnessed here is the power of supra-national organizations in influencing and setting policy agendas of poor nations. This may also be argued to be a continuation of cultural imposition through English by powerful organizations such as the British Council and United States Agency for International Development (USAID), which pressurise African governments to accept policies that are of less benefit to their nations.

What about the suggestion made by Woolard (1985: 741) that standard linguistic practices may accompany or conceal resistant consciousness as a form of accommodation to coercion rather than the complicity essential to the notion of cultural hegemony applicable in this case? How do we explain this phenomenon on the basis of the linguistic profile described by S. Yahya-Othman (1997) and Mr. Maila –Appendix No. 3/10, problems of teaching and learning through the medium of English that have been documented in Tanzania?

I suggest that one ought to explain this situation against the background of the language-in-education policy context pursued by Tanzania since language provides a means through which social reality is constructed in a variety of institutional, textual and social discourses. I have discussed elsewhere in this study that English is presented and promoted as the language of empowerment. This study shows that the

continued use of English as a MOI in post-primary education dis-empowers the majority of the people by making them unable to contribute in the socio-political and economic decision-making process (Appendix 1 Nos. 14, 18, 23 and Appendix 3 Nos. 1, 7 and 10). This has also been observe by Cooke (1999:420) who argues:

> "[....] obviously in the context of English becoming the world's major vehicle of exchange. To the extent that this is so, there are at least two major effects. One is that English sidesteps vernaculars and simply takes over as the means of discussion. But in doing so, English sidelines vernaculars and contributes to the loss of local languages as a significant players in decision-making. The outcome then is double disempowerment. Far-reaching decisions are made from afar concerning economies and shape of people's lives —as always the ordinary citizen is well-removed from the process of deciding."

The case of the adoption of the ELTSP in 1986 by the government of Tanzania exemplifies how the process of peripheralisation of the majority works. Furthermore, the main thrust of the ELTSP was teaching of English, which according to Phillipson and Sktunabb-Kangas (1996), Pennycook (1994) and Cooke (1999) is a huge industry that promotes the interests and values of powerful Western institutions such as the British Council achieved through curricula materials and textbooks.

The promotion and strengthening of English in Tanzania by the ELTSP does not depart very much from the promotion of English in post-communist states of which Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1996: 431) argue is being vigorously promoted as the royal road to democracy, a market economy and human rights. Prof Maghimbi (Appendices 1/5, and No. 2a), Mr. Ludovick Ngatara (Appendix No. 1/2), Mr. Chipindula (Appendix No. 1/3) use the same rhetorical argument in defence of English in Tanzania.

A reading of the British colonial language policy in East Africa reveals that the introduction of English as MOI in primary schools after the Second World War was intended to minimize intra-African contact at the level of the masses and as a way of weakening the nationalist struggle against colonialism (Tarsis B. Kabwegere cited in Mazrui and Mazrui, 1998:144). What we have here is a situation where the use of English becomes a strategy of containment. Countries, which continue to use

it in their education system such as Tanzania, have to reckon with the danger of a global uniformity. The danger lies in the power relations that prevail in the global language constellation because the adoption of English as the universal language of science has gone together with the adoption of American models and standards (De Swaan, 2001:117).

Language policy has used English to deny the African masses the opportunity to access knowledge and information that would have led them to be aware of their situation. This has been used by Mrs. Martha Qorro to argue against the continued use of English in education (Appendix No. 2) because it has been used to maintain the colonial objectives in which the colonial administrative structure continued to be the institutional mainstay of the power apparatus, independence did not constitute a total break with the colonial political values. In view of this observation, we argue that language policy in Tanzania took over from where the colonial administration left and has entrenched further the colonial values through privileging English. This is clearly visible in educational and financial institutions, and the judiciary where English has continued to be the language of communication.

Language-in-education policy in present day Tanzania is a continuation of the colonial policy on language. The MOI debate illustrates this and it is also emblematic of the myriad problems that confront post-colonial states. It is also a public space that manifests discourses that try to account for the consequences of colonialism on the one hand, a confluence of ideas about the relationship between language and education, and language and development on the other.

8.7   Concluding remarks

This discussion is an indictment of language policy in Tanzania. It has shown that the use of English in post-primary education sector together with its ideological loading has not been without consequences. These consequences are socio-cultural and economic. English in Tanzania has limited the development of Kiswahili and stifled internal scientific innovations since students in secondary schools are unable to understand scientific theories, concepts and principles that are conveyed in English. In addition, the resurgence in the fortunes of English in the 1980s onwards

has ushered in a process, which may undo the political process of integrating and bridging the gap between the educated elite and the masses that was substantially done through Kiswahili and political programmes initiated from 1967 in Tanzania.

Furthermore, the use of English has created social groups with different linguistic repertoires with the majority failing to enter into the socio-economic mainstream of the state and have thus remained on the fringes. Likewise, the use of English creates elitism, dependency on the developed Western world in such a way that English is used to maintain and reproduce the economic structures that were inherited from the colonial administration.

Throughout this discussion it has been emphasized that language policy is used as a tool that strengthens cultural dependency and leads to the formation of identities that are in alignment with Western culture partly through a hierarchy of languages. English has also created hierarchies of languages and led to rating culture into high and low. English has also led to the unequal distribution of resources and opportunities such that those who posses this linguistic cultural capital are better placed to occupy positions of power and influence.

English has increased greatly the crisis in which people seem to have lost confidence in the value and effectiveness of cultural systems and their knowledge base. People have been led to believe that Kiswahili and/or for that matter the ethnic languages cannot be used to express science and its associated technologies efficiently, compared to English. This in turn has inhibited the development of Kiswahili, witnessed a rethinking and reappraisal of the two languages leading to fostering of positive perceptions and attitudes towards English and counter negative attitudes and perceptions that frown on the use of Kiswahili and Kiswahili-medium education.

For English to become an 'empowering and a gateway to the wider world' in Tanzania, it should be a resource that is appropriated and owned by many, not just the elite and a few rich who can use their wealth to purchase it. This requires a change in language policy and language planning strategies. This would first entail categorizing language as a resource and a human right. The next chapter concludes this study by looking at the relationship between language policy and planning from the educational perspective.

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CHAPTER NINE

REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSION

9.1   General Observations

This study has showed that the issue of language-in-education is not simply a practical case of MOI, but rather one impregnated with issues of power relations and resource distribution. The discussion in this study has been an indictment of the language policy in Tanzania since decisions concerning language-in-education issues are socio-economic as they focus on how a resource such as language is made available. Likewise, issues of language policy form a terrain of language politics and language ideology because the discourses emanating from them are social and political and hence inseparable from economic conditions prevailing in a particular country. The data presented in this study clearly show that it is also an activity which is used to evaluate language, especially in terms of utility and envisaged benefits in Tanzania. The MOI debate provides a good arena for this kind of evaluation.

Language policy is about changing people's attitudes and perceptions towards a particular language and as such entails also a change in cultural identity since language is a marker of identity and group solidarity. Language policy decisions entail a reversal of power relations and may lead to certain groups in the community whose language is not selected to find themselves at the fringes of the socio-economic and political spectrum. It has been argued in the preceding discussion that official language choice confers differential practical advantages or handicaps ethnic groups and their members in economic and educational competition. In this context, I suggest that language policy through education has further entrenched the ideology of English that was left unfinished by colonialism, a process which set in motion the denigration of local languages and their social cultural systems.

For example, the colonial language policy was a strategy, which was used to entrench colonial ideology into the African society. In explaining this, Johannes

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Fabian (cited in Ranger, 1993:73-74) examines the connection between language, linguistics and politics in the Belgian Congo. He argues

> "[…] Among the preconditions from establishing regimes of colonial power was, must have been, communication with the colonized… Use and control of verbal means of communication were not the only foundation for colonial rule; but they were needed to maintain regimes… In the former Belgian Congo brutal, physical force never ceased to be exercise; mush less is known about more subtle uses of power through controls of communication."

Johannes Fabian's observations are clearly expressed by Mr. Maila (Appendix No. 3/10), the Special Correspondent in the African (Appendix No. 1/14), which describe the impact of colonial languages on the African mentality, cultural identity and to a great extent put into question confidence in their cultural systems.

I began this study by proposing that language policy is a social and political mechanism for distributing particular linguistic resources in society. In order to provide an adequate examination of issues that relate to language and education, I decided to concentrate on discourse in texts and conversational narratives because these allow social members to actually express and formulate ideological beliefs or any other opinion relating to English in Tanzania. Secondly, discourse lends itself better to scrutiny because they enable actors to formulate general conclusions based on experiences and observations. In this way I hope I have been able to show how the meanings and discourses that associate English with education, modernity and development permeate through the narratives in the MOI debate.

Language policy in the Tanzanian context is about English and its ideology. The ideology of English in Tanzania represents some of the sediments of the British colonial administration. In its historical life, colonialism left in its wake a series of view points, attitudes and perceptions about English. These in turn have lived and transformed themselves into a set of beliefs and meanings about English, which are used to describe what English is and what it can do. Therefore, the MOI debate and the place of English in education in Tanzania is also a debate on language politics since the former is about language choice, representation and language ideology. Thus, analyzing the language policies pursued at different historical periods in the

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short history of Tanzania since 1888, first as a German colony, later as a British Protectorate from 1918 after the 1st World War, and lastly as an independent state from 1961 and onwards, helps us to understand how languages, cultures, knowledge and identities have been taken over, appropriated, adapted, adopted and reused (Pennycook, 2000b: 116).

The discussion in the previous chapters has been about how a resource such as English is made available and the implications of such a policy decision to individuals and society at large. The discussion has also focused on the ideology of English showing how it has permeated the Tanzanian society through the current language-in-education policy. In this concluding chapter, I intend to summarize the arguments presented in order to emphasize how English has become synonymous with education as well as a valuable symbolic cultural capital possessing very strong materiality in the economic commodity exchange market, and briefly discuss the impact of the medium debate on future language policy and planning in Tanzania.

I also consider the medium debate a post-mortem inquest of the education aims and the vision of development in Tanzania. The 1995 MOEC policy document on 'Education and Training' states that:

> "[….] To guide and promote the development and improvement of the personalities of the citizens of Tanzania, their human resources and effective utilization of those resources in bringing about individual and national development; To promote the acquisition and appreciation of culture, customs and traditions of the peoples of Tanzania, and To promote the acquisition and appropriate use of literacy, social, scientific, vocational, technological, professional and other forms of knowledge, skills and understanding for the development and improvement of the condition of man and society." (MOEC, 1995a: 1)

My reading of the discourses from the MOI debate shows that it is impossible for these aims to be realized if English continues to be used in post-primary education. The preceding discussion has shown that English is unequally distributed and has consequently become an important commodity for a few whereas the majority are kept salivating for it. One thing that is clearly evident is that the majority will find it impossible to harvest the 'social rewards' emanating from possession of English. This is the case because the education system has a high

degree of wastage and attrition as a consequence of the sieves put in place in the form of examinations at the end of every education cycle (see Figure 6.5.1, Tables 2.2.1 and 6.5.1).

Furthermore, the process of appropriating this resource is more difficult even for those few who are selected to join post-primary education because the change in the medium is sudden and the majority find it difficult to acquire the required linguistic repertoire to access knowledge and information in English (Mrs. Martha Qorro –Appendix No. 2). Two, the fact that English is not spoken or used in non-formal contexts such as the home, the local market place and between people of different ethnic languages, makes its chance of becoming a viable linguistic resource for communication to many people in Tanzania very negligible. As it is now, English is the language of the classroom only when the teacher is present but even then '*Kiswakinge*'- a mixture of Kiswahili and English (Appendix No.1/14) is the mode of communication in the classroom. Naturally in such circumstances, one is bound to ask how English can lead to the realization of the educational aims discussed above.

Evidence from this study leads me to acknowledge the fact that there is no relationship between the aims of education, the national vision of development and the language selected to enable their implementation.

9.2   Language policy and educational practices

The argument that has been presented in this study can be summarized as **LANGUAGE POLICY (LP) + EDUCATION = INCREASE IN VALUE OF ENGLISH**. This configuration produces a set of attitudes and perceptions about English that become translated into meanings and discourses, which are expressed as **English = Education, Science and Technology, Development, Civilization, etc.** The implications of these discourses are as detailed under (a) to (c)

a)   English + Education = Social, cultural, political & economic inequality

b)   English + Education = Elitism

c)   English + Education = Economic Dependency, Peripheralisation & Marginalisation.

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These configurations are depicted in Figure 9.2.1 showing the chain of events and processes that operate within the larger framework of language policy and education institutions. Figure 9.2.1 also shows how these processes interrelate and the resultant implications. Furthermore, it describes a network of structures, institutions, processes and practices of power relations in the domains of social life.

Figure 9.2.1: Implications of Language Policy, English and Education
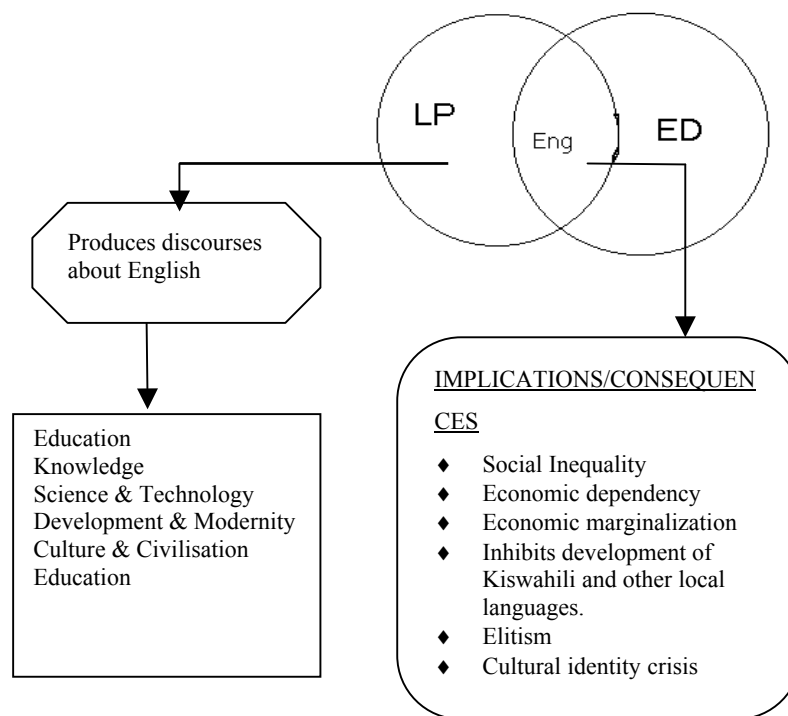
Abbreviations: **LP** - Language Policy; **Eng** - English; **ED** - Education

In post-colonial Tanzania, language policy and language practices in education institutions happen to be one of the most important domains of social reproduction. Although language policy is in principle integrationist, practice shows that it quite often as in the case of Tanzania lead to raising the status of English over local languages such as Kiswahili and ELgs. In Chapter 2 it was observed that the

decision by the governments of Malawi and Zambia to adopt English as the MOI in the school system led to the perpetuation of its dominance role in education, disunity and lack of modernization, which it sought to stimulate. In some aspects, the Malawi and Zambia situation is similar to that of Tanzania except on the issue of unity and national integration because the decision to make Kiswahili the national and official language on the on hand, and MOI in basic education and training colleges for primary school teachers and other political factors on the other, strengthened further the national unity.

Furthermore, elsewhere in Africa, it has been observed that the high value placed on ex-colonial languages and the low status of local languages have led to negative consequences for educational development with implications to social and economic development. Local languages have not been taken seriously as subjects of study on the one hand, while more emphasis is put on proficiency in foreign languages on the other, making parents to want their children to follow an English-medium education. This has become institutionalized by the language policy for education pursued by governments.

The narratives used in this study are symptomatic of the predicament of learning through a language that is not well known and understood. They have further pointed out the consequences of such a language-in-education policy, one of which is the absence of innovations and inventiveness from students in post-primary education levels. The argument summarized in Figure 9.2.1 describes a similar process in Tanzania although in this case Kiswahili had already been established as a *lingua franca* that could also serve educational needs. This statement is based on the observation that curricula materials were translated from English into Kiswahili for the primary education sector when the government announced a change in the medium in 1967.

The question one needs to ask is why is it not possible for the post-primary education sector because Kiswahili proved that it can and has ever since that time been used to offer education in this sector. The answer to this can be sought in the ideology of English that has categorized other languages as immature and incapable of meeting educational (especially post-primary education) and developmental needs and the economic cost involved in changing MOI in the post-primary education

sector. The other reason stems from the attitudes towards the two languages and the pressures exerted from foreign countries who convince decision and policy makers that there is much to be gained in the continued use of English in this education sector. It is therefore not surprising to find that attitudes and perceptions that describe and credit English with modernity have taken root in Tanzania because, one, English belongs to a former developed colonial power and two, language is a medium that is better placed to convey these ideological beliefs and myths than any other non-semiotic media.

9.3 Is English an appropriate resource in education?

A language policy that privileges one language variety by giving it monopoly over the higher levels of education raises its socioeconomic value. Such has been the case with English in Tanzania. The value of English and its dominance in education contributes to formation of attitudes and perceptions that associate and/ or equate English with education, knowledge, science and technology, development, modernity, culture and civilization. When these attitudes and beliefs concerning a particular language become entrenched, they lead to a categorization of languages into groups of superior and mature, and inferior and immature. Such has been the case with the description of Kiswahili in the MOI debate. The result, as the preceding discussion has shown is that Kiswahili is negatively considered and found lacking in the arena of education and development. It is furthermore considered traditional, backward and culturally inferior to English resulting into people having less confidence in it and its associated cultural analysis systems and knowledge bases. Given this background, there is need to question whether English is the appropriate resource for education in Tanzania.

In a country like Tanzania, where education is an important social engineering project that aims at social, political and economic development, evidence from this study shows that the use of English in post-primary education has resulted into creating social groups based on the possession of this linguistic resource. The creation of social divisions based on linguistic differences is accompanied and supported by the production of series of discourses that equate

English with education, English with knowledge, science and technology and civilization. One also needs to point out that it is undoubtedly apparent that the adoption of Kiswahili as the official and national language as well as MOI in basic education has greatly influenced the decline in the use of ELgs in formal settings. It has on the other hand increased the participation of the majority in the public sphere. Data used in this study has also shown that English leads to marginalization that limits their participation in national development since it restricts access to knowledge and skills resulting into low productivity and ineffective performance because their proficiency in this language is inadequate.

What is indisputable is that over most of post-colonial Sub-Saharan Africa, the elites who took over the reigns of power after independence have maintained the colonial language policies. This in itself has undermined the utility of languages such as Kiswahili as viable languages of science and technology. Let me digress a little bit by using the doctor-patient relationship in Tanzanian hospitals as an example. When a patients consults a doctor in a hospital, the communication is conducted in Kiswahili but the diagnosis and medical prescription is written in English, a language which most patients do not understand. The issue here is what makes the doctor to write the medical report meant for the consumption of the patient in English instead of a language which was used to conduct the diagnosis? How does the patient view this situation? If she/he is asked to express her/his opinion and attitudes toward English and Kiswahili, I imagine she/he may conclude that Kiswahili is not a language which can be used in the medical profession.

In addition to the narrow reach of the education system in Tanzania (see Figure 6.5.1, Tables 2.2.1 and 6.5.1), the use of English encourages elitism and ensures that economic dependency characteristic of the centre-periphery is reproduced and maintained. The study has also shown that the discourses that link English to development and similar positive aspects cannot be achieved in Tanzania because of the narrow reach of the post-primary education. Development in this kind of environment would be for a few who have the ability to utilize English as a resource and thus enable them to occupy positions of influence and power while the majority are left behind 'sweeping the streets'. Similar evidence has been documented elsewhere by Kembo (2000) and Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000:7) who

observe that in South Africa the participation of the black community in the economic life of the nation is less effective and meaningful because less than 25 per cent of the black population knows this dominant language of economic activity.

Language policy is a product of social and political factors and has been used by the ruling elite or group to maintain their hold on power. For most of post-colonial Africa, the adoption of ex-colonial languages such as English, French, Portuguese and Spanish as official languages and for Tanzania as the MOI in post-primary levels of education has meant increased ignorance for the majority of the population. Putting this argument within the perspective of Tanzania, one ought to consider it in relation to the structure of education that has limited educational opportunities for the majority of its population beyond secondary school. In addition to this, one should also consider the undeniable fact that the level of awareness regarding science and technology is low because it is made available in a language that is not easily accessible to many. In proposing this argument, I concur with Williams (1992:127) who argues that the use of a language of wider communication such as English is a little more than an agency of ideological control, which facilitates world domination.

The evidence that has been produced in this study shows that the continued use of English in the post-primary education sector leads to social, cultural, and economic domination and the production of a small elite group. In one way, the meanings and discourses of English in Tanzania reflect the continuation of an asymmetrical educational structure that was put in place by the colonial administration to produce a small class of westernized elites. This was achieved (and is still being implemented) through their socialization to a privileged linguistic practice and resource such as English to the extent that they dominate the terms of public discourse.

Language policy and education are domains of social reproduction, which tend to mask the effects of hegemonic practices. I have shown that language is one of the main sites of the generation of ideology and thought, and I emphasized that language policy and education lie at the centre of power relations in any given social formation. The consequence of this relationship is that the language-in-education policy creates hierarchies of language (Kroskrity, 1999) and hence has led to the

valorization of English without which its social value of linguistic competence and its capacity to function as such would cease to exist.

Nevertheless, it has been argued by the proponents of English that denying the majority an education through English is tantamount to condemning them to a life of servitude and declaring them second-class citizens. In other words, this argument can be restated to read that English reduces the widening social inequalities that are apparently evident in Tanzania. By implication, this means that Kiswahili is inferior to English and incapable of reducing the gap between the rich and poor in Tanzania and as it happens shifts the focus of the debate from English to a discussion of the consequences of using Kiswahili as a MOI.

English in Tanzania dispossesses the majority the required linguistic repertoire that would enable them enter the social, political and economic public space. For instance, if one wants to enter the East African Legislative Assembly, he or she is required to have a good command of English. In pursuing this argument further, one is bound to ask why English is purported to be one of the main causes of the social, political and economic inequality in Tanzania when it is not the language of wider communication for the majority of the population. The answer lies in the place of English in the education system. This rests on the recognition that education in most post-colonial countries is tied and linked to social progress and modernization. It is this linkage, which has perhaps led people to equate English with education because formal education, which was introduced by the colonial administrators, guaranteed employment opportunities in the labour market. As such it was then necessary for an individual to know English if one had to progress in the colonial socio-economic structure in Tanzania.

In my opinion, the argument that favours the continuation of English in the education system seems to rationalize that it will help the African people avoid being described supernumerary and relegated to the dustbin of history (Hoogvelt, 2002:15). In addition to this, language policy in Tanzania sidelines and excludes the majority of the labour force from the engulfing global economy whose vernacular is English while integrating its elites into the global networks of wealth, power, information and communication. It follows then that English can enable the Africans to undo the backwardness and inferiority resulting from their traditions and culture,

which condemned them to repeat themselves endlessly and become stuck in the same rut for time immemorial (Jan Vansina cited in Ranger, 1993:76).

The arguments presented in the MOI debate are emblematic of Bourdieu's process of naturalizing high status linguistic practices such as English in Tanzania. Notwithstanding this observation, issues of language-in-education in Tanzania have focused on the issue of medium, treating English in its vehicular use only while overlooking its symbolic materiality, and the larger issues of social and economic inequality, limited opportunities for participation in decision-making in the development process. The language-in-education policy has given birth to aesthetic code-switching in which speakers from all works of life put in a word of English in their utterances to signal to their interlocutors that they are refined, progressive and Westernized. In this way, a person's social prestige and credibility is measured against a scale of the individual's competence and knowledge of English. In addition, it has been shown that many Tanzanians are prepared to invest in education that is offered in English because first, they have faith in its efficiency, and secondly they believe that English will enable them and their children gain the social prestige and status accorded to those with knowledge of the latter.

Similarly, the MOI debate has also revealed that the language policy pursued in Tanzania views language as an object. The discourses and meanings of English indicate that many people consider it a language with many unique characteristics, which represent human cultural, intellectual and social achievement and therefore should be defended or used more widely.

9.4 Language as a resource

In Chapter Two, I proposed that English is a resource and that language policy has been instrumental in making it a venerated and valuable symbolic cultural capital. Interpreting the narratives on the MOI debate shows that English has been defined and categorized as an important social capital for the individual and nation's development. Furthermore, the debate has also proved correct both Bernstein and Bourdieu by demonstrating that language–in-education policy is implicated in the

denigration of local languages such as Kiswahili through making them look inferior and inadequate in meeting the needs of individuals and society.

For example, the dominance of English as the language of education, science and technology in Tanzania has done what French did to other languages by becoming the legitimate language of reason, legal and state matters (Pierre Bourdieu cited in Williams, 1992). By using English in Tanzania, language resources have been categorized where the latter is said to be mature, efficient and effective, a proposition favoured by the elite. This is a theme that is subscribed to by Prof Maghimbi, Dr. Faris Ogita, Mr. Chipindula, Mr. Ludovick Ngatara and Mr. Kanyorota Katanga in their narratives. This consequence of the ideology of English has lead to varied perceptions and attitudes towards both English and Kiswahili. These are quite apparent in the emergent formulations about English in Tanzania.

The supremacy of English in Tanzania is based on a very strong ideology, which partly emanate from colonialism. This is the case because Pennycook (2000a: 49) argues that colonial language policies were based on the discourses of Anglicism with their insistence on the European need to bring civilization to the world through English. Likewise, international organizations such as the British Council, USAID, the World Bank and IMF have continued to spread and economically back the traditional view that sees English as inherently good for the world (Pennycook, 2000b: 109). This may explain the introduction of the ELTSP in Tanzania in 1986 against the evidence that was documented by local researchers, the Presidential Education Commission of 1982 (cited by Mrs. Martha Qorro –Appendix No.2) and Criper and Dodd (1984).

Moreover, the same thesis has also been used by these supranational organizations whose definition and description of development bears some similarity with the linguistic constructions that describe English to coerce post-colonial governments in sub-Saharan Africa to make use of Western modern technologies, including its language(s) and systems of analysis.

The adoption of ex-colonial languages in education was supported by an ideology that is premised on categorizing languages in terms of maturity and efficiency. This thesis puts in question the reasons that underpinned the adoption of Kiswahili as the language of nation building regardless of the fact that common

languages of wider communication are better placed to spread the technologies and ideas through education and mass media. Similarly, the ideology of English has cast doubts on the viability of Kiswahili as resource for education and development. One can argue further that the MOI debate is a confluence of representations of Western ideologies about education and development channelled through language, especially English.

In treating English as a resource, I concur with Blommaert's (2001a: 23) argument that the importance of resources lies in the deep relation between language and the general economy of symbols and status in society. The data used in this study reveals that job opportunities, professional career development, opportunities for further education, performance in other subjects in post-primary education, and social status in Tanzania are tied to knowledge of English. Inadequacy in English makes one look like a refugee in his own country because language in this instance is a real social and economic barrier and becomes a difficult border to cross. Therefore categorizing and examining English or any language as a resource that is made available through language policy and education enables one to explain how languages are hierarchized in terms of functional adequacy and reveals that those with different resources often find that they often have unequal resources (Blommaert, 2001a: 21).

Likewise, analysing English as a resource especially in post-colonial states such as Tanzania brings to light the systems and patterns of power symbols and instruments as well as making it an investigation into the basic patterns of privilege and disenfranchisement in society (Blommaert, 2001a: 23). The data used in this study, especially the newspaper texts explains how individuals are constrained by inadequacy in this communicative repertoire.

9.5 Language policy, English and language politics

Language policy is in substance about language politics because it deals with providing speaking rights and opportunities for subjects in a sovereign. My use of the term language politics or politics of language in this context refers to how people in a polity can be heard through language and other communicative resources at their disposal because the latter enable them to participate in the public discourse.

My view of speaking rights refers to the expression and meaning making that grows out of the individual's lived experience. I posit that privileging English and Kiswahili have to a greater extent silenced the 'other' through undervaluing and making them unworthy of attention. The 'other' as used in this discussion refers to local languages or ELgs in Tanzania, which according to the MOEC's Cultural Policy Statement document are not considered appropriate communicative resources but only as depositories of culture and primary resources for the development of Kiswahili.

In addition, language policy is also about language choice, which upgrades particular language varieties and repertoires thus silencing other varieties of language by limiting or downgrading their use through a deliberate allocation of domains of use in society. It is true that the use of English in post-primary education has kept Kiswahili out of the scientific and technological discourse in Tanzania by confining it to less prestigious domains such as the primary education sector, lower courts of law and informal domains at home and local markets. This is an instance of silencing the speaking rights of those communities whose languages are considered ineffective and undeveloped to participate in public space.

Language choices are political decisions that are made through language policy. As I have discussed in the previous chapters, language choice decisions that are realized through education result into disparities in the acquisition, possession and knowledge of linguistic resources that are manifest in society. In my analysis of English in Tanzania, I have also shown how these disparities translate themselves into both social and economic inequalities. These can be seen in terms of language categorization on the one hand, and how the inequalities resulting from language policy become social affecting access to opportunities on the basis of proficiency in the dominant economic language on the other. It has also been shown that the use of English in Tanzania leads to social divisions on the basis of knowledge in English whose possession confers positions of power and influence and consequently limits and affects the majority from political and economic decision-making and to some extent political participation.

I consider the MOI debate to be in substance about politics of languages because it leads us to understand the political economics of English and Kiswahili in

Tanzania in the spheres of education, science, technology and development. Similar trends are also apparent in the ebonics debate in the US and debate on English grammar in UK within the national curriculum. The medium debate in Tanzania puts language policy and education under scrutiny while the ebonics debate in the US brings to light ideological debates of standard and non-standard varieties of English and their socio-economic implications in society.

9.6 The medium of instruction debate, language policy and planning (LPP)

I have argued in this study that language choice is about speaking rights and representation. I emphasize further that language is inseparable from politics and development because language policy decisions impact on opportunities to wider segments of society. This makes language policy and planning a political activity. For instance, where it is used with great care it can displace formally entrenched social groups enjoying political power and advantage from their privileged positions (Dasgupta, 1990:223). That is why I emphasize that the MOI debate is an inquest on language policy and planning in Tanzania because they impact on national identity and the patterns of access to power, influence and allegiance, opportunities, wealth, prestige within the nation state. Critiquing language choice or policy and its implementation or planning sheds light on important political processes and political changes because these impact on government initiatives in development. That is why I have emphasized elsewhere in this study that language policy and planning in post-colonial states is inseparable from politics and representation.

For example, the ArDe and ESR political policy interventions realized that language is a right and an important resource to be left a preserve of a few. That is why they deliberately raised the status of Kiswahili through making it a legitimate language for politicking and MOI in basic education. This leads me to argue that language policy and planning in post-colonial Tanzania must as of necessity operate with a correct definition of language because as a social engineering project, language policy and planning have emphasized national integration and modernisation overlooking the fact that language is located within the historical structuring of society and the class system.

Furthermore, like any other social activity, language leaves sediments in its period of existence. These accumulate as collective cultural capital, available to the members of the particular language group (De Swaan, 2001). Language policy and language planning ought to take this into consideration if it is to avoid making this collective cultural capital the monopoly of a few by privileging one language as it seems to be doing in Tanzania because ELgs have been left to die out of neglect and disuse. The issues, which need to be addressed by language policy and planning in the Tanzanian context where everyone understands and speaks Kiswahili include: a clear definition of language, re-aligning the motives and objectives of education with the definition of language, viewing language as right and a resource, a clear vision of development and the role of language in realizing this vision.

In drawing the curtain to this discussion, I will locate the definition of language with language as a resource and right under the term 'resource', and motives and objectives of education and vision of development under the term 'visions of education and development'.

9.6.1 Visions of education and development for language policy and planning

This study shows that language is linked to education and development, something that seems to be lacking in the government decisions on language. Language policy and planning for both education and development has to go hand-in-hand with the objectives of the education system. In addition, language policy must demonstrate economic advantages if it is to stick because without the bottom-up advantages, without an identity in which all social categories can share, language policy will remain a field of intellectual inquiry in the academia. It is this deficit which has made parents to conclude that there is no economic advantage in having their children pursue a Kiswahili-medium education.

Readings from the MOI debate show that the educational objectives and vision of development in post-ArDe and *Ujamaa* period are not in tune with the language selected for use in education. Language policy and planning hinges on clearly defined educational objectives. Educational objectives are born out of a vision of development that maps out the direction of development, identifying

priorities and methods of implementation. The national vision of development focuses on creating a particular nation, which for example may be built on equality of opportunities. This is what has made Mrs. Martha Qorro (Appendix No. 2) and Dr. Zakaria Mochiwa (Appendix No.1/12) to observe that people have failed to make a distinction between education and language.

If one reads further into the opinions and views about language and education in Tanzania, it is apparent that language has become the driver which guides and determines the kind of education provided. To make language perform the function of servicing education and the delivery of knowledge a number of distinctions need to be made. It is important to make a clear distinction between language and education, to define clearly the purpose of education, which determines the formulation of relevant educational objectives, the methods and processes of realizing the main purposes of education. The choice of an appropriate MOI would then ceases from being an issue for debate.

Readings on colonialism have shown that colonial education objectives were geared toward producing a few literate Africans who could serve well the colonial administration. It is because of the clear colonial educational objective that two languages were used in the education system in Tanzania. Kiswahili was found to be effective for local administration and inter-ethnic communication, and hence was used in the primary school education sector while English was reserved for the higher levels education and colonial administration. Education was likewise offered to meet the needs of the colonial administration and English became the appropriate MOI in post-primary levels of education because the language of education was associated directly with the language used in the administration and courts of law.

Likewise, as observed in the previous section, the use of Kiswahili in the primary school education sector in Tanzania was premised on the realization that education was provided to make primary school leavers members of their community because that is where they would return for their livelihood as productive members of their respective communities. In this we observe a link between the language of instruction, education objectives and the envisioned society.

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9.6.2 Language as resource for language policy and planning

The MOI debate has shown that the government's view of language is not well articulated. One needs to inquire into the motivation that drives the government's language policy decisions. What is clearly evident is that the language policy and planning in Tanzania after independence and during the ArDe and *Ujamaa* period (1961-1980) focused on the creation of a nation and to provide for the growth of a national identity where Kiswahili was well placed to fulfill this political objective.

Whether language policy and planning is for national identity, education and/ or development, a choice has to be made between the three meanings of language – language as an instrument, language as an abstract system and language as an object. One of the questions that has been raised by the MOI and language policy debate is whether language policy makers and language planner in Tanzania share the same definition or understanding of what language means? Do they consider language as an instrument or device, an abstract system and or as object? The discourses and meanings, which describe both English and Kiswahili seems to indicate that there is an absence of a clear view of language from the government.

The absence of a clear view of language has affected language policy decisions and planning approaches and techniques. My observation is that taking language as a resource meets the definition of language as a system of signs and symbols, written as well as spoken enabling human beings to interact with each other within a social setting. Viewing language as a resource is also inclusive of language as an instrument used for expression, interaction and reference. Lastly, taking language as a resource includes also its referential function, enabling speakers and writers to refer to and describe objects, individuals, thoughts and ideas in the past, now or future.

Planning language as a resource would take into account issues of access and distribution because it becomes a commodity, which can then equitably be made available to many for them to realize their expectations and aspirations. This study has shown that there are two languages in use in Tanzania. One can say that Kiswahili is the language of development, while English is the language of

education but practice shows that English is slowly taking over the functions of Kiswahili in the domain of development because as a resource it has a high Q-value (De Swaan, 2001) than Kiswahili.

Nation building in post-colonial states such as Tanzania has been geared toward the eradication of ignorance, disease and poverty. A language of wider communication such as Kiswahili is among the plentiful resources available for education and development, which does not require foreign exchange injection. What is lacking is the political will to enable Kiswahili become the language of education, science and technology in Tanzania. This entails the government to revisit its language policy and come out with a clear statement that would make Kiswahili the MOI at all levels of education and English remains a reference reading language in schools and colleges. This would raise the q-value of Kiswahili in Tanzania because education institutions are capable of making a language grow in status, value and prestige.

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