

**LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION IN TANZANIAN
HIGHER EDUCATION:
A particular focus on the University of Dar es Salaam**

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ABSTRACT

Kiswahili is the African lingua franca of Tanzania. In the education system it serves as the language of instruction at primary school level. From secondary school and onwards, however the medium of instruction is English. This is an issue that has caused a lot of debate over the years. Many publications and a lot of research on the issue suggest that the current language policy is an obstacle to effective learning and teaching because students as well as lecturers are not sufficiently competent in English. Therefore it has been argued that the medium of instruction should be Kiswahili, also at post primary level.

Although it seems obvious to many educationists that learners learn best through a language they understand well, there is also considerable support for retaining the English medium in Tanzania. The proponents of the English medium often argue that globalisation makes it important to keep the English medium, that the Kiswahili language lacks the necessary vocabulary to function as an academic language or that such a change is too costly for a developing country like Tanzania.

The main objective of this study is to explore and gain insight into the various views concerning the medium of instruction at post-primary level in Tanzania with a special focus on higher education and the University of Dar es Salaam. The opinions of lecturers, professors and students were sought through open-ended interviews, employing the interview guide approach. The study also involved document analysis of Government policy documents, newspapers and earlier studies and publications on the issue.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Tanzania is situated on the east coast of Africa and has an estimated population of 33 million people. Dodoma is the political capital, whereas Dar es Salaam is the commercial capital of the country (URT, 2006). With the use of Kiswahili, English and more than 120 indigenous languages, the society of Tanzania can be described as multilingual (Roy-Campbell, 1992). As opposed to the majority of African countries however, Tanzania has in Kiswahili a unifying African lingua franca (Brock-Utne, 2005). The National Kiswahili Council estimated that 99 percent of the population spoke Kiswahili in 2004 (Masoto, 2004 in Brock-Utne, 2005). The use of Kiswahili is growing fast, especially due to the many marriages between people belonging to different ethnic groups with different languages (Puja, 2003). About 80 million people in 14 countries in East and Central Africa speak Kiswahili (Masoto, 2004 in Brock-Utne, 2005), and it is one of the five official languages of the African Union (Brock-Utne, 2005).

Kiswahili is used as the language of instruction through the seven years of primary school in Tanzania. The Kiswahili Department at the University of Dar es Salaam also uses Kiswahili as the language of instruction. Post primary education is otherwise offered in English (Peterson, 2006; Brock-Utne, 2005 and Mutasa, 2003). In spite of numerous studies and publications (Brock-Utne and Halmarsdottir, 2003; Puja, 2003; Malekela, 2003; Mkwizu, 2003 and Mwinsheike, 2001) pointing out the problems this situation is causing teachers and learners, the policy is still in place.

I chose to write about this particular topic for several reasons. Firstly, I believe education entails an immense potential for development at individual, national and global levels. Secondly, I decided to focus on higher education particularly, because I am under the impression that the role of higher learning in development has been overshadowed by efforts to provide primary education for all. The use of a foreign language of instruction was especially interesting to me because it represents a major difference from the Norwegian school system I am familiar with. Furthermore it goes against everything I learned when undertaking the bachelor course of philosophy of Education, prior to the onset of this study. Thus, after discussing various topics related to higher education in Africa with my supervisor, the language issue emerged as the more interesting topic to focus on. This study attempts to gain insight into, and illuminate the opinions on either side of this heated debate, with a

special focus on the University of Dar es Salaam. I conducted fieldwork for this study in Dar es Salaam in the period between the 26th of September and the 21st of October in 2006. Furthermore I went back to Dar es Salaam in January 2007 and completed the process of writing there.

This study is a part of the LOITASA project (Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa), which is a NUFU funded research project that began in January 2002. It is based on cooperation between researchers at the Institute for Educational Research at the University of Oslo, Faculty of Education at the University of Dar es Salaam and Faculty of Education at the University of Western Cape.

1.1 Objectives of the study

The main objective of this study is to explore and gain insight into the various views concerning the medium of instruction at post-primary level in Tanzania, with a special focus on higher education and the University of Dar es Salaam in relation to the following issues:

- How is the quality of the education offered at the university in Tanzania affected by the English language of instruction?
- Is Kiswahili a suitable language for higher learning?
- How does the current policy on language of instruction in Tanzania relate to the process of development of the nation?

1.2 Research questions

- Are students learning efficiently with the English medium?
- Are lecturers/teachers teaching efficiently with the English medium?
- Is using English as the medium of instruction an effective strategy for learning English?
- Is Kiswahili a viable alternative to the English medium?
- How is the process of development affected by the English medium in Tanzania

1.3 History of educational language policies

Kiswahili was made the language of instruction in the four years of primary education, which a minority of Tanzanian children were provided with during the German colonial period from 1886 to 1920. The German colonial government changed the Kiswahili script from Arabic to Latin (Roy-Campbell, 2001). Brock-Utne (2000) points out that regardless of the Germans' intentions behind using the Kiswahili language in colonial administration and education; their use of the language is the main reason why it became the uniting lingua franca of Tanganyika

In 1920 the British colonial government assumed control over Tanganyika as a result of the Versailles Treaty. The British retained the Kiswahili medium of instruction in primary education, for colonial administration on the other hand they chose to use English. Under British rule separate school systems for African, Asian and European children were developed. Gujarati was the language of instruction in most Asian primary schools, with English medium at higher levels (Brock-Utne, 2000).

Tanganyika achieved independence in 1961. Two years later the Asian vernaculars were removed from the primary school curricula by the Ministry of Education. English and Kiswahili were thus made the only media of instruction at this level. In 1962 the government announced that Kiswahili was to be the national language of Tanganyika. This was followed by an increased prestige for the language, particularly as a directive from the Prime Minister stated that Kiswahili was to be used in all state and public functions. The Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere addressed the first parliament of independent Tanganyika in Kiswahili in December 1962 (Roy-Campbell, 2001). The United Republic of Tanzania was formed in 1964 as the sovereign states of Tanganyika and decided to unite. Zanzibar achieved independence from the British in 1963 (DFID, 2006).

In March 1967, the Government declared that Kiswahili was to be the language of instruction throughout primary school. According to Roy-Campbell (2001) this decision helped increase the prestige of the Kiswahili language further, and elevated it from the status of a second-class language. The necessary preparations, such as producing textbooks and reorienting the teachers took place a long side the process of effecting the change in medium, rather than beforehand. The production and distribution of textbooks in Kiswahili was to be facilitated by

Tanzania Publishing House and Tanzania Educational supplies, which had been set up by the Government in 1967.

In 1964 the Institute of Kiswahili Research became a part of the University of Dar es Salaam. The staff of the Institute was actively engaged in cataloguing, collecting and contextualizing new words. The new role of the Kiswahili language became even more evident with the establishment of bodies like the National Kiswahili Council (BAKITA). The council was assigned to have the main responsibility in developing Kiswahili in Tanzania (Brock-Utne 2000).

According to Brock-Utne (2000), the continued use of the English medium in post-primary education was deemed to be unsatisfactory in the second five year plan (1969-1974), which was the first government plan since the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance. The change in language of instruction in primary school was perceived to be a part of a larger plan to implement the use of the Kiswahili medium throughout the whole education system. In 1969 a circular outlining the gradual shift in medium of instruction was sent to all the headmistresses and headmasters of secondary schools by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry circular proposed that the subjects Kiswahili and “siasa”, which means political science, should be taught through the Kiswahili medium from the school-year 1969/70. The initial plan was that the medium of instruction was to be changed from English to Kiswahili in all subjects in forms 1 and 2 by 1973 (Brock-Utne 2000).

The five year Development Plan also suggests the introduction of Kiswahili in higher learning institutions:

...the division between Swahili education at the primary level and English education at the secondary level will create and perpetuate a linguistic gulf between different groups and will also tend to lend an alien atmosphere to higher education, making it inevitably remote from the problems of the mass society (Roy Campbell, 1992:150).

The use of Kiswahili as the language of instruction in “siasa” and Kiswahili was implemented, but then the reform stopped. In the period between 1969 and 1983, educators in Tanzania were preparing and waiting for the change in language of instruction from English to Kiswahili to be implemented for secondary schools, and subsequently tertiary education (Brock-Utne, 2000).

In 1980 a Presidential Commission on Education was appointed by Nyerere. The task of the Commission was to review the state of education, and make recommendations for improvements for the next 20 years. The commission consisted of 13 members, and was chaired by J. Makweta. Although the government had given the commission six months to complete its work, the study was conducted over 16 months, and the recommendations were presented to the president in February 1982. Along with a whole range of recommendations on different issues concerning education in general, there were two sets of recommendations related to education and language. Firstly, it was suggested that the teaching of both English and Kiswahili should be strengthened, and secondly it reaffirmed that Kiswahili should be introduced as the language of instruction in secondary schools in 1985, and at the tertiary level in 1992 (Roy-Campbell, 1992).

However, in August 1983 events took an unexpected turn. The minister of education was quoted in the press stating that the much anticipated shift to use Kiswahili in post-primary education was not going to be realized after all. It added to the surprise that before Makweta became the minister of education, he was the chair of the Presidential Commission on Education (Roy-Campbell, 1992).

In July 1984, two years after the commission's report was submitted, the government made an official response to the recommendations provided in the report. The document contained no reference to, or discussion about the introduction of the Kiswahili language as medium of instruction in post-primary education (Roy- Campbell, 1992). It simply stated that:

The Ministry of Education will draw up and supervise an action plan in the implementation of programmes to improve the teaching and use of Kiswahili and English at all levels of education. Both Kiswahili and English will be used as media of education. The teaching of English will be strengthened at all levels. Kiswahili will be the medium of education at nursery and primary levels. The teaching of English will be consolidated in Primary school. English will be the medium of education at post-primary levels where the teaching of Kiswahili will also be strengthened" (Roy-Campbell, 1992:186).

In October 1984, the National Conference on Education was held in Arusha. During the conference the decisions made by the government, concerning the recommendations offered in the Commission's report were discussed, along with the implementation of those decisions.

In a report on how and when the approved recommendations were to be implemented, the anticipated introduction of the Kiswahili medium of instruction in post-primary education was not mentioned at all. The only reference to language found in the report was concerning the implementation of recommendations in relation to the strengthening of the English language teaching (Roy-Campbell, 2001).

Shortly after the National Education Conference in Arusha, the President gave the following explanation to the government's decision to retain the English medium in post-primary education at a seminar organized by the Society for the Enhancement of Swahili Language and Poetry:

English is the Swahili of the world and for that reason must be taught and given the weight it deserves in our country...It is wrong to leave English to die. To reject English is foolishness not patriotism...English will be the medium of instruction in secondary schools and institutions of higher education because if it is left only as a normal subject it might die (Roy-Campbell, 1992:188).

In 1993 the secondary school subject "siasa", which was previously taught through the Kiswahili medium was substituted by "civics", in which English was used as the medium of instruction (Mkwizu 2003). The change in medium in "siasa" was done in an undemocratic way as the teachers were not consulted. According to Mkwizu the teachers ran into severe problems and several of them quit their jobs (Mkwizu 2003).

1.4 The structure of the Tanzanian education system

The formal education system of Tanzania is structured according to four successive levels as follows:

- **Pre-primary education** for 5-6 year old children which aims at promoting the children's overall development and prepare them for primary school.
- **Primary education** which is a seven year compulsory level for all Tanzanian children. The major objectives of primary education are to lay the socio-cultural foundations of the Tanzanian citizen and nation and to prepare the children for secondary education or work. It is seen as a means to self-reliant personal and national development.

- **Secondary education** which is divided into two levels; Ordinary level (Form 1- 4) and Advanced level (Form 5 and 6). Students completing ordinary level are expected to commence vocational training, professional training or join the workforce. Advanced level graduates may continue with tertiary and higher education, training institutions or join the workforce.
- **Tertiary and higher education and training** which encompasses all post Ordinary level secondary education leading to certificates, diplomas and degrees. The aims and objectives of education at this level include preparing middle and high-level professional human resources and preparing the students to join the world of work. (URT, 1995).

The Tanzanian education sector was at the time of my fieldwork managed and coordinated by two ministries, namely the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology. The Ministry of Education issued the Education and Training Policy in 1995 (URT, 1995). This is the policy that currently guides the education sector of Tanzania.

1.5 Policies and practices concerning medium of instruction

The policies and practices concerning the medium of instruction in the Tanzanian education system may be described as confusing and contradictory. With regard to language of instruction in the Tanzanian school system, the Education and Training Policy specifies that:

- In pre-primary schools the medium of instruction shall be Kiswahili, and English shall be taught as a compulsory subject.
- In primary school the medium of instruction shall be Kiswahili, and English shall be taught as a compulsory subject.
- In secondary education the medium of instruction shall be English except for the teaching of other approved languages, and Kiswahili shall be a compulsory subject up to ordinary level (URT, 1995).

For higher education however, the policy does not specify which language to use as the medium of instruction. On the United Republic of Tanzania's official national website however, the government comments on the medium of instruction in the following words:

The main feature of Tanzania's education system is the bilingual policy, which requires children to learn both Kiswahili and English. English is essential as it is the language which links Tanzania and the rest of the world through technology, commerce and also administration. The learning of Kiswahili enables the Tanzanian students to keep in touch with their cultural values and heritage. English is taught as compulsory subject in the primary education whereas at post primary education it is the medium of instruction. With regard the Kiswahili, it is the medium of instruction at primary education while at tertiary education is taught as compulsory subject at secondary education and as option at tertiary education (URT, 2006).

While there are specific aims for each of the levels pre-primary, primary, secondary, tertiary and higher education, the policy has some general aims of education, which include:

- development of integrative personalities;
- promotion of the acquisition and appreciation of national culture and of the constitution;
- promotion of society-centred learning and the use of acquired skills and knowledge for the improvement of the quality of life;
- development of self-confidence, inquiring mind, and development oriented mindset;
- giving adaptive and flexible education that meets the challenges of an ever changing world.
- inculcation of ethical behaviour, national unity, international co-operation, peace and justice (URT, 1995)

For tertiary and higher education it is specified that:

The primary objective of tertiary and higher education and training is to impart and promote higher levels of learning, scientific and technological knowledge, and development of capacities for research. [...] higher education institutions produce high level human resource (URT, 1995:76).

In 1997 the Ministry of Education and Culture in Tanzania issued a policy document named "Sera ya Utamaduni" (cultural policy) (URT, 1997). This document was originally published in Kiswahili, but there is a version which has been translated to English available on The Ministry of Education and Culture's official website. According to Mary Mkwizu (2003) however, when comparing the original with the translated version, she found that there are some omissions in the English version of the document. On the matter of language of instruction Mkwizu points out that section 3.4 in the Kiswahili version gives a rather lengthy

explanation why Kiswahili ought to be used as the medium of education instead of English. Apparently it is acknowledged in this version of the document that the use of the English medium is hindering the development of education, science and technology in Tanzania. In the English version on the other hand, it is mentioned briefly that a special programme to implement the introduction of the Kiswahili medium at all levels of education will be designed (URT, 1997). Section 1.4.1 under the post “The medium of instruction” specifies that:

A special program to enable the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in education and training at all levels shall be designed and implemented (URT, 1997:3).

When or how this is supposed to take place is however not specified anywhere in the document, and this change is not mentioned in the Education and Training Policy which is issued by the same ministry (1995, URT).

In 1999 the National Higher Education Policy was issued by the Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education, which was established in 1992. The policy document was issued in order to provide a general framework for higher education in Tanzania. This document does not mention which medium of instruction to use in higher education. This policy is currently under review (URT, 1999).

1.6 Students’ English competence

Numerous research projects and publications show that students as well as lecturers in many cases are not at a level of competency in English that allows for effective learning and teaching through that medium (Roy- Campbell, 1992, Brock-Utne and Halmarsdottir, 2003; Mwinsheikhe, 2001, Puja, 2003; Malekela, 2003; Mkwizu, 2003).

In 1984 during July and August, a study funded by the British Government was conducted on the levels of English currently existing across the educational system in Tanzania. The study was carried out by Clive Criper, a linguist from Edinburgh University and Bill Dodd, an administrator with long experience from Tanzania. Their study confirmed that the levels of competence in English were insufficient in most schools for effective learning to take place

(Brock-Utne 2000; Malekela, 2003; Peterson 2006). Regarding the students' proficiency they observed:

The number getting within reach of being able to read unsimplified text is less than 10%. It is extremely worrying to find that nearly one third of all students are at the picture book level after four years of official English medium education. These results are a clear indication that throughout their secondary school career little or subject information is getting across to about 50% of the pupils in our sample. Only about 10% of Form IVs are at a level where one might expect English medium education to begin (Malekela 2003:104).

In 1986, following this report, the Tanzanian and the British Governments agreed to start the English Language Teaching Support Project. This 10 year project was administered by the Overseas Development Administration through the British Council in Dar es Salaam. In order to assist teachers, materials were distributed to schools. Limited funding meant that not enough material were produced, thus all schools did not benefit from this aid. Other problems such as management difficulties, and the size of the country apparently hindered the implementation of the project (Malekela, 2003).

Another study on levels of English competence amongst students was published in 1987. This was a *survey of the reading competence in English of secondary school students in Tanzania* (Mwinsheikhe, 2003; Brock-Utne, 2000). The survey which was conducted by Zaline Makini Roy-Campbell and Martha Qorro showed in line with the study of Criper and Dodd that the level of competency in English is low amongst secondary school students. When it comes to concluding recommendations however, there is no accordance between the two studies. Whereas Roy- Campbell and Qorro recommended a shift in the medium of instruction from English to Kiswahili, which the students understand a lot better, Criper and Dodd on the other hand concluded their study by recommending that efforts should be made to improve proficiency in English among students (Mwinsheikhe, 2001; Brock-Utne, 2000).

At the University of Dar es Salaam I found a report on the "1998 UDSM Academic Audit" (UDSM, 1999), this report expresses concern for the deteriorating competency in English amongst students, as well as teachers:

The traditionally strong and enforced medium of teaching and instruction – the English language – is fast deteriorating among university students. Except possibly in reading written material, students do exhibit problems of speaking, writing and self-

expression in this particular language. The indications are that English will be equally problematic among teachers as the university will be compelled to recruit young staff in the face of a mass exit (retiring) of the current older teacher cadre in the next four or five years (UDSM, 1999:8).

There is a surprising discrepancy between the statement above and the following recommendation presented in the same document:

Judging from the current and projected trends and the fact that English is fast becoming the ICT language globally, UDSM should continue to use English as the medium of instruction and official communication (UDSM, 1999:29).

Below is an example of the difficulties students experience when expressing themselves in English. This is the response given by a fourth year Under-Graduate student on a test conducted in 2002 on an essay question reading: "School inspectorates and examinations in developing countries are effective devices in maintaining the quality of education. Discuss"

School inspectors are the persons who move to the Schools to Check for the implimentation of the Curriculum as well as the effectiveness of the syllabus in so doing they Collect all problems and send to the Curriculum developers.

The inspectors are not only Check for the implementation of the Curriculum but also to see the effectiveness of the teacher to teach. In this case the inspector need the good relationship (Cooperation) between teachers and to See how the effective syllabus is. Also the school inspectors tend to See whether the teachers are Ccompentant in teaching or not. And also they give feedback about the availability of materials like books, Chemicals, apparatus, teaching aids (may be local one) So as to facilitate the teaching.

The School inspectors, the call the teacher after teaching and tell him/her that where is important point to imphasis as Sometimes the teaching aids is not proper Students to understand well the subject. So you must improve for that. In doing So the education or the quality of education increases and thus mantan the our education.

The examination Is the questions written in the paper according to the respective questions that is from the respective subjects that place the Students in order to measure understanding ability. The questions Set according to what the Students learnt. The examination also may teachers to make Summative evatuation, formative as well as placement.

The examination Should be well defined in Such away that it must measure from What the Students learnt example Kwamisi- the Curriculum used is not National Curriculum. The evaluated the Curriculum according to what they did in that society but during examination, they Sent exams from National that was Curriculum in Tanzania. The students all failed because they learnt about What they did in that Society (Kwamisi). So this was the failer of What intended to measure

Problems facing the examinations, too much Cheating in Such away that the education (examination) is not effective Measure What is intended to Measure. Also linkage of examination make the equality of education to drop out. In this Case examination should be carefully guided So as to reduce the linkage of examination. In addition to that the examinations Should be garded up to all parts in Tanzania (Countries) do (Malekela, 2003:108).

1.7 Significance of the study

There are already a lot of studies on the implications of the English medium in post primary education in Tanzania. I found, however that so far, the main focus has been on secondary school. This made me interested in finding out about what staff and students at university level think about this issue. My hope is that this study will be helpful in putting focus on an illuminate the situation in higher education.

According to Vulliamy (1990) qualitative research strategies have considerable potential for contributing to educational theory, policy and practice in developing countries. However, if the full potential of qualitative research is to be realised, there need to be opportunities to disseminate such research both to policy-makers and members of the academic community. Accordingly, the significance of this study will depend to a great extent on how it is received by the Tanzanian government and society.

1.8 Limitations of the study

I have had to limit myself to interviewing a sample of students and academic staff, at a single institution. With regard to academic staff I have made a purposive sampling, interviewing academic staff known to have separate views on the issue. When it comes to the students I have made a mix of convenience sampling and purposive sampling. I interviewed students I came across around the campus area. However, to ensure that I got a more representative sample of the student body I was selective in the way that I made efforts to gain information from both female and male students of various subjects.

The fact that English was the only common language the informants and myself were able to communicate in, also limited access to information somewhat in this study as it is not the first

language of either of us, thus causing the conversations to be less fluent and descriptions less rich.

1.9 Structure of the study

This thesis is organised into five chapters. The first chapter introduces the topic and its historical background. This chapter also includes objectives and problem statement, limitations of the study and significance of the study.

The theoretical framework which has guided this study is presented in chapter two along with definitions of key-concepts such as mother tongue, medium of instruction and code-switching. It also briefly discusses globalisation and development in relation to language. Furthermore it presents the theories my analysis will be based upon.

In the following chapter the methodological aspects of the thesis are described and the findings of the study are presented and analysed in the fourth chapter. This chapter has three parts as I have organised the findings and analysis according to three different but interrelated sub topics.

The last chapter includes an attempt to put together the theoretical perspectives and the data obtained in order to answer my research questions and conclude the thesis. It also includes a summary and some remarks and recommendations

CHAPTER TWO

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents the theoretical framework which the analysis and discussion of my findings are based upon. It includes the Problem-Posing Pedagogy of Paulo Freire, the philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance forwarded by Julius Nyerere, Theories on the role of language in reproduction of inequality in society, and Robert Phillipson's thoughts on linguistic imperialism. Additionally it presents various pedagogical theories and research on the nature of teaching and learning a foreign language as well as subject content. I have also used the related studies of Grace Puja, Rhoda Peterson and Mary Alphan Mkwizu. Firstly though, it provides brief presentations and comments on key concepts involved in this thesis.

2.1 Key concepts

Mother tongue

Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson have defined the concept of mother tongue on the basis of four criteria. The first criterion is *origin* and refers to the language one learned first. The second criterion is *identification* which is defined at two levels. Internal identification is the language one identifies with, and external identification is the language by which one is identified as a native speaker by others. *Competence* is the third criterion, and relates to the language one knows best. *Function* is the last criterion and refers to the language one uses the most (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1996).

Mkwizu (2003) argues, that based on these criteria Kiswahili may be defined as the mother tongue for a lot of Tanzanians, because it is the language that many people use the most, it is among the languages that Tanzanians know best. Additionally it is to an increasing extent becoming peoples' first language.

According to Mwinsheikhe (2003) a vernacular language is the mother tongue for most Tanzanians, with Kiswahili as their second language and English as their third. However, an increasing part of Tanzanians speak Kiswahili as their first language. The Kiswahili

newspapers and magazines for instance, have much wider circulation than those published in English.

Medium of instruction

Mkwizu (2003) defines “medium of instruction” as the language that is used in the process of teaching and learning. She describes it as a tool for transferring skills and knowledge. She draws on the work of Rubanza who has formulated that a language that qualifies as a medium of instruction is one that both teachers and learners understand well. Furthermore, it is a language which enables students to apply the knowledge and skills they have acquired and to think critically and creatively.

Code-switching

Code switching is described as an active and creative process where material from two languages is incorporated in communication. It involves momentary, rapid switching from one language to another. The change may occur many times during a single conversation, and also within single sentences (Dulay, Burt and Krashen 1982).

According to Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2003) the concept of *code-switching* is sometimes used interchangeably with *code-mixing*. Muriel Saville-Troike firstly defines the word *code* as simply meaning different languages. According to Saville-Troike code-switching refers to a change in languages within a single speech event. Code-switching is understood as an intersentential change, meaning that the switch in languages takes place between sentences. Code-mixing on the other hand refers to an intrasentential change, which implies that the language switch takes place within the same sentence (Saville-Troike, 1989).

Globalisation

Globalisation is a concept that to a high degree is entangled in the issue of language of instruction in Africa. It is a process that holds different meanings for different people. To some, globalisation is almost synonymous with development, and holds great promises for the future of those who do not “lag behind”(Kadeghe, 2003; UDSM, 1999; Mongula, 2005, in the

Citizen). Others perceive the ongoing process of globalisation as a major catalyst of further marginalisation of the already marginalised through the powers of the liberal market (Thiong'o, 2005; Brock-Utne, 2000).

The following definition of globalisation is proposed by Giddens:

Globalisation can ... be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. This is a dialectical process because such local happenings may move in an obverse direction from the very distanced relations that shape them. Local transformation is as much a part of globalisation as the lateral extension of social connections across time and space. (Giddens, 1990:64)

The Kenyan writer, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (2005) describes the process of globalisation from a more critical perspective. He asserts that although the process is not necessarily a new historical phenomenon, it is currently moving with ferocious velocity. The great speed and sophistication of information technologies accelerate the economic integration of the globe, facilitating for instance the management of global enterprises from a single centre, and the instant movement of capital across borders. He does not see this process as one which is purely economic, however. He points out that the social integration of the world is also hastened, shaping the globe in the image of the consuming west. Thiong'o argues that at the heart of the globalisation process are forces of fundamentalism. The fundamentalism of the process lies in the assertion that there is only one way of organising reality, which is the one offered to developing countries by organisations such as the World Bank and IMF.

The knowledge and information shared in a global neighbourhood result in a global intellectual community. And yet what emerges from this global neighbourhood is not equality, fraternity, sisterhood, liberty... No, this neighbourhood hosts hostile camps (Thiong'o, 2005:155).

In her key-note speech at the 36th Annual Conference on African Linguistics, Zaline Makini Roy-Campbell offered a different perspective on globalisation as she addressed African professors teaching African languages in the USA:

Your work here in the USA is a manifestation of the interest in African languages outside of the African continent. This is part of globalization, spreading the culture of Africa to other parts of the world. Not only are African languages being taught in the United States of America, but also in European countries and Japan. With the development and expansion of the internet, there has been increased access to African languages. On the World Wide Web there are over 3000 websites/WebPages that address some aspect of African languages, describe programs offered, provide

resources and other information in and on African languages, including an Ethnologue of African languages, which provides information on all the languages of the various African countries. This wealth of information on and interest in African languages, outside of the African continent, is another manifestation of globalization. African languages have been inserted on the world stage (Roy-Campbell, 2006:2).

Roy-Campbell reminds us that globalisation also involves the spreading of African culture and languages, thus Africa is not only merely a recipient of Western influence in the process of globalisation (Roy-Campbell, 2006).

Development

The concept of development employed in this study is based on that of the Cameroonian scholar Chumbow. He argues that the concept of development needs to be differentiated from growth, as development cannot be measured merely in economic terms like gross national product or per capita income. In his view there has been growth, however without development in Africa. He identifies several factors which impede development efforts in Africa, such as lack of democratic regimes, poor or inadequate exploitation of natural and human resources, famine and insufficiency of industry. Amongst these he believes that illiteracy and ignorance could be the most important because the majority of the other factors can be traced back to result from these (Chumbow, 2005).

Chumbow criticises the definitions of development formulated by the UN of underscoring the social well-being of the citizenry in terms of the minimum standard of living, including health, shelter food security life expectancy, education work and so forth. He defines national development as:

The nation's human resources acting on its natural resources to produce goods (tangible and intangible) in order to improve the condition of the average citizen of the nation-state (Chumbow, 2005:167).

According to Chumbow's concept of development, human resources are central to any genuine national development endeavour. He argues that because education and training is crucial to development it follows that the language of instruction is also crucial (Chumbow, 2005).

Major institutions concerned with development, such as the World Bank and UNESCO, gives on the other hand little attention to the role of language in development. It is mentioned in the

2006 Global Monitoring Report on Education For All, that early learning is most effective in the mother tongue, but with regards to post primary education, language of instruction is not mentioned (UNESCO, 2006). The 2007 World Bank Development Report was published in September 2006. The document is entitled “Development and the next generation” and it mainly focuses on capacity building, and expansion of human resources amongst youth. Tanzania and other Sub-Sahara African countries are advised to follow the growth path of Asian countries. The problems caused by foreign media in the education systems of the African countries are however not mentioned, in spite of the fact that the Asian countries long ago started using their own languages (World Bank, 2006). Some scholars have pointed out that this may be at least part of the explanation for the different “growth paths” experienced by Asian and Sub-Saharan African countries (Prah, 2005; Qorro, 2004; Brock-Utne 2000). Brock-Utne argues that the current language in education policies in Tanzania in fact is the opposite of development and poverty alleviation (Brock-Utne, 2007).

UNESCO held the Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa, in Harare from 17-21 March 1997, which resulted in the Harare Declaration and its ambitious Plan of Action. The conference involved an expert meeting of language specialists attending as governmental experts. They were supposed to formulate recommendations, do preparatory work for, and advise relevant government ministers from their countries who were also attending the same conference. In the report on the expert meeting the role of language in development is acknowledged in these words:

The delegates laid particular emphasis on the need for using African languages to accelerate the process of development, considering the fact that, in the majority of African states, less than 20 percent of the population has mastered the former colonial language. The Experts agreed that the African languages constituted a key factor in African economic, social, cultural and political development. Therefore, everything must be done to allow these languages to be used effectively within the democratic process. In this respect, African languages should not be confined to the areas of oral communication, literacy and primary school teaching, but they should also play an important role in other areas of development (UNESCO, 2006:29).

Addressing the conference participants, Mrs L. Arizpe, who is the Assistant Director General, Sector of Culture, representing the Director-General of UNESCO assured the conference participants that UNESCO would shoulder efforts to implement the resolves of this conference, which was to be considered a milestone, rather than just another conference on the list (UNESCO, 2006).

Little action has followed though, and in the World Declaration on Higher Education for the Twenty-first Century: Vision and Action and Framework for Priority Action for Change and Development in Higher Education, which was published one year later, and still guides the efforts of UNESCO in higher education, neither the conference nor its topic is mentioned (UNESCO, 1998).

Entailed in the concept of development is the process of democratisation. A functioning democracy requires the active participation of the citizenry. To be an active, participating citizen, however, is dependent on a system of education that mirrors democratic values and teaches the skills needed to participate in a democracy (Biseth, 2005). In “Democracy and Education” (1997), John Dewey describes the ideal democratic society by identifying two indicators which can be used to measure the value of a particular social life form. These two indicators are the extent to which the interests of the group are shared by all the members of the group, and the extent to which the group freely and fully interacts with other groups. He also states that an unwanted society is one that internally and externally puts up barriers to free communication of experiences. To meet the above mentioned requirements Dewey proclaims that schools must be efficient in such a way that they in reality and not just in words diminish the effects of economical differences. According to Dewey this view is tied to the very concept of education as something which liberates the individuals’ abilities, and gives it a progressive attitude toward social purposes (Dewey, 1997).

The Tanzanian government also assign education an imperative role in the process of development, without mentioning the problems caused by the language used in post primary education (URT, 2000; URT, 1999; URT, 1998).

2.2 Theories guiding the study

I have employed what I suppose one would call an eclectic theoretical approach in this study. I have done so because of the complexity of the subject, which involves several different factors associated with various theory, and research branches from sometimes altogether different subjects. This study leans on works on the philosophy, sociology and psychology of education and language, In particular Education for Self- Reliance, Problem-Posing Education and theories on learning and teaching.

2.2.1 Education for Self -Reliance

The first president of independent Tanzania, Julius Nyerere formulated his own philosophy of education, for Tanzania, which he called “Education for self-reliance” (Nyerere, 1968). His philosophy has had a great impact on the Tanzanian education system, still guiding the curriculum and way of teaching (Mkwizu, 2003). The purpose of education is at the core of this philosophy. He argues that only when one is clear about the type of society one desires is it possible to create an educational system able to serve the goals of the society. He points out that the Tanzanian society envisaged in The Arusha Declaration and the five-year development plan is a socialist society. He is highly critical of the inherited colonial education because it is modelled on the British system, which was motivated by an aim to inculcate the values of the colonial society.

In addition to preparing young people for the work the society will depend on them to do in the future, Nyerere emphasises another important task for education:

It has also to prepare people for their responsibilities as free workers and citizens in a free and democratic society, albeit a largely rural society. They have to be able to think for themselves, to make judgements on all the issues affecting them; they have to be able to interpret the decisions made by through the democratic institutions of our society (...) The education provided must therefore encourage the development in each citizen of three things: an inquiring mind; an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt it to his own needs; and a basic confidence in his own position as a free and equal member of society,..(Nyerere, 1968:52-53).

Nyerere states that the educational system of Tanzania would not be serving the interests of a democratic socialist society if it tried to stop people from thinking about the teachings, policies or ideas of the leaders, either past or present. Only free people conscious of their worth and their equality can build a free society. Moreover, he underlines that the education provided by Tanzania for the students of Tanzania must serve the purposes of Tanzania. It must encourage the development of a proud, independent and free citizenry which relies upon itself for its own development. Nyerere states in “Education for self-reliance” that it is wrong if the education system of Tanzania even contributes to the continuation of the inequalities and privileges that still exist in their society, because of their inheritance (Nyerere, 1968).

Nyerere maintained throughout his lifetime that tertiary education should serve the poor. In his view the costly investment in university education could only be justified if it led to

improvements in the conditions of the mass of the people. He argued that the university should have an activist role in promoting development and fighting all forms of prejudice.

He articulated this view when he inaugurated the University of East Africa in 1963:

..For let us be quite clear; the University has not been established purely for prestige purposes. It has a very definite role to play in development in this area, and to this effectively it must be in, and of, the community it has been established to serve.

And even more clearly a year later, at the opening of the University College Campus in Dar es Salaam:

This sort of expenditure is only justified in the circumstances of our country if one condition is fulfilled. The expenditure must lead to an increase in the wealth of this United Republic, and it must contribute to the raising of the standards of living of the mass of the people of this Union.

2.2.2 Problem-posing education

I will now turn to the thoughts of the Brazilian philosopher, Paulo Freire. In similar vein with Nyerere, he developed a philosophy on education based on the aim of liberating and empowering the people of his country. In “Pedagogy of the oppressed”, Paulo Freire (1996) makes a distinction between the banking concept of education and the problem-posing concept of education. Freire sees the banking concept of education as nothing less than an instrument of oppression, as opposed to problem-posing education on the other hand, which he believes to be an instrument of liberation.

An important aspect of the banking concept of education is that the students are viewed as empty vessels, or containers which are to be filled with knowledge by the teacher. Freire argues that this view implies projecting an absolute ignorance onto others, which he deems to be characteristic of the ideology of oppression, and negates education and knowledge as processes of inquiry. Prevalent in this concept of education is that it is very much based on narration. Freire argues that the relationship between teacher and students subsequently becomes one in which the teacher is the narrating subject, and the students are the patient listening objects. Through this process Freire states that the content tends to become lifeless and petrified. Moreover, the narration leads the students to memorise mechanically the

narrated content. Thus, education itself becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Consequently, instead of communicating, the teacher makes deposits, which the students patiently memorize and repeat (Freire, 1996).

According to Freire the following attitudes and practices are key features of the banking concept of education and mirror an oppressive society as a whole:

- The teacher teaches and the students are taught;
- The teacher knows everything and the students know nothing;
- The teacher thinks and the students are taught about;
- The teacher talks and the students listen;
- The teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined;
- The teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply;
- The teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher;
- The teacher chooses the program content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it;
- The teacher confuses the authority, which she and he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students;
- The teacher is the subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects.

The alternative to the banking concept of education proposed by Freire is the problem-posing concept of education. He maintains that only through communication can human life hold meaning. Consequently, the educational goal of deposit-making must be replaced by the posing of the problems of human beings and their relations with the world. Furthermore, one must adopt a concept of men and women as conscious beings, and also of consciousness itself as consciousness intent upon the world. Students, as they are increasingly confronted with problems relating to themselves in the world and with the world, will feel increasingly challenged and obliged to respond to that challenge. Because they apprehend the challenge as interrelated to other problems within a total context, not as a mere theoretical question, the resulting comprehension tends to be increasingly critical, and thus constantly less alienated.

To acquire literacy is more than to psychologically and mechanically [obtain] reading and writing techniques. It is to dominate these techniques in terms of consciousness; to understand what one reads and to write what one understands; it is to *communicate* graphically. Acquiring literacy does not involve memorizing sentences, word or syllables- lifeless objects unconnected to an existential universe- but rather an attitude of creation and re-creation, a self- transformation producing a stance of intervention in one's context (Freire, 1974:48).

Freire states that education as an act of freedom denies that man is abstract, isolated independent and unattached to the world. It also denies that the world exists as a reality apart from people. Through problem-posing education, people develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world in which they find themselves; they come to see the world as a reality in process, in transformation and not as a static reality. As opposed to banking education, problem- posing education bases itself on creativity and stimulates true reflection and action upon reality (Freire, 1996).

The use of a foreign language for teaching and learning is very likely to lead to decreased student participation, thus increase the prevalence of banking concept of education and leave less room for dialogue. Several studies indicate that student participation suffers due to the use of English in the classrooms in Tanzania (Brock-Utne and Halmarsdottir 2003; Mkwizu, 2003; Malekela, 2003).

2.2.3 Language and social reproduction

According to Bourdieu (1996), all forms of linguistic interaction have an implicit potential for abuse of power. This potential is congruent with the extent to which the interaction involves agents of dissimilar positions according to the distribution of the relevant forms of capital. Bourdieu argues that each and every act of speech or verbal language is a mergence of circumstances. It can be described as the meeting of a linguistic *habitus* and a linguistic market. In other words this means that on the one hand we have a system of socially constructed dispositions, such as an individual's tendency to express him or herself in a certain manner. On the other hand we have a system of symbolic power relations, which emerges through a system of specific sanctions and censorship mechanisms which affects the price or value of a linguistic product (Bourdieu, 1995). It appears that on *the linguistic market* in Tanzania the linguistic *habitus* associated with competence in the English language is valued highest.

Language is further characterised as an instrument of symbolic violence through which dominant groups enforce their own specific way of expressing themselves over and against subordinate groups (Bourdieu, 1996; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Applied to the situation in the school system in post-colonial Tanzania it is not merely talk about a certain dialect, but a foreign language, which is being imposed upon the subordinate groups, in particular students, both at secondary and tertiary educational levels.

Basil Bernstein (1971) asserts that students' educability is closely linked with the form of communication into which they have been socialised, and the form of communication represented by the school system. If the form of communication legitimised by the educational institution differs from the form of communication the student has been socialised into, a major problem of educability may be expected. Employing his term, one can argue that the English medium of instruction constitutes a problem of educability for the majority of the Tanzanian people, to which English is less accessible than to the well-of minority (Senkoro, 2004).

2.3 What can research and pedagogical theory tell us about teaching and learning foreign languages?

In the ongoing Tanzanian debate concerning language of instruction in post-primary education, the arguments raised in favour of retaining the English medium are very often in reality reasons why it is important for young Tanzanians to become competent in English. In this respect it is important to point out that the alternative offered by the proponents of the Kiswahili medium, is that English is taught as a subject, as opposed to leaving to die. Nevertheless, public awareness remains low on this point in spite of years of endless debating and research indicating that the English medium does not necessarily lead to competence in the English language (Qorro 2004).

2.3.1 Teaching of English To Speakers of other Languages (TESOL)

A monolingual methodology is organically linked with linguists' disregard of dominated languages, concepts and ways of thinking. It is highly functional in inducing a colonised consciousness (Phillipson, 1992:187).

Robert Phillipson is a British socio-linguist and researcher. He argues that the principles guiding the teaching of English play an essential role in English linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992; 1999). According to Phillipson, the following key tenets have evolved in the English teaching profession (TESOL), and continue to influence the education sector throughout the former British Colonies in Africa:

- English is best taught monolingually
- The ideal teacher of English is a native speaker
- The earlier English is introduced, the better the results
- The more English is taught, the better the results
- If other languages are used much, standards of English will drop

Phillipson points out that research indicates that the tenets above are all false. Therefore he thinks it more appropriate to refer to them as the false tenets of teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL). He has labelled them as:

- The monolingual fallacy
- The native speaker fallacy
- The early start fallacy
- The maximum exposure fallacy
- The subtractive fallacy

Phillipson (1992, 1999) highlights that these tenets are inconsistent with what we have learned from studies about cognitive development, and the role of the mother tongue (L1) in the learning of second or foreign languages (L2). He points out that research has made us aware that cognitive development in L1 is significant for effective L2 learning. Leaning on the results of several studies Phillipson states that:

failure to provide educational conditions for the development of cognitive-academic proficiency in L1 as well as initial literacy the L1 may invalidate efforts to build up such skills in L2 (Phillipson, 1992:191).

According to Paulo Freire a foreign subject such as English imposed upon the learner for studying another subject is a violation of the structure of thinking (Freire, 1985).

In “Thought and language” Vygotsky points to the important role of the native language in successful learning of a foreign language in these words:

Success in learning a foreign language is contingent on a certain degree of maturity in the native language. The child can transfer to the new language the system of meanings he already possesses in his own. The reverse is also true- a foreign language facilitates mastering the higher forms of a native language. The child learns to his native language as one particular system among many, to view phenomena under more general categories, and this leads to awareness of his linguistic operations (Vygotsky, 1962:110).

In a review of research data on bilingual education, Cummins (2000) concludes that studies show that within a bilingual program, instructional time can be focused on developing students’ literacy skills in their primary language without adverse effect on the development of their literacy skills in English. Furthermore, the relationship between first and second language literacy skills suggests that effective development of the students’ literacy skills in their first language can provide a conceptual foundation for long-term growth in English literacy skills. He points out that this does not however imply that transfer of literacy and academic language knowledge will happen automatically; there is usually also need for formal instruction in the target language to realize the benefits of cross-linguistic transfer. It seems that comprehension is a factor in learning which can not be overlooked, in a learning process.

In a study on foreign language teaching from Sweden, it was found that a group of students which were provided with explanations in their own language excelled in learning English, compared to a group of students taught solely through the English medium. These findings indicate that even when the goal is to learn English, the process is facilitated by providing learners with explanations in the language the learners understand best. Comprehension of the topic also seems to play a role in the process of learning a new language. Natural communication appears to be essential in developing speaking fluency. It is however deemed to be ineffective if it is about something abstract. Unless the learner can piece together the meaning of what is being said, learning will proceed at a low rate (Levin, 1972).

The language environment is composed by everything the language learner hears and sees in the new language. It may include a wide range of situations or be very sparse. The quality of the language environment plays a critical role in success in learning a new language.

The source of the target language is one of these environmental factors. One of the major distinguishing characteristics of such an environment is the presence or absence of natural exposure opportunities (Dulay, Burt and Krashen, 1982). I believe it is safe to say that many Tanzanian students learn in an environment in which such exposure is absent to a high degree.

2.3.2 What about effective learning of the subject matter?

There is ideally no dispute about the fact that any learning process is facilitated by the using of language that learners understand best as the medium of instruction. Still a number of developing countries, especially in Africa tend to choose a foreign language as the medium of instruction, particularly in post- primary education (Galabawa and Lwaitama 2005).

In a presentation of theory of teaching, methods and pedagogical principles, Kamil Øzerk emphasises the importance of promoting understanding in the school's teaching praxis. He draws attention to the fact that teaching and learning involves a linguistic process. He argues that linguistic interaction constitutes a significant part of any learning activity and that the quality of the linguistic interaction in learning activities consequently represents an important factor in the learning effect of school subjects. Øzerk points to two important processes involved in teaching and learning, which are referred to as *input* and *intake*. With reference to Corder and Crashen he explains that input in this respect refers to the intensity, or frequency of the language of instruction the teacher confronts the student with during a learning period. The process of intake decides how much of the total amount of this the student understands and is able to attain. A precondition in transforming input into intake is *understanding*. In the same sense one might say that the process of learning and teaching result in a product of learning through understanding (Øzerk, 1999).

The Carroll model of instructional effectiveness is according to Scheerens and Bosker (1997) often considered to be the starting point of such modelling. The model which has been the basis for similar models and its validity has been confirmed by several research studies and meta-analysis. The Carroll model consists of five different variables, which together are

expected to explain variations in educational achievement. All the factors are associated with the time required to achieve a certain learning task. The first three variables are directly expressed in terms of time needed by a student to achieve a particular learning task, whereas the two remaining variables are perceived to have direct consequences for the amount of time needed by a student to achieve a certain learning task.

The five classes of factors or variables of the model are:

1. *Aptitude*. This class of variables includes factors that determine the amount of time a student needs to learn a given task under optimal instructional conditions and student motivation.
2. *Opportunity to learn*. This variable refers to the amount of time allowed for learning.
3. *Perseverance*. Refers to the amount of time the student is willing to spend on a given task
4. *Quality of instruction*. It is assumed that when the quality of instruction is suboptimal the time needed by students to learn increases.
5. *Ability to understand instruction*. This class of variables refers to e.g. language comprehension and the learners' ability to independently figure out what the given learning task is and how to go about achieving it (Scheerens and Bosker 1997).

It is obviously the last two variables that are of immediate interest to this topic, particularly *ability to understand instruction*. According to this model, language comprehension has direct consequences for the amount of time needed by a student to achieve a certain learning task. This implies that by using a language of instruction which the learner comprehends to a low degree, instruction becomes less effective in the sense that it will take longer time.

In a comparative analysis of performance in Kiswahili and English as languages of instruction at secondary level in selected Tanzanian schools, Galabawa and Lwaitama (2005) aimed at determining the extent to which learning would be facilitated or hindered by the use of Kiswahili as the language of instruction compared to a situation where English is used as the language of instruction. Like my study, their research was conducted as a part of the earlier mentioned LOITASA project.

The study instituted treatment as a variety of language of instruction (Kiswahili or English) among secondary form II pupils in four selected schools. Teaching content was selected from the national secondary school syllabus in Biology and Geography. Amongst the findings of the study it is worth noting that a), the average test scores administered at the end of the teaching period were generally higher in the Kiswahili treatment than those obtained in the English treatment. And b), within group dispersions were in general lower amongst the pupils taught in Kiswahili than for those who received the English treatment. These findings suggest that teaching in Kiswahili tended to elevate students' achievement and performance, and also make them more homogenous and closer to each other. Moreover, the relatively higher within group dispersion obtained in the group taught through the English medium can be interpreted to indicate that the English medium increases differences in learner performance (Galabawa and Lwaitama, 2005).

As it has been suggested that English proficiency amongst the students at the University of Dar es Salaam is unsatisfactory (Malekela, 2003; UDSM, 1999; Criper and Dodd, 1984), I assume that the findings from this study of secondary school pupils to a certain extent are relevant in the debate concerning education at university level.

2.4 Related studies

Quite a number of studies concerning the topic of medium of instruction in Tanzania have accumulated over the years. However, most of them tend to focus on secondary education. So although I believe the situation in secondary schools is relevant and linked to the state of affairs at the university, I will lean on the works of Grace Puja (2003) and Rhoda Kidami Peterson (2006) as they have both focused on higher learning. Due to its focus on student participation, and the pedagogical implications of the change in language of instruction in political education, I also find the study conducted by Mary Alphan Mkwizu (2003) to be enlightening. Although the main focus of my study is on the university level, I find this study highly relevant because it is not at all hypothetical; it examines the actual consequences of changing the medium as experienced by the teachers involved.

2.4.1 Study by Grace Puja

Grace Puja is a senior lecturer at the Sociology of Education Department at the University of Dar es Salaam. She has written an article based on a study of 73 female second-year Tanzania undergraduates, which she conducted for her doctoral thesis (Puja, 2003). The major research question of her study was “Why do Tanzanian women pursue higher education?” As part of the process of finding answers to her question, Puja interviewed some of the students. In the interviews the students were given the choice of answering in English or Kiswahili. She was surprised to discover that an overwhelming majority would rather give their answers in Kiswahili. They explained that they felt more comfortable using Kiswahili as it enabled them to express themselves more easily. This study opened her eyes to the severity of the situation which the University is in, and prompted her to write an article on the issue, namely “Kiswahili and higher education in Tanzania: Reflections based on a sociological study from three Tanzanian university campuses”.

Poor communication skills in English was cited as one of the three problems that contribute to students lack of participation in class, comprehension and overall academic performance by all the 22 teachers Puja interviewed in the course of her study. In the article based on her study, she emphasises the following findings:

Only 8 of the 34 students she interviewed chose to be interviewed in English. The remaining 26 chose Kiswahili. One of the participants explained her preference for Kiswahili in the following words:

I do not like to speak English because I cannot speak fluent English...when I am speaking English, which is not my everyday language, I speak very slowly, and, therefore, first, I feel uncomfortable, I do not enjoy speaking and second, I may not succeed in communicating what I want to say... (Puja, 2003:120).

Some of the participants expressed that it feels artificial for them to speak English in class, when it is Kiswahili or other ethnic languages they speak the rest of the time.

32 Ethnic groups were represented in the study, yet 63% of the participants responded that Kiswahili is the language they predominantly speak at home.

The majority of the teachers Puja interviewed stated that most of their students are competent in neither written nor spoken English.

During classroom observations and visits to three University campuses, Puja found that the greater part of the students is silent in class. As soon as the class is over however, students as well as teachers switch over to Kiswahili and communicate freely (Puja 2003).

2.4.2 Study by Rhoda Peterson

Rhoda Peterson's Study is entitled "The use of an African language as language of instruction at university level: The example of Kiswahili department at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania" (Peterson, 2006). The study explores the use of an African language as the medium of instruction at the University. It focuses on the reasons behind the establishment of the Kiswahili department, the strategies employed by the Kiswahili department, and the extent to which students and teachers are either comfortable or uncomfortable with using the Kiswahili medium.

All the students Peterson interviewed indicated that they understand the courses which are given in Kiswahili a lot better than the courses offered in English. The reasons given by the students were the availability of Kiswahili terminology, and secondly, the fact that Kiswahili is the first or second language to most of the students. It is thus the language they use outside the classroom, and encounter everywhere as part of their daily lives, like at the market, at home, in churches and mosques and school. When English is used as the medium of instruction, on the other hand, students expressed that they learn very little. The main reasons for these difficulties as perceived by the students included problems with understanding the English language structure, for example the difference between writing and pronunciation, and that some of the books provided in English employ complicated language. The students also expressed that the problem is enhanced by the fact that many English words are culturally not understandable due to cultural differences for some of the students (Peterson, 2006).

The teachers Peterson interviewed expressed that in their view Kiswahili is a suitable medium of instruction for the following reasons:

- It is a familiar language to the students, which enables them to understand well the concepts of the subject.
- The students are able to express themselves more freely with the Kiswahili medium.
- Adopting the Kiswahili medium does not imply that all books need to be translated into Kiswahili. In the Kiswahili Department for example, English books are also used.
- It is comparably easier to train teachers to teach in Kiswahili than in English.
- Adopting Kiswahili does not equal total abandonment of English (Peterson, 2006).

Peterson concludes her study by recommending that since many studies now have revealed that Kiswahili is the most viable medium of instruction in Tanzania, the Kiswahili Department at the University of Dar es Salaam should be used as a model in helping the introduction of Kiswahili as the language of instruction in all subjects in post-primary education (Peterson, 2006).

2.4.3 Study by Mary Alphan Mkwizu

In 1992 the secondary school subject “Elimu ya Siasa”, which means political education was replaced by “Civics” which had a different curriculum. Prior to the replacement Elimu ya Siasa had been taught in Kiswahili. Mary Alphan Mkwizu conducted a study on the pedagogical consequences of the implementation of the change in medium of instruction from Kiswahili to English in the subject “civics” in Tanzanian secondary schools (Mkwizu, 2003).

I think Mkwizu’s work demonstrates the important role language plays in the teaching-learning process, which I believe involves comparable mechanisms at secondary and tertiary levels of education. The study shows that the introduction of English as the language of instruction in this subject resulted in a marked decrease in student participation. The teachers interviewed by Mkwizu, reported that only a small proportion of the students participated actively following the introduction of the English medium. According to the teachers these students were the ones who came from relatively wealthy families able to provide their children with an environment in which they were exposed to the English language to a high extent compared to their less fortunate peers. One of the teachers she interviewed commented on the situation in the following words:

You know, when I was teaching Siasa the students used to challenge me with difficult questions. I must admit that this threatened my position as a teacher. Indeed, in those days I never dared to go to class without enough preparation. This trend has now disappeared because of the change of the medium of instruction (Mkwizu, 2003:126).

Mkwizu argues that the English medium is a source of undemocratic participation in the teaching-learning process. It results in a situation where the teacher and the minority who are fluent in English dominate the class and others are silenced. As another teacher Mkwizu interviewed observed:

Every time I go to class I know that I am going to teach seven students out of forty-five. They are [the] ones who ask questions, the one[s] who discuss with me. When I ask a question I know that the answer will come from one of those seven (Mkwizu, 2003:132).

Mkwizu also employed cartoon pictures with the intent of assessing the students' ability to express themselves in English put side by side with Kiswahili. The students were given the task of writing stories in accordance with the cartoon pictures. The material produced by the students in either language, clearly indicates that the English language obstructs the student's capacity for expressing themselves.

It is her impression that the choice of language of instruction in Tanzania is a political choice rather than a pedagogical one. She concludes her study with the following recommendations:

1. That those affected by policy implementation, such as teachers, students and parents should be directly involved in decision making, to enable democracy.
2. That the Ministry of Education and Culture should formulate a viable language policy and implement it.
3. That the government should campaign in favour of the use of Kiswahili as the medium of instruction in Tanzania secondary schools (Mkwizu, 2003).

CHAPTER THREE

3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The scientific methodology is what unites science and separates it from other means of acquiring knowledge. The scientific methodology is a system of rules and procedures. Research is based on these rules and procedures, and claims for knowledge are evaluated against them (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1982).

Many writers on research methodology, (Bryman, 2004; Patton, 1990; Yates, 2004; Berg, 2004) find it purposeful to make a distinction between quantitative and qualitative research. This division is perceived differently among methodologists. According to Sarantakos (1998), some writers see qualitative methods as a soft and easy way of doing research, whereas quantitative methods are more complex and demanding. Others see the two as extreme positions on either side of a continuum. In praxis researchers often employ methods that contain aspects of both, although the method is predominantly of qualitative or quantitative nature.

Quantitative methods are characterised by highly structured techniques of data collection, which allow for quantification and measurement as well as the use of quantitative methods in analysing data, such as statistics and computers. On the other hand, qualitative methods use less structured techniques of data collection and analysis. The emphasis of qualitative research is on discovery and exploration, rather than hypothesis testing (Sarantakos, 1998). The advantage of quantitative methods is that they provide a broad, generalisable set of findings which can be presented concisely and economically. Conversely, qualitative methods produce rich and detailed information about a much smaller number of people or cases. This reduces the generalisability of the study, but increases understanding of the cases and situations studied (Patton, 1990).

3.1 Research methods

Qualitative methods permit the researcher to study selected issues in depth and detail (Patton, 1990; Durrheim, 1999), and provide access to unquantifiable facts about the actual people the

researcher interacts with. Consequently, qualitative techniques allow researchers to examine how people learn about, and make sense of themselves and others (Berg, 2004). A qualitative approach seemed the best means to meet the objectives of this study, thus qualitative methods were applied for data collection.

The use of qualitative research strategies was the hallmark of the discipline of anthropology throughout this century. Traditionally, educational research has been associated with quantitative techniques such as survey and experimental analysis. It is in the last few decades that the use of a variety of new approaches, like ethnography, case study and qualitative evaluation has emerged within the discipline of education. The growing interest in qualitative research strategies can be seen as a reaction to the positivist traditions of social science, which used to dominate educational research. The critiques of positivism have argued that there is a fundamental difference between the study of natural objects and human beings, because human beings themselves interpret situations and give meaning to them (Vulliamy, 1990).

The more commonly mentioned weaknesses of qualitative research are that it tends to be too subjective, studies are difficult to replicate, it is difficult to know how the findings of a study can be generalised to other settings and lastly, there tends to be a problem with transparency, meaning that it can be difficult to establish from a qualitative study what the researcher actually did, and how she or he arrived at the study's conclusions (Bryman, 2004).

The human factor is the great strength and the fundamental weakness in of qualitative inquiry and research (Patton, 1990:372).

3.2 Data collection

The data for qualitative analysis typically comes from fieldwork (Patton, 1990).

I employed three different tools in the process of gathering data for this thesis; interviews, field observations and document analysis. I conducted the fieldwork in Dar es Salaam during the period between the 26th of September and the 21st of October in 2005. The document analysis however, was an ongoing process throughout the study.

3.2.1 Interviews

Steinar Kvale (2004) illustrates the different theoretical perspectives on research through interviews, by referring to two metaphors. He presents two different roles a research interviewer may take on during his or her work. The researcher role is described as a “miner”, or as a “traveller”. In accordance with the metaphor associated with a “miner”, knowledge is viewed as hidden metal. The researcher is described as a “miner” who digs out data from the interviewee’s experiences, pure and unaffected by leading questions. According to Kvale, this metaphor refers to a common view within modern social science, which understands knowledge as something which is “given” and only needs to be discovered.

The metaphor where the interviewer is described as a “traveller” is the interviewer role which best illustrates my approach in this study. According to Kvale, it is associated with a post-modern constructivist perspective, which involves that research within the social sciences takes on an approach, which is based on conversations. The interviewer is described as a travelling journalist or a writer. The journey results in a story to be told when she or he returns home. The interviewer travels through the scenery, and participate in conversations with people he or she comes across along the way. The traveller may also intentionally call on certain specific issues or areas by following a method, in the original Greek sense of the word: “A choice of path which leads to the goal”. The journey may lead to more than new knowledge; it may also change the traveller. Through conversations the traveller may as well give new understanding and insight to others, as they through the conversations may begin to reflect on aspects of their own culture, which previously seemed given by nature and a matter of course (Kvale, 2004). Within interactionism the interviewees are viewed as experiencing subjects who actively construct their social reality. The main issue is to generate data which provides an authentic insight into peoples’ experiences. This is primarily achieved through open-ended interviews (Silverman, 1993).

According to Kvale (2004) the interview as a research method is based on the everyday conversation, but it is a scientific dialogue, which entails a specific structure and purpose. He reminds us that the research interview is not a conversation between equal partners because the researcher is the one who controls and defines the situation. Furthermore, the researcher is the one who decides the topic of the interview, and critically follows up the answers given by the informant. Kvale points out that the qualitative interview often provides the researcher

with contradictory information which might not be objective, but subjective in the sense that they depend on the person being interviewed. In Kvale's opinion though, this is one of the strengths attached to the research method, as it enables the researcher to get hold of the variation in the informants' opinions and perception regarding a certain topic, which gives a picture of a complex and controversial human world (Kvale, 2004).

During the time of my fieldwork in Dar es Salaam I interviewed 11 students and one former student at the University of Dar es Salaam. All these were open-ended interviews, which took the form of an everyday conversation. There were some group discussions, but the greater part of the interviews was conducted one on one. In the cases where the informants agreed to it, the interviews were recorded. I also interviewed 12 lecturers and one assistant lecturer and talked to Lincoln who sold newspapers by the university entrance. At St. Thomas More Machrina High School, I interviewed the headmaster, 3 teachers and 6 pupils. Furthermore, I conducted two group interviews at the premises of Haki Elimu, which is an NGO working to promote education. I also visited NECTA, which is the National Examination Council of Tanzania. Here I had a group discussion with two employees, Mary Alphan Mkwizu and Safarani A.M. Kalole. They have both conducted studies on the issue of language of instruction (Kalole, 2004; Mkwizu, 2003).

In order to make sure that all the aspects of the issue I wished to illuminate were covered in the interviews I employed an interview guide. The interview guide is basically a list of questions or topics that are to be explored in the course of the interview. Approaching open-ended interviews through the interview guide allows the interviewer to freely build a conversation within a particular area. In group interviews the interview guide is particularly useful as it keeps the interaction focused but still allows individual perspectives and experiences to emerge (Patton, 1980).

Sarantakos (1998) lists the following as the most agreed upon advantages associated with the use of interviews in research:

- *Flexibility* The interviews are adjustable to meet many different situations.
- *Easy administration* Informants are not required to have the ability to read or handle questionnaires.
- *Opportunity to observe non-verbal behaviour*

- *Control over the environment* The interviewer has the opportunity to control the conditions under which the interview is conducted.
- *Ability to correct misunderstandings by the interviewee* This option is vary valuable and not available in other forms of data collection.
- *Control over the order of questions*

As there are advantages to using this method, it also has its limitations. Sarantakos (1998) lists the following are the most commonly mentioned:

- Interviews are comparably more time consuming and costly than other methods.
- The interviewer is a factor, with an associated bias which affects the interviews.
- Interviewing is inconvenient compared to other methods, like questionnaires.
- It offers less anonymity to the informants than other methods.

3.2.2 Document analysis

I examined policy documents published by the Tanzanian government, newspapers and earlier studies and publications on the issue. Because of difficulties with getting hold of the primary sources to some of the studies I am referring to, I had to resort to secondary sources in some cases. Like in the case of interviews and other methods there are both advantages and limitations associated with documentary research. According to Sarantakos the following are the most commonly mentioned advantages:

- *Retrospectivity* The researcher is enabled to study past events and issues
- *Quick and easy accessibility* The increased availability of documents through the internet strengthens this point.
- *Spontaneity* Most documents will have been written independently of the researcher, which reduces eventual researcher bias.
- *Low cost* Documentary research is less costly than other methods.
- *Sole source* In some cases documents are the only source of information available, especially when one is studying past events.
- *High quality* The method can provide high quality information.

- *Possibility of retesting*
- *Non-reactivity* The method in itself does not affect the results.

Limitations:

- Documents are not necessarily representative of their kind (this point mainly applies to personal documents).
- Some of the documents are not easily accessible.
- Some documents are not up to date or complete.
- The reliability of documents can be questionable.
- Documents are biased because they represent the views of the writer.
- Comparisons between documents are not always possible (Sarantakos, 1998).

3.2.3 The process of fieldwork

The purpose of observational data is to describe the setting in which study takes place (Patton, 1990). Also, and just as importantly, observations provide an alternate source of data, which is useful for verifying the information obtained through interviews and document analysis. Using observations for this purpose is called triangulation (Gall, Gall and Borg, 2003). According to (Patton, 1990), descriptions of observations ought to be factual, accurate and thorough without including irrelevant trivia. The extent, to which the described observation allows the reader to enter into and understand the situation, is the basic criterion to base judgement of recorded observation on.

Direct and personal contact with, and observations of the field, is valuable to the researcher for several reasons (Patton, 1990). First, direct observations enable the researcher to better understand the context of the issue at hand, which is essential to gaining a holistic perspective. A second advantage is that firsthand experience permits the researcher to be discovery oriented and inductive in her or his approach, because it decreases the need to rely on second hand descriptions and conceptualisations. Observational fieldwork is also beneficial to a study because the researcher as an outsider is given the opportunity to notice things that may routinely escape the conscious awareness of the participants. People who are immersed in the routines of a society or an institution may take for granted many aspects of their activities

causing them not to consider them. I experienced this particular aspect of being an outsider several times when interviewing students who seemed to never before have questioned the English medium of instruction. A fourth strength of observational fieldwork is that the researcher may gain insight into factors concerning the study which participants may be unwilling to discuss or reveal information about during interviews. A fifth value of observations is that they allow the researcher to gain insight beyond the individual and selective perceptions of interview participants. Finally, firsthand experience with the context of the study gives the researcher personal knowledge and experience to enhance understanding and interpretation of the issue. Reflection and introspection are also important parts of field research as the impressions of the researcher become part of the data (Patton, 1990).

Murray and Overton suggest that a characteristic feature of fieldwork is that it requires a “fine balance between rigidity and flexibility” (Murray and Overton, 2003: 32). By this they mean that although the main objectives of the study should remain clear to researcher throughout the process and she or he ought to have a plan about which methods to employ, the researcher should also be prepared to refine and even change plans made before hand once in the field. This rings true with my experience. Although the planning and reading I had done before going to Dar es Salaam was indispensable, there were also many aspects of this particular field I could not know how best to deal with before I was there.

The fieldwork was especially valuable in that it allowed me to experience the language context of the field at firsthand. Through daily interaction with Tanzanian people I got a personal impression of the roles that English and Kiswahili play in the Tanzanian society.

When a researcher decides to take on fieldwork in the Third World, or any country with a different tongue than the researcher’s home country, learning the local language at least to some extent becomes a necessity (Lesley and Storey, 2003). I started learning Kiswahili as soon as it was decided that I was to conduct my fieldwork in Tanzania. Although I did not have sufficient time to achieve fluency, I managed to gain the conversational skills say for travelling. I was very grateful that I had made this effort before entering the field, and continuing while there. It was highly rewarding in that it made it easier for me to come in contact with people and I experienced that the locals appreciated the fact that I tried to learn. Additionally I felt like my stumbling Kiswahili took away some of the humiliation I got the

impression that some of the locals, informants as well as others seemed to feel due to the fact that my English in most cases was better than theirs.

Through the course of my fieldwork I kept a fieldwork diary to manage my fieldwork notes. I had a notebook and a pen with me at all times, but it did not always seem convenient or appropriate to take notes right there and then. So, at the end of each day's work I gathered my thoughts and notes on everything that had occurred during the day in the diary. As advised by Patton (1990) it included basic information such information as where and when observations took place, description of the physical and social setting, who was present and which activities took place. Having done this later proved to be indispensable for the process of analysing and writing.

3.3 Sampling

Sampling is the process of choosing the units of the target population which are to be included in the study (Gall, Gall and Borg, 2003). A basic distinction can be made between two types of sampling: Random or probability sampling and non-probability sampling. In probability sampling strict probability rules are employed in the selection process. This means that every unit of the population has an equal, calculable and non-zero probability of being selected for the sample. This type of sampling offers a high the degree of representativeness. Probability sampling is however expensive, time consuming and rather complicated, as it requires larger sample sizes and the units are often widely scattered (Sarantakos, 1998).

Non-probability sampling is sampling procedures which do not employ the rules of probability theory (Bryman, 2004; Gall, Gall and Borg, 2003; Sarantakos, 1998). These are less strict sampling strategies and make no claim for representativeness. They are usually used for qualitative analysis and exploration. I have employed purposive sampling and snowball sampling in my study, which are both examples of non-probability sampling (Sarantakos, 1998).

Purposive sampling is a sampling technique that also sometimes referred to as judgemental sampling. The technique entails a process in which the researcher purposely chooses subjects who in his or her opinion are perceived to be relevant for the study. More specifically the

process involves the identification of relevant respondents and arranging meetings with them (Patton, 1990).

Snowball sampling is a type of sampling in which the researcher begins with a smaller group of people who are relevant to the research topic and also are available to them (Bryman 2004). Subsequently, the researcher asks these respondents to recommend other persons which meet the criteria of the research, and perhaps are willing to participate in the study (Sarantakos, 1998).

3.4 Reliability and validity

According to Brock-Utne (1996), qualitative research reports very often lack a discussion of reliability and validity, as though they were not relevant concepts in qualitative research. She further argues that the commonly held assumption that qualitative methods are only concerned with validity, and pay no attention to reliability, is a biased assumption, and does not reflect reality. It has also been suggested that one should use different criteria than validity and reliability to assess the quality of qualitative studies (Guba and Lincoln, 1988). Patton (1990) emphasises that the validity and reliability of qualitative data depend to a great extent on the methodological skill, sensitivity and integrity of the researcher, because in qualitative research, the researcher is the instrument.

3.4.1 Reliability

On the matter of reliability Kvale (2004) states that it is a concept concerned with the consistency of research findings. In other words it implies whether repeated studies of the same phenomenon would give the same results. He points out that although a high degree of reliability in research findings is preferable in order to avoid random subjectivity, the researcher is at risk of counteracting creativity and variety by over focusing on achieving this criterion. In relation to reliability and interviews, Kvale argues that the matter of leading questions has received an exaggerated amount of negative attention. In his opinion the reason for this attention may be found in a naive form of empirism, in which it is believed that neutral observation of an objective social reality, unaffected by the presence of the researcher

is possible. Kvale maintains that rather than simply avoiding leading questions, it is important that the researcher acknowledges the impact of the questions, and strives to make them as clear and comprehensible as possible (Kvale, 2004).

Stenbacka (Golafshani, 2003) on the other hand argues that the concept of reliability is in fact irrelevant in qualitative research, stating that:

The concept of reliability is even misleading in qualitative research. If a qualitative study is discussed with reliability as a criterion, the consequence is rather that the study is no good” (Golafshani, 2003:601).

Kleven (2002) argues that when applying the concept of reliability to a qualitative research method, the following questions are of significant relevance:

1. Would we have seen same and interpreted what we saw the same way if we had happened to have made the observations at another time?
2. Would we have seen the same and interpreted it the same way if we had happened to pay attention to other phenomena during observation?
3. Would a second observer with the same theoretical framework have seen and interpreted the observations the same way?

The first question is concerned with the consistency of the research findings. The second question deals with what Brock-Utne (1996) refers to as a form of parallel reliability. Kleven’s third question is related to intra-judge subjectivity or objectivity. However, when data exist in the form of verbal descriptions, as in the case of this study one cannot estimate the numerical magnitude of the errors of measurement. Brock-Utne argues that nevertheless it is possible to obtain information aspects of a study’s reliability, for example by comparing the different verbal descriptions and interpretations of independent researchers. Lastly, we are reminded that although reliability is not as readily measurable in qualitative research as in quantitative research, it cannot be ignored (Brock-Utne, 1996).

Guba and Lincoln (1988) reject the concept of reliability although they believe consistency is a reasonable criterion in any inquiry, because the term has come to be used in what they refer to as the “scientific paradigm”, which seem parallel to the positivist tradition associated with disciplines like physics. They propose instead the concept of “auditability”, which means that an inquiry conducted by one researcher can be tested for consistency by having another researcher go through the study, and confirm whether he or she can conclude that given that perspective and those data, he or she would probably have reached the same conclusion.

3.4.2 Validity

With respect to the concept of validity, Kvale maintains that there are two different sorts of definitions which one commonly comes across in literature on research within the social sciences. Firstly, there is the narrower definition found within the positivist tradition, which limits validity to be a matter of measurement. In this sense, validity is purely a question of whether or not one is in fact measuring what one believes to be measuring. Kvale argues that this definition of validity implies that qualitative research becomes invalid unless the results are in the form of numbers. Secondly, in a wider interpretation of the concept of validity, it revolves around the extent to which a certain research method investigates what it is supposed to investigate. Kvale states that within this wider definition of validity, qualitative research can be said to provide valid, scientific knowledge (Kvale, 2004).

Winter (2000) observes that it is difficult to reach a common definition of the concept of validity. He attempts to establish that validity is not a single, fixed or universal concept but to the contrary a dependent construct. It is always based on the processes and intentions involved in particular research methods and projects. Winter further argues that truth is the central concept in theorisation of validity because it is the affiliations of methodologies concerning truth that generate the varying notions of validity. Thus, it is one’s notion of truth that determines how one defines what accurate representation, reliability and trustworthiness actually implies.

Lamnec (Sarantakos, 1998), has argued that the following factors actually give qualitative research a higher degree of validity than quantitative research:

- The data are closer to the research field in qualitative research than in quantitative research.
- In qualitative research the data are closer to reality.
- The views and opinions of the respondents are considered in qualitative research.
- The methods of qualitative research are more flexible and open than the quantitative.
- There is a communicative basis in qualitative research which is not available in quantitative research.
- Qualitative research allows for successive expansion of data.

3.4.3 External validity as ecological validity

The concept of external validity as seen in the positivist tradition concerns the extent to which research findings can be generalised to a wider population. There is however a second component to external validity, which may serve as a more useful criterion for judgement in qualitative research. This component is called ecological validity, and refers to the degree to which behaviour observed in one context can be generalised to another (Brock-Utne, 1996). Ecological validity is assured by revealing rather than obscuring as many characteristics as possible about the institution in question. However, one should bear in mind that will happen at the cost of the anonymity that some schools or individuals might want. I have chosen to aim for high ecological validity in this study. The main reason behind my decision is that I want to avoid a situation where securing anonymity makes it impossible to distinguish fiction from actual people and opinions. Thus, in this study I have even included the names of the participants who agreed to it, and I have named all the institutions involved.

3.5 Ethical concerns

An essential ethical norm in scientific work is that it must be published and remain open to scrutiny. This is related to the overall ideal of truth and the goal of research as a liberating force. The researcher must thus be committed to the truth in such a way that he or she is trustworthy, truthful and reliable in order to avoid deliberate errors which may occur when researchers seek to find evidence for something they personally believe in, rather than conducting objective and professional work (Befring, 2004).

An imperative ethical aspect of any study involving the participation of human beings is that of informed consent (Kvale, 2004; Schveyens, Nowak and Schveyens, 2003). This entails that interview persons are informed about the main goal of the study, and about eventual disadvantages and advantages which participating might imply. Furthermore, informed consent means that it is completely voluntary for the informants to participate, and that they have the right to withdraw at any time (Kvale, 2004). Similarly, it is pointed out that in accordance with scientific ethical standards, researchers are advised to make their presence and aims known in order to avoid deception when conducting fieldwork (Creswell, 1998).

When conducting fieldwork researchers are advised to be aware of power relations between researchers and their informants. According to Schveyens, Nowak and Schveyens (2003) imbalances in power between the research participants and the researchers exist on two levels. On one level we have the real differences, such as access to education, money and other resources. On the other level we have perceived power imbalances, which might exist in the minds of participants who feel inferior to the researcher or a researcher who feels superior, or lastly, participants who feel superior to the researcher. During the period of conducting the interviews in my study, I came across a few varieties of power relations. On the level of real differences there probably is an imbalance between myself and some of the people I interviewed, with regard to access to education, money and other resources. Some of the interviewees are however much higher on the academic ladder than myself, creating a professional or career related imbalance. Height and gender may also contribute to perceived power imbalances leaving a short female like myself on the inferior side in some cases. I am aware that these are merely my own subjective perception, but I did feel like I was being patronised by some of the male participants in the study.

3.6 Challenges

Language problems constituted the most prevalent of the challenges involved in this study. The fact that my Kiswahili is poor obviously made the communication between the interviewees and me less than optimal. I was forced to communicate with the participants through English, which is a foreign language both to them and me.

Other challenges I came across were related to cultural differences. Particularly apparent were cultural differences with respect to appointments and punctuality, which has a somewhat

different meaning in the Tanzanian culture compared to Norwegian customs. Life has a different pace in Tanzania, so I had to adjust my plans on a daily basis and try to be as flexible as possible.

Another aspect of cultural differences I experienced was gender related. There are different expectations of men and women in the Tanzanian and Norwegian societies. I must admit that I at times found it challenging to deal with the feeling that I was patronised or taken less seriously mainly for the reason that I was female. Also, I experienced that men are more forthcoming in Tanzania than in my home country, which at times was somewhat disturbing to my work as I from time to time had difficulty keeping the conversation on the topic of my study rather than my marital status. I believe that both these gender related factors lead me to grow a tendency toward preferring to approach women throughout the time of my fieldwork.

CHAPTER FOUR

4 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

I have organised the presentation and analysis of my findings according to three main topics. Firstly, I look into the relationship between education and English in the Tanzanian society. Secondly, I attempt to address the question of whether or not Kiswahili is a suitable language for science and higher education. The last part is concerned with the relationship between language of instruction in post primary education and development in Tanzania.

The process of data analysis took place along side as well as after the process of collecting data. Strauss (1987) recommends that although the initial data collected may seem confusing, one should begin the analysis already after the first few interviews, or the first two or three days of fieldwork if possible. Miles and Huberman (1984) point out that there are few agreed upon standards for qualitative data analysis.

The most serious and central difficulty in the use of qualitative data is that methods of are not well formulated. For quantitative data, there are clear conventions the researcher can use. But the analyst faced with a bank of qualitative data has very few guidelines for protection against self-delusion, let alone the presentation of unreliable or invalid conclusions to scientific or policy making audiences. How can we be sure that an “earthy”, “undeniable”, “serendipitous” finding is not, in fact, wrong? (Miles and Huberman, 1984:16).

We are however not left completely without guidelines to assist the process of analysing data. As one takes on the task of analysing interviews one has to decide whether to employ case analysis or cross-case analysis. Case analysis involves writing a case study for each person interviewed. In a cross case analysis on the other hand, one group together answers from different people, according to certain questions or central issues to the study. In this chapter I want to present, and analyse my findings according to the main issues or patterns which emerged during my work on this thesis. Thus, the cross-case analysis strategy seemed the better fit. With an interview guide approach, one can group together the participants’ different answers by topics from the guide (Patton, 1990).

4.1 English versus education?

Amongst many of the interviews I conducted at the University of Dar es Salaam, there was especially one assumption held by many of the students, lecturers and professors I found striking. There seemed to be a widespread fear that without English as the medium of instruction in the school system, Tanzanians will not be able to learn English at all. The main reason given for wanting to keep the English medium were, in almost all cases, that it is important to learn English. This left me under the impression that Tanzanians to a high degree equate learning English with learning in English.

Learning English as a foreign language, taught as a subject is rarely considered. I often asked people in Dar es Salaam how they pictured education through the medium of Kiswahili. Many rejected it, arguing that the students need to practice English. It is my impression though, that the students do not really practice English during the school day with the current policy. They listen to their lecturers lecturing in English, which is in many cases very broken English. For the most part the students are passively taking notes. Discussions between students are to a great extent conducted in Kiswahili. Birgit Brock-Utne has worked as a professor at the University of Dar es Salaam for four and a half years and experienced this herself. She says in her book “Whose education for all?”, that she was struck daily by the artificiality of the use of the English language in African settings (Brock-Utne, 2000).

In this chapter I will attempt to convey what I found out about the sentiment of staff and students, focusing on the following key questions.

- Are the students learning efficiently with the English medium?
- Does the English medium enable students to learn English efficiently?
- How do the teachers feel about teaching in English?

I will also put secondary school into the picture, as I believe the situation there is closely linked with the state of affairs at institutions of higher learning.

4.1.1 Learning in English

A short interview conducted did with a law student named Pia Chinyele, is quite typical of the prevailing outlook amongst the students. In her opinion, introducing Kiswahili as the language of instruction would certainly make understanding of the concepts involved in her subject a lot easier. However, after a bit of thinking she asked: “How do you expect us to learn English then?” She concluded that perhaps there is no other option, as English is a global language, needed for anyone who wants to go abroad.

Flower Manase was a student of archaeology and history. Her response was also very characteristic of this attitude. She gave the following reason for preferring the English medium:

I want to be taught in English because I already have a lot of experience with Kiswahili. I know Kiswahili well already.

There were students however who expressed a more ambivalent position on the issue. Fungua Leopord N.I. for instance completed his studies in political science and public administration in June 2006. In his opinion it was not difficult to have English as the language of instruction. On the other hand Kiswahili is the national language of Tanzania which has united the country and made it peaceful. Therefore he thought the language would be well suited for teaching. Moreover he believed it would probably make schooling more interesting because it would increase student participation. However, at University level, he thought the best idea would be to teach English properly the first semester, and then teach in English. In his opinion not all the teachers are competent enough in English to be using it as language of instruction. He thought using English as language of instruction is a good way of learning the language, because learning a language involves listening adding that globalisation makes it very important to know English.

Rhoda Kidami Peterson is a Tanzanian student at the University of Oslo, but has also completed studies at the University of Dar es Salaam. She told me about her experiences with the English medium in her home country. According to her the students mainly cram for exams, and a lot of them do not understand much. She continued to tell me that the teachers who will not translate into Kiswahili are in general very unpopular amongst the students. In

addition she said that students do not appreciate teachers who ask the students questions, as it makes them feel like they are being harassed.

This more than suggests that the current language policy probably does not create the best environment for student participation. It also suggests that it is not the most fruitful environment for practicing English. The opinions of students who undertook courses provided by the Kiswahili department, which uses Kiswahili as the language of instruction indicates that the quality is in fact improved by the use of this medium.

Edith Ntale has been studying geography and Kiswahili for three years. Kiswahili is taught in Kiswahili. She told me she very much enjoys her Kiswahili lessons. I asked if this was only because the subject content is interesting or if the language of instruction also plays a part in making it so enjoyable. She said the language is a very important factor and that geography would also be more interesting if taught in Kiswahili.

A similar view was put forward by Jacqueline Raymond. She studies education and Swahili literature. The latter is taught through the Kiswahili medium. She thinks it would be better if all subjects were taught in Kiswahili, as understanding would be easier. It is an important part of their culture she added. I asked how she finds the subject Swahili literature, and she told me it is very interesting. I wondered if it made a difference that this subject is taught in Kiswahili; she replied that it made it easier for the students to participate and that more students were active in these classes.

Experiences like the ones of Edith Ntale and Jacqueline Raymond tells us a great deal about what most students at the University of Dar es Salaam are deprived of. All students of all subjects should be able to participate in their own education.

4.1.1.1 An educationist's observations of the students' situation

Grace Puja, who wrote the earlier mentioned article "Kiswahili and higher education in Tanzania: Reflections based on a sociological from three Tanzanian university campuses", was available for an interview during the time of my fieldwork.

In her opinion the current state of affairs at the university is not very good at all, mainly because the students are not fluent in either written or in spoken English. She has observed this both as a teacher and as a researcher in her above mentioned study. She told me that she is also very much concerned with the teachers' lack of competence in the English language. The fact that many of the teachers are far from fluent in English is a big problem in her view.

As matters stand today students do not need to learn and understand the content of their subjects, they mainly copy from each other. In addition they do not seem to have learnt English. The majority of the students are not really able to express themselves and what they know at all. Understanding is very poor and because of that they tend to memorise everything and reproduce it. They really don't seem to understand what the meaning is. Some of the implications when I give a lecture are that I have to go very slowly, I have to repeat certain words, and I have to clarify, maybe use very simple vocabulary.

Grace Puja showed me a few random samples of tests done by her students during this year. I was surprised by how low the standard of English was in most of them, considering the fact that these are students at university level. They resembled the essay quoted in the introductory chapter a lot. There were often not proper sentences, grammatical errors were very frequent and some of it was quite incomprehensible. As we looked at these essays, Puja expressed her concern further:

This is a professional faculty and the students themselves are going to be teachers. And in their teaching practice, which I have observed, their English is very broken in far too many cases.

According to Puja, the current system does not give the Tanzanian students any opportunities to actually use English. The teacher comes to class and goes through the lecture in English, and as soon as it is over everybody switches to Kiswahili.

4.1.2 Teaching in English

With respect to language of instruction, there was a great variance between the views expressed by the lecturers and professors at the University of Dar es Salaam. This variance is readily illustrated in an article which appeared in the newspaper "The Citizen", the 5th of October 2005. In this article Professor B. S. Mongula of the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) and Professor K.K. Kahigi of the Institute of Kiswahili Research (IKR-TUKI) respond

to questions on using Kiswahili as the medium for teaching at higher learning institutions (Tasseni, 2005).

Mongula states that the solution is not to go back to using Kiswahili as the medium of instruction. This, he claims, would ruin people's ability to interact, stating that "in the world of globalization you have to be there, and language is a tool for interaction" (The Citizen, 2005:12)

Professor Kahigi on the other hand says that if teachers were allowed to teach in Kiswahili at the university, they would be liberated and student participation enhanced. Furthermore, he maintains that to the majority of Tanzanians English is a foreign language. Kahigi claims that they are in a language crisis at the university, and that keeping the English medium exacerbates the crisis.

In this next part, I will present the views of various lecturers and professors who participated in this study, according to their standpoint on the issue.

In favour of Kiswahili

Martha Qorro is a senior lecturer in the department of foreign languages and linguistics. In an interview she he maintained that it is important to use Kiswahili, which the students understand properly, in order for them to get a firm grasp and understanding of the subject content. In other words she sees a change in language of instruction as paramount for actual learning to be taking place. According to her, the main study technique at the moment is cramming and copying. She expressed that as a teacher she feels guilty about teaching this way.

Casmir M. Rubagumya is an associate Professor in the Department of foreign Languages and linguistics at the University of Dar es Salaam. He has done extensive research on the issue of language of instruction (Rubagumya, 2003, 1990). According to him there is a discrepancy between policy and practice with regard to the medium of instruction in the Tanzanian school system:

The policy is to use English, but teachers continuously use Kiswahili to enable better understanding. Students are not proficient enough in English to follow the lectures, so

the teachers have to improvise. They are only pretending in a sense to be using English as the medium of instruction.

In Rubagumya's opinion the policy ought to be changed, and English should to be taught as a foreign language. He told me that he thinks propositions like this are met with resistance because people equate teaching through the English medium with learning English. He disagrees with this belief and maintained that one can learn English very well as a subject. He continued to point out that there is already accumulated considerable research evidence showing that this is possible.

K. Sekwiha is an assistant lecturer of English and literature. What she told me about her experience with teaching under the current conditions is very consistent with the views of Rubagumya. She said the students are struggling to cope with their studies because of the English medium. Moreover, she affirmed that she herself finds it difficult to express herself as a teacher, and is compelled to code-switch from time to time to enable her students to understand. The medium of instruction represents a great dilemma she explained, because people want to use English to learn it well, but they might not learn what they are supposed to in class.

If we teach and we learn using English and then on the other hand people are not comfortable with that language, they are loosing. We can not go along with this. We can not use the language properly. If someone can not understand the question, then what about the answer?

In her opinion it would be profitable for the students to learn English as a subject. She believes the students would be participating more in class if the national language of Kiswahili, which is well understood by the students, were the medium of instruction. Also, because Kiswahili is used in primary school, they ought to continue with the Kiswahili throughout the school system to avoid confusion.

Dr. Emanuel A. M. Mjema is the head of the department of Engineering Management and Entrepreneurship at the University of Dar es Salaam. He is also a lecturer, and I asked him how the use of English affects the teaching-learning process in his view. He told me that it makes matters more complicated, as the students cannot express them selves properly in English. Mjema is under the impression that the larger part of the students first thinks in Kiswahili and then tries to translate to English. What is in their minds is the Kiswahili

language which is what they all speak in the corridors. He himself had first put his children in English medium school, but found that it was a mistake.

In between- bilingualism

Tony Majembe, who is a lecturer of English and literature, expressed similar concerns to his colleague, Sekwiha. In his opinion though the system works, but it works the hard way. He sustained that the students are having problems with it. Many of them come from what he referred to as a “poor language background”. He said that a lot of the professors are having a difficult time with the English medium as well. Although he believes the situation is difficult, he is not sure the solution is to change the language of instruction from English to Kiswahili. The main problem in Majembe’s view is the way English is taught:

They don’t learn the language, they learn about the language. Additionally they rarely get an opportunity to practice the language, because outside the school building English is not used. People can’t speak it at all. Even the students that are studying English at the English department are not proficient. You can find students with A’s in English who can’t express themselves or understand English very well.

He also wanted to put into the picture that because English is the language of their former colonial masters, some people do not want to be associated with it. In line with Rubagumya, Majembe also pointed out that in practice Kiswahili is actually used a great deal for teaching. He finds that students often ask him to simplify, which means translate to Kiswahili.

I was once invited to give lectures in literature at a school. The students were asking me to simplify a great deal, so I asked for permission to try teaching in Kiswahili. I was allowed to try it for one day. After class this day the students all congratulated me and said they had understood much more than any of the other days, because I had taught in Kiswahili.

J. B. Maghway is an associate professor at the department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics at the University of Dar es Salaam. As he perceives the situation there is a language problem, but the problem is language, not the English language in itself. In his view the real problem which became acute during the seventies, is that Tanzanian children have been deprived of their confidence in use of any language. When children enter nursery or primary school they experience that their mother tongue is not accepted and thus stigmatised, as Kiswahili is introduced as the language of instruction. After learning and getting familiar

with this language through primary school, their confidence is again crushed when they move on to secondary school where the language of instruction is English, and Kiswahili is stigmatised. Because confidence in language is never nurtured only suffocated, they can never master or own any language fully, not even Kiswahili. As long as this issue is not addressed, he will maintain that researchers concerned with language in Tanzania are not dealing with the true problem, but are barking up the wrong tree. He would like education to be bilingual or even multilingual. In Maghway's opinion changing the medium to Kiswahili might be a good idea if the vernacular languages were also part of the equation. They could for instance be used in primary school.

Abel Ishumi was also available for an interview. He is a professor of pedagogy, and the former head of the Department of Education, before it became a faculty. Moreover, he was part of the committee that wrote the report on the University of Dar es Salaam AUDIT of 1998 (UDSM, 1999), which recommended the continued use of English as the medium of instruction in spite of the problems observed.

I asked him about his opinion today, some years later, and he expressed his view on the matter:

Traditionally, since the colonial days, the language of instruction in secondary school, college and university has been English. Tanzania became independent in 1961, but now, 46 years later, the language of instruction remains unchanged. Unfortunately though, mastery of English in secondary school is not good and there is frequent use of Kiswahili, making it difficult to enforce English. This problem affects education at higher levels. All in all, this situation may well be described as a dilemma.

Ishumi suggested in the interview that the solution to this dilemma might be switching to Kiswahili throughout the education system, and continue with English only as a subject. Having said that, he went on to offer a third option, which he believed to be representative of the trend of thinking amongst several of his colleagues these days:

In stead of going for a full switch to Kiswahili, which presumably will be met by a great deal of resistance, bilingualism should be considered. That would imply using both Kiswahili and English as media of instruction. He argued this would be a tactically wise move if one wants to see a change happening, because it is perceived to be a more realistic and obtainable option.

In favour of English

John K. Mdume is a lecturer in economics at the University of Dar Es Salaam, and he agreed to an interview on the issue of language. In his view, English is an efficient medium of instruction, to which there is no good substitute.

I asked him if he thought they could be risking their education in this attempt to learn English. He said that he could see this point, but did not agree, because:

I feel that even though the situation might be bad at secondary and university level, the solution is not to switch to Kiswahili, but English. I think the problem would not be there if we had good English teachers and a different structure in the education system. If English had been the language of instruction from primary school, I believe that students would be fluent at university level and therefore would not face these problems. Certainly, if Kiswahili were introduced as the medium of instruction in secondary school, nobody would speak English after about 5 years time.

Mdume pointed that it is frowned upon by many Tanzanians to say for example speak English with your child in public places, like on the bus, because people have a tendency to think that you are very proud of your command of the language and feel superior. According to him this is one of the reasons why there are few opportunities to practice English.

4.1.3 Critical thinking and the search for true knowledge

Thiong'o argues that Europe has planted its memory on the intellect of Africa. The colonised have been subjected to the memory of Europe, through the imposition of European languages. According to Thiong'o this lead to the rise of European languages to the level of an ideal whose achievement was the pinnacle of enlightenment in Africa (Thiong'o, 2005).

In the article "The impact of global changes on academic freedom", Ali A. Mazrui claims that in Africa academic freedom is devalued by intellectual dependency on Western culture. According to Mazrui, the European languages in which African graduates and scholars are taught are an important source to this dependency. He argues that:

For the time being Africa's freedom of thought is compromised by linguistic enslavement. [...] An African who has good command of a European language has probably assimilated other aspects of Western culture as well. This is because the

process of acquiring A European language in Africa has tended to be overwhelmingly through a formal system of Western-style education (Mazrui, 1994: 121).

The *Dar es Salaam Declaration on Academic freedom and Social responsibility of Academics* was produced by the higher learning institutions of Tanzania in 1990 (Diouf and Mamdani, 1994). A key principle in this declaration is that:

Education shall develop critical faculties, inculcate the spirit of scientific enquiry and encourage the purity of knowledge and the search for the whole truth in the interest of social transformation and human liberation (Diouf and Mamdani, 1994: 368).

Can the main objectives of the university be met under the current circumstances? Does the English medium allow students to engage in abstractions and system thinking? Is the Tanzanian university as we know it today able to produce critically thinking scientists?

I asked professor Rubagumya how he thinks the English medium is affecting the students' ability to reach the main goals of the university education, like developing the skills needed to analyse critically and independently reflect on an academic level. He said that one can not perform critical thinking when one does not understand the basic concepts involved. It is in other words impossible to be critical of something one does not understand.

Critical thinking is also an issue of great importance to Azaweli Feza Lwaitama. He is a senior lecturer at the Department of Linguistics and Foreign Languages at the University of Dar es Salaam. In the article "Local knowledge and indigenous science: Nyerere's philosophy on education and poverty alleviation", he argues that problem solving pedagogy and critical thinking is essential in a liberatory pedagogy, which again is indispensable in poverty alleviation. In this respect he underscores that such a liberatory pedagogy is undoubtedly facilitated by employing as the medium of instruction, the language in which students have the highest proficiency. Consequently, he points out that in the case of Tanzania this would demand the use of Kiswahili as the medium of instruction (Lwaitama, 2004). Lwaitama agreed to be interviewed and further stressed his point:

If it is a goal for the university to have students who are actively engaged in their education so they can become good scientists who demand and search for real answers to scientific issues, it is imperative that they understand well what they are being taught.

He asserted that in his experience Kiswahili is the language which is best understood by most of the students. He argued that for this reason it is very obvious that Kiswahili ought to be the language of instruction at all levels of education in Tanzania, from a technical point of view.

As I have mentioned earlier, I believe that the problems observed in relation to the foreign medium of instruction at university level is closely linked to the situation at secondary level, where the English medium of instruction is introduced. Therefore, I also gathered some information on this level, and I will now turn to the analysis of these data.

4.1.4 Secondary school

Mary Alphan Mkwizu, whose study on the pedagogical consequences of the implementation of the change in medium of instruction from Kiswahili to English in the subject “civics” in Tanzanian secondary schools (Mkwizu, 2003) I described in chapter two, works at the National Examination Council of Tanzania (NECTA). I visited NECTA and conducted a group discussion interview with Mkwizu and her colleague Safarani A.M. Kalole. In the course of our discussion, Mkwizu expressed that from what she knows about the pupils’ level of English at secondary school, she could only infer that they are not ready to take on the challenges of the university through the medium of English. She continued to tell me that apparently many students choose science because these subjects involve less writing. Many of them still fail though, because they do not get an adequate grasp of the main concepts of the subjects they undertake. She commented that:

The problems I observed when studying secondary school pupils will persist when they go to university. Especially because at university level subject content is more complex, and students are expected to reflect on issues and are often asked to give an opinion.

Mkwizu further argued, in concurrence with Kalole, that the Tanzanian school system is most beneficial to, and adapted to the 5% of the students who go abroad. Personally she would have preferred to write her own master thesis in Kiswahili.

St. Thomas More Machrina High school

I was curious about secondary school, and wanted to get an impression of the situation myself. I spent two days at a private secondary school owned by professor Galabawa, St. Thomas More Machrina High School. There I interviewed six students from the last level, the principal and three teachers.

What I found confirmed Mkwizu's opinion with respect to the pupils' level of English understanding and speaking abilities. The most remarkable aspect was in my view the great variation in ability between the pupils. The fact that I was able to have a good conversation with one pupil, when another pupil, from the same class, needed her teacher to translate everything gives rise to concern. I was further surprised by the opinions of these two students. The latter did not think it would be a good idea to switch the medium to Kiswahili, and the first one did. He thought it would make it easier for everyone to understand. All the pupils I interviewed told me they plan to go to university.

I also talked to Irene Cynthia, who is an English teacher at St. Thomas's High. In Cynthia's opinion Kiswahili should be the language of instruction, claiming that it would enable her students to understand everything she says, which in turn would make teaching easier and more interesting. The way things are now, she supplied, not many students are able to challenge their teachers because they do not have the ability to express themselves properly. She also expressed her concern with the fact that few parents are able to help secondary school pupils with their homework, due to the language barrier.

What can secondary school examinations tell us?

A colleague of Mkwizu at the National Examination Council of Tanzania, Safarani A.M. Kalole, who also holds a M. Phil. in Comparative and International Education from the University of Oslo, has conducted a study in which she compared form 4 students' National exams in Kiswahili and English (Kalole, 2004). Additionally she interviewed teachers, who besides teaching worked as exam markers.

When comparing results from exams in Kiswahili and English, she first looked at essays and the summaries. She found that the students had more problems when writing their essays in English (Kalole, 2004). They were very short and full of grammatical mistakes. In the case of

the Kiswahili essays, the problems were of a different kind. The students wrote elaborate, long essays, but had difficulty staying within the question given. There were hardly any grammatical mistakes.

The students had also been asked to read a text and then write a summary, in both subjects. Kalole told me that in doing this task the students faced quite a few problems. With the English summary, it became evident that the students had not understood the content of the original text. When looking at the Kiswahili summaries, she could only conclude that the students had not understood what they were meant to do. There were no problems with the language, but it seemed that it was not clear to them what a summary is.

When interviewed, and asked to comment on these findings, Kalole let me know that the teachers were complaining about the syllabus. In their opinion it does not give any clear guidance on how to teach different styles of writing. They also expressed that the language of instruction makes efficient teaching more difficult for them. The teachers informed Kalole that they need to code switch for the students to understand the concepts they are trying to get across to them. Many of the teachers told Kalole that it would be better to teach in Kiswahili, but that they unfortunately do not have a say in it. Furthermore, Kalole told me that as much as 80 % of the examinations officers said using Kiswahili would be a better language of instruction.

Kalole concluded my interview by stating that:

When the pupils leave secondary school, they are not at a level of English proficiency, which is sufficient for them to go on to university and learn anything of value if taught in English. (I AM) She is convinced the students will face the same problems they face in secondary school when they go to university.

In her opinion the Ministry of Education should change the language of instruction from English to Kiswahili in all levels of education in Tanzania. Moreover, she believes English is best taught as a subject, with English teachers, who are trained to teach a foreign language.

4.1.5 Why are so many Tanzanians convinced that the English medium is the best way to learn English?

Martha Qorro offered the following explanation for why this conviction has such a stronghold among parents in her country, in an interview I conducted:

Many parents themselves were taught in English, and think that because they obtained their education through that medium, it is the best way to learn the language. They do not believe in other methods, like having English as a subject. They are worried that if one ceases to use English as the language of instruction, the English language will die in Tanzania. Also, people feel certain that the practice students get in school will make them proficient in English; therefore they don't believe in learning English as a subject. They think that if the students just keep at it they will learn eventually.

Casmir M. Rubagumya has conducted a study on the preferences of parents (Rubagumya, 2003). He had asked parents what they prefer as language of instruction. He found that they are for the most part in favour of the English medium. In an interview with him, I asked him to comment on these findings; in particular I wanted to know the reason behind the found preference for the English medium. He told me that the main cause is that they think it will help their children become fluent in English. Furthermore he told me that the majority were convinced that their children will not learn English if they are taught in Kiswahili.

With regard to the students, the interviews in conducted left me under under the impression that the majority has the same opinion as the greater part of the parents. They fear that they will not learn English, if it is not the medium of instruction.

Mercy Mchome who studies political science expressed her opposing opinion on the issue in an interview. In her view English is the language of instruction because it is the language of their former colonial masters. In her opinion however, it would be better to use Kiswahili, as students understanding would be greatly improved, and today many students fail their exams because of the language, commenting that:

After independence the policy of learning English as a subject failed, because people still like English in the sense that it is still perceived as a symbol of power and intelligence.

During the time of my fieldwork, I was often surprised by the discrepancy between peoples' insistence on using English as the language of instruction in the schools system and their general unwillingness to talk to me in English. Several staff and students argued that the English medium was very beneficial as it gives the students practice with the English

language, but few jumped at the chance to practice their English by speaking it to me. I spent the first twelve days of my fieldwork in Dar es Salaam with my supervisor, Birgit Brock-Utne. She speaks Kiswahili fluently, and in most of our conversations with Tanzanians they happily excluded me and continued the conversation in Kiswahili as soon as this became known to them. Also, she was in many cases urged to hurry up and teach me Kiswahili.

4.2 Kiswahili as an academic language

The issue of whether or not the Kiswahili language is suitable as an academic language is one of the most heated topics in the general debate concerning the medium of instruction in Tanzania. For various reasons many Tanzanians feel that Kiswahili disqualifies for scientific learning, teaching, work and discourse. Others perceive English to be the international language of science and technology; therefore Kiswahili cannot substitute it. Many also point out that changing the language of instruction is a luxury Tanzania can not afford, because acquiring new learning materials in Kiswahili and reorienting the teachers is a process which would require a lot of resources. On the other hand, there are also a lot of people who argue that Kiswahili may very well be used as a medium of instruction at higher levels of learning. The proponents of using Kiswahili as the medium of instruction also tend to emphasise that the change is actually what is required for the Kiswahili language to develop and that one must not disregard the costs of retaining the English medium.

In this section I will attempt to present the different views concerning the suitability of Kiswahili as an academic language, which emerged during the course of my fieldwork. This will be done in relation to associated issues such as vocabulary, materials, the publishing industry and information and communications technology.

4.2.1 Is English the language of science and technology?

Jasper Ijiko studies political science. In an interview I conducted, he expressed an opinion which is quite representative for many others at the University of Dar es Salaam who are opposed to changing the medium of instruction.

Changing the language of instruction would involve a great deal of difficulties as most subjects are imported. Consequently the materials, the curriculum and the structure of the educational system would have to be changed as well. This would be too much of an effort and too costly for Tanzania, which is a poor country. Also, translating the scientific terminology would be a problem.

Dr. Emanuel A. M. Mjema, on the other hand is of a different opinion. He completed his doctorate in Germany, where he discovered that there are a lot of scientists who conduct their research and academic discourse through their own language. Additionally, he told me that his cousin completed his studies in Russia, through the Russian medium, and he has a brother who got his degree in Japan, where Japanese is the language of instruction. Thus, to him it has become obvious that there is no international language of technology. He pointed out that:

Technology has no language of its own, as technology and language are two different things. Knowledge is what somebody knows, and has nothing to do with language. The big superpower USA uses English and there are more international opportunities due to globalisation, for somebody who is competent in English, therefore people want English. Technology in itself is no reason to use English as the medium of instruction in his opinion.

Additionally Dr. Mjema emphasised that much of the scientific terminology is borrowed from Latin, not English.

I interviewed Christopher Mwakasege who is a student of commerce. He seemed ambivalent as to whether he believes Kiswahili can serve as the medium of instruction from secondary school and onwards. Firstly, Mwakasege expressed that he thinks English should be the language of instruction at secondary school and university, because Kiswahili is not yet an internationally acknowledged language. For example, he informed me that there is a website called “babelfish”, which helps users translate words from one language to another. Kiswahili he said is not represented on this website. In his opinion, Tanzania has to wait for the rest of the world to recognise Kiswahili as an international language before it can serve as a medium of instruction in post-primary education. I argued that for as long as the speakers of the language do not recognise it themselves, the rest of the world is unlikely to.

Then, on the other hand, he turned to Nokia phones, which were apparently not available with a Kiswahili dictionary, but were being introduced by the company at the time. And the operative system Linux is available in Kiswahili, you can study the language at Yale and

Washington St. Louis. In explaining why English should be the language of instruction in secondary school he gave a lot of good reasons to why Tanzanian students should learn English. When I pointed out that these are not really reasons to keep using the English language as the medium of instruction, but merely to learn the language, and that this is possible through learning English as a subject, he actually changed his mind. At the end of the interview he shook my hand and thanked me for pointing this out to him.

4.2.2 Vocabulary

One of the arguments I heard most frequently by the proponents of the English medium at university level was that the vocabulary of the Kiswahili language is not sufficiently developed to be a language of scholarship and instruction at higher levels of education. Many of the people I interviewed were concerned about the scientific terminology, which they are more familiar with in English.

In the interview I conducted with the economics lecturer John K. Mdume, he stated that:

When it comes to the Kiswahili language itself, I do not think it has sufficient vocabulary. Making up new concepts that nobody feels familiar with will cause more problems than it will help the situation. In my opinion, some of the new words introduced by people working to promote the Kiswahili language are ridiculous and difficult to remember.

He expressed that it could be an option to “Kiswahilify” words and concepts that have become normal to say in English, which in his view at least, is a better option than making up completely new words that nobody knows. He talks for example of the words like “computer” and “calculator”, which have been used for many years.

Tony Majembe who is a lecturer of English and literature shared Mdume’s concerns about the Kiswahili language lacking the necessary vocabulary needed for it to be an efficient medium of instruction. “What shall we do with all the scientific terms then?” Majembe asked. He also agreed that Kiswahilifying some of the scientific terms could be an option, as he thought borrowing words is quite normal for any language. However, like Mdume, he certainly did not appreciate all the new words introduced by the Kiswahili department. In his opinion they go to far when they insist that people should use some African alternative that does not feel

familiar to anyone. He is worried that if the change in language of instruction were made, they would not be using borrowed scientific terms, but new ones, that feel “made up” to him.

Furthermore, Majembe asserted that English is not the language of instruction only to enable people to learn the language; it is also the language of instruction because most subject content is imported. He expressed concern that if they were to translate all the materials they might transliterate something and lose the meaning. Majembe said that this could cause more problems and confusion.

In a response to this argument, Brock-Utne (who participated in a different group interview, we conducted together in which this particular topic was discussed) argued that the Kiswahili department, which is the only department that teaches in Kiswahili, tackled these problems successfully. They developed the necessary terminology gradually. First they used borrowed words, but eventually the new words were coined, and students as well as teachers became familiar with them.

In the earlier mentioned article in *The Citizen* (2005), Professor K.K. Kahigi of the Institute of Kiswahili Research responded to questions on using Kiswahili as the medium for teaching at higher learning institutions. According to Kahigi there is a consensus amongst scholars that the major issue when debating whether to use Kiswahili as the medium of teaching after primary school is whether or not the language is ready. He points out that:

Negative attitudes towards Kiswahili aren't new at all as far as negative attitudes towards languages are concerned. In the beginning, English was in a similar position vis-à-vis Latin. The Latin establishment (in England) similarly resisted introducing English as a medium of learning during the Chaucer stage. They said Latin had plenty of words for technical terms while English had too little, or too few (*The Citizen*, 3rd of October, 2005:12).

In an interview I conducted, Martha Qorro expressed her view on the Kiswahili language's adequacy for scientific discourse. In her opinion, Kiswahili can borrow words from other languages just like English and many other languages have done and still do. Moreover, she points out that the Kiswahili vocabulary will expand if the language were used in higher education to express scientific concepts that are currently presented in English.

In a publication Martha Qorro (2004) further argues that there is no reason to reject the Kiswahili language because the Kiswahili specialists use difficult terminology. In her view specialists for different fields ought to suggest vocabulary in their area of specialization. Instead of leaving the whole job to the Kiswahili experts alone, she proposes that each and every specialist in Tanzania or East Africa could contribute in finding appropriate vocabulary for their respective disciplines. Subsequently, their specialist knowledge in Kiswahili can disseminate to the general population who do not understand English. When people get used to this vocabulary it will no longer sound unfamiliar (Qorro, 2004).

To Professor Rubagumya these alleged problems with vocabulary, and scientific terminology are not valid arguments to keep the English medium. In line with Martha Qorro he underlines that a language can only grow if it is being used. In our conversation, Rubagumya drew attention to the fact that this is the exact same argument that was used when English was still the language of instruction in primary school. However, once the decision was made, people started working on the vocabulary and today it is not a problem. Finally, Rubagumya underlined that one can not wait for the language to develop to reach an academic level; the language will only develop if it is decided that the language is to be used for this purpose.

According to Mr. Ishengoma, who is a Kiswahili teacher at St. Thomas More Machrina High School the Tanzanian language policy is the main problem, not the Kiswahili language. He told me that as he perceives the situation, it is the liberal market that demands English and sees this as the major driving force behind the continued use of the English medium in the Tanzanian school system. In his view, the Kiswahili language is not insufficient in itself. He thinks that the vocabulary is already in place, but people might just need some time to get used to it. Ishengoma pointed out that researchers already publish their findings in Kiswahili, and that there are many newspapers available in Kiswahili. He also mentioned that computer software is now gradually being developed in Kiswahili.

By the entrance of the campus area at the University of Dar es Salaam there two newspaper stands, one selling Newspaper in Kiswahili, while the other sell international magazines and newspapers in English. I walked past the stands almost every day during my stay, and I noticed that the traffic of people around the newspaper stand where Kiswahili papers were sold was much busier. Brock-Utne and I talked with Mr. Lincoln who sells newspapers at one of these stands. We asked him which newspapers he sells more of, the Kiswahili ones or the

English ones. Mr. Lincoln told us that he definitely sells more of the newspapers written in Kiswahili, and that it is mainly foreigners and some professors who buy the English ones.

4.2.3 Materials

The lack of teaching materials in Kiswahili is a common argument raised in favour of the continued use of the English medium for instructional purposes (Qorro, 2004), and it was mentioned by many of the participants in this study. Gosbet Rweyendera is a science teacher at the University of Dar es Salaam and also the headmaster of a secondary school, for example observed:

It would be too soon to change the language of instruction at the moment, because we lack the proper materials, and it will be too expensive to get new textbooks. For the future on the other hand, it might be a good idea.

With regard to the lack of materials in Kiswahili, Professor Rubagumya argued when I interviewed him, that this is not a reason to continue with the English medium:

If the decision was made to change the medium to Kiswahili, there would consequently be an incentive for publishers to develop materials. Obviously there are no materials in Kiswahili at the moment; there is no market for them. If the change were made, that would create a market for books in Kiswahili. When Kiswahili was introduced as the medium of instruction in primary school, they did not have materials ready before the change was made, but change was still made and they do today.

Zaline Makini Roy- Campbell has taught at the University of Dar es Salaam for six years in the 1980's. She has written a book concerning the language of instruction in Tanzania, based on her experiences during her work at the Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics and earlier studies. It was also her experience that textbooks were invariably mentioned as a major problem for changing the language of instruction to Kiswahili. Apparently the perceived problem is that there are no textbooks available at the moment. Roy- Campbell however, points out that there are not really that many available in English either. She draws attention to a study she conducted in collaboration with Martha Qorro from 1987. The study also found that where books were available, the average number of students who were sharing one book ranged from 3 to 6, although in some cases as many as 10 to 20 students were

required to share one book. The study additionally examined the suitability of the books that were on the syllabus, which were present only in small quantities in some schools. The study revealed that most of the students who participated in the survey could not cope with the linguistic level of English in the books (Roy- Campbell, 2001).

Professor K.K. Kahigi said in the earlier mentioned interview in “The Citizen” that starting in 1989, BAKITA (the National Kiswahili Council) began releasing funds for various textbook translations in which several academic staff members were involved in translating secondary school texts, though these were never published. He emphasizes that although everything is not ready yet, the inclination is clearly there (Tasseni, 2005).

Publishing

From personal experience and research, Roy-Campbell has got the impression that there is a willingness and ability to write textbooks in Tanzania. However, organization to facilitate the process of book production is needed. The foremost obstacle pictured by people she interviewed was the actual publication of the books. According to Roy-Campbell, the availability of publishers has increased drastically over the recent years, so finding a publisher to publish a book is no longer as difficult. However, publishing is a business, thus it must be profitable. This brings the question of market for the books into the picture again. Publishers will likely not agree to publish textbooks in Kiswahili without some assurance that they will be sold, (Roy-Campbell, 2001).

Walter Bgoya is a Tanzanian Publisher. He has written an article called “the effect of globalisation in Africa and the choice of language in publishing”, in which he elaborates on the difficulties the dominating ex-colonial languages are causing the intellectual life in Africa, and thus the publishing industry. In the article it is pointed out that even in countries like Tanzania, where the medium of instruction in primary school is the African language Kiswahili, and there is a relatively high rate of literacy, publishing in Kiswahili is nevertheless still for the most part limited to textbook publishing (Bgoya, 1999).

With respect to his home country, Tanzania, Bgoya (1999) further argues that as long as higher education, and therefore culture at a higher level of creativity and enjoyment is not

offered in Kiswahili the problem will remain. He finds it highly regrettable that at the moment little room is given to creativity, which demands higher levels of interpretations of contemporary realities, and thus higher levels of education.

In Bgoya's opinion the problems start with the false notions that (1) African languages are not developed sufficiently to be media of instruction, in some countries even at primary level; and that (2) African languages are not capable of handling scientific terms and concepts.

According to Bgoya, the proponents of these ideas fail to see that vocabulary for science and scientific work can only develop through science related work. In other words vocabulary does not precede invention or discovery. Bgoya points this out because of the more recent development in the technology involved in digital printing, it is becoming relatively easier to publish in small quantities at a reasonable cost, compared to what was possible some years ago (Bgoya, 1999).

According to Roy- Campbell, the Tanzania Publishing House received manuscripts for Physics, Chemistry and Biology secondary school textbooks in Kiswahili between 1972 and 1974. They were not published though, because there was not an identifiable market for them. A book entitled "Msingi ya science" (Foundations of science) was however published by the Tanzania Publishing House. Feedback from teachers indicates that this is a good book, and it has in fact sold very well. This however, was at a time when educators believed that a switch to Kiswahili as the language of instruction in secondary school was about to take place.

4.2.4 Information and communications technology (ICT)

Another common argument for the continued use of the English medium is that English is perceived to be the global language of information and communications technology. Therefore many Tanzanians fear that without the English medium they will be left isolated and unable to use computers and communicate through the internet, which relies heavily on English.

In the executive summary of the University of Dar es Salaam report from the 1998 UDSM Academic AUDIT, it is stated that because English is fast becoming the global ICT medium it is recommendable to retain the English medium (UDSM, 1999).

Brock –Utne and I interviewed Lwoga Musijaki who holds a master of arts from the University of Dar es Salaam. He was also worried about the vocabulary. In addition he was concerned that it would be confusing to have Kiswahili as the language of instruction when they operate with English when using computers. I told him that I had recently been made aware of the fact that both Windows and Word have become available in Kiswahili, but Musijaki explained that he is not convinced people will use it. Because people already are familiar with English terms on the computer it will probably be more difficult for them to operate on a computer with Kiswahili software.

In response to this argument Martha Qorro along with other scholars argue (Brock-Utne, 2000, Malekela, 2003) that the alternative to using the English language as medium of instruction is not to ignore the English language. The alternative which is proposed by the proponents of the change, is that English is taught efficiently as a foreign language, by trained language teachers. In accordance with this proposal the students will be able to communicate in English and consequently be able to benefit from the services obtainable via ICT in general and the internet in particular, because the students are likely to have a better command of the English language if they have learnt it as a foreign language (Qorro, 2004).

A computer science teacher Brock-Utne and I interviewed, expressed a similar view to that of Qorro's. He does not believe ICT makes it necessary to have English as the medium of instruction. The teacher pointed out that there are several good examples of countries which use their own languages and are very advanced in technology, like China and Japan. In his opinion there is no connection between the English language and technology. One can use any language and still be competent in science and technology.

The teacher believes the main reason why people still want English as the language of instruction, is that they have what he refers to as “colonised” minds. He means this in the sense that learning English is still very much associated with being civilized, sophisticated and educated.

Summary

In this chapter I have attempted to convey the many different opinions and attitudes I have come across in the concerning the adequacy of Kiswahili as an academic language. I have also made an effort to portray the arguments prevalent in discourse concerning topics very much related to this debate, such as academic vocabulary, materials, publishing and the use of ICT.

Most of the positions I have described can to a certain degree be classified in one of two categories. The first one contains the various arguments and assumptions suggesting that the Kiswahili language is not suitable for academic purposes. I assign to the other category the views and arguments forwarded by Tanzanians who believe that Kiswahili may well be a scientific language because it will develop if it is used for that purpose.

4.3 Language of instruction and development

Shortly after achieving independence in 1961, the Tanzanian Government declared war against three “development enemies”: ignorance, disease and poverty (URT, 1998). Various plans and programs were formulated and implemented. By the early 1980s considerable improvement had taken place in several sectors. These achievements were however negatively affected by economical difficulties facing the country from the late 1970s and the 1980s (URT, 1998). In 1995 the Tanzanian Government initiated the formulation of a philosophy for long term development, as it was perceived that the development and people of Tanzania had lost their visions and direction. The finalised document, Tanzania Development Vision 2025, was eventually published in 2000 (URT, 2000). “A well educated and learning society” is pointed out as one of five main attributes this vision expresses that Tanzania should be imbued with. In an elaboration of this point the document states that:

Tanzania envisages to be a nation whose people are ingrained with a developmental mindset and competitive spirit. These attributes are driven by education and knowledge and are critical in enabling the nation to effectively utilize knowledge in mobilizing domestic resources for assuring the provision of people’s basic needs and for attaining competitiveness in the regional and global economy. Tanzania would

brace itself to creativity, innovativeness and a high level of quality education in order to respond to development challenges and effectively compete regionally and internationally, cognisant of the reality that competitive leadership in the 21st century will hinge on the level and quality of education and knowledge (URT, 2000:4).

According to this Vision, Tanzania should in order to reach these goals, amongst other efforts:

Attain self reliance driven by the psychological liberation of the mindset and the peoples' sense of confidence in order to enable the effective determination and ownership of the development agenda with the primary objective of satisfying the basic needs of all the people – men, women and children (URT, 2000:5).

It is however questionable whether the psychological liberation of the mindset is possible with a language policy in education that restrains the minds of the people and forces them to think, learn and teach in a foreign language. Azaveli Feza Lwaitama (2004) of the Linguistics Department at the University of Dar es Salaam argues that liberatory pedagogy would demand the use of Kiswahili as the medium of instruction in the case of Tanzania. He bases his argument on the conviction that critical thinking and problem solving pedagogy is undoubtedly facilitated by using the language learners have the highest proficiency in for instruction purposes. He maintains that curriculum relevance and liberating pedagogy are only possible where researchers, administrators, teachers, learners and parents are intensely engaged in debates and discussions which are truly democratic.

Lwaitama further asserts that it is of imperative importance to promote capacity building by exploiting the research and training resources available to universities. Moreover, he considers it essential for Tanzania to take full advantage of the human potential and also the wealth of useful practical experiences of local education administrators (Lwaitama, 2004). The role of science and technology in national development is recognised and emphasised in The National Science and Technology Policy (1996) for Tanzania in the following words:

The vital role of science and technology in socio-economic development is acknowledged the world over, by all nations, both developed and developing. It is therefore imperative for developing countries like Tanzania to embrace science and technology as a vital tool for accelerating their social economic development....In this context it is deserving to explore options open for developing countries in formulating and implementing effective science and technology policies at a national level (URT, 1996:3-4).

The above mentioned policy documents have developing the nation as a common goal. They point towards education as the saviour through the liberation of minds to enable creativity, innovation and problem solving. In the Development Vision 2025 for instance, the role of education is recognised as *a strategic change agent*:

Education should be treated as a strategic agent for mindset transformation and for the creation of a well educated nation, sufficiently equipped with the knowledge needed to competently and competitively solve the development challenges which face the nation. In this light, the education system should be restructured and transformed qualitatively with a focus on promoting creativity and problem solving (URT, 2000:19).

In spite of the focus on the role of education in development however, the medium of instruction and its pedagogical implications for the quality of the education remains a neglected issue.

At the World Social Summit held in Copenhagen in 1995, Tanzania along with other nations made a commitment towards the eradication of poverty (URT, 1998). In order to implement this resolve, the National Poverty Eradication Strategy was issued by the Tanzanian government in 1998. In this document “Dependency Syndrome” is identified as one of the major challenges Tanzania has to overcome in order to reduce poverty. It states that:

Contrary to national drive of building a self reliant nation, the dependency syndrome is prevalent among Tanzanian society. Many people depend on the Government for their development while the Government has been relying on donor assistance to finance its developmental programmes. This dependency syndrome is widespread not only in rural areas but perhaps more so in urban areas. This is a major challenge to poverty eradication initiatives as it requires radical changes in attitudes and behaviour and people’s responsibilities for their own well being and social progress. People have to understand that the prime actors in poverty eradication are the people themselves. The Governments role is much more facilitator and complementary to the peoples efforts (URT, 1998:15).

The Tanzanian Government here states that the people are the prime actors in poverty eradication, and furthermore that they are responsible for their own well-being and social progress. I will argue however, that the government must recognise its responsibility to provide the tools required for the citizenry to make these changes, through developing policies offering education in a language of which they have full comprehension.

Martha Qorro elaborates on this issue in her article “Unlocking language forts: Language of instruction in post primary education in Africa - With special reference to Tanzania” (2003). In this article she argues that currently the knowledge students are intended to acquire through formal education is in effect locked away in what she refers to as “language forts.” According to Qorro it is of great importance to unlock these language forts by using African languages as media of instruction to ensure that the African masses can access the modern knowledge needed for them to be able to take charge of their own development (Qorro, 2003). To continue my argument using Qorro’s metaphor one can claim that the masses, scholars, NGO’s and others can by pressure and research help identify the key to the “language fort”, but in the end it is only the government that has the power to turn the key and unlock the fort.

4.3.1 Tanzania can not develop without English

It may be said that the glaring absence of a discussion of the language of instruction in the policy documents mirrors a common attitude amongst Tanzanians. Many of whom have expressed in interviews, informal conversations or written publications (Kadeghe, 2003; UDSM,1999) that they strongly feel that retaining the English medium is of major importance for the development of the country. Globalisation is by many perceived to be a process which makes it utterly important to keep the English medium, in order to avoid isolation and to be able to interact with the rest of the world.

John K. Dume who is a lecturer in economics supported this view. He expressed his opinion in an interview, claiming that Tanzania has not reached the point where Kiswahili would be a better medium of instruction in post primary education than English:

It is highly important to keep the English medium because of marketing issues and for the country to be able to keep up with international competition, in which we are still lagging far behind. The better option would be to follow Kenya and Uganda and introduce the English medium also at primary level, or even sooner at nursery school because it is the only way forward for Tanzania in this time of globalization.

Mdume concluded the interview by emphasising that he does not believe that substituting the English medium with Kiswahili will help the developing process in his country and elevate the Tanzanian society to higher levels of welfare.

Tony Majembe is a lecturer of English and literature at the University of Dar es Salaam. His opinion was convergent with Mr. Mdume's on the matter of medium of instruction and when interviewed he particularly expressed concern about the situation in the Tanzanian employment market. He is worried that if they were to make the change in language of instruction from English to Kiswahili in post-primary education, Tanzanians could as a consequence lose their jobs to Ugandans and Kenyans. Majembe explained that he believes that the Ugandans and Kenyans will be more attractive to employers because they will be more competent in English due to the fact that English is the medium of instruction in those countries. Furthermore he argued that Tanzania does not have anything to sell, compared to China and Japan who are deemed as having success with using their indigenous languages at all levels in their school systems. Majembe maintained that teaching through the Kiswahili medium in Tanzania would cause problems because the English language is everywhere. Arguing that job interviews are to a high extent conducted in English, and Tanzania has an open door policy, which implies that foreigners are competing with Tanzanians for employment in Tanzania. He further argued that the change in medium of instruction would imply that investors would also have to learn Kiswahili to be able to communicate with Tanzanians. This would in turn prompt them to go to for example Kenya instead where they can communicate in English, thus will not have to make the extra effort of learning a new language.

4.3.2 The English medium as barrier to development in Tanzania

Contrary to the opinions presented above, there are also many Tanzanians who offer strong arguments suggesting that retaining the English medium could well be hindering development in Tanzania. They argue that the Tanzanian economy, democracy, academic performance and equality are suffering due to the English medium.

4.3.2.1 Equality

The policy documents of Tanzania do not only aim for innovation and competitiveness, they also target socio-economic inequalities and poverty. The commitment to promote equality is present in several policy documents published by the Tanzanian Government. In the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 it is stated that:

Ideally, a nation's development should be people-centred, based on sustainable and shared growth and be free from abject poverty. For Tanzania this development means that the creation of wealth and its distribution in society must be equitable and free from inequalities and all forms of social and political relations inhibit empowerment and effective democratic and popular participation of all social groups (...) in society. In particular by the year 2025, (...) All social relations and processes which manifest and breed inequality, in all aspects of the society (i.e., law, politics, employment, education culture), will have been reformed. (URT, 2000:3).

Many scholars have pointed out though, that the foreign medium of instruction exacerbates socio-economic differences (Chumbow, 2005; Senkoro, 2004; Brock-Utne, 2000).

Isaac Emmanuel who studies environmental management expressed in an interview I conducted that in his opinion the English medium is a barrier to education for some people and that it increases differences between students from well to do families and students from poorer family background. He explained that he believes that this is particularly the case because the larger part of the families who are in such a position that they can afford it chooses to send their children to private English medium primary schools. In public school on the other hand, the medium of instruction is Kiswahili. This situation among other factors gives students from such family backgrounds an advantage language wise when they go to secondary school.

Brock-Utne argued in a group discussion we conducted together that the advantage given to some through the English medium private schools is related to the resources available to these private schools rather than the English medium.

Like the above mentioned student, Senkoro (2004) also points out that language in education to a high degree becomes a class issue because the English medium exacerbates unequal access to education in Tanzania. According to Senkoro, politicians typically enjoy pointing to numbers indicating how much enrolment rates and figures have improved in all levels of education in Tanzania, and probably other countries. These numbers and figures are usually interpreted to suggest that access to education has improved, and consequently that empowerment has increased. Senkoro on the other hand, argues that this is not necessarily the case, because in Tanzania expanded enrolment does not mean the same as increased access to actual education. To the contrary the English medium continues to decrease access to education for many young Tanzanians. On this matter, Senkoro explains that his view is based

on the fact that it is impossible for children from poor families to compete in mastery of English with children from a wealthy, upper class family. Only a minority of the pupils in secondary school belong to well to do families, who are able to provide a completely different environment when it comes to opportunities to hear, speak and read English outside of school. Televisions, videos, videogames and computers are readily available, and contribute in making the English language a part of daily life for some of the children. Many of them go on holiday abroad with their parents, where they also get the chance to practice English. The majority of Tanzanian students on the other hand are greatly disadvantaged put side by side with the more fortunate minority (Senkoro, 2004).

In the same vein Martha Qorro expressed in an interview I conducted that in her view the English medium gives an advantage to the few, and is a barrier to the majority. The people in power are the very few who manage well with the English language. Furthermore she underlined that there are at present not many job openings in Tanzania and only the ones who can speak English are able to get employment.

An illustrative example is the effect of teaching science through the national language of Sri Lanka is expressed in the following words by Ranaweera:

The transition from English to the national languages as the medium of instruction in science helped to destroy the great barrier that existed between the privileged English educated classes and the non-science educated masses; between science itself and the people. It gave confidence to the common man that science is within his reach, and to the teachers and pupils that knowledge of English need not necessarily be a prerequisite for learning science (Brock-Utne, 2000:152).

4.3.2.2 Knowledge production and dissemination

It has been argued that the insistence on using the English medium in post-primary education halts knowledge production and dissemination in Tanzania (Qorro, 2003; Lwaitama, 2004). In doing so, one may further argue that it hampers the process of development which according to the Tanzanian Government is dependent on knowledge production and human resources (URT, 2000; URT, 1996).

According to Chumbow (2005) the dissemination of new knowledge and the adaptation of innovations in science and technology is a process which goes through a number of stages involving changes in the habits and life of the potential adapters of what science and technology have to offer with regard to new knowledge and innovations. He further asserts that diffusion of this knowledge to the potential agents of change requires the use of an appropriate language medium, which is a language that is accessible to the various strata of the population. In Tanzania, Kiswahili is the language which is accessible to most people.

Mkwizu also suggests, in an interview that using English as the language of instruction slows down development in her country. She especially expressed concern for the lack of true knowledge and skills which the current policy implies. “How will the country acquire a skilled workforce with competent engineers and doctors for example?” She asked. Mkwizu told me that she believes that the language policies of today are enforcing the phenomenon of Brain Drain. This expression refers to the phenomenon where Africans go abroad to attain their education and never return to their country.

Dr. Emanuel A. M. Mjema who is the head of the department of Engineering Management and Entrepreneurship at the University of Dar es Salaam also agreed to participate in an interview. He told me that the current language policy enforces a type of learning in which the students cram, but they don't really understand the subject content. During the interview I asked him to give his opinion on how the situation he described affects the students' ability to reflect independently and be innovative. In this respect he drew attention to the fact that language is very much related to culture:

If one is using a foreign language everything one does in this language becomes foreign and abstract. Subsequently people do not have attachment to what they are doing, it is not their own. As a result the language makes a distance between the content and the person. It is like the knowledge is not their own. If, on the other hand you are using your own language you associate the content with yourself and it becomes much more concrete.

I asked him if he believed this situation could be hindering the development of his country. In response, he told me that it certainly makes life more difficult. Because English is an official language in Tanzania, international companies conduct job interviews in English. This is obviously a major problem to the many Tanzanians who cannot express themselves properly in English. Mjema expressed that he believed that if foreigners knew that in Tanzania the

official language is Kiswahili, job interviews would be conducted in Kiswahili. In his opinion this would enable a much better state of affairs, and compares with Germany, where interviews are conducted in German.

In Prah's opinion, Tanzania in particular should be amongst the countries in the forefront of African efforts towards the use of an African language as language of instruction at all levels of the education system (2005). According to Prah, Tanzania is the creative heartland of Kiswahili, and the language is understood by more than 90% of the population, and is spoken by more than 60 million Africans in East and Central Africa. Therefore, he believes that in this area, if there is any one language which can pioneer the use of African languages as media of instruction, it is Kiswahili.

4.3.3 Is Africa different?

There have evidently been rapid changes and advances in the world of science and technology. Yet Tanzania along with other Third World countries has lagged far behind, and is continuing to use old and archaic methods and technologies. The proliferation of so many tertiary training institutions which has been experienced in the last two decades has had negligible impact (MSTHE, 1999:7).

Several writers on the issue of language of instruction have pointed out that developed countries do not use a foreign language as the medium of instruction in their schools systems. Many wonder why Africa should not do the same (Prah, 2005; Kiango, 2005 Senkoro,2005; Qorro,2003).

Qorro (2003) draws attention to the development South East Asia has enjoyed in the more recent past. She reminds us that these countries were part of the Third World until the mid 1960's when they changed the language of instruction from English to their indigenous languages. Today they are becoming part of the Industrialized World and are being referred to as "The South East Asian Tigers". As opposed to Majembe, Qorro asserts that the main reason behind the success stories of Europe and South East Asia is that after changing the medium of instruction, the education and development discourses were quickly disseminated to many more people than was previously possible. As opposed to knowledge trickling down to just a few privileged from the elite, it flows right through to the general public in farms,

factories and all workplaces, where it contributes to increased performance and production output.

In accordance with the views forwarded by Martha Qorro, Senkoro (2004) of the Kiswahili Department points out that all developed and industrialised countries reached such a stage by and actually because of using their own languages. He states that no country can develop and industrialise itself by using a foreign language as the medium of instruction. One can at least say that history has not yet shown us any such country. In order to promote the intellectual development of African learners and help bring about poverty eradication, Senkoro also maintains that there is a need to give greater currency to African languages as media of instruction in their education systems (2004).

In a discussion about the relationship between language of instruction and development, Professor Galabawa used a comparison between Ghana and South Korea as an example. In his view, Tanzania, like Ghana has stagnated whereas South Korea is developing:

The main difference between Ghana and Korea is found in degree of investment in human capital, in terms of developing skills. If the people are not able to be innovative they can not be competitive. It is not language but skills and knowledge which are needed for a country to grow. This is how the Japanese and the Koreans managed to develop their countries. Knowledge is the major explanation behind the difference in growth between these countries. As long as people can not access skills and knowledge through their own language and be able to realise it in terms of production and a growing economy, development will not happen. Here I mean production in broad terms including service, agriculture and tourism. The greater part of Tanzanian people does not even obtain the basic skills they need to take advantage of the environment. The fact that people do not differentiate between education and English is a very big cost to Tanzania.

Ghanaian anthropologist & sociologist, Kwesi Kwaa Prah (2005) holds the opinion that the whole of African education, from primary to tertiary level should be conducted in local languages, home languages, mother tongues. In this respect he points out that this is the way that all societies in the world which have managed to develop, or achieved a sustained developmental momentum have done it or are currently doing it. He also draws a comparison with several western countries who all conduct their education from the beginning to the end in their own languages. He points out that somehow, when it comes to the African countries the logic breaks down and all sorts of reasons are found to explain why this should be different in the case of Africa.

4.3.4 The views of Haki Elimu on the language of instruction issue

Haki Elimu is Kiswahili and means “right to education” and is the name of a non governmental organisation in Tanzania. This NGO is funded by the donors NORAD, FORD Foundation Nairobi, SIDA, HIVOS (Netherlands), HOVIB (Netherlands), DFID and Ireland Aid.

Brock-Utne and I went to Haki Elimu’s office in Dar es Salaam as we wished to get hold of a videotape which according to two students shows first a class being taught in English, and then in Kiswahili. Apparently, this program portrays a great difference between the two. Brock-Utne and I were told that the class being taught through the English medium was completely passive, whereas the class being taught through the Kiswahili medium on the other hand is lively, with active students who seem eager to participate. To our surprise, when we arrived we were shown something much less controversial instead, and we were told no such video existed.

We had a long talk with Nyanda Joshia Shuli, who works at Haki Elimu about the issue of language of instruction throughout the school system in Tanzania. He offered us his opinion as he was not in a position to speak on behalf of the organisation. He said he holds two positions on the matter. He explained that he respects the idea that students understanding would improve if they were taught in their own language. Moreover he thinks people should be instructed in the language they understand the best, regardless which language that is, in all levels of education. To this he added that 95% of the Tanzanian population speaks and understands Kiswahili better than English.

His other position is that English is a global and very powerful language which can not be ignored. However he maintained that it is not right to risk education to obtain competence in English. The skills students are supposed to acquire; content and knowledge are the most important. In Shuli’s opinion learning English as a subject could be a favourable option if they way it was taught was improved. He did not think students learn any English from having it as a medium of instruction in for example chemistry.

Birgit Brock-Utne is of the firm opinion that the current policy on language of instruction alone explains a lot of the problems within the Tanzanian education sector, and asked why Haki Elimu is not more active in trying to change this situation. Shuli replied that it has to do with priorities, and that it is a small office to take care of many different views.

Shuli told us that the minister of education has told all the headmasters in the country not to accept any material published by Haki Elimu. Apparently he also threatened to shut the NGO down.

At a later point I had an appointment with the leader of Haki Elimu, Mr. Rakesh Rajani. I wanted to interview him in order find out about their position in the language issues. As the name of the organisation translates to *Right to education*, I was curious as to whether the current language in education policy in Tanzania is perceived as a violation of peoples' right to education or not by the organisation. He pointed out to me that they have not published an official position on the issue of language of instruction in Tanzania, but claimed that they do have a clear position. According to Rajani all the evidence in the world shows that it makes sense to teach through a language that people are familiar with. For practical reasons he believes that should be Kiswahili in Tanzania. To this he added that in his opinion there are also good arguments for using the vernacular languages, particularly for certain groups. Rakesh expressed that he believes this position to be consistent with international understanding and research.

Proposing an explanation for why this is not implemented, in spite of all the research evidence, Rakesh said that like for many other areas policy decisions are not informed by research. Furthermore, in Tanzania there seems to be a situation where the ministry of education is not even open to debating this issue. In this respect Rajani maintained that even if the evidence was not as robust, one would expect an enlightened minister of education to openly debate the issue and listen carefully.

Another aspect he pointed to is that as in other areas policy is often driven by the interests of the people who are better of:

In Tanzania we have a situation where the elite and the upper middle class want their children to be comfortable with and educated in English. English language training has become synonymous with quality of education.

Rajani expressed that he believes there are some points to consider in that because there are certain advantages that proficiency in English grants a small group of people and that should be taken seriously. He underlined however, that the policy of the country should be beneficial to the majority of the population.

To him one of the major problems with the debate concerning medium of instruction in Tanzania, is that it is often construed or perceived to be a matter of English versus Kiswahili. In Rajani's opinion it is important to emphasize the fact that the promotion of Kiswahili does not mean devaluation of English. He accepts the idea that in a globalised world, English is an important language. Proficiency in English is beneficial both to individuals and the country as a whole.

People tend to argue in a way where promoting Kiswahili as medium of instruction means turning your back on globalisation and the modern world. Having people taught in Kiswahili, and made proficient in Kiswahili would build their confidence and their ability to learn many different things, including English. Hearing Norwegians, Swedes and others who get education in their own language speaking decent English proves that learning in your mother tongue does not mean that you will be retarded in English.

Rakesh has been a secondary school teacher himself and told me what he experienced in his work:

Very bright students are frozen when asked in English. What happens when you force people to communicate in a language they are not comfortable in you are in a way condemning them to stop thinking. The current system is setting the Tanzanian pupils up for failure. Kiswahili should be at the heart of the Tanzanian school system.

According to Rakesh and his assistant, Haki Elimu is currently working on an official statement. They underlined however that the organization tends not to champion any specific issues to a great extent. Their main agenda is to promote that all issues concerning education get a fair hearing. Subsequently, as much as they do believe in the language issue, their main concern is that the topic is not openly debated.

With respect to the critique of the minister of education by Haki Elimu, I should probably mention that there was an election in Tanzania shortly after I returned from my stay there. Kikwete is the new president and he has put into office a new minister of education, who might prove not to be deserving of these characteristics.

CHAPTER FIVE

5 SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first part is a summary of the study and its findings. The next part of the chapter discusses of the major findings of the study in relation to the research questions, the theoretical framework and previous research. The last section gives recommendations and suggestions for further studies.

5.1 Summary

This study has explored the different views concerning language of instruction at post primary level in Tanzania, with a special focus on the University of Dar es Salaam. It has sought to illuminate how the quality of the education offered at the university in Tanzania is affected by the English medium, whether Kiswahili is a suitable language for higher learning, and the relationship between the current policy on language of instruction and the process of development in Tanzania.

The theoretical framework guiding this study has included the Problem-Posing Pedagogy of Paulo Freire, the philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance forwarded by Julius Nyerere, Theories on the role of language in reproduction of inequality in society, and Robert Phillipson's thoughts on linguistic imperialism. Additionally it presents various pedagogical theories and research on the nature of teaching and learning a foreign language as well as subject content. I have also used the related studies of Grace Puja, Rhoda Peterson and Mary Alphan Mkwizu.

Data were collected through interviews, field observation and analysis of various documents, such as newspapers, policy documents, university reports and earlier studies. Staff and students at the University of Dar es Salaam were interviewed with the hope and intention of gaining insight into their views on language of instruction. During the course of my fieldwork, I also observed the use of English and Kiswahili inside and outside classrooms.

The first part of the analysis in this study examines the role of the English medium in learning and teaching. It was quite clear from Puja's (2003) study and her comments in the interview

that the students are not learning efficiently with the English medium. Several of the students I interviewed also expressed that they have difficulty learning through English. Nevertheless, the majority of the students seemed to believe that in order for them to learn English, the English medium should be retained. The analysis on the other hand suggests that the English medium does not enable students to learn English efficiently. One could argue that the level of English competence amongst university students in itself confirms this. If the English medium were in fact an efficient approach toward learning English, one would expect students who have reached university level to be fluent.

The next part of the presentation and analysis revolved around the viability of Kiswahili as a language of instruction at higher levels of education. Many of the participants in the study argued that the Kiswahili language is not sufficiently developed and lacks a lot of the necessary terminology to serve as a medium of instruction at this level. Conversely, the successful use of Kiswahili as the language of instruction at the Kiswahili Department indicates that this is not really the case. Moreover, several staff members (like Rubagumya, Qorro and Pujja) who were in favour of using Kiswahili as the language of instruction pointed out that a language can only develop if people decide to use it. Another argument frequently raised by participants who supported the retaining of the English medium, was that there are no textbooks available in Kiswahili, and that Tanzania does not have the required recourses needed to replace the English materials with Kiswahili ones.

In the last part of the analysis and presentation of data I attempted to sort out the role of the language of instruction in the process of development in Tanzania. This was not easy, because development includes many different, but also interrelated issues. I was left under the impression however, that due to the fact that many Tanzanians do not differentiate between learning English and learning in English, they believe that the English medium is essential for development in Tanzania. It was often argued that the English language is of utmost importance if Tanzania is not to be left behind in “this era of globalisation”. The proponents of Kiswahili as the medium of instruction in post primary education on the other hand, argued that the English medium actually is a barrier to development, because it is an obstruction in the learning of skills and knowledge which is essential to the conditions development relies upon. The advocates of using Kiswahili as the language of instruction were not calling for a policy that will abandon English all together; they proposed that English is taught as a subject.

Also the analysis strongly indicates that the English medium exacerbates rather than diminishes social inequalities because the wealthy minority has better opportunities for learning English than the poorer majority, which are left further behind.

5.2 Discussion

It is my impression that that the views of the many Tanzanians who believe that the English medium is necessary to learn the language, to a certain extent fall together with the earlier mentioned tenets which according to Phillipson (1992) evolved during the time of the British colonial era in Tanzania. Pedagogical research and theory accounted for in the theoretical framework of this study, on the contrary do not support this belief.

The current language policy of Tanzania appears to be enforcing a type of education that has very much in common with Freire's banking concept of education (1996). The fact that students as well as lecturers are not able to express themselves freely in the medium of instruction surely hampers communication between them. This situation makes a liberating education difficult to achieve at the University of Dar es Salaam because according to Freire's theory, communication and the dialogical relationship between students and teachers is essential for liberating education to take place. Furthermore, there are factors indicating that subject content becomes abstract to students as well as teachers due to lack of proficiency in the language of instruction. Like Dr. Emanuel A. M. Mjema pointed out when I interviewed him, language is related to culture. With respect to how the English medium affects the teaching and learning process, he stressed that everything one does becomes foreign and abstract when one is using a foreign language. People do not feel attachment to what they are doing. It makes a distance between the content and the person, like it is not their own. If you are using your own language you associate it with yourself and it becomes more concrete. According to Freire, education as an act of freedom denies this type of scenario.

Both the foreign medium of instruction and often alien subject content are likely to cause students and lecturers to feel detachment towards the concepts and topics involved. The English medium is not a part of the majority of Tanzanian students' everyday life and a probable consequence is that the knowledge they acquire is detached from the real African world, in which they exist outside of the University.

Another characteristic feature of the banking concept of education which is seems prevalent at the University of Dar es Salaam, is a narrative teaching method in which the teacher controls the content of the lesson and the students are treated as empty vessels which the teacher is supposed to fill with his or hers knowledge. Clive Harber (1989) points to several reasons for the continued existence of the authoritarian methods within the Tanzanian school system. One is the examination system which still measures memorization rather than skills, another reason he points to is lack of time due to an overcrowded syllabus (Harber 1989). It is my impression however that the continued use of a foreign language as the medium of instruction plays at least an equally important role as any of the factors mentioned in Harber's publication, in causing the persistence of this type of education. Studies like the one conducted by Puja (2003), have revealed that the English medium is detrimental to students' participation. Due to lack of understanding, many of the students and lecturers are not able to express themselves freely. The fact that many lecturers lack adequate competence in English further enforces the tendency, as they become dependent on their notes which may cause them to be unwilling to stray from the notes they put on the blackboard for the students to copy. According to Puja's study (2003), students mainly copy notes without really understanding the content, they cram the notes word for word and do their best to reproduce it in their examinations. Several students and lecturers confirmed this in interviews I conducted for this study. Thus, like in the banking concept of education the student-teacher relation becomes one in which the teacher is the acting subject and the students are the passive receptive objects.

In congruence with Freire's work, Nyerere also developed a philosophy on education aimed at empowering people and help them develop self-reliance. According to Nyerere's philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance, the main goal of education is to prepare young people to become dynamic and constructive participants in the development of the Tanzanian society (Mkwizu, 2003). In my opinion it is questionable why a man of such a philosophy did not advocate the implementation of the national language Kiswahili as the medium of instruction throughout the Tanzanian school system. The English medium clearly contributes to the continuation of inequalities, and the use of an African language would probably be more efficient in terms of encouraging the development of a citizenry which is proud, independent and relies upon itself for its own development. I do not see how deciding to use a foreign language as the medium of instruction could invoke pride and independency. It indirectly implies that the African national language of Tanzania is deemed to be less important than English, and additionally that it is not good enough for academic purposes.

I will argue that the continued prevalence of the English language in Tanzania in general, and in the school system in particular is detrimental to the democracy in the country. The English medium is certainly a barrier to free communication of experiences within the school system. Furthermore, it is evident that the use of this foreign medium exacerbates rather than diminishes the effects of economical differences.

The works of Bernstein (1974) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) describe the important role language plays in the reproduction of political and socio-economic inequalities in societies. Prevalent in their theories is the notion that a mismatch between the language a learner is familiar with and the language used in school will cause learning difficulties. As Senkoro (2004) and several of the participants in this study has pointed out, the English medium is detrimental to social equality because the foreign language is much more accessible to the wealthy minority of the Tanzanian society.

With regard to the liberation of the individual's abilities, I believe that both previous research, and the statements offered by students and staff I was in contact with at the University of Dar es Salaam, suggest that this would be facilitated by using a medium of instruction that lecturers, as well as students can express themselves comfortably with. From what the students and staff told me about their experiences, I can only conclude that the medium of English is highly problematic to learners, as well as teachers. I do not see how they could possibly learn good English with the current method. Like Martha Qorro said, the lecturers themselves are not fluent. Equally worrying is the extent to which subject content is not getting through to the students. As I perceive this situation, Tanzanians are loosing in all ends with this approach. In letting human resources go to waste this way, they are missing out both individually and as a nation. The language of instruction is actually a barrier to obtaining skills and knowledge, which are features the Tanzanian Government identify as essential for development (URT, 2000). From an educational point of view this is obviously not purposeful. In fact I believe it is fairly safe to say that it is defeating its own end, considering the fact that the students are not even learning English very well. One conclusion I could draw from my study is that the current policy on language of instruction is an obstacle to efficient learning, thus also an obstacle to development in terms of production social equality and democratisation. Another, slightly harsher conclusion would be that the function of the

university has been reduced to that of an ineffective language course, employing teaching methods which in Freire's words mirrors an oppressive society.

5.3 Recommendations

This study along with what is starting to amount to quite a number of research projects and publications about the language of instruction in Tanzania suggest that Kiswahili is the most viable medium of instruction available to Tanzanians. The example of the Kiswahili Department, described by Peterson (2006) indicates that Kiswahili is a language which may well be used for academic purposes. Thus, in line with Peterson, I find it recommendable that this department could serve as a model for the introduction of the Kiswahili medium in other subjects (Peterson, 2006).

Furthermore, I believe the policy makers of Tanzania would be well advised to take into account the enormous cost the current situation is to Tanzania, when considering the resources required in order to the medium of instruction in post-primary education.

In this respect I would also like to point out that lack of materials which is often mentioned as one of the major expenditures that changing the medium would involve, is not really a just cause for retaining the English medium. In fact, if they do not have the resources to get new textbooks and other materials in Kiswahili, they could very well continue to use the ones written in English. The Kiswahili materials do not necessarily have to be ready at hand before the transition is made. One could easily teach in Kiswahili even though the textbooks are in English. It is my experience that this approach works just fine. At the University of Oslo where I am studying, this is a common practice which causes staff and students very little trouble.

Lastly I will recommend policy makers in Tanzania make better use of their academics by including their advice in order to make informed decisions, as it appears that at least the policy on language of instruction in post-primary education is not based on research.

5.4 Recommendations for further studies

I believe a study employing a large sample aimed at assessing students' level of competence in understanding and self-expression in English would be highly useful in order to obtain a more accurate picture of the severity of the situation. Additionally, I find it highly recommendable that a comparative study aimed at measuring differences in learning efficiency achieved via the different media of instruction, English and Kiswahili, at university level. Such a study could for example well be modelled on the experiment employed by Desai and Mkwizu (2003).

Furthermore I think a similar study on the competence in teaching through English among the staff at post-primary education institutions could prove interesting and useful as well, as it has already been suggested that some of them lack the necessary skills to teach efficiently through the English medium.

Lastly, I believe that it would be highly useful to investigate how the process of change works in Africa, and how to link research and practice in general, as advised by Galabawa.

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