

SECONDARY SCHOOL GRADUATES' PERSONAL EXPERIENCES IN THE
CONTEXT OF ENGLISH-ONLY LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION
WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL SETTING IN TANZANIA

by

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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This dissertation documents the experiences of secondary school graduates in Tanzania who were instructed primarily through the English language. The study specifically examines the extent to which the English language facilitated or impeded the participants' learning. This issue is important because Tanzania's main educational goal at the secondary level is to build an egalitarian nation under the Education for Self Reliance (ESR) philosophy, advocated by J. K. Nyerere in 1967.

The study employs symbolic interactionism as its primary method and utilizes frameworks and ideas from such fields as indigenous education and bilingual education. Works of scholars such as Frantz Fanon guided my work. The main focus of the study was to determine how Tanzanians see the language of instruction policy as relating to opportunity among students in secondary schools, i.e., whether Tanzanians frame the Swahili language as a problem, a resource, a right, or some other way, and how these language issues influence the cultural, economic, and political life of Tanzanians. Do Tanzanians see the Swahili language as a source of unity or divisiveness, as a means to some particular goals, or as a cause that needs to be fought for?

This dissertation consists of five chapters. Chapter I includes a brief description of the historical background of Tanzania and emphasizes ESR, the principle and core philosophy guiding Tanzanian education after independence. Chapter II is a literature review and an examination of the design of contemporary Tanzanian education and the problems and challenges faced by that system. Chapter III covers research methods used in my research, including an explanation of setting and context, analysis, and interpretation. Chapter IV presents findings of the study, including thematically grouped quotes and my interpretation of the quotes, grouped according to the three main views on Swahili and English languages. Chapter V bridges the research questions to the findings and reflects on the implications of the study and related literature for educational practice and policy in Tanzania.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Education as a process has many dimensions. Sometimes, one may think about curriculum, others about content that we teach in schools, or policy that prescribes or states the structure, status and functions of aspects of education, participating agencies, and many more, without forgetting bilingual education which has become crucial as many societies are becoming more multicultural, and multiracial, with various sexual orientations and identities. Common sense dictates that any student who learns in an unfamiliar language might only partially grasp their teacher's message. Respondents to the study from Tanzania reported to have learned academic subjects such as Civic Education (Civics), History, Geography, English language, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Agriculture, Commerce, Accounts, Bookkeeping, Nutrition, and, Mathematics, in English language.

Works of scholars such as Frantz Fanon (1967), Antonia Darder (2012), Colin Baker (2011), Richard Ruiz (1984), Rosina Lippi-Green (1997), Casmir Rubagumya (1990), Ngugi Wa-Thiong'o (2009), Angela Valenzuela (2009), Jim Cummins (1981, 2000, & 2001), and others guided my work as the study seeks to critically assess the issue of language in Tanzanian secondary schools.

A Brief Historical Background of Tanzania

Tanzania is a blended name for Tanganyika and Zanzibar sovereign governments, after the union of the two in April 26, 1964 along the east coast of East Africa. The united country has about 45 million people (Coulson, 2013). When discussing the history

of education in Tanzania, many divide it into three phases: pre-colonial education (before 1900), colonial education (1900s-1960s) and post-colonial education (1960s-present).

The history of Tanzania is predominantly a story of interactions between Africans in that land and the external world, beginning long before colonial occupation by Germans subsequent to the 1884/85 Berlin Conference, which partitioned the continent of Africa among the European nations. It is said that by the 800s Arabs and Persians had settled at Kilwa, along the Indian Ocean (Tanzania Timeline, no date).

In their account, Nurse & Spear (1985) argue that Tanzanian people, Swahili language, and culture are an amalgamation of both the African or Bantu people and culture on one hand, and Arab traders beginning from the first millennium Anno Domini (AD) or CE on the other hand. The contacts took place along the Indian ocean, leading to the emergence of settlements known as coastal city states that run from the present Somaliland in the north, to Mozambique in the south. The interactions involved commodities such as iron tools, gold, cloth, ivory, timber, shells, and later slaves. People who arrived on the East African coast sailed from the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf, supported by the monsoon winds. All these marked the beginning of Swahili language that evolved from trading activities between Africans and foreigners.

In 1699, the Oman Arabs made Zanzibar part of their maritime empire and later the slave trade capital and a meeting point for trade routes from the interior, mainly for the Arab traders. Due to movements of both local and foreign traders from the interior to the coast of the Indian ocean and back again, Kiswahili language spread into many regions that are currently occupied by the following countries: Tanzania, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, and Uganda. It is at least one of the

official languages in each of the countries. It is estimated that about 100 million people in all those countries together speak the Swahili language (Mulokozi, n.d, pp. 5 - 11).

Pre-colonial African Education and Relevance

It is important to mention Tanzanian education before colonization particularly because it often appears to outsiders that there was no education prior to the introduction of the European education. Pre-colonial education is the foundation of ESR philosophy that emphasizes African communal life, something that is missing in colonial and postcolonial education. In order to create an education that suits Tanzanians, it is important to remember that before colonization, Tanzania - like many African nations - had forms of education that were relevant or matched to the environment, people's needs, gender and issues of division of labor. All these were achieved through African indigenous languages. After colonization, colonial languages such as English in Tanzania took over. Although there is a denial by the colonial-centered scholars that Africa had education before contact with the external world, Rodney (1981) argues that there is strong evidence that African societies had social, economic, political and technological progress at more or less the same level as European societies by the 15th century. The inequality began after the contacts in the 15th century, when the Trans-Atlantic trade and slave trade started, involving Africa, Europe and America. There is evidence of educational development in East Africa, particularly in Tanzania, where traditional education was organized, had its objectives, methods and practice (Enos, n.d., p. 15). Frida Tungaraza, in her publication *“Development and History of Special Education in Tanzania”* adds that it is imperative to acknowledge that there existed no

schools but there was education, in which elders or seniors served as teachers in communities. Also, Julius Nyerere is cited as saying that the African education was meaningful as it was obtained by doing (Tungaraza, 1994, p. 1) for example, young boys and girls were taught how to raise a family and become members of a larger group.

Colonial Education and Relevance

European missionaries started schools in Tanzania in the 1880s, as did the German colonizers of Tanganyika (now Tanzania) in 1884. On the relevance of curricula inherited from the British colonials, Nyerere argues that we need to question what type of education Tanzanians inherited. Further, he argues that different societies in the world have different education systems because they are different societies, and have different purposes. To him, the main goal for education is to transmit accumulated wisdom and knowledge from one generation to another. One might argue that he had a clear focus although today his ideas are questioned, especially when we live in a world whose people share ideas and interact, perhaps faster than ever before.

The Role of Kiswahili in Pre-nationalism and After Independence

Kiswahili language's role became more significant in uniting ethnic groups of Tanzania before independence between the 1900s and 1960s, as in the efforts to collectively resist German colonial occupation in the Majimaji war of liberation between 1905 and 1907. Swahili language history is old and rich. The language also expanded through Christian missionary activities, workers' movements, games and sports, poetry, and national cultural activities. Dictionaries were written while poetry was already an

older tradition. Efforts to prioritize Kiswahili were clear since independence years in the 1960s. Eventually, Kiswahili became a national language in 1962. It became an official language and a language of instruction in all primary schools in 1967. Efforts to create authentic curriculum included abandonment of the Cambridge School Certificate Examinations in 1970 (Mulokozi, n.d, pp. 1- 5).

Background to the Politics of Indigenous Language in Tanzania

A fair discussion about indigenous language(s) in Tanzania must acknowledge the existence of over 120 languages in the country, most of which are Bantu. Bantu languages are said to be one major typology of languages that are similar and used across a vast region in the continent, and that speakers may have carried it into different regions during migration. Thus this family of similar languages bears the same roots of lexical items and grammar. It is a widely accepted fact that Swahili originated from trade contacts between the coastal people of East Africa and the external world. However, like a few other scholars, Blommaert (2005) in what he refers to as “the regime of language in Tanzania”, argues that Swahili is an indigenous language. He found that the state’s attempt to generalize Swahili language in most levels of society in the mid 1960s was an enormous achievement. He points out African socialism (Ujamaa) as an ideological hegemony that has not been successful for the large part. The scholar further explains the process of elimination of the multiple tribal and English languages in the country during that time. The goal was to establish homogeneity, which would not be achieved through English, the language of imperialism, capitalism and oppression (with reference to the British old colonialism and neocolonialism). Even if Swahili is seen as a uniting

language for Tanzanians, it is worth pointing out that Swahili just like English underwent standardization, development, and modernization, and purism. During the early years of colonialism, pending what Blommaert calls the full “language-ness” of Swahili, English had to be used in education in secondary level.

Post-colonial Education and Relevance

Structure of the current educational system in Tanzania. First, according to the Ministry of Education and Culture for Tanzania (n.d), ideally a complete educational journey takes 16 to 18 years from elementary school to college. This includes seven years of primary education, four years of secondary education known as ordinary level (O-level), two years of secondary education or high school known as advanced level (A-level), and three, four, or five years of college education in pursuit of a bachelor’s degree. This study focuses on O-level secondary education only.

Secondly, between O-level and A-level or there after, students may attend teacher education for two years. Graduates of this program may then teach either primary schools or O-level secondary schools. Others may attend vocational training between 2 to 4 years for specific trades such as carpentry, auto-mechanic, electrical, masonry, and social work skills such as nursing, military service and law enforcement service.

Third, during the four years of O-level or post primary education students learn both a core national curriculum and specialized optional subjects at the end of which they sit for nationally set examinations. Similarly, at A-level or post “O” level, students follow a national curriculum and examinations. It is divided between Science and Arts streams. A-level prepares students for tertiary education as well as for entry into the

world of work. Secondary schools in Tanzania can be either for boys only, girls only, or co-educational. The majority of government, community and non-government schools are co-educational. There are more government's owned secondary schools than private owned secondary schools.

Education for Self-reliance (ESR) as a Curriculum Framework After Independence

After independence in 1961, Julius Nyerere, founder and first president of Tanzania, introduced ESR a guiding philosophy for a new type of education that Tanzanians were to achieve after decolonization. Furthermore, a critique of the content of ESR by Ulimwengu (n.d, p.1) shows that even after independence, ESR did not transform the colonial system of education to reflect new liberating principles of education. Education for Self Reliance (ESR) was a policy aimed at establishing education that not only addressed relevance issues and psychological healing after the British colonization, but also emphasized creating independent people and economy. Secondary schools had to have farms in which students learned how to raise crops so that students could be more productive in their community, after completing their studies. This type of education linked academic and practical work. The philosophy became the foundation of core values in the education system of Tanzania.

Some scholars argue that Western research has criticized implementation of such systems more than acknowledged their positive contribution, because Western research lacked the necessary tools to evaluate any qualitative outcomes of such educational policies (Saunders and Vulliamy, 1983, p. 352). The desire to seek education with

relevance to the daily lives of citizens was a reaction to the shortcomings of colonial education. Saunders and Vulliamy (1983) characterize the colonials education system as:

(1) small in relation to the population of school-age children; (2) formal; (3) literate or bookish; (4) characterized by rote learning and didactic teaching; (5) authoritarian; (6) closely tied to the supply of administrators and white-collar workers; (7) very expensive in relation to national public expenditure and return. (p. 353)

Additionally, Nyerere's critique introduced

the idea of practical action in the secondary-school curriculum. Each school should have a farm or workshop, which provides the food eaten by the community and contributes to the national income. At the same time the aim was to develop a socially oriented and positive attitude toward work." (pp. 355-356)

Creation of the Present Secondary Education System

The colonialist education system was English-only throughout. All textbooks, school policies, and teacher preparation had been in English. Although Tanzanian independence was established in 1961 it was not until 1967 that the implementation of ESR began. The first stage of this transition was two-fold. First, there was the introduction of six years of primary education as compulsory. Second, the primary language of instruction in the primary grades was converted to Kiswahili. This transition was difficult for a variety of institutional reasons. The conversion of secondary schools to the use of Kiswahili as the primary modes of instruction never occurred.

Casmir Rubagumya (1990) points out that the government's decision to use English was at first taken as a temporary strategy because, one of the policy provisions was to use Swahili as a language of instruction in secondary schools. In early 1980's the presidential committee suggested that, all secondary schools switch from teaching using the English language to Swahili immediately. However, no implementation has ever happened until now. Unfortunately, all these delays to effect change may not be happening by accident, since the current language policy was created by design to suit a small class of Tanzanians who go through good quality private schools. For example, (Cummins 1985; Baker, 2011; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; Valenzuela, 1999; Wa Thiong'o, 2009, Rubagumya, 1990; Lippi-Green, 1997; and Darder, 2012) collectively point out how education systems for either indigenous communities or the colonized people for that matter are established around relationships of power and issues of assimilation to the majority groups. One major thing all the scholars include in their analyses is the indigenous communities' use of colonial language in order to assimilate and acquire the values of the mainstream education

Post-colonial African Education Critique

With the well-articulated policy of Education for Self Reliance (ESR), it was expected that the impact of ESR would be to make the students graduating from secondary schools function better within their country. However, it is very common to hear a few Tanzanians saying that the present educational system of Tanzania has not changed significantly from the structure that was created by, left by, and inherited from the British colonial government after independence in 1961. The unintended outcomes of

the current system of education are, either to give further educational opportunity to a few in a pyramid structure, or the quality of education given is so low that students who graduate may not be equipped with necessary skills and knowledge required in the global market. Public schools especially lack resources quantitatively and qualitatively as well. Instruction at primary school level is mainly through Kiswahili language, but the instruction in secondary school and college levels is all through English. Alongside, Kiswahili is learned as a subject in secondary schools. The majority of students who graduate from secondary school may not qualify to receive higher education that requires English language proficiency. In addition, the education received through English language provides mostly information and knowledge about the history and success of the European societies while less is taught about the history and culture of Tanzania. Rubagumya, et al (2010) conducted case studies in Tanzanian primary and secondary school levels, and primary school level only in Ghana, all of which revealed that teachers and students had more difficulty in teaching and learning respectively, when a European language was used rather than when an African language (Kiswahili for Tanzania) was used. They finally suggested that for the case of Tanzania, English and Kiswahili should be used side-by-side to facilitate easy understanding of concepts in English, Math, and Science, the subjects that were used for comparison during the study.

In support of the researchers' suggestion, there are numerous studies in many countries showing that a bilingual education that uses both an indigenous language and a foreign language leads to more success for the teacher and learner in a classroom than when a foreign language is used alone.

Research Plan

In order to better understand what my research participants think about the current language of instruction in Tanzanian schools, I interviewed a group of Swahili native speakers who went through the educational system in Tanzania. A pool of 18 participants were interviewed, who have completed a minimum of four years of secondary education. These individuals have had adequate experience of the educational system, and are sufficiently fluent in English to communicate freely with me.

The secondary sources cited enable a better understanding of the history and positive role played by Swahili language at different times in Tanganyika and Zanzibar, even before they united to become the new nation of Tanzania in 1964. What follow later will be accounts of the results of replacing Swahili with English.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Ways of Looking at African People's Education from a Historical Perspective

Colonization of the African Elites Through European Languages and Criticism

To help understand the black people's life from a historical perspective, I will discuss how Frantz Fanon characterizes black people in general terms on one hand. On the other hand, I will show how he connects the aspect of language to the process of colonization of the African people and I will briefly state the implications of his lessons to the context of instruction through the English language in Tanzanian secondary education.

Frantz Fanon (1967), in his book "*Black Skins, White Masks*" uses a theory to explain the black people's dependency and feelings of inadequacy in a white world. According to Fanon, the process of colonization produces an inferiority complex in the mind of the black subjects. This process makes black people want to prove to the white people at all costs that their (black people's) thoughts are rich and have value equal to those of white people (p. 10).

On the other hand, in his attempt to connect the idea of colonization through language, Fanon (1967) argues that the education received in a foreign language by black people is basically a process of an imitation. This imitation is both a natural and unconscious process, where black people attempt to fit into white cultural practices and

economic systems. He argues that this process is dehumanizing and is a central feature of racist processes of colonization designed to disempower indigenous Africans.

His second argument linked to language is that, the black people broadly appropriate and imitate the culture of the colonizer through language. Third, black elites attempt to achieve upward mobility through western education in the colonizer's language, termed as "white masks". Fourth, this process operates in a natural and unconscious state within the minds of black people. Lastly, the training of most black people starts from childhood after which the black people begin to see and associate blackness with negativity. All these are a result of black people's awareness that the white people consider themselves superior to people of black ancestry (p. 10).

To advance his arguments, Fanon (1967) states the remarkable example of educated Senegalese who never wanted to be identified as Africans. French language in particular makes them feel closer to white Europeans. One way in which Africans copy the European ways is by speaking a European language. He says:

People born in Dahomey or the Congo, ... Negroes who are annoyed when they are suspected of being Senegalese. This is because the Antilles Negro is more civilized than the African ... he is closer to the white man. (pp. 24–25)

Furthermore, he found that black people have two ways of interacting with others. They act in one way when interacting with the white people and another way when they interact with black communities (p. 17). Further examples of colonization of the African elites include the act of Africans from Senegal, who practiced rolling the "r" in their French language so that they sounded like the French people. However, in his observation, this only takes away their identity and sometimes humiliates them. These

Africans do not perfect their pronunciation to relate to the native speakers of French. These African elites do it to distance themselves from an African identity in their own eyes and the eyes of other Africans. Finally, Fanon argues that African elites not only have to deal with foreign language transformation, they also change their life to resemble the Europeans in more ways such as dressing themselves in European styles and using European furniture, among many more (p. 25).

Problems and Challenges With Current Secondary Education in Tanzania

The contemporary educational system in Tanzania uses the English language as its exclusive medium of instruction in secondary schools. This might be a source of many problems. In order to understand some of these problems in the Tanzanian Educational system, it will help to review the history of some of these problematic features.

First, Sauti za Wananchi (2013), a non-profit organization in Tanzania that advocates for justice in public policy conducted a national survey to interview students, parents and teachers about the year 2012 national examinations results. The survey results concluded that - the massive failure of students in 2012 secondary school exit exams may have been attributable to the use of English language during classroom instruction, among other factors. The study indicates that only 185,940 (43.08%) students passed the exams. The organization conducting the survey noted that - the performance was one of the worst outcomes in this decade. Many of the respondents believed that English was the main barrier in learning at school. Fluency in English is supposed to help bring a better life for students after graduation. It could ebanle the

students may find well-paying jobs in and out of the East African region more easily, especially with foreign businesses. In the following year (2014), Athuman Mtulya, interviewed the executive secretary for the National Examinations Council of Tanzania (NECTA) and reported for *The Citizen* newspaper that secondary exam results were better compared to 2013. However, he said only 235, 227 (58.25%) of all the students passed the exams. In addition, he compares scores in two subjects nationally between Math and Swahili language. He found in the two subjects that, 17.7% and 67% respectively of the students passed those two exams. Math is taught in English language while Swahili is learned as a subject. It is not entirely clear whether language is the problem in this case, since correlation does not always imply causation. However, it is clear that students scored higher in Swahili subject than in Math.

The second problem is that when students learn through English, the language they do not know, they cannot discuss even matters of their surroundings. This means that the foreign language neither adequately enables students to connect what they learn in school and their country environments, nor can transfer of knowledge take place. For example, Owino (2006) editor for a popular newspaper in Tanzania, expressed a public lament that, due to the English language problem, students in secondary schools were unable to learn and understand the country's and local government's formation, the basic content which should have been understood well by students as part of school curriculum. The editor did not believe that Swahili, the language that united over 120 ethnicities of Tanzania would not be used for instruction. It was also noted that Kenya and Uganda did better in education although they used English language in secondary school. Unlike Tanzania, the two countries seem to have not introduced Kiswahili earlier in schools.

However, students in Kenya and Uganda face the same problem of omission of Swahili, an African language in secondary school. Besides students' performance academically and issues of securing lucrative jobs in any of the three countries, learners will always suffer for instance, in loss of their culture and identity. The indicators for this disparity between Tanzania on one hand, and Kenya and Uganda on the other hand was the fact that Kenyans and Ugandans were able to secure job positions in Tanzania, while Tanzanians could not find jobs in Kenya and Uganda, even if they were welcome to compete for those jobs. An additional implication is that, while choosing English as the language of instruction in Tanzania, there might be inadequate allocation of resources and commitment to make the language understood to the students.

Third, as a researcher, my own experiences of learning through English in secondary school in Tanzania were partly not enjoyable. I had no member of my family that spoke English at home that I could practice or communicate with. As a result, it became the language that separated me from my family members. In this respect, my parents' role became less powerful as they could not teach me any academic knowledge that I therefore could only learn in school. In addition, in school, when I did not understand Physics concepts for example, I received a punishment. In villages and towns, almost everyone spoke either Swahili or their tribal language. Punishment diminished my self-motivation to learn in school. While I was in my village, English acted as an obstacle for me to learn from those who did not speak English, especially the elders.

Fourth, there is less opportunity for students with disabilities to learn. Learning through only the English language denies the best opportunity, especially to students with

learning disabilities. Students, whether physically able or have any kind of disability, depend largely on visual and auditory cues in the learning process. The two factors may affect students in a positive way or negative way depending on each student's state (Spinelli, 2002, pp. 102 - 103). Learning in Tanzanian public schools that not only have inadequate resources but also have teachers who are not trained and equipped well with ways to help special needs students, in a new language, is a big problem. In addition, Rubagumya et al (2010) show in their study that most teachers in secondary school do not have proficiency in the English language that is good enough to deliver lessons to students who are largely beginning to learn the language.

Another limitation is that abandoning Swahili, using English only, creates learners' false identity. Chickering and Reisser (1993) discuss many issues related to education and identity to be considered when students are in the learning process including developing competence, managing emotions, building students' autonomy, creating interpersonal relationships, establishing identity, student-teacher relationship, and establishing student communities, among others.

Lastly, there are myths about colonial language power versus lack of transfer of learning experiences. Casmir Rubangumya (1990) and Ngugi wa Thiong'o (2009) among other scholars agree that African education in general is elitist in nature. There are examples cited from both Francophone and Anglophone nations in Africa, such as Democratic Republic of Congo (the old Zaire) and Tanzania that indicate that speaking French and English languages respectively signifies one's being educated and knowledgeable. Ngalasso (cited in Rubagumya, 1990) argues:

it is a magic key to prestige and social power. Its use rarely corresponds to real need; it is usually used to show that one has reached a level of linguistic competence, which entitles one to legitimate claim to power, and eventually to mystify. (p. 2)

The English-only language of instruction constitutes a challenge to Mwalimu Nyerere's educational philosophy of '*Education for Self-Reliance* (ESR)' for Tanzania. The core of this philosophy is to instill a sense of confidence and pride in learners about their own culture, values, beliefs and education that serves a purpose in their immediate surroundings. Therefore, it is obvious that for the most part, without using Kiswahili, a national language of Tanzania, it is hard to acquire a meaningful education. Rubagumya (1990) argues as follows:

in Tanzania, it is difficult to see how 'Education for Self-Reliance' can be consistent with education which uses English as the medium of instruction. If education is meant to prepare the majority for the type of life they are likely to lead (i.e. in rural areas) rather than to favor only a few, it would seem that Kiswahili is better suited to that task. (p. 2)

As a result, Mulokozi (no date, pp. 5 - 11) believes that the current problem of disfavoring Kiswahili, especially in education, emanates from the rise of a non-patriotic bourgeoisie class that focuses on enriching itself at the expense of the national interests. That has led to the erosion of self-confidence among Tanzanians who received formal education. Similarly, Mutasa, cited in (Mwingsheke, 2003) argues as follows:

If pupils do not understand the language used in teaching, it means they do not and cannot receive education. That means new ideas and knowledge cannot be transmitted to them. (p. 4)

Additionally, (Mulokozi, n.d.) argues that

When I served as an oral English examiner during the matriculations exams ..., more than 50 per cent of the students ... could not formulate correct English sentences. They therefore resorted to short one-word or single-phrase answers even for questions that needed explanations or brief narratives. Moreover, many supervisors of masters and doctoral dissertations complain about the poor mastery of English shown by their students. (p. 8)

The assertion above implies that it would probably be easier for students to learn in the language they are familiar with. In this case, if students learned in Swahili for example, it might be easier for them to transfer some literacy skills when they learn English language. The urgent call for use of a native language in Africa differs significantly from country to country. I might argue that Tanzania has more urgency to use Swahili in secondary education because English language is not nativized¹ yet in the country. This is partly a critique to the earlier scholars on African languages in education. For example, Brock-Utne and Hopson (2005) seem to homogenize the role of colonial languages in the African continent. My observation of reality is that following are statuses of colonial languages and countries respectively. Mozambique (nativized Portuguese), Nigeria (nativized English), Cameroun (nativized French), Tanzania (English is still foreign). Therefore, the situation in Tanzania is arguably more critical than in countries that are using foreign languages natively (now).

The root of the problem of a continued use of English only as argued by Brock-Utne and Hopson (2005) is the marginalizing language policy resulting from globalization and market-driven goals of politicians. Surprisingly, they also add that the World Bank supports revitalization and promoting African languages in education. Governments in most African countries are said to be reluctant to allow indigenous languages due to the fear of democratization through use of indigenous languages in schools. Therefore, it is clear that the main effect of the current educational system is not to create opportunities for the marginalized students.

Research Questions

As many issues as there are facing public secondary schools in Tanzania, there are possibly an equal or greater number of questions that need to be asked by researchers. In this study, I was interested in one major question as follows: What do secondary student graduates think about the fact that English is the only language of instruction in secondary schools in Tanzania?

I was interested with this question in part because I believed that former students in Tanzania have unique perspectives on the effects of current secondary education practices. Listening to such persons would give me an opportunity as a researcher to collect information from sources that are directly affected by instruction in the English language. Additionally, I was interested in this approach because it allows my research to contribute to the Tanzanian community by establishing a more democratic dialogue about the education students receive in secondary schools. This dialogue included mainly students some of whom identified as parents and general members of Tanzanian

community. The target respondents received secondary education through the English language in Tanzania.

There are precedents for this approach to research on this topic. Previous studies by notable scholars, such as Rugemalira (1990), Rubagumya (1990, 2010), and Brock-Utne (2000) involved field observations in Tanzanian schools as well as secondary literature reviews. Those studies, however, did not include a focus on the voice and reflections of subjects who received instruction in English. Rather, they featured mainly the researchers' observations and interpretations of what was happening to the learners during teaching process.

With these priorities in mind, I was additionally interested in the following sub-questions:

- i) How do respondents see language of instruction policy relating to opportunity among secondary student learners?
- ii) How do respondents see this language of instruction policy influencing the cultural, economic, and political life of Tanzanians?

Bilingual Education, Relationships of Power, and Status Structures

In this part, I present relevant ideas from different studies relating to the subject of my research. Alongside, I mention particular researchers who contributed in one way or another to the issue of language of instruction, type of language used in teaching and learning, and the challenges that result from multiple factors affecting the process of teaching and learning. Throughout this review, concepts are appropriated that

assist with the purpose of pointing out the double-edged consequences of English language of instruction in the Tanzanian context.

There are many theories and paradigms that could inform or contribute to the effort to answer my research question. The study does not commit to any one theory, as it may insufficiently explain some feature of the topic. Instead, I adopt an eclectic approach--adopting ideas from different theories relevant to the overall purpose of the study. In this study, after collecting and analyzing stories of the respondents, I rely mostly on critical and sociocultural literature in bilingual education and power in classroom such as Cummins (1981, 2000, & 2001), Baker (2011) and Darder (2012) which critically analyzes programs that privilege majority language groups of learners. Presenting such a critical discussion will require real voices of experienced students who learned through the English language in Tanzanian secondary schools. For example, Antonia Darder examines hegemonic relationships in society, in the classrooms, and how those relations have an impact on educational outcomes. Also, Collin Baker's work attempts to understand what the author calls the three main views about language (as a problem, as a right, and as a resource). Baker is probably one of the scholars who have inventoried the myths and reality associated with bilingual education.

More scholars have extended a critique of colonialist power dynamics to the politics of language education in the African context and elsewhere. Some of those scholars, with some examples drawn from African settings, assert that when there are two languages for consideration to use for instruction, issues of power and political ideologies are inevitably involved. Citing examples from Africa, Lippi-Green (1997, pp. 63 - 67) explains how dominant languages and cultures establish myths to validate social order.

The validation process confirms rather than explains the sources of cultural attitudes. In so doing, dominant languages become tools of oppression and reproduction of oppressive practices. Reproduction happens later as inequality becomes an expected social order, when the economically powerful manipulate the working class to maintain status quo. Works of scholars such as Marx and Weber on predetermined structure of dominance and differentiation of people at various levels account for the process. Furthermore, the inequality operates at different levels such as society, institutional, interpersonal, and consciousness (Persell, 1977).

Additionally, relationships of power and status are seen in classroom practices: Baker (2011) argues that this happens through:

passive learning and tight discipline strategies ... structures of dominance in society interact with educational structures and educational ideologies as well as with teachers' expectations. (p. 212)

These kinds of classroom practices can foster values that perpetuate inequality. For example, sometimes, schools do not permit second language (L2) learners to use their first language (L1) in their classroom. Such stratification happens in 'transitional' bilingual education (Baker, 2011). Between the weak and strong forms of bilingual education, 'transitional' is one of the weak forms where the learners' first language is introduced briefly in school and dominant language such as English in the US may be used widely in classrooms. This type of bilingual program is assimilationist in nature. Bilinguals are separated from the mainstream students, reproducing therefore unequal power and status among the students. The next part will account for the varied views about language that are the reasons for the inequality.

Three Dominant Framework Views About Language in Society

This study uses three views of Language in society—Language as a problem, language as a right, and language as a resource—to frame its analysis. The views are commonly attributed to Richard Ruiz (1984) in his work, “*Orientations in language Planning*” and recently developed by scholars such as Baker (2011) and others. The views were originally developed in the context of bilingual programs in the United States. However, Ruiz (1984, p. 15) makes a note on the first two orientations (language as a problem and language as a right). Those in favor of language as a problem see that immigrant languages and indigenous languages are an interference, hence language as a problem. Contrary, those in favor of including immigrants’ and indigenous languages in education would like those languages to be taught or used alongside English, hence language as a right. In the context of the US bilingual education, language as a resource is a view of the dominant groups who encourage minorities to learn English so as to be part of the larger community or nation and find opportunities.

While I understand the context and origin of the three views in the US, my study in the Tanzanian context, for the purpose of clarity will treat Kiswahili language as a language of minority even if it is spoken by the majority. It will be treated as minority language in the sense of colonizer – colonized relationship, where English is supposed to be the language of power and dominance from the British onset of colonization. In what follows I compare and contrast these views generally, then outline what their application to the Tanzanian context looks like.

Language as Problem

In multicultural societies such as the US, those in power often view minority languages as a problem. This view, according to Ruiz (1984, p. 18), besides those who take its negative connotation alone, it includes the whole idea of language planning activities and it is a necessary ingredient in the planning process. With the same view, McKay (1979) is quoted in Richard Ruiz's work as saying, "language problems are inherent in the multilingual situation". And, that the more languages are there to choose, the more complex are the problems. In short, Ruiz sees it as a challenging process and an opportunity at the same time. However, Richard Ruiz and other scholars understand a narrower focus that identifies immigrants and minorities negatively beyond language problem issues. For example, Ruiz (1984) found that language issues became linked with particular ethnic groups factors such as poverty, handicap, low educational achievement and little or no social mobility. Although diversity factor is one positive aspect, it is argued that in America, it leads to lack of social cohesiveness when everyone speaks their own language (pp. 19 - 21). One of the arguments by the anti-multiculturalism against using immigrants' or minority languages is that those languages divide rather than uniting the nation (Baker, 2011). The government deals with the 'problem' by enacting anti-bilingual laws. For example, in 1984, Californian opposed the Congress' mandate of multilingual ballots". Also in 1986, California passed legislation declaring English to be the sole official language of the state, something that was opposed by some people as well. Furthermore, to include bicultural children's language in the curriculum, Arizona passed official language laws in 1988 to adapt the "official English" amendment. And in 1996, "the Emerson English-Language

Empowerment Bill was passed to make English the sole official language of the United States" (Schmidt, 2000, pp. 2 - 3). Those in power justified that all Americans needed only English language, and immigrants should learn English language.

Similarly, there is an English-only policy globally through teaching English as the official language in schools or teaching other subjects in English language. Brock-Utne (2000) argues that donors' role in education, such as the World Bank, finance education of poor nations with language policies and conditions. Surprisingly, African resistance towards using their own languages of instruction in schools makes the foreign language policies justifiable (Brock-Utne, 2000). In this broad account, it is obvious that the upper class of elites in Tanzania see inclusion of Swahili language for instruction in secondary school as a problem. Language as a problem leads to policies that maintain monolingualism. The UN negates the 'language as a problem' notion by encouraging literacy in L1 before children learn in a second language (Brock-Utne, 2000; Baker, 2011). This view is also popular among the psycholinguists who deal with how first language (L1) facilitates a relatively easy acquisition of second language (L2).

Language as Right

One prominent account of how language can be a right issue comes from Alan Pifer, quoted in Ruiz (1984). It is seen as a civil right issue connected for example with the Hispanic communities in the case of the US. This movement emanated in the US and represents international efforts to advocate language as a basic human right. Furthermore, it is seen as the right to participate in government aspects such as provision of employment, insurance benefit forms, education, and voting ballots among others (pp.

21 – 22). Other people in society who view language as a right argue that it is the right of indigenous people (or immigrants) to preserve their language, identity, and culture for their new generations. They further argue that requiring a person to leave behind their social identity is destructive to their fundamental human and political rights, and violates their right to free expression and nondiscrimination. There are supportive ideas and resources from individuals, organizations, governments, as well as the United Nations. These efforts include governments' establishing Bilingual Education in a native language, alongside the community language. For example, Bilingual Intercultural Education (BIE) is the case in Quechua language for Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, and in Maori language in New Zealand (Fishman, 1968; Briggs, cited in Miracle, 1983). Quechua and Maori have been used in education along with Spanish and English respectively.

In the U.S. too, there are legal enactments to protect indigenous languages such as of Native Americans as well as those of immigrant communities in the U.S. (Ruiz, 1984 and Baker, 2011). The “language as a right” view leads to bilingualism or multilingualism in a society. Besides national efforts above, human rights advocates protect languages of minority groups.

For children who do not understand well a second language, and "when that language becomes a barrier to knowledge ...school authorities need to inform parents about the research results on bilingualism. ...UNESCO recommends the use of the mother tongue.... as universal language of instruction" instead (Brock-Utne, 2000, pp. 150 - 151).

In the U.S., pluralists or multiculturalists are the reason for a successful bilingual education in the country. They influence directly or indirectly laws that protect

multilingual persons: "In 1990, nationally joined efforts ruled that Arizona's official English amendment violated the First Amendment of the US Constitution." Pluralist position on language emphasizes the rights of an individual. Another support of multicultural people came in 1987 when legislation was passed to protect American people's Cultural Rights, together with language rights in the classroom (Piatt, 1990; Schmidt, 2000).

More examples of language as a right are presented as follows: First, Rubagumya (1990) has clearly indicated that there are problems in teaching students using English language because it is not a familiar language. He points out problems including teachers' inability or inadequate command of the English language. Therefore, this makes one wonder how students should learn in a foreign language that the teachers do not understand as well! Teachers and students, both of whom are not familiar with the English language, in the context of Tanzania, have the right to teach and learn respectively in their native national language, Kiswahili.

Second, there are examples from the United States and Canada where the multitude of ethnicities and races demand that students learn in their first language, if English is not their first language. Cummins (1981) and other scholars discuss bilingual education strategies and the school politics involved in teaching and learning, especially in the Toronto area, where more than 50% of the children did not speak English as their first language. In such a context, the need to teach the students in both French and English became obvious. This implies that when minority children have their first language, language policy should provide a bilingual education that includes minority language of instruction as a fundamental right for those children.

Thirdly, studies in the US, especially with revitalization of native Indian languages and Hawaiian language provide a lot to learn from. The lesson is that one way to preserve indigenous languages is to promote its use in education. Quechua as the language of indigenous people in Peru provides another vital lesson of preserving languages and culture through its use in education. There have been efforts by both the government and the people in different capacities, to make Quechua a compulsory language of instruction at least for all children of the indigenous community. For a long time, Spanish has been a second and dominant language of instruction. Valdiviezo (2010) argues that even with all the efforts to promote Quechua in education, there are still obstacles still. These examples show that bilingual programs that include indigenous languages are possible in education anywhere, including Tanzania.

Language as Resource

As a view or an approach to language planning, Ruiz (1984) argues that it is a way of alleviating some of the conflicts emerging between the first two views about language. First, he and other scholars are in agreement that language as a resource view can enhance the language status of the subordinate languages and it can ease the tension between majority and minority language groups. This view in other words oversees the role of minority languages, especially in the US (pp .25 - 28). Richard Ruiz further suggests that those languages of the minority groups are a resource for learners who speak a dominant language such as English only in the US. After all, English monolingual-ism is bad for business. Here, I assume that English monolingual-ism

refers to any learners whether they come from majority or minority group. The main advantage of this approach is to reshape attitudes about language and language groups.

In the light of the previously outlined problem view, more scholars have pointed out very clearly the importance of using one's indigenous language in education. Wa-Thiong'o (2009) for example argues that, when you learn in your own language, it is possible to better imagine others in your own space and intellectual capacities. He also believes that when a foreign language is used, there is a problem similar to the struggle between capital and labor, and between colonizer and colonized. He argues that economic subjugation such as loss of land is similar to cultural subjugation that includes loss of one's language. As a result, writers, artists, musicians, intellectuals and workers on ideas, all of who are keepers of what he calls 'memory of a community' are disconnected and isolated from memories of their own life. He noted a heartbreaking fact that, 90% of intellectual production in Africa (Tanzania included) is stored in European languages. Probably, one might argue that using English language in school is not a bad idea. However, making it the only language and forbidding instruction in Swahili, is committing a big mistake. It is suggested that native or first language is a tool to develop minority people: "Studies of Black, Latino, Asian, and Native Americans indicate that biculturalism is a way towards development of people of color", (Darder, 1991, p. 49). On the other hand, there is a need for immigrants and minorities to learn English because it opens doors to many opportunities. It is believed that proficiency in English will give them access to opportunities that the white majority have.

In addition, Darder (1991) and Bell (2010) see bilingualism or biculturalism as a means towards establishing critical pedagogy, and incorporating first language in

education as a way to achieve a more meaningful education for children of color. Children of color can learn in their language what Bell (2010) in the book titled *“Storytelling for social justice: Connecting narrative and the arts in antiracist teaching”*, refers to as “concealed stories”, stories that embody the cultural cohesiveness and unity. Those stories narrate the ways race differentially shapes life experiences and opportunities, connecting to broad social and historical patterns, that also challenge the assumed normality, that insist on a different account of experience, and stories that name and reclaim. There is also consensus on language as a resource in three main aspects. Marshall & Gonzales, cited in Schmidt (2000), Brock-Utne (2000), and Baker (2011) argue that bilingualism is a resource in terms of defense function, creating more opportunities, and creating unity. First, during war times, multilingualism becomes a major asset (supporting multilingualism) in the pursuit of victory. Second, learning another language is not only important for immigrants and non-speakers of English globally, but also it applies to English speakers such as Americans learning another language besides English.

Lastly, in terms of unity, it is argued that immigrants’ learning of English helps unify the nation, eliminating social and racial barriers and maximizing equality of opportunity. Language is therefore seen as a resource bringing peace and safety.

Application of the Three Views About Language in the Tanzanian Secondary Education Context

Language as Problem in Tanzania

First, Tanzanian elites view language as a problem. Irmi (2009) stated that colonial occupation shaped the recent history with interference in language policies. European colonizers initiated devaluation of African languages and culture. Currently, Tanzanian elites influence the growth of negative attitudes towards Swahili language. Language practices that reinforce negative views include classroom instruction in English and corporal punishment to implement the English-only policy. Another justification of Swahili as a problem comes from popular beliefs such as: there is a “shortage of trained teachers of Swahili and teaching materials compared to English”, the books ratio for the 2 languages is 1:10, and “Swahili lacks technical terms” (Fishman, 1968, pp. 333 - 334). However, *Language as a Problem* comes from camps opposed to one another. There is a camp in Tanzania represented by a few elites that views English as “interfering the growth of Swahili as speakers of Swahili code-switch between the two languages” (Fishman, 1968, p. 335). An opposite camp is represented by another group of elites who argue that Swahili will not help the growth of economy in the county.

Language as Resource in Tanzania

Secondly, English is widely spoken in Tanzania, as it is a British former colony. Tanzania whose main language is Swahili (Blommaert, 2005), views English language as a resource. Typically, “language as a resource” concept applies to indigenous language.

English is seen as a language for "local scientific knowledge and acquisition of science and technology" (Mkandawire, 2005, pp. 178 - 189). I believe this view is based on the assumption that science and technology for locals is not possible without a Western language whose scientific information is stated in English.

Language as Resource and Right in Tanzania

The last view is language as both a resource and a right. On re-membering (uniting) practices, memory restoration and African renaissance, Wa Thiong'o (1981) urges promotion of Swahili and ethnic languages through education and writing books in the languages. He sees African languages as storages that serve as resources of knowledge and recovery from the psychological effects due to effects of colonialism.

Given this review of the relevant theory regarding the practice and politics of indigenous language education, I can now restate my research questions with slightly more precision. My questions become:

- i) How do Tanzanians see language of instruction policy relating to opportunity among the students?
 - a. Do they frame Swahili languages as a problem, a resource, a right, or in some other way?
- ii) How do they see all these influencing the cultural, economic, and political life of Tanzanians?
 - a. For example, do they see Swahili language as a source of divisiveness? As a means to some particular goals? Or as a cause that needs to be fought for?

Power, Society, and Education in Tanzania

This part shows the interaction of the factors above in Tanzania, with views from studies that particularly focused on Tanzania. There are many researchers of bilingual education from within Tanzania and outside who conducted studies on the bilingual education situation of Tanzania. A few famous ones include professors Casmir Rubagumya, Martha Quorro, Azaveli Lwaitama, Saida Yahya-Othman, Josephat Rugemalira, Michael Kadege (Tanzania) and Birgit Brock-Utne (Norway). First, they and others clearly point out issues and examine the use of language as an issue of power relationships and social structures, particularly in the educational system of Tanzania. However, I was interested to see how that is reflected or understood to be an issue by the students, teachers or parents in Tanzania. None of the earlier studies present actual voices of the learners, particularly those who graduated from secondary school already and have experienced outcomes and practical utility of the English language through national exam results, job interviews, other opportunities the language had to offer, or difficult challenges.

Secondly, Rubagumya et al. (2010), in their study on how English contributes to the academic struggles of students and other factors---- such as lack of funding, lack of teachers' motivation, and others--- lose the basic argument by assuming that if those problems are fixed, better secondary school education will be achieved. I argue that the language as a problem orientation in Tanzanian secondary schools needs to be addressed further in order to find a place for Swahili, the native language of Tanzanians. Based on a language as resource orientation, I argue that this language should be used in secondary education as a medium of instruction. Furthermore, fluency in the English language

alone privileges a few at the end of the day, and the native speakers of English at large.

My research attempted to focus mainly on how important is to use Swahili only or at least include Swahili alongside English in Tanzanian secondary schools.

Lastly, I would argue that Education for Self Reliance (ESR) is both an ideal humanistic philosophy that would promote solidarity, self-esteem, and patriotism when students learn in the language that unites all of them in the nation. Many Tanzanians agree, although in practice, they have seen students resisting the practices of Education for Self Reliance (ESR), such as participating in school farms and projects. I believed it would be a good idea in my study, to hear alternatives on how individuals would approach or implement that philosophy without prescriptions from the government or educators necessarily. Politicians in power articulated the ESR policy, but no recent studies show whether Tanzanians think ESR was successful or practical from the experiences of life of secondary school students after graduation. The study partly reveals students' own perspectives on how the policy affects their employability and overall ability to make a good life. Success or failure of ESR policy is only reflected by what respondents think about language as a problem, as a right, a resource, or otherwise.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODS

This chapter describes the research design employed for this study. This design consists of five main parts as follows: 1) an inventory of the epistemological and ontological assumptions underlying the study, 2) a listing and explanation of data sources that include participants of the study as well as the setting of the study, 3) an explanation of techniques used in the gathering, analysis and interpretation of that data, 4) a reflection on the researcher's role in the study, and 5) an account of limitations of the proposed methods. Finally, the contribution of the study to the practice of teaching and learning in Tanzanian secondary schools is stated.

Epistemological and Ontological Assumptions

Scholars of Philosophy try to understand Epistemology as a theory of knowledge in terms of its methods, validity, and scope, as the attempt to investigate and distinguish justified beliefs from opinions. Meanwhile, ontology can be seen as metaphysics dealing with the nature of being.

There are many methodological approaches, traditions, paradigms or philosophies from which a researcher may choose his or her guideline. Single (2010) asserts that for each field of study, there are accepted theories and methods that determine ways of finding new knowledge being added to the field and conformity among scholars in each field.

Each of the philosophical traditions or methodologies has a set of particular assumptions. For example, Marxism is founded on an economic materialist ontology. And its epistemology favors critical reflective inquiry over empiricism. Cultural ethnography, on the other hand, generally is founded on a semiotic ontology, or what some would call constructivist ontology, and employs a hermeneutic epistemology. Similarly, other theoretical frameworks such as Phenomenology, Poststructuralism, and feminism all have their own distinctive ontological and epistemological commitments. This study employs Symbolic interactionism as its primary theoretical framework.²

Symbolic Interactionism is a methodological position with three premises (Blumer, 1969, pp. 2-5). First, the assumption is that human beings act towards things on the basis of meanings that the things have for them. Secondly, that the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of the social interaction that one person or individual has with other fellows. And lastly, these meanings are handled in, and modified through an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters or situations that a person faces or deals with in day-to-day life.

Additionally, there are two essential aspects of symbolic interactionism worthy to point out. These are the emphasis or focus on shared experiences rather than an individual's experiences (Meltezer et al, 1975) and language as central to social organization (p. 16 and p. 23, respectively). In a nutshell, symbolic interactionism believes that meaning is not one's private phenomenon, but is constructed through social interactions with others. Symbolic interactionism, developed by Herbert Blumer in 1967 was originally articulated by other scholars such as John Dewey and others, has an epistemological premise that is in opposition with laboratory testing, stimulus-response

studies. John Dewey named those as forms of “spectator knowledge” (Schwandt, 2000, p. 79). The main objective of symbolic interactionism is to study individual human behavior in relation to his or her society, as the two are inseparable.

Symbolic interactionism is the theory that inspired the development of coding practices in social scientific data analysis. Symbolic interactionism assumes that humans build meanings in community and that the meanings established by a community exist above the level of the individual respondent. The coding of interview transcripts and field notes in an effort to identify common themes was developed as a means to identify this higher level of shared cultural meaning that transcends individual interpretations and is actually an abstracted feature of the entire community’s life and thought. This study will use these coding strategies to identify this kind of shared community understanding of Tanzanian public education by Tanzanians.

Data Source

Participants of the Study and Criteria for Selection

Foremost, the justification for selecting the participants for this study is due to what Gary Howard (2006) calls “social positionality”, in his book *“We can’t teach what we don’t know: White teachers, multiracial schools”*. He and many proponents of indigenous research by indigenous people would agree that, it is important that indigenous scholars research on their own communities in order to rewrite and reclaim the stories that were distorted especially by European scholars, about Africa. Howard does not seem to believe that outsiders from the indigenous people can do a better job of

researching issues that they are not familiar with or those issues that are not part of their experiences. He argues that how we view the world and construct reality, how we describe meanings, and how we see and value our lives are connected to positions we hold in our social and historical hierarchies of power and dominance. In this case, one might say for example, Swahili speakers have partly been told by European agents of colonialism and scholars, that English as a foreign language will be suitable for instruction in Tanzania.

The researcher was born, raised and educated in Tanzania until he received his bachelor's degree and later in the United States of America where he pursued his M.A and doctoral studies. He is a native speaker of both Hehe (Kihehe) ethnic language as well as Swahili (Kiswahili), the national language of Tanzania. Additionally, before moving to the US, the researcher taught English and History in two public secondary schools in Tanzania.

In terms of participants, the researcher interviewed 18 Tanzanians. These participants reside in various states in the USA. Among those, ten identified as females while eight identified themselves as males. Participants from both genders are fluent native speakers of Swahili and have completed at least 4 years of secondary education in public or private school in Tanzania. The rationale for choosing these participants was that they all went through the education system that uses only English medium of instruction in secondary schools. They were assumed to be able to reflect about the education system better because they completed secondary level already, and are more fluent in English to respond to the research questions than most of the students who are studying currently in Tanzania.

Furthermore, the researcher presumed respondents would account for what they were told or thought themselves as outcome promises that would come with the English language instruction at the end of schooling. Also the researcher assumed that they might be able to reflect on what happened in school versus the actual or real outcomes they see now when out of the education system. This is one feature that distinguishes this research from most previous studies involving students who were still in school and had not gone through a longer journey to see the outcomes of their schooling in such a system of education, through the English language instruction. Finally, respondents' ability to speak both English and Swahili fluently made them able to talk about the pros and cons of learners going through either instructional media of English or Swahili in classroom learning. Those who were less proficient in Swahili were a product of students who went through private secondary education that had exposed them only to the notion of privilege of learning through English.

The researcher kept track of which respondents had parents who received education through English-only instruction. That is, second generation English-only secondary school students. Any differences found might need to be accounted for in the analysis and cross-analysis of the data sections. Finally, although it is not one of the focuses of the study, the researcher learned that the participants engaged in various status roles in the US: They identified as teachers, mothers who raise family in their homes, professors in colleges, students attending universities and colleges, professional engineers, and workers who did not specify their professional skills.

Description of Research Setting and Context

As pointed out in the preceding section, data was collected from about 18 participants who represent a small sample of the estimated 45 millions total population of Tanzanians. The country has over 120 ethnic groups and the number of ethnic groups equals the number of ethnic languages. However, the study does not take into consideration or suggest that besides English language in secondary schools, native languages besides Swahili might be possible media of instruction for secondary education. Almost all public owned primary schools use Swahili exclusively as the language of instruction. Suggesting tribal languages use might require change of language of instruction in the primary education while my focus is secondary level. Besides, Swahili is collectively a national language that united all Tanzanians in anti-colonial struggles against the British and is more of an African language while English is not. That makes communications among the different ethnic groups, educated and uneducated, relatively easier through one main language. The secondary schools that are a focus of this study are divided between public and private ownership. Participants gave an impression that public schools tend to have fewer or less fluent teachers in the English language. In contrast, private schools overall tend to have better teachers who are fluent in the English language.

In terms of interview process in this study, the researcher contacted each Tanzanian participant selected from different states or cities of the USA. These are people that the researcher knew and had met before, either in Tanzania or in the US. Prior to asking them to be respondents in the study, the researcher made sure that each of them assured him they completed secondary education in Tanzania. Since it was hard to

meet face to face on one hand, and on the other hand, it might have made some respondents less comfortable to speak face-to-face with the interviewer, the researcher used either phone calls or Skype and recorded the interview responses from the participants. Arrangements were made prior to these conversations depending on the respondents' availability. Most of the participants preferred evening hours after they had completed their day schedules, especially outside their homes.

With reference to data sources, added to note taking, McKay (2006) emphasizes that it is helpful in types of research like this to use a set of recorders so that in case one gets damaged, there is a back up recording of the data. The researcher used two different recording instruments to minimize the risks of recording failure, and he stored the data in two different secure places.

Techniques

Data Gathering and Managing

Prior to data collection, the researcher had a list of prospective informants that connect on regular basis through emails and phone conversations. The list included only those who had attended public or private secondary schools in Tanzania. The researcher excluded all who have lived in and know well Tanzania but were originally from other countries. He also did not include officials such as those working in the diplomatic mission of Tanzania to the US, in D.C because they are part of the political regime who may not easily give their learning experience accounts as individuals. Just like there are many philosophical traditions in social science research, there also are several techniques

of gathering data from participants in a study. Interviews and surveys are some of the popular techniques used often in social science research. In this study, the researcher used open-ended interviews to collect data. There are plausible justifications for using this technique as follows.

McKay (2006, pp. 51- 56) and Best & Kahn (1989, pp. 201 – 202) outline purposes of interviews that eventually help us understand the benefits of this technique as well. First of all, interviews may be used to find out about respondents' background. For example, a researcher studying students' knowledge of other languages can ask directly about students' language competency or even ask them to demonstrate it on tape. The second purpose also seen as a benefit is that interviews in education may be used to find out teachers' or students' reported behavior such as with whom and where the students use English language or what strategies or techniques teachers use in correcting students' errors. Thirdly, interviews help to find out about teachers' and learners' opinions and attitudes about various aspects of language learning. Using interviews as the information-gathering tool of this study helped the researcher gain an in-depth understanding of each participant's background. Understanding their background was significant especially as it influenced or shaped the way they experienced secondary education through the English language of instruction.

However, it may not be adequate to know only about interviews as a technique. It is equally important to note that there are three different types of interviews. Therefore, researchers may choose a particular type within the interviews. McKay (2006) and Single (2010), describe three sub-types as informal conversational interview in which each participant is asked different questions without a structure, an interview guide

approach where respondents are asked a series of questions covering the same topics for all participants, and the standardized open-ended interview where the same questions in the same order are asked to each participant. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the researcher used the last types of interview.

A side-note on whatever type of interview is used, it is advisable to keep in mind risk factors. First, since respondents may not trust the interviewer enough to disclose pertinent information, or may assume that the interviewer's background knowledge is inadequate to permit them to understand complex responses. In this case, the researcher shares the respondents' national identity and other similar schooling experiences. So these problems were less of a concern. Second, interviewees' responses may sometimes reflect what they think they should say rather than what they actually believe. In this study, that problem was overcome by an adequate number of respondents that I believed would make it difficult for them to produce an identical narrative that does not portray real experiences of secondary school learners.

Furthermore, McKay (2006) identifies two main ways of collecting data during an interview process. These are tape or voice recording and note-taking. In this study, I used voice recording, as the primary technique while note taking was supplementary.

The language used for the interviews was English. The reason for using English only was to minimize the danger of losing meaning from translation by the researcher if Swahili would be used. Besides that, it was interesting to learn some aspects of English language use as respondents' answered the research questions. Meanwhile, where it seemed that insights might be enriched or gained in no other way, the I used code switching between English and Swahili in an interview. During the study, I found some

curiosity from the respondents. Two of the respondents had questions on why I used English instead of Swahili and whether I would allow a respondent to answer the interview questions in Swahili. In the end, respondents agreed to respond in English during the interviews.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

According to McKay (2006), the process of analyzing data should begin during the interview process itself. However, researchers are warned to be cautious so that this initial interpretation does not distort further data collection. In this study, I initially interpreted data through note-taking while the interviews are being recorded. In order to arrive at the goal of having responses that help to answer my research questions, the data was analyzed thematically using a systematic coding method. It is so important to clearly understand what coding is as a process. Saldana (2011) briefly elaborates it as follows:

A code in a qualitative inquiry is often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or data. The data can consist of interview transcripts, participant observation field notes, journals, documents, literature, artifacts, photography, video, websites, email correspondences, and so on. (p. 3)

Themes are in simpler terms key words that reflect the researcher's key ideas of the study. Coding process was used in identifying those themes where each set of chosen words represent a particular theme such as cultural hegemony or subordination, views about language (as a right, as a resource and a problem), language and power, bilingual

education, and loss of cultural identity. However, it should be noted that, Pascale (2011) observes a few limitations of symbolic interactionism as a method. One of those include the fact that during research, the method does not reveal well issues of how power relations, class, and subordination are played around, when individuals act in a larger group in community. This is why I used Symbolic interactionism only as the main method. Other supplementary works from traditions such as Post-colonialism were used to overcome that problem. One example of how coding is done is by producing either a text with actual words of the respondents or paraphrasing, that is researcher's interpretation of what was said. In short, coding as a method involves various steps such as coding patterns, categorizing, differentiating between codes and themes, deciding the amounts of data to code, considerations for coding, and coding itself relating to a priori goals of the researcher (pp. 5, 8, 13, 15, 18 and 49, respectively).

Therefore, to make the process easier, I planned additionally to purchase computer software to help analyze data. There are two software programs used to analyze qualitative data. These are Qualitative Solutions and Research (QSR NUD*IST) and QSR NVivo. However, I was able to organize and analyze all data manually.

Role of Researcher

There are two main parts to this section. This first part explains briefly how I organized this work. I collected data through open-ended interviews, analyzed and interpreted them and wrote a final report of the study. On data collection, there was a one-to-one correspondence between I as researcher and each participant based on agreeable time that worked best especially for the participants. In case of any emerging

problems during the research process, I constantly reported and sought advice from the dissertation committee faculty.

The structure of the study report includes the main chapters, illustrations, tables, and appendices. The writing style of the report includes mainly direct quotes or voices of the actual words the participants said in their responses as well as my interpretations and paraphrases of the responses.

This second part explains how much bias can be, if any, on the role of researcher and issues of objectivity. Best and Kahn (1989) discuss interview as a technique in two varied ways and how it helps the researcher's goals to be achieved. On one hand this does not explicitly pinpoint how much the researcher might be biased, but it rather highlights a neutral role of a researcher depending on his or her questions that need to be answered after the study. Therefore, the roles for the researcher include establishing sufficient rapport. This means that as an educated researcher from an African background, I understood that it would be quite necessary to implicitly show the participants that his education is not a factor that would make the participants feel inferior or uncomfortable during the interview. Since I speak the same national language (Swahili) as the participants, it was somehow easy to reduce obvious prejudices that would have been a result of an outside researcher's work. However, Best and Kahn (1989, pp. 201 - 203) suggest that still there might be misinterpretation of questions by the respondents and misinterpretation of responses on the side of the researcher, besides suspicion.

Additionally, since participants and I are natives of Tanzania, it may be possible to seek the same information in several ways from either side of the researcher or the

respondents. Generally speaking, in order for the study to be valid and reliable, researchers should not exaggerate anything. However, I presumed those living in the US probably had, on the average, a greater proficiency in English than those not living in the US. That might certainly have produced a bias.

Limitations of Methods Used

Generally, it is imperative to point out that although Swahili is the language that unified all the ethnic groups in Tanzania, it is not the original language of any African tribe in the country. There are reasons Swahili may be preferred to English and tribal languages. First, it is due to the lexical and morphological features shared between the tribal languages and Swahili. This factor makes it relatively easy for Swahili to express ideas about local environment of Tanzania just like each of the tribal languages would do in their respective tribal localities. Secondly, modern scholars such as Blommaert (2005) and others refer to Swahili as an indigenous language of Tanzania. Swahili language, unlike English and tribal languages of Tanzania is an amalgamation of African languages in the Bantu group and some foreigners' who traveled and traded with the people of East African coast. That makes it easier to use Swahili in secondary schools for communication than English and tribal languages. Tribal languages might encourage division amongst the tribes. English is a newer language and more difficult to use in education while learning it at the same time. Additionally, Swahili being an amalgamation of African languages that belong to the Bantu group and some foreigners' who traveled and traded with the people of East African coast, makes it less of a colonial language than English. English is entirely the British language that was introduced

forcefully during the imposition and establishment of the colonial rule.

First, using data collected from students who already graduated from secondary school and now live in the US may not be the same as using data collected from students who are learning through English language currently in Tanzania. Therefore, results may not be generalized in the context of younger students currently in secondary schools.

Second, participants may have not been willing to provide information through telephone to me with as much freedom and openness as they might when met face-to-face. Similarly, since the participants were responding in English language, there are times when it was somehow difficult for me to sufficiently interpret some responses. Therefore, code switching between English and Swahili was somewhat necessary for clarity purposes. The difficulty was partly due to errors in the language use and using wrong words with regard to the questions and research context.

Third, interviews may not provide lengthy accounts enough to uncover some important issues. In any case, since responses from interviewees were in a form of personal experience narratives, scholars such as Stone-Mediatore (2003) would argue that those stories, which are experiences of the people's identities, desires and perceptions, are part of the ideological processes. Thus encountering ideological representation of the world might be difficult, since stories of the marginalized or oppressed people tend to reproduce oppressive and structure experience or position subjects and the worst outcome could be maintaining social hierarchies. This is something that I was aware of.

Contribution of this Study to the Practice of Teaching and Learning in Tanzanian Secondary Schools

Foremost, my study contributes to the literature that seeks to demonstrate that the existing form of instruction in Tanzanian secondary schools constitutes a monolingual education on one hand, and a weak form of bilingual education on the other side. Many scholars and commentators have observed that this structure exacerbates the stratification of educational opportunity in Tanzania. Wealthier Tanzanians place their children in private English-only schools from the earliest grades, whereas public schools teach students in Kiswahili throughout the first grade, and transition to English only instruction after the 5th grade. Limited resources are available to support Kiswahili speaking learners in this transition, and as a consequence they both fall behind in learning subject matter content and risk losing fluency in their native Kiswahili. This suggests that English only language of instruction does not benefit the majority Tanzanians who attend public schools. Eventually, the main problem remains the same for both kinds of learners. Public school students lose their Kiswahili language besides English. Those who learn English well in private schools equally lose Kiswahili language. This combined effect constitutes what Angela Valenzuela calls a “subtractive education.” Previous studies have looked at the broad achievement outcomes of such educational policy but have not examined the specific mechanisms of educational marginalization it produces.

Second, this study will attempt to account for social and psychological impacts of English only-education on Tanzanian public school students—from the frustration with being unable to understand instruction to the severe corporal punishment that unfortunately accompanies the learning of the English language in Tanzania. Public

discourse in Tanzania often includes objections by parents and students to these features of foreign language learning because it is not effective and dehumanizes the learner. To This study will resist this dehumanization by offering portraits at the individual scale of the daily humiliations and punishments used to enforce an English-only environment and the lasting significance of these experiences for graduates of the Tanzanian educational system. However, I will need to be open to any new experiences that I had not foreseen.

Overall this study intends to identify, gather and report genuine voices of those who went through this education system in the past and how they feel about those experiences. By listening to the experiences of Tanzania citizens, the study will make an argument about the need to improve Tanzanian education based on the experiences of Tanzanians themselves, not on the priorities of global development agencies driven by interests not indigenous to Tanzania. In this way, the study will exemplify its commitment to a broader educational project, the establishment of an educational system that respects and preserves the indigenous culture and languages of Tanzania. This, I believe can only be accomplished by Tanzanians respecting their own experiences, establishing their own priorities, and generating bottom-up counter-narratives to the externally imposed priorities of development organizations.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Swahili as Resource, Right, and Problem

Previously, in the Literature Review section, the scholars' order of the three views was: *Language as Problem, Resource, and Right*. From this section, my preference is to approach the views in a different order as *Resource, Right, and Problem*. As recounted in the previous chapter, Richard Ruiz (1984) proposed a three-view framework for understanding language policy in multilingual societies. Languages, according to this view, are seen as a resource, as a right, and/or as a problem. Recent scholars such as Colin Baker (2011) and others have developed and elaborated on this theoretical framework. In this chapter, this framework is used to interpret the respondents' views of the use of Swahili in Tanzanian society and schools.

Swahili Language as Resource

Swahili as a Resource at Home

Interviewer: *What language or languages did you use at home?*

Beltina: *Oh, Swahili mostly or Chagga.*

Interviewer: *And, why?*

Beltina: *That is the language used!*

Swahili language is regarded by many Tanzanians as a resource that helps families communicate easily at home. Respondents in this study repeatedly indicated that

Swahili was the main language of communication at home and with other people who surrounded the respondents' families. The primary exception to Swahili language use at home seems to be occasions where tribal languages are used.

The interview excerpts below reflect the different purposes students felt the use of Swahili at home served. Even when they were required to attend English-only secondary schools, and other members of their family spoke English, the use of Swahili was returned to repeatedly, as Elia explains:

I was in boarding school. ... but when I went home for holidays the language was Swahili. In form three and four, I was in day school and the language mainly at home was Swahili. ... I was blessed to have an educated family, though we don't speak English at home because we didn't like to do that. (Elia)

In Tanzania, secondary schools are either boarding schools or day schools. Presumably, students attending the former are likely to use less or no Swahili language in the school environment. It is assumed that students attending day schools meet and interact with Swahili speakers more than do students attending boarding schools. This does not suggest that boarding students are necessarily more fluent in the English language than those attending day schools. But rather, it highlights that the English-only policy is reinforced to students and is more applicable or more practical in boarding schools where students have no contact with their families and neighbors, than in day schools where students attend school while living with their parents and families at home. From my experience as a student, day school life allows students to be with their families and surrounding people for roughly a half day after school.

In Elia's case, this situation controlled in some ways the choice of language to be used within and around his family. In the above quote, Elia makes it clear that the use of Swahili was the norm at his home whether he was at a day school or a boarding school. This was so despite the fact that his parents spoke English. By pointing out that earlier he had attended a boarding school in forms 1 and 2, he was emphasizing the fact that there was limited or no use of Swahili in that school setting. In other parts of Elia's and my extended interview conversations, Elia explains that most of his friends and neighbors in his village did not attend secondary school education. So, the only accessible language for everyone around his home was Swahili. For a person who respects and loves his home community like Elia, it was vital to maintain the Swahili-only means of communication whenever he encountered such people.

The last part of Elia's quote identifies him as belonging to a typical middle class and educated family who made sure to speak Swahili at home, even though they were fluent in English. Some educated Tanzanian families may choose to speak English around their family, to increase English fluency or for other reasons. Elia's family chose not to use English because, he says, they did not like it. Elia suggested that his family did not like to create an impression that they were so much different from other people near them who did not receive formal education in the English language.

Sometimes the use of Swahili was framed more as a practical necessity, because that was what most people in the setting understood. Fred, for example, remarked:

At ma home we use Swahili. Because, everybody was actually, he was able to communicate using Swahili. ...The surrounding people, they speak Swahili. That's only the language we can communicate. (Fred)

In this quote Fred suggests that Swahili is a resource to communicate with everyone around home. His comment suggests that the use of English would otherwise isolate some or many people in a group, family or a place in which they lived where the majority language was Swahili. Fred in particular says that not only did everyone at his home use Swahili to communicate, but also it was the only language that all knew well and felt comfortable to use.

Maria, who attended an English-only instruction primary school as well as a secondary boarding school and is consequently very fluent in English, also described the predominant use of Swahili at her home. Although she developed English fluency in her schools, her family and the people around her family do not speak English. When I asked Maria why she and others in her family used Swahili language while at home, during her four years of secondary school, Maria replied:

Because at home my parents speak Swahili mostly, especially my mom. And my aunties, they all spoke Swahili. Most of them didn't learn English.

Basically, we speak Swahili, that's our language. (Maria)

According to Maria's comment above, it seems that if she had tried to converse in English at home, she would have had no English speakers with which to converse, in addition to being isolated as everyone around spoke Swahili. Had she done so, Maria might have been seen as isolating those who did not speak English, the language that she knew from school. One of her interesting comments (not in the text above) was that she was happy to speak Swahili at home because she knew it also. It was a pleasure for her as well as a necessity for communication.

Selina, another respondent, also indicated that the lack of English fluency among family, relatives, and surrounding people necessitated the use of Swahili more than other languages. She had the privilege of attending a very good English medium secondary school in Uganda. Selina remembered the experience of returning home for holidays in Tanzania:

At home, we spoke Swahili ... that was the language spoken by everyone – my parents, my sisters, my relatives, my neighbors, my friends. ...but my parents sometimes would communicate in Sukuma language. (Selina)

Selina like many other respondents experienced more use of Swahili than any other language around home. Her reference to her parents' use of their tribal language is significant here. She reports that her parents were fluent in their ethnic language as well. However, for Selina and her siblings, Sukuma would not work because the kids (Selina and her siblings) did not speak this tribal language. On the other hand, English was not a family choice because the parents did not speak it. Swahili was the language used in the family not only because family members hadn't learned English, but also because younger family members had not been taught Sukuma.

This observation recurred repeatedly. Swahili became the preferred alternative to English to preserve connection and solidarity in a family and community, in part because English was not mastered by most, but also because specific tribal languages were not known by children or were not widely known in multi-ethnic communities. Damas, another respondent, similarly reported how Swahili was an alternative way of affirming solidarity, alternative to both English and tribal languages that were not consistently available in the increasingly multi-ethnic communities of Tanzania. In his case, Swahili

was a resource for establishing connection with neighbors, but not within his own family, where the tribal language was preferred.

To be around your friends and family, you have to use tribal language.

There are people who come to our house speaking Swahili too. So, if you start speaking English, you are making another group ... my mom, my little cousins, they didn't speak English. Swahili was only for speaking with other families. But around our family, we just speak

Kihehe. (Damas)

Damas here reminds the reader that a typical Tanzanian student or family is likely to have access to one, two, or three of the following languages: a tribal language mostly at family level, Swahili language typically beyond family level, or English in a few specified domains of use. The question of which language to use at home and with surrounding neighbors, in the case of students such as Damas is not largely a legal matter. It is rather what has unconsciously become the family and community's wisdom of maintaining unity and solidarity through the use of a common language – either through the tribal language or Swahili.

Damas clearly states that he and his family, and friends used their tribal language. However, there are times when friends and families from outside Damas's family come to his house speaking Swahili. That is the time he would switch to Swahili. The last point Damas makes in his quote is that using Swahili in his family and with his neighbors is about inclusion. His mom and sisters did not attend formal education in English instruction. In addition, his neighbors as well used Swahili always, probably for the same reason of having no formal education in English like Damas's mom and sisters.

Damas suggests that using Swahili united everyone in his family and neighbors in terms of communication. Doing the opposite according to Damas's comment, such as using English language while some family and friends do not know the language would have created a communication barrier and unnecessary division in his family and community. Instead, Damas sees it as an obvious responsibility to maintain the common language known and used by everyone in his family and the surroundings.

Damas had access to a community where many people spoke his tribal language. But in urban centers, this was often not the case. Some families grew up in cities where lack of a language community led to intergenerational loss of their ancestor's tribal language. In these cases they still had access to the national language – Swahili as a way to build community and solidarity. While the loss of tribal languages is significant, the availability of Swahili enables those who receive secondary education in the English language avoid the problem of disconnecting from their family and the day-to-day life with the people they have known and shared many things with for a long time. One respondent, Bupe, described such a circumstance:

My parents used to speak Nyakyusa language at home. We [kids] heard the language but could not speak it as fluently as they used to speak. So, but I can hear how people talk, but ...I'm not very good at. I can speak Swahili only. (Bupe)

Bupe was one of the many first generation kids born in cities, who almost or completely have lost their parents' ethnic language. They grow up in cities among kids from other ethnic groups, who similarly have lost their parents' ethnic languages. The common language for all these children from different ethnicities becomes Swahili.

Assuming that parents of all the different ethnicities raised their children and taught them their respective tribal languages well, still the children from the different tribal backgrounds would need a common language for communication when they meet. Second, Bupe says that she and her siblings were able to understand *Nyakyusa* (their parents' language) although the kids were not able to speak it. Here her comment suggests two things: i) Her parents did not get enough time to teach or speak *Nyakyusa* with Bupe and her siblings. ii) Although the kids were unable to speak the tribal language, their parents, extended family, and probably the people of their tribe surrounding Bupe's family spoke Swahili as well as *Nyakyusa*, but not necessarily English. Swahili was the only language through which the children could build connections with their parents, relatives, and neighbors. It was the language that allowed children to learn from their elders, or receive the kind of support, love, and wisdom previous generations have to offer children. As a result, the children spoke more Swahili at home and less of their tribal languages and less English, at times reducing fluency in both of those.

The reasons to use Swahili were often framed not just in terms of necessity, but also as a form of pleasure or as a desirable expression of community and family solidarity. Denis came from a family that was trilingual, and made clear that his comfort was found in his tribal language and Swahili.

When I went home for holidays, it was Swahili and Ngoni language.

My family is from Mbinga, but the language that's spoken there is

Ngoni. That's the language spoken at home. We spoke also Swahili.

Occasionally, I would speak English with my sisters or my friends, but

that was very rare. ... There's no way I could use English. I was more comfortable with using Swahili or Ngoni. (Denis)

When looked at closely, Denis's quote implies that he attended a boarding secondary school, in which he would stay in school for the whole year, with short breaks or holidays in between the academic terms when he visited his family and community. He indicated that during holidays the language that is typically known or used in his village was *Ngoni* language. However, it was used alongside Swahili. Even though *Ngoni* was the village language, not all in the village spoke or understood *Ngoni* language. Denis's community was not an exception to the frequent migration and relocation of tribes from other places. This means that new tribes joining to live with Denis's community may not speak or understand Denis's tribal language. That is not a big problem because the new tribes and Denis's already use Swahili as a national language and will switch from their tribal languages to Swahili, a more unifying language than the more elitist English language to which fewer people have access to, as needed.

In a continuum of the most spoken language to the least spoken in Denis's home and community, he says that English was rarely used. Perhaps his sisters who also attended formal education in the English language would occasionally use English with him. However, what is clearly pointed out here is that it was abnormal for him to use English at home. One reason is that his community largely used Swahili and his tribal language. But the other reason Denis adds is that Swahili or tribal languages were the only ones that made him feel comfortable. He identified with the language and it felt natural, unlike English. Denis grouped his tribal language with Swahili and contrasted it to English.

Habiba expressed a similar feeling of pleasure and connection to the Swahili language, which she reported using most frequently at home.

At home we mostly used Swahili because that was like a national language, the language of communication everywhere in Tanzania. I grew up speaking Swahili and it is the language that makes me comfortable to express myself. And it's the language that my parents use at home. So the first language that comes out of my mouth or my parents' is Swahili, obviously. (Habiba)

Here Habiba offers a nationalistic rationale for her preference for Swahili. She is embedding her language usage and the idea of nationhood when she says it is a national language, and it is spoken everywhere. This might suggest that by using Swahili she believes that every family does or should do so simply because it supports a certain national identity. Secondly, she reflects about her own feelings when using Swahili. She says it made her comfortable to express herself. Habiba reports that it felt natural and that the first language that came out through her mouth was Swahili, and anything else was a departure from this default.

No respondent in this study reported that it was required or they were forced by family or community to speak Swahili. Choice to join others in speaking Swahili suggests the motivation was to establish or preserve connections with family and surrounding communities as a whole. Overall, all of the respondents' comments show that their families interacted or communicated in Swahili mostly with neighbors and entire communities around where the participants lived. Since the communities within which they lived in Tanzania are comprised of different tribes and languages, Swahili became a uniting language between families and within families in a way that English

could not and Tribal languages could not. In this way, Swahili functions as an important resource in Tanzanian society and culture.

Scholarly Views on Code Switching, Its Purposes, and Conditions

As was just explained, participants in this study frequently mentioned shifting or changing from one language to another for various reasons. The shift often happened with changes in setting. This is not a novel phenomenon. Many scholars, especially in linguistics, have documented similar behavior and often refer to it as “code switching” or “code mixing”.

Younas et al (2014) note that there are scholars who attempt to distinguish code switching and code mixing, while there are those who treat the two concepts as part of the same linguistic performance. For the purpose of simplicity in this study, I will use the terms to refer to one phenomenon. According to Carol Mayers-Scotton (1990) and Yip Cheng (2003), code switching is a phenomenon by which a speaker shifts from one language or dialect to the other during conversations. This may happen in two ways as: i) inter-sentential where switching occurs from one language to the other between sentences; or ii) intra-sentential where switching occurs within a single sentence. The process of switching can be at word or higher level of utterance such as phrase, sentence, or larger units of discourse. Mayers-Scotton in particular uses examples from interview material collected from speakers of both Swahili and English in the city of Nairobi, Kenya.

This literature documents that code switching happens for a wide variety of reasons. For example, it can happen at a change of topics during conversations, such as

an interviewee answering a question about street life in Swahili and then switching to English to answer questions about his job. Mayers-Stott suggests that switching to English occurred when the interviewee wanted to associate the work he does and its dominant language that is often used in that job. At other times, the code switching functions as what is known as a 'we-code' to create or emphasize a conversational connection between the speaker and other participants (Gumperz, 1982; Yip Cheng, 2003). Additionally there are practical usages, such as appealing to conversation partners with different levels of fluency, to convey messages easily, to negotiate with greater or lower authority, to close the status gap between the speaker and participants, to capture more attention, to reiterate a point, and to identify with a particular group, among other desired situations (Halliday, 1975, as quoted in Yip Cheng, 2003).

Code switching occurs only under certain conditions. Yip Cheng (2003) argues that it requires certain favorable conditions or environment to allow for code switching or code mixing to happen. The conditions include lack of words to express something in either language, some activities being experienced only in one language, having misunderstanding that require clarifications, and a wish to include or exclude someone in a dialogue. As a researcher, in this study I might call these conditions immediate factors for code switching.

In this study, respondents reported switching mainly from English language while at school to Swahili language while at home, or at home when in the presence of different persons. The participants' code switching in the current study indicates two kinds of shift in language usage. First, there is a shift in code or language usage due to change in environment and conversation participants such as at school where teachers and students

use or are primarily required to use English. The other setting is home where students use Swahili and tribal languages with their families and neighbors. Secondly, school and home setting might suggest that participants in this study switched from one code to another due to changes in subjects or topics of conversations. For example, students might be required (or forced) to use English while learning academic subjects or speaking to their teachers at school. English is the daily language that is encouraged for conversations at school. In contrast, the students might find a need to use Swahili or tribal languages only while at home because most of the participants in conversations did not have education in the English language in school. The topics of discussion at home might be more habitually associated with Swahili or tribal languages. Mayers-Scotton (1990) pointed out earlier an example of the person in Nairobi, Kenya who switched from Swahili to English to answer questions that related to his official job whose communication was English.

The modulation of language choices for the respondents in this study does not necessarily fit the strict definitions of intra-sentence code switching. However, like code switching and code mixing, respondents described their language shifts as happening for a purpose. The ability to speak Swahili was a resource for fulfilling important communication and relationship building purposes.

In the previous section, respondents shared examples or situations in which Swahili was seen as a resource at home. The next part consists of various examples of how Swahili may be seen as a resource in school settings. I start with two respondents descriptions of relating their experiences in secondary school environments.

Swahili as Resource in Secondary School Setting That Facilitates Student Learning

Some of the respondents in this study viewed Swahili as a resource that helps students to communicate messages more clearly at school. Among other respondents, Bahati and Maria found that Swahili was very useful for both academic matters and non-academic matters at school. This supposes that Swahili language was useful inside the classroom when students learned academic subjects as well as outside when they engaged with non-academic work. Bahati categorized students from her secondary school in two groups: a) those who already had the English language foundation from primary schools, and n) those who did not have the foundation or did not understand English well. The latter students came from Swahili speaking primary schools. They reported that the latter group found it extremely hard to learn through the English language.

Many respondents reported that Swahili served unofficially as an alternative language to make learning easy. Swahili was never the language allowed officially for teaching and learning and general communication in any of the secondary schools. The language was permitted nationwide in all secondary schools only when students learned about it as a subject. Teachers and students, however, unofficially used the language to make teaching and learning easier. This was so helpful, that one respondent suggests that learning would be easy if students were allowed to use Swahili especially in learning secondary school subjects. Two respondents demonstrate this as follows:

Well, the other language that was forbidden was Kiswahili. We learned Swahili as a subject only. And so we did speak Kiswahili sometimes because it was easier to make sense. ... when you are trying to learn a new language, ... to speak to someone you don't know. (Bahati)

You feel isolated. ... like you don't get it, especially when you are with students from international English medium primary schools. So you find inventive ways of speaking Swahili: you pass a note in Swahili, ... and they reply in English in a note form. So, you didn't speak Swahili. Or, outside the school on Saturdays, we cheated by speaking Swahili. And that's the way we coped. (Bahati)

I think, if they use Swahili, it might be a little bit easier when it comes to learning. (Maria)

From Bahati's quotes above, it is evident that Swahili was prohibited as a means of communication. Besides the restriction, it seems that students used it anyways. If the students did not comply with the English-only rule, this might suggest that they started a form of passive resistance to the English-only means of communication. What Bahati refers to as "inventive ways of speaking Swahili" may simply be interpreted as secret communications in Swahili to avoid being caught by teachers. The use of Swahili was almost obvious outside the classrooms and on a weekend days. Between students who had poor or no English foundation and those who were already fluent, Bahati seems to have been one of the less fluent students in English. In the last line of Maria's comment, Maria suggests that if "they" [schools and teachers] use Swahili, learning might be easier than when the schools and particularly teachers use English only.

Bahati and Kalistus shared a second example that illustrated how Swahili is seen as resource. The participants attended different secondary schools but reflected a similar experience. They commented that Swahili language is a resource when schools partially implement the English-only policy. In the literature review section, it was found that

mandatory English instruction is Tanzania government's decision. All secondary schools, private and public are required by law to implement the policy. However, school principals, subject matter teachers, and students are the immediate actors in the school environment who may decide to implement the policy with varying degrees of strictness. Respondents in this study reported that one or more of those actors in their schools decided to implement a less strict version of the policy, usually with the intent that students with less competency in English could still benefit from their learning experiences. These educators used both English and Swahili language, adjusting according to what teachers or students felt more familiar and comfortable using in a given situation. Following below are parts of my conversations with Bahati and Kalistus:

Interviewer: *Now, did you ever wish that you attended at a different school?*

Bahati: *Um, my sister went to a different school. It seemed easier there because the only part they were required to speak English was inside the classroom. They were not required to speak English outside the class. So, I thought me being in a different school would relieve the pressure of speaking English all the time. For my sister, they could speak Swahili outside, or if you do not understand English in the class, you could speak Swahili, but your work [written assignment] has to be in English. Not in my school!*

The above conversation indicates that there were the different rules about English language usage in different schools. This lack of strict fidelity to the state law came with some risk. Generally, all secondary schools in Tanzania are required by law to implement the English-only language of instruction for all subjects (except Swahili subject and other foreign languages, if individual schools choose to include one in their

curriculum.) The important thing here is the fact that the use of Swahili, an unofficial language of instruction became a school's choice even without permission from the government. This is true too in terms of actual implementation of the English-only use in school. On the one hand, Bahati's school had rigid rules that did not allow the usage of language(s) other than English, a rule she did not see as being helpful to her and her fellow students who struggled with the English language. On the other hand, some schools were flexible and (unofficially) allowed Swahili to be used along with English. Her sister's school was one example of this. Bahati preferred her sister's public school use of both English and Swahili [unofficially], rather than her private school where students used Swahili only rarely and covertly in 'inventive ways.'

In the next quote, Kalistus shows that teachers made the subject matter easier when they switched from English to Swahili to clarify concepts that are contextually more familiar in Swahili than in English.

Interviewer: *Okay. Did teachers ever explain things in Swahili during history class?*

Kalistus: *They did a little bit whenever they wanna say like "clan", "archives", "oral tradition" they said it in Swahili and English so you can at least understand what that means.*

Here the teachers privileged the goal of making sure that the students understood the content. Some words do not translate easily into English, so the Swahili term was used. When a History teacher finds that many students do not understand English, he or she might use Swahili, which is familiar to the majority students in the class. Bupe pointed out that secondary schools did not teach much new History curriculum in secondary

school. The topics were similar to that taught in primary school, albeit with a developmentally appropriate treatment. For her, English was probably the newest thing to learn. For that matter, although the concepts taught in History subject were familiar, seemed new when uttered in English. Kalistus, on the other hand, seems to have benefitted from hearing those concepts in Swahili rather than in the English language. In this way, Swahili served as a resource for learning subject matter content in secondary schools, even when used surreptitiously.

Swahili Taught as a Subject

Swahili is taught as a subject in most Tanzanian secondary schools. These classes helped students understand the system of the language, how its rules work, and expanded their vocabulary. Many respondents in this study for whom Swahili was their dominant language experienced such classes as a respite from having to speak an unfamiliar language all the time. For example Damas recalled:

When you start secondary school, most classes were in English and only Swahili class was in Swahili. Swahili class was a great opportunity where I could express myself. (Damas)

Even students who went to schools where Swahili restrictions were relaxed recalled Swahili class as the place they had the most opportunity to use their primary language. I asked Aisha, who attended a private secondary school, whether students were discouraged to use other languages, particularly Swahili. Aisha replied as follows:

I don't remember them [teachers] discouraging necessarily. We would speak in any language at school depending on which group you were hanging out

with. In the classroom though, the only time we spoke Swahili was when we took Swahili as a subject. (Aisha)

Swahili was clearly a resource in a class on the Swahili language. Discussions of these classes, and the positive experience many students had in the class, inspired speculation about why Swahili couldn't be used as a language of instruction for other classes. One barrier to such instruction was the fact that almost all teachers were trained in English only schools and were often dominant English speakers. A shift from teaching in English to teaching in Swahili in Tanzanian secondary schools would require sending all the teachers, except Swahili language teachers, back for Swahili language training. The presence of Swahili language teachers, however, constituted an example of the plausibility of such bilingual schooling. Salome, in the quote below implies that secondary schools only need to train more Swahili teachers. When switching to Swahili as a language of instruction or bilingual education that includes Swahili, there is a place to begin the implementation.

Yeah, that is a problem. Maybe the government should train more graduates specializing in Swahili or train them in Swahili for specific subjects like Math. If students learn in Swahili, they will like it. They will understand the subjects in school. But it is very difficult to change from English because many teachers were trained in English. Maybe they [government] can think about this. (Salome)

Salome suggests that it is easier to learn in Swahili than English. Besides that, She sees the beginning point for the implementation of Swahili instruction as the presence of language teachers that secondary schools already have. This is why Salome

urges the government to train more Swahili teachers, as they would be an important resource in establishing truly bilingual secondary education in Tanzanian schools. Furthermore, in her belief she implies that the government has a responsibility not only to provide education to the students, but also to invest in teacher programs with focus on using Swahili language in a couple of subjects. Salome does not seem to completely ignore the value of English instruction in the quote above. The implication is that, she believes the two languages could be used side by side.

In the next section we hear about students using Swahili as a resource at school, mostly outside the classroom, where they met people who did not speak English.

Swahili as Resource for Communicating With Non-English Speakers

Sometimes this communication happened at school with nonacademic staff workers who always used Swahili whether or not they knew English. Respondents Rita, Aisha, and Ali, among others, recounted the way Swahili was a resource for communicating and connecting well with nonacademic staff workers at school:

Interviewer: Do you have examples of moments when you used Swahili with other people than your teachers and fellow students in school?

Rita: Oh yeah. I can say those, because I can't communicate with a shopkeeper in English at school. No! Because they don't speak the English language.

Aisha: But then we go to the garden - at the garden we would speak Swahili.

Interviewer: Why?

Aisha: I don't know! I think the people [non students] who were attending the farm spoke Swahili. So, we [students] spoke Swahili.

In the quotes above, Rita and Aisha indicate that Swahili was the main language of communication outside the classroom in school with specific people such as shopkeepers and farm or garden workers. Sometimes those workers spoke no English. At other times, they may speak English, but the norms of their profession involve speaking Swahili. In the literature review on code switching it was mentioned that Mayers-Scotton (1990) demonstrated that people sometimes code switched from Swahili to English because English was associated with their job. Here, Rita and Aisha are reporting on a converse example. The non-teachers using Swahili with students because non-teachers do not require English in their daily work. The two factors necessitating the use of Swahili are: (1) who the students are conversing with and, (2) the setting where conversation takes place.

Similarly, in the quote below, Ali shows the kind of communication that often dictates the use of Swahili-only as a norm in places similar to those many people know such as farmers market and those with vendors supplying items such as clothes and general home utilities in open spaces. Ali said this:

Most of the time people in the market or shop spoke Swahili.... I think most of the people working in those places completed only standard seven [had no secondary education]. As you know back home, their teaching language is Swahili. So, most of them know only Swahili, because English was just a subject in primary school. (Ali)

Ali, as seen above adds market places as another setting where students would switch from English to Swahili. This is typical in most schools of Tanzania when students go out of classes to buy stuff in school shops, restaurants, and the like. Ali suggests also why that happens. It is due to Swahili users' education only up to a level lower than secondary education. Most of the people working in those places had no opportunity to attend secondary school education, where students are taught in English.

Other respondents pointed out that in secondary school, they spoke Swahili during lab activities with lab technicians before and during experiments. Teachers, as a norm seemed to be stricter than lab technicians by encouraging students to use English. Respondents argued that labs were regarded in the same way as classroom learning. But respondents reported that lab technicians were not there to implement the English speaking policy. Instead, the most important work for them was making sure the lab was clean, and ensured necessary supplies were available for carrying out experimentations. One might believe that lab technicians' particular concern was to make sure students understood and followed safety procedures in the lab, and therefore used Swahili to make sure the safety procedures were understood.

Swahili as Resource for Bilingual Education

In this part, I noted that respondents suggest or rather indicate the need for Swahili to be used within and around the school setting for education and non-education purposes. Colin Baker (2011) describes this phenomenon as bilingual education. This kind of education allows two languages to be used in education: one is the learners' first language, in this case Swahili. This form of education would focus more specifically on

aspects such as code switching in instruction and communicating concepts in multiple languages to ensure comprehension. Respondents Salome and Damas, demonstrate how bilingual education can be done and why:

First, Swahili, and occasionally tribal languages, are a resource for code switching in the school setting, outside academic purposes. Swahili is the language understood by the majority of the students from home. Salome proposes an addition of Swahili besides the English language. She remembered her teachers switching from English to Swahili occasionally to help students understand difficult or new concepts. She thinks teachers know well when it might be the right time to code switch. However, her suggestions are followed by skepticism because she is not sure the government or other stakeholders are going to allow changes to happen soon. Here are Salome's views:

Salome: I would really like to see Swahili being used. ... and sometimes I don't think so.

Interviewer: What do you mean by that. Can you elaborate more please?

Salome: Can we use English all the time? Noooo... no no! But it is my opinion. Teachers know if we understand the subject or not. They decide, now I will use Swahili to explain! You see, and every student is happy. May be not all students. But it helped me."

First off, in the comment above Salome advocates for the use of Swahili in teaching in secondary schools. In addition to that, she clearly highlights important considerations that were used by her teachers to determine about code switching. Considerations such as when it was particularly necessary to code switch, and which students would benefit from that. She was one of the students who benefited from code

switching between English and Swahili. But, she is not quite sure whether everyone benefited at the same time she did and in the same way. Her opinion suggests that all these considerations are best known or predictable by teachers rather than the learners. Here Salome brings the question of whether code switching may take place due to the teacher's desire to eliminate the communication barrier that would result from the difficulty of English language, or it is just the teacher's personal problem of fluency in the English language.

In the second example below, Salome shows that Swahili is a resource when used along with English as it relieves students' anxiety of using English, especially when their teachers require students to answer questions orally in the classroom.

I did not like to speak English although I understand what the teacher said....

I didn't like because I can explain it in Swahili better. Many students knew how to write English sentences more than speaking. ... I can speak in Swahili.

(Salome)

Almost all respondents expressed the concern shared by Salome in her comment above. Respondents either felt it was a problem they faced during secondary school classroom learning, or it was their fellow students who faced the problem. The main issue here seems to be that schools emphasize, teach, and evaluate the English language proficiency in written form mostly. When it comes to speaking, the vast majority of Tanzanian students are unable to speak English or they become nervous, because they never had adequate practice to speak the language. Salome claims this problem led to her dislike of the English language. She instead liked Swahili, in which she was fluent, and could better express herself.

Similarly, Damas shows below that bilingualism in education is helpful in another way. Swahili is a resource to communicate with foreigners when they come to work with students in Tanzanian secondary schools. Foreigners learn Swahili because the secondary students do not know English well. This factor is related to the previous that was about lack of oral fluency for the students in secondary schools. Damas comments below that, students in secondary schools should not stress about using English, if it is too difficult for them. He gives an example of the Japanese coming to Tanzania and learning Swahili when they know that many Tanzanian secondary school students are not fluent in the English language. Damas' notion encourages students to take advantage of this solution taken by the Japanese who visit especially secondary schools in Tanzania. After all, it does not cost Tanzanian government anything or students who already speak the Swahili language fluently. This is what Damas believes:

Actually, it is good to use English and having Swahili at the same time. Look at the Japanese. When they came to teach us, they spoke English and knew Japanese. The Japanese had to learn our Swahili sometimes because we didn't know English well. (Damas)

Perhaps Damas sees possibilities in making Swahili a more important language for the rest of the world to learn. One can see this possibility from languages that have attracted people of other nations, beyond its original or native speakers of those languages, such as English, French, Chinese, Arabic, and more that are learned by many nations around the world.

One thing Tanzania might need to consider is how and where people from other nations are going to learn Swahili before they can work in secondary schools of

Tanzania. It might be anticipated that once people such as the Japanese or other nations go back to their home countries, they might attract more people in their countries to learn Swahili.

Multilingualism (Including Swahili) as Resource

The following dialogue below brings ideas about the need for an extensive multilingual education, if Tanzania can afford it. According to respondents Denis and Elia, the issue of language and education in Tanzania should not be a debate about whether Swahili, or English, or tribal languages should be used in secondary school. Rather, the main focus according to Denis should be to include Swahili and more foreign languages besides English. Elia would like more languages than English to be used in schools. But those languages should be Swahili in urban schools and tribal languages in rural or countryside secondary schools besides the current English language instruction. Following were Denis' and Elia's beliefs and suggestions when I asked them which language(s) should be used to teach in secondary schools and how the learning would be different from the present policy of monolingual instruction:

Interviewer: If a different language(s) could be used in secondary school, what would that language(s) be? How would students' learning be different?

Denis: This is how I would think about language program: two languages obligatory, English and Swahili, and they have to be taught well. ... I want Swahili to replace English in many functions that are officially designated for English ... But I don't mean English should be eliminated.... You Marko and I have taught Swahili in this country [USA]. ... We teach the language that is

used in the classroom only, and after 2 years are able to make students able to speak it. The students we have in Tanzania take English for 9 years and are unable to make a sentence. So, it's a problem of designing a curriculum and how we execute it. We are not investing enough in education; we are not investing enough in teaching the languages... but I want also several optional languages to be taught much more broadly than now—French, Portuguese, Arabic ... Chinese, Japanese, should be there!

On the same view about multilingual instruction, Elia had this to say:

Obviously the language to be used could be Swahili because it is the language of the majority unlike the tribal languages. In the urban schools they could use only Swahili and in the rural schools, they could use both Swahili and tribal languages. (Elia)

Denis (in the first quote above) believes that in the current globalized world, learning as many languages as possible should be a requirement. He begins by prioritizing the two languages, English and Swahili. He wants these to be mandatory in some form of bilingual education. Besides those two languages, he urges that students in secondary school need more foreign languages in addition to the English language so that students have a wider choice of languages from around the world.

Besides adding Swahili to the current monolingual instruction through English, Denis believes implementing it should go along with policy change so that Swahili usage in various domains is mandated through enactment of new policy statements. He is equally convinced that there is a problem with English language education in secondary schools. To support his argument he cited examples of Swahili teaching in the US, where

students become fluent within a shorter period of time relatively. He speculates that this may be a problem of inadequate funding of language programs. Finally, both Denis and Elia believe that an alternative education program should be bilingual that includes at least Swahili and English. Elia suggests that Swahili could be used in urban secondary schools while countryside schools could use both Swahili and a tribal language while each school maintains the English language instruction.

A final example of respondents advocating multilingualism in secondary education in Tanzania came from Beltina as follows:

Sometimes we were mixing English with Swahili or local languages. Like, if I know someone from my area, I'd sneak to speak my tribal language, but you could be punished. When I went to church I met people who didn't speak English. So I spoke to them in Swahili or the tribal language. (Beltina)

When Beltina mentions 3 languages in her comment that implies her bilingual ideas she had previously pointed out. She continues to explain the purposes and uses of each language, giving an example of her use of a tribal language if she knew the other speaker spoke Beltina's language, when she went to church [as a boarding student] she spoke either Swahili or tribal language to the people she met. Her difference from Denis, the previous participant is that Beltina proposes two local languages and one foreign language (English), while Denis suggests English, Swahili, and more foreign languages to allow a variety for students to choose. He does not include tribal language in his ideal conception of education.

After all examples of how Swahili is resource at home and resource at school, the last group of examples relates Swahili to the benefits for the nation as a whole.

Swahili as Resource That Should Be Preserved Along With Tribal Languages for Cultural Identification, as a Symbol of Unity, the Language of Freedom, and Pride of the Tanzanian People

Respondents saw many ways that Swahili and sometimes, tribal languages benefitted the nation as a whole. Referencing their learning experience, many suggested that Swahili and other local languages would enable many aspects of the community to stay alive and help stabilize social relations. In other words Swahili and other indigenous languages were resources that kept people connected as well as enabled effective and clear communication across economic classes. These languages might be a means of expression of a liberated people who strive to build a society free from influences of both the old colonialism and neocolonialism. We can see this in the Joshua's quote:

From a political point of view Swahili unified the country, you are comfortable when travelling to different parts of Tanzania But what I'm saying as a person who studies, who researches local traditions and culture and folklore, I know there's a big loss, and I'm not alone. The loss of languages is a big problem in the world. The death of languages, it is a big issue globally. I'm a part of a big community of scholars globally.... It's like the ecological system. If you lose one species, it destabilizes the whole ecosystem. (Joshua)

Additionally, in the above quote Joshua identifies what he believes to be reasons to maintain, protect and use Swahili and local languages of Tanzania such as Hehe, Sukuma, Ngoni, Gogo, Nyakyusa, Ndali, Fipa, just to name a few. These languages contribute unity and a pluralistic identity for the country—he sees strength in the

diversity of languages. Unfortunately, Joshua believes that many African languages face impending death. Joshua is not a typical respondent. Nonetheless, it is interesting to hear from scholars such as him who specialize in the study of language, and who otherwise might have good reasons to neglect indigenous languages due to the influence of their English language instruction in school.

Parallel to the view that Joshua articulated about cultural identification, unity, and pride for a language of freedom, Kalistus and Aisha below argue that Swahili language is a resource that helps the many ethnic groups of Tanzania to have a common aspect of cultural identity and helped the nation win its independence and peace in early 1960s. When I asked Kalistus why he thought Swahili would be more effective if used in education, he answered as follows:

The advantage of using Swahili language in secondary schools is communication in the country.... So, if we did not have that, I believe we wouldn't have independence without fighting [in the 1960s].... I go to Tanzania, at least every other year 'cause I don't wanna lose my culture.... It is a very good thing to understand the background and structure that we grew up in learning.... It is also important to try to understand our religion and our culture instead of trying to understand someone else's. (Kalistus)

Kalistus points out that communication is possible among the people of Tanzania because they all use one common language. This communication has practical and significant political implications. Kalistus suggests that without Swahili it would have been hard or utterly impossible for the over 120 ethnicities of Tanzania to organize with one another in the pursuit of independence. Kalistus credited the unifying language of

Swahili as an important enabling condition of the peaceful achievement of political independence in the 1960s without subsequent inter-tribal conflicts (conflicts of the sort that were evident in many African countries that used different tribal languages.) He believes that the Swahili language identifies Tanzanians as one people unlike tribal languages or English that may not be understood by the entire nation. Finally, Kalistus notes that African traditional religions as something that Tanzanians can learn through Swahili better than English.

Another respondent, Aisha suggested Swahili should be an alternate language or one of the official languages for instruction in secondary schools for national advantages:

It's unfortunate, because if you think of the colonial history, we shouldn't be so fond of the English language in our schools. We should be embracing and promoting Swahili language, but which is not the case, unfortunately! (Aisha)

Looking at Kalistus' and Aisha's comments above, it is likely that they are integrating their own language policy experience in secondary school as well as what they learned about that policy in school. Kalistus went on to say that he believes that every region of Tanzania might want to have their ethnic language as the means of instruction. On the other hand, he decided that he would pick Swahili as the uniting language. For unity, he therefore he urges Swahili to be used in secondary school for all Tanzanians. He adds that Swahili language makes Tanzanians look more humble than when the same people use English. Kalistus said English speakers present themselves or appear as educated people whenever they use it. And that is a bad thing according to him. I understood this, not as disparaging education, but as conferring unwarranted status simply because someone speaks English, a mystifying effect of colonialism. Echoing

scholars such as Wa-Thiong'o (2009), Kalistus articulates the idea that people learn in the language they speak better than the language they do not know. On that belief, he suggests that Tanzanians would have a more meaningful education, if they begin to learn about their own culture rather than trying to understand the English language and its culture first.

In a nutshell, Aisha's comments might remind Tanzanians that they should look at the English language with a critical eye. The British colonizers used the English language to alienate Tanzanians from languages such as Swahili and other local languages. Then, the British introduced to the Tanzanians valuing whatever was European, particularly the English language first.

Finally, there is a factor related to issues of unity, identity and all advantages of using Swahili instead of English. Respondents believed that there is more allocation of resources and commitment to teaching English in the urban areas of Tanzania than in the countryside. This is not good for a nation that once after independence worked so hard to bring its people together as a country. On that, Habiba advocates for Swahili as a resource for national advantage, especially in the countryside areas where English is not spoken. Students attending secondary schools in those areas gain nothing or less from the English language instruction compared to the students living in urban areas. Now, if Swahili is not deliberately promoted, the students in villages are likely to lose or gain nothing from either the Swahili or English languages. Here is what she said:

We should not leave our own language—Swahili. But at the same time, if we use English, let's use it to the fullest. I feel that people in the rural areas have

not been considered on how they can succeed through the English language.

(Habiba)

Habiba raises a concern about partial achievements seen in schools from the foreign language used in secondary schools. There has been no serious or adequate commitment to teaching the English language nationally. I believe she is reflecting that schools in urban areas might have a good number of fluent teachers in the language, enough books, good classrooms, and are probably exposed to both the electronic and print media such as TV and newspapers.

Swahili as Resource That Students Like and Are Proud Of, Even If They Are Fluent in a Foreign Language

Related to the same reasons of unity, cultural identity and pride for Tanzanians, there are students who might seem to prioritize Swahili language even when they are fluent in the English language. Salome makes this clear in her comments below about the importance of learning the English language while maintaining Swahili at the same time. Learning the foreign language to her does not mean Tanzanians should either forget or replace their indigenous language(s). She encourages every Tanzanian to love and be proud of their language such as Swahili as follows:

Salome: I studied high school in Uganda. But I like to use Swahili although Uganda is better in English usage than Tanzania.

Interviewer: So you are saying that you are comfortable with the use of English now?

Salome: Yes, but I like our Swahili language better than English.

Salome is one of the students who came from families that are capable of sending their children to the English medium schools that are generally more expensive than public secondary schools. She was sent to a high school in Uganda, probably because she could learn English better. However, she openly declares that besides her English fluency, she still loves Swahili language because of reasons that connect her with her nation.

Finally, one respondent, Bahati brings a view that promotes Swahili inside and outside the country. Swahili language is seen as a resource Tanzanians need for their pride so that other nations may learn it as well. Bahati amplifies the significance of her national language – Swahili. Acknowledging the costs of introducing, formalizing and maintaining Swahili language education programs, she gives Tanzanians a friendly reminder: it is a process that might take time until Swahili language is fully used in all secondary schools.

I think we should have Swahili, because it is our national language. We can be like China or France where they use their languages. You know, if you stick with your language, people who want to speak to you will have to speak yours. That would be the advantage, but we are not there. (Bahati)

In her comment, Bahati implies that, despite the fact that the English language students learn in secondary schools is a global language, there should be a way of possibly promoting Swahili to grow in Tanzania and if possible outside the nation or the region of East Africa where Swahili is spoken. She uses examples from China and France and their languages respectively that are used inside those countries and are taught beyond those nations. It might be true that languages evolve and grow. If that is the

case, Bahati suggests that with time it is possible for Swahili to grow and become one of the global languages.

Swahili Language as Right

To restate, earlier in the section on *language as a right*, it was argued that, originally the view represents civil rights issues for native speakers of indigenous languages. Recently, as a movement, it has expanded to include rights of using and learning any first language. For example, Ruiz (1984) quotes Alan Pifer on this. Pifer links the notion of language rights and the Hispanic communities in the case of the US. The US allowed Spanish language use to the Hispanic native speakers in the US in order to allow for participation in of governance such as provision of employment, insurance benefit forms, education, and voting ballots among others (pp. 21 – 22). There are similar examples of such laws and provisions in other nations and in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) enacted policies that allow the use of indigenous languages in education. A good example of some nations and their respective language in brackets are as follows: Peru (Quechua), and New Zealand (Maori) among others (Fishman, 1968 and Briggs, cited in Miracle, 1983).

For similar reasons, Tanzania has had an ongoing debate about when and how Swahili language should be used in schools and government functions. It is arguably an indigenous language and therefore it is argued by some that it should be used in secondary schools, particularly as the medium of instruction, or at least one of the media of instruction besides the English language. Numerous scholars such as (Wa Thiong'o, 1981; Qorro, Desai, and Brock-Utne, 2008) and others conducted studies that show that Swahili is the language that best allows the vast majority of secondary school students to

learn subjects meaningfully in the classroom. In the study I conducted, however, respondents did not refer to the “language as right” view, as recurrent as they did in Swahili as resource and problem. The rhetoric of human and civil rights was apparently not a common part of their thinking about language policy. Practical and political benefits were more commonly remarked upon.

Some respondents commented that they thought students had a right to use any language at school based on a reasoning, choice and ‘wise’ decision of each student. The use of the term “right” here however is loose, and does not refer to its strict legal sense. For example Denis referred to the use of Swahili as right unofficially or naturally granted from school authority.

Denis: We spoke English with the teachers, actually those who chose not to speak Swahili, especially foreign teachers ... occasionally, not all the time..., but I think we spoke Swahili most of the time among ourselves..... I would also speak Ngoni with people who came from the same district as myself.

Interviewer: Were you discouraged from speaking other languages than English?

Denis: Actually, no! I don't think anybody talked about not speaking any other language. They didn't have too much problem. I know some place that they were forced to speak English only. But that never happened in my school. No body would force you to speak English or Swahili. We had unwritten rules,.... If you spoke a language that was not recognized by others around you, people avoided that language to include everyone. There was no rule. The

environment was such that you would make a proper choice in a proper context.

Denis' comments above are not specific for one language. They apply to all languages that students used at his school. Since Swahili is one of the languages under discussion, this is why the comments are used. From the beginning of the quote, the comment may reflect as well the previous view of language as resource. However, this quote is used here to only indicate how school authorities granted an unofficial right or permission to the students to use any language given students knew that English was still the main language of instruction. In comparison to *Ngoni*, his tribal language and English language, Denis felt that he and other students used Swahili more frequently than the rest of the languages at school. As a researcher I wondered whether the freedom of using other languages than English, especially Swahili might have affected the students' performance in academics. Denis stated that using Swahili was never a problem because his school was one of the best ones in the nation during the years he attended school, in terms of academic performance.

As seen in the beginning of this section, language as right is directly connected to enactments and provisions, which may become legally binding. Governments and other powerful bodies give users of indigenous language the permission or mandate to communicate or learn in the case of secondary school in a particular language or languages. A few respondents indicated directly and others indirectly that using Swahili in secondary schools in Tanzania is an implementation of the United Nations declaration of human rights, in which one of the aspects include the use of one's first language.

Denis had the following comment about the UN declaration when I asked, why Tanzanian secondary schools still use English-only for instruction:

Changing to Swahili was partly based on nationalism. Education is better in your native tongue. I mean, experts agree on this: they have known about this for a long time. There was even a UNESCO declaration regarding that. That was a good reason why we should have changed to Swahili and it still remains a good reason now. But the disadvantage of not changing is that, you are creating a barrier to education. This is what's happening right now. (Denis)

The respondent sees the use of Swahili language in secondary school as a good thing because of a couple of reasons. First, Denis recalls the early history of language policy in Tanzania in general. It began as a nationalistic idea to unite Tanzanians. Secondly, when he mentioned about “experts” in the quote, it implies that the pros and cons of using the language have been studied well by scholars who influenced governments, organizations and societies to reach to conclusions and agreements. He also points out the United Nations, which has been cited more than once in the literature review section, as one of the supporters of the use of indigenous education notion, especially in bilingual and multilingual education contexts. Furthermore, besides the quote above, Denis stated more than once during the interview conversations that, denying the students the opportunity to learn in Swahili language is an act of creating a barrier to education. Other times he has referred to the same phenomenon as mis-education.

In the next comment below, Aisha urges that it would have been and still is imperative for Tanzanian secondary schools to teach students in Swahili language. She

does not seem to link her reasoning with neither Swahili as resource nor as problem, which her reasoning ultimately seems to be as right. She responded to my request for her general comment and she put it as follows:

It's unfortunate, because if you think of the colonial history, we shouldn't be so fond of the English language. We should be embracing and promoting Swahili language, but which is not the case, unfortunately! (Aisha)

Aisha seems to believe that, it is neither wrong to be proud of your own language nor is it illegal. She has a feeling that it is the Tanzanians' right to promote Swahili, their own language. She particularly dislikes the fact that English is the only language through which students get access to knowledge and education. It has been expressed in many parts of this data presentation section that, students found it easier to communicate or learn in the Swahili language even if the policy did not allow them to do so. For Aisha, the worst is that, the British colonialists introduced and allowed English only to be only official language in teaching secondary school subjects. Therefore, it might be seen that the government of Tanzania sees the use of Swahili in secondary education as an illegal act. Aisha probably knows where the problem lies although she does not articulate it. Her comment might partly indicate how the power of normative discourses eventually produces silence.

Analyzing how qualitative researchers locate and interpret silence during oral interviews, Lissa Mazzei (2007) in her work "*Inhabited silences in qualitative research: Putting post-structural theory to work*", argues that researchers in qualitative research do not see silence as absence of voice but data. It might thus be argued from the scholar's view that qualitative researchers have a responsibility to try to interpret silence of their

respondents in the interview process. This is why in this study I suggest what Aisha's silence might mean.

Swahili Language as Problem

Swahili Language Interfered With the Learning of English, Instead of Being an Advantage

Just like Swahili was discussed earlier as resource and right, respondents of this study indicated that Swahili language sometimes worked as an obstacle towards the learning of English language in secondary schools. Here is one of the accounts from Bahati:

You know how you use Swahili! I would direct-translate and actually, funny story: one girl said 'don't do me laugh' [which translates word-to-word in Swahili to English as 'don't make me laugh']. So, you know the words, but you don't know how they go together in English. You communicate in Swahili, but you are using English words. We could understand each other. Some of the translations worked, some were backwards because you were not supposed to speak Kiswahili. You were punished if you spoke Kiswahili.

(Bahati)

To put Bahati's comment above in context, students in Tanzanian secondary schools try to think and formulate sentences in Swahili and finally translate them into English. A few issues can be discerned in the comment above.

First, Bahati explained that students in general understood each other in their translations as they communicated using incorrect translations from Swahili to English. It was not hard for them to understand the speakers' intended messages, because almost all students had shared understanding of common mistakes of translation from Swahili to English. In addition, it seems that students cared more about the messages intended by speakers than precision in the grammar and syntax of the sentences used at this level of learning English. Swahili was considered a problem in this scenario, because the continued reliance on Swahili inhibited developing correct English language skills. Essentially student were learning some vocabulary, but not the syntax and idiomatic practices of English.

Secondly, Swahili was viewed as a problem because speaking it was punishable. A good number of respondents pointed out that students who spoke Swahili received corporal punishment. One of the respondents spoke in favor of corporal punishment, because its goal was to help the students become fluent in the English language.

Third, another example of Swahili as an interference came from Bahati. She recalled some of the strategies her secondary school and teachers used to deal with students speaking Swahili. In this case, Swahili as problem was seen when respondents frequently expressed the various ways used to discourage students speaking it. Besides corporal punishment she presented earlier, Bahati shared other ways her school authority improvised to discourage students' use of Swahili and to encourage more English speaking:

Of course you have secret spies. You get written up and you get punished ... we were not supposed to. So, if you are caught speaking Swahili, someone has

written your name, on Sunday or Saturday there will be a list of names of Swahili speakers. And you don't know who wrote you up. (Bahati)

Here, Bahati shares a story about her school in terms of English speaking rules. It seems that all students were clearly told that speaking Swahili in school environment would get students in trouble. If one spoke Swahili, s/he knew the consequences. Bahati commented that teachers reinforced the English-only rule by having students who secretly recorded names of students who violated the rule. She continued her story telling that, after the students' names got to the teachers, violators were punished on weekend days. In other comments earlier, Bahati said that punishment was one of the reasons she wished she attended her sister's school who was in a public secondary school. As many respondents have expressed, government school did not strictly prohibit the use of Swahili as much compared to private schools, such as Bahati's.

On the third example, Joshua indicates Swahili as problem as well. He spoke generally about secondary schools using punishment to promote English proficiency in another way as follows:

They [teachers] forced kids to speak English, they punished them for speaking Swahili. It was a widespread practice in Tanzanian schools. Of course you know, there are debates about people seeing it as cultural imperialism. But I have my own vision on this: I think teachers wanted the students to learn the language well, and they wanted to apply any kind of pressure to ensure that kids learn the language [English]. I don't think they were working from evil motives. (Joshua)

In Joshua's comment above, just like Bahati's – the previous respondent² earlier, first they both share a common aspect of punishment to students who spoke Swahili, to encourage them to speak the English language. Secondly, they differ in a way that Bahati seemed to view punishment as a negative thing associated with Swahili and she may not have liked that. But, Joshua seems to like punishment as a reinforcement that has positive results. He views Swahili particularly as a problem that needs to be eliminated through punishment so that students could learn English better and faster. However, Joshua acknowledges the fact that Tanzanians debate on the issue including or excluding Swahili in secondary school instruction. Additionally, he uses terms such as 'widespread practice' and 'imperialism' to denote the acceptance of the English-only instruction in secondary schools.

Looking at Joshua's comment, it is clear that he presents arguments both in support of the English-only instruction and punishment to students as means to enhance the acquisition and learning of the English language in Tanzanian secondary schools. His comment may seem contradicting later, when he argues that punishment was a widespread practice, equating it to imperialism in school. This part of his comment suggests that, the use of English-only is necessary in order for Tanzanians to go through the secondary education system that has already been set in place by the government. However, on the other side he suggests that teachers' use of punishment originates from the colonial time, when punishment went hand in hand with education in the British-set education system. Joshua "supports" the punishment idea not because it is a good thing. But, because he believes that the intentions of those who use it are not entirely from a negative motive. He suggests that the teachers use it as a negative reinforcement, which

is supposed to bring positive outcomes when students are learning the English language. Next, we will examine what scholars say relating to the notion of discouraging the learners' use of L1 in order to understand a new language well.

Some of the psycholinguists' and applied linguists' ideas in second language (L2) learning might help us understand better about two issues: First, the role of what is known as *monitor theory*² that accounts for the conscious and subconscious process people go through as they develop ability in L2. Conscious users of the monitor often seem to make self-corrections of errors in L2 production while unconscious users may not. Secondly, L1 interference is explained as one common stage in developing (acquiring or learning) second language (Stephen Krashen, 1981, pp. 1-18, 64-69). The scholar's ideas suggest that Bahati and her fellow students' errors in English language performance were a result of either subconscious use of *monitor*, or a natural interference of Swahili (L1), or both. Unfortunately, for most Swahili speakers learning the English language in Tanzanian secondary schools, L1 interference appears to be the stage they end at during their secondary education.

Swahili as a Human Resource Problem

First example, Denis recalled how Swahili was viewed as problem, especially after he became a teacher himself in one of the secondary schools in Tanzania. He expressed issues related to lack of teacher training, inadequate number of teachers, and inadequate commitment of the government to promote Swahili language. He said:

It was a technical school, so they were focused on technical subjects you know: mechanical engineering, stuff like that. Then they opened some other

classes. One of the compulsory classes was Swahili. There were no teachers for some of the sections. What do you do when you don't have teachers! They would ask any teacher who has a small teaching load. So, at one time, I remember they had this old man who was teaching painting, and he didn't have too many classes. So, they [the school authority] told him, you will teach Swahili, and he said, fine. Remember, he had absolutely no experience in teaching Swahili.... It's part of the tragedy. We do not invest enough in the teaching of languages, designing the curriculum and preparing teachers.

(Denis)

In general, Denis pointed out that there are teaching challenges for the Swahili language in secondary schools of Tanzania. Specifically, he remembered three problems that faced the secondary school he was teaching. One of the problems is teaching staff training. As noted in his comment, his school had teachers who had no formal training as Swahili teachers. This might suggest that the government does not plan enough budget to train many teachers who can teach the language in the secondary schools. Another problem related to teaching challenges is that even the untrained teachers in the schools did not match the number of classes that needed Swahili teachers. The last issue he did not like in those schools is what he called 'improvising'. During the interview, he used the term to refer to using available teachers from other subjects than Swahili to teach the Swahili language. Denis described the whole situation as a tragedy and horrible.

The second example of Swahili as a human resource problem was directly linked to expertise factor and economic factor. Although Elia sees generally Swahili language

as resource more than other views, he expressed the extend to which Swahili might be viewed as problem as follows:

Another problem in Swahili is that we don't have enough materials or professionals. For example, we don't have [meant we may not have] someone who studied a Ph.D. in Swahili. So, if you [secondary student] study, say Physics or Biology, in the end you have so many terms from English. Now you are using English. We will be wasting our time to translate into Swahili, which is not "Swahili" [unacceptable Swahili]. You cannot alienate yourself from global community by focusing on your own language. (Elia)

In the quote above, Elia believes that currently Tanzania may not have enough people who specialize in the Swahili language. He gave an example of the shortage of scholars who reached a Ph. D level. Since standardization of Swahili requires experts, he might be worried that publishing materials for all subjects in standard Swahili would be a problem. As a result, he argues that scientific terms in subjects such as Physics and Biology might end up being English terms nativized into Swahili language. For him, those terms would not count as Swahili words, and the process involved in the translation would take people's valuable time to do other important works. Also he believes that using Swahili in secondary schools would be alienating Tanzanians or disengaging them from the rest of the world that supposedly uses or values English, the language used in Tanzanian secondary schools at present.

Besides the quote, Elia summarized four points that contribute to the difficulty of using Swahili in secondary schools now. First, he suggested that it might be difficult to industrialize when students learn, especially technical subjects, in Swahili. Secondly, he

using a rhetorical question, he asked: how a country can make international trade negotiations while using Swahili, the language that is not used globally. Finally, he expressed a worry that using Swahili in secondary schools would eventually make it difficult for Tanzania to integrate globally. These are interesting observations from Elia because, previously (as seen in the *language as resource* section) he explained that he was lucky to learn English and became fluent, but the majority of the students around his neighborhood were not fluent in the English language. He did not explain further how the majority students who become less fluent in English, such as his fellow neighbors would benefit from instruction through English-only.

Joshua, like the previous respondents suggested in his comment that, it might be difficult to include Swahili as one of the languages of instruction because the current efforts are not adequate. He commented as follows:

I think the fundamental problem of Tanzanians is laziness. Their Swahili is lousy! Their English is worse. They pretend that they are a Swahili-speaking country, and it's well established. But, I think Kenya is more serious than Tanzania. In 1989, I was amazed by how many university students were studying Swahili, by how many graduate students were studying Swahili, at the university of Nairobi. In Tanzania, you had one, two, graduate students studying but in Kenya you might see 8, 9, 10, students. And, Kenyans reported to have Tanzanians teaching Swahili in Kenyan universities. (Joshua)

To analyze Joshua's comment one needs to understand that during the interview, he wanted me to note that Joshua loves Tanzania and he was being critical about factors that go beyond just Swahili language education. He believes that most Tanzanian

secondary school students do not work hard enough to become fluent in both Swahili and English language. He described the students' fluency in Swahili as lousy and their English worse. He suggests that to address the issue of language of instruction partly by believing that Swahili is easy is a wrong notion. He also compares the efforts by Tanzania and Kenya to promote Swahili in which he believes Kenya has invested more than Tanzania. Kenyan universities seemed to enroll more students who specialize in Swahili language at both undergraduate and graduate levels. In fact, of the few Tanzanians specializing in Swahili, most were reported to be teaching in Kenyan universities. Joshua's comment suggests that he would love to see those few Tanzanian Swahili experts working to develop the language in Tanzania.

Swahili Instruction in Primary Schools Leads to Students' Low English Proficiency in Secondary Schools

Five respondents expressed a concern about the teaching of subjects in Swahili at primary school level. Their view is that Swahili instruction was one of the causes for low proficiency in English language when students from those primary schools went to secondary schools. First, I asked Fatuma about what happened to students who could not speak or understand English in her secondary school. Her response below seems to suggest that, primary school education through Swahili was a source of learning difficulty when English language was introduced in secondary schools.

You know this: someone never learned English in primary school. It must take him or her a long time to learn and understand the language.... You can see, everything is too difficult for him or her and the teachers are too fierce.

Some students tell their parents to find another school because they [students] don't learn anything in their first school. (Fatuma)

In the comment above, Fatuma reports the real situation her and fellow students encountered at secondary school level. The students who came from majority primary schools that taught in Swahili had a hard time coping with the new policy of English language in secondary school. It probably took longer for these students to understand English compared to those who attended English medium primary schools. She describes the learning experience for the students from Swahili medium as being difficult, besides feeling bad when they did not become proficient in English. Fatuma seems to find that difficulty in learning through English was worsened by the teachers who treated the students in a less caring manner. She argues that eventually some of her fellow students asked their parents to find other schools where the students could become proficient or learn well the academic subjects in the English language

Second, Maria, another respondent went to an English medium primary school, but later in a private secondary school she met students who had attended public primary schools whose language of instruction was Swahili. She felt sorry for those students because of the difficult transition from Swahili to English instruction in school subjects. Following is what Maria had to say:

When it comes to government schools, most of the students who went to government schools had a really hard time than we students who went to private schools. Because: for them, they had to find materials for themselves. They had to struggle. They didn't have enough teachers at school. They

didn't know enough English. Most of them came from Swahili medium schools. (Maria)

The government of Tanzania requires that all public primary schools use Swahili for instruction in all subjects, except for English subject. As a result of that Swahili requirement, Maria comments that, students from Swahili medium primary schools had low English proficiency in her secondary school. Due to low proficiency in English, students from public secondary schools did not do well in academic subjects. Maria stated that while in primary schools, those students had to find learning materials for themselves. This suggests that schools had no or inadequate English learning materials. To make the situation worse, those schools did not have enough teachers of English language. Maria seemed to attribute the learning difficulties they faced to the fact that they were instructed in Swahili in primary school. She did not mention the converse possibility—that their learning difficulties were caused by secondary school instruction happening only in English.

Third example of Swahili instruction being framed as a problem in primary school came from Ali, one of the respondents. When I asked why Ali wished he transferred to another secondary school while his school was private and he was fluent in English, he answered:

I don't know how to explain it... Students who spoke Swahili made me a little bit slow down my English. I would have liked to speak to even with better students to challenge me in English. In my school, every student came to me asking for help. Everyone asks: help me, help me. (Ali)

Ali, like my previous respondent Maria attended one of the best private secondary schools in the city of Dar Es Salaam. The majority of students in his school had no problem speaking the English language. However, there were a few students who came from public primary schools unlike Ali. As explained earlier, students from public schools seemed to be rated low in English proficiency and academic excellence in general. In the comment above, Ali believes that he progressed too slowly in the English language because of the Swahili speaking students from public schools. Not only did speaking Swahili slow their learning down (in his view), it also slowed his learning down. Ali would have preferred to meet students who are more proficient in English than him so that he could be challenged.

Aisha is the fourth respondent whose story provides an example of how she saw students who were less fluent in English as a problem. Aisha was not happy to study together with those students because they did not help her learn more. She says:

There were students who were slow learners, struggling with English [she said most of them came from Swahili medium primary schools]. That made me worry because they were making us move slowly and I was worried about finishing my homework. But after the 2nd year, they divided students into 2 groups. Students who scored high went to Science track, and those scoring low went to Social science track. So, the assumption was that the science students were better. (Aisha)

Aisha's comment shows clearly that schools such as hers considered the Swahili dominant students as a problem. As a result her school regrouped students between those who were fluent in English and supposedly would perform better in sciences and those

who were fluent in Swahili and believed to be unable to take science subjects. Aisha recalls how the students less proficient in English made her worry about whether she would fall behind in her studies and not be prepared for college. Swahili speakers seemed to have taken up some of Aisha's time she had expected dedicate to her own studies and other personal matters. During the interview, she explained that, she was finally placed in the science track and was happy to get away from students who frequently sought her help.

While Aisha, the previous respondent expressed that speakers of Swahili at her school were not helpful to her learning English, Selina is actually one of the students who might have been a Swahili speaker or a less proficient student in the English language. Selina was affected negatively by her knowledge of Swahili more than English. She remembered the following during our interview conversation:

By speaking Swahili, you isolated yourself... The moment you go there [to join those who speak English], if you want to speak Swahili, they punish you! They send you to the teachers. We had people who were responsible to write names of those who didn't speak English. I kept quiet most of the time. I had to be friends with students who did not understand English well like myself.

(Selina)

Unlike Aisha, Selina comments that students who did not know English language isolated themselves from those who spoke English. It also seems that Selina believes that lack of proficiency in English is a student's fault, not that of the school, or the teachers, or other responsible people or community. As a scholar, I assume this is what she and other students have been told by their schools. Selina's school seems to be no exception

to the punishment of students who spoke Swahili. Her comment suggests a view that Swahili is viewed as problem while English in this case would be seen as resource. She points out that to be safe she kept quiet. This is clearly pedagogically dysfunctional, because in order to learn, a student needs to speak in a class and ask questions. Also, to learn English a student needs to speak with English speakers. However, because of the stigmatization associated with speaking Swahili, her only friends were those who shared similar challenges in using the English language.

Basically, there are common issues for these 5 respondents: the issues are grouping of students based on either English or Swahili proficiency, isolating less successful students from high achievers, stigmatization of less proficient students as slow learners, and emphasizing individualistic values among students against the core principles of ESR.

Swahili as Problem for the Preservation of Tribal Languages

There is a different way in which Swahili was framed as a problem by a few of the respondents in this study. It was framed as a problem, not in comparison to English language usage, but in comparison to tribal language usage. Joshua gave a brief account on how Swahili has been important during both nationalistic struggles in the 1960s, and as the language of instruction in primary schools. He indicates how Swahili replaced local languages in terms of the knowledge, about local cultures of Tanzania that the languages carry. Here is what he believes:

And you know in Tanzania we made a policy to promote Swahili for national cohesion.... And I think it is a good idea, and we have succeeded in building

national consciousness and unity through Swahili.... However, as somebody who's deeply interested in studying and recording traditional cultures, stories, folklores, in general, and knowing that those are carried by local languages, I think it is very sad that those languages are being washed away. It is very sad. They are losing traditional knowledge. And, this is not just me. It is a global awareness of the death of languages. It is a problem, a global problem. So, I have two aspects in mind: On one hand, we did a good thing to promote Swahili; on the other, we have been actually destroying indigenous knowledge as it's expressed in stories, beliefs and customs and things like that. (Joshua)

Joshua's comment starts with acknowledging the fact that Swahili language played a big role towards the establishment of a new nation [of Tanzania] after colonialism. However, as a scholar, Joshua strongly believes that promoting Swahili might lead to the death of tribal languages, which carry all the knowledge of the culture of those tribes. He reaffirms his stance saying that first, this concern is a global issue and that he is not the only one who believes what he said. Secondly, speaking in favor of tribal languages, he argued that the promotion of Swahili is coming at a cost to tribal languages. Using Swahili language in secondary schools, he went on to say, would bring hard time in translating and capturing what he referred to as 'complex realities' of each tribe's location, history, and traditions. This of course would be equally, if not more, true of the expansion of English language usage in Tanzanian schools.

Summary and Transition

Respondents in this study regarded the use of Swahili as a medium of K-12 (kindergarten through secondary school) instruction in a variety of ways. Drawing upon the theoretical frameworks developed by Richard Ruiz (1984), Colin Baker (2011), and others that point to the way second languages are often framed as resources, rights, and problems. I have organized respondents' comments into three broad groupings. Graduates of the Tanzanian education system remarked on how Swahili language was a resource for them in many ways—contributing to national cohesion, helping them understand subject matter, and maintaining family connections. Many also saw Swahili as a problem or obstruction to their education—mainly when their educational goal was to learn English fluently. It was also seen as a practical problem, in that teaching in Swahili in secondary schools would require more fluent Swahili instructors than the nation currently has. Finally, the expanded use of Swahili was seen as a possible threat to efforts to preserve indigenous languages. Clearly, the policy and practice associated with the use of Swahili as a language of instruction in public schools is complicated.

In the next chapter (on English as resource, as right, and as problem), we will apply the same kind of analysis to respondents' comments about the use of English as a medium of instruction. We will find the same kind of complicated and conflicted views.

English Language as Resource

Benefits of Using English for Instruction in Tanzanian Secondary Schools

In this part of my analysis, respondents explain why and how English should be used in secondary schools based on the advantages or fun they had in secondary school while using the language. First, Beltina said:

Well, for the first two years in secondary school, using English in Mathematics was easy for me. It was all about the numbers and I could see the numbers, things that I have done in primary school. But it was a challenge when I got into form three because the formula and other stuff changed. (Beltina)

Explaining about the level of her fluency, Beltina said that she had no difficulty in the first 2 years of secondary school, especially in the Math subject. English was easy because she did not have to understand all the language used. She saw the numbers and knew what was needed for her to solve all Math problems. Her comment does not suggest that she was fluent enough to understand and express herself in English. It only explains how she did well in Math regardless of the foreign language used. In addition, most Math problems in the first 2-years were not new from Math she learned in primary school. Beltina faced some difficulty in form three Math because she new concepts were being introduced. The use of English language for instruction in form three was a problem because of new Math concepts that required new vocabulary in English. Additionally, in other parts of the interview, she indicated that subjects other than Math required a lot of words, most of which were unfamiliar. From her experience, it seems

that students might fail in Math mostly because the concepts or problems they solve are new. But failing in other subjects such as History might be due to lack of vocabulary that students need in order to explain about issues and events in more details than they can do in Math. Mathematical concepts transcend language differences.

Finally, with regard to Beltina's view, English can be seen as a resource when students do not have to say a lot but hear the teacher speak and write the numbers. Most of what they hear and see is repeated day after day. As a result, students become familiar with phrases that are used to explain and ask questions in Math day after day.

Aisha enjoyed personal advantages while learning through the English language:

If you speak English fluently you would be a good student, right? The teachers like you because you understand and so I used to my advantage because I was liked by most teachers. English was not difficult for me compared to other students. I would be assigned to explain things to other students, write things on the board for other students, write assignments. (Aisha)

To begin, Aisha asserted to the interviewer with a rhetorical question on the assumption that being fluent in English would make one a good student. This suggests this is a common perception in many Tanzanian secondary schools. When a student is fluent, Aisha said that teachers would tend to like such a student. Teachers liked her because she was one of the most fluent students in the English language. Her comment implies that sometimes teachers do not like the students who are not fluent in the language. Aisha adds that she used her high level of fluency for her own advantage. Also, the good thing she did to other students was to help them.

There are two things to note in her comment: First, Aisha presented the issues of teacher's loving and caring that are discussed in Valenzuela (1999) in her famous book, "*Subtractive Schooling: US-Mexican Youth and the Politics of Caring*". The scholar detailed experiences of both teachers and students in urban Texas during her study. Immigrant students presented an overwhelming feeling that their teachers did not care much about these students, and the students felt that they were not loved. Secondly, Aisha's writing notes and assignments on the board for other students suggests that teachers overused the student when it was their job. She probably needed to spend that time for her own learning. Here English is seen as resource and the language of access to special privileges that a few students get at school. Aisha shared some privileges with teachers. This could be a dividing factor among students. There are times that teachers might consciously or unconsciously display some preferential treatment to particular students.

Another advantage of using English in secondary school came from Fatuma:

Uh, not very many advantages. It is not a disadvantage though to learn English. You can see that, after graduation people may continue studies or private lessons if they have English background. (Fatuma)

She begins with a note that there are not many advantages of using English in Tanzanian secondary schools. She continues to add that while there are not many advantages, it does not mean it is a disadvantage to learn the English language. She focuses on the benefits students might see after graduation. For example, she suggests that they might need to continue with studies [college level, maybe] or private lessons. She believes that none of those can be possible if the students who graduated had no

English background. In the context of Tanzania where the study is supposed to bring some light for Tanzanians, Fatuma and others have seen for example many Tanzanians who enroll with Open University of Tanzania (O.U.T) where students find supplementary materials from online in order to complete their lessons or modules. Also, there are Tanzanians who take online degree programs from universities abroad such as in Europe and North America. An interesting question that Fatuma might need to ask Tanzanians is whether is it possible or impossible to put all those programs in Swahili through translations.

Aisha is another respondent who sees advantages for her Indian community and Tanzanians in general as follows:

Mzizima secondary school is owned by Agakhan [an Indian foundation]. That school is really... it gives preference to students who are from their community. So, the Agakhans speak a different language [Indian language] other than the Indian language I speak. It's easy therefore for all of us to speak in English than..... They speak Kachi, and I speak Gujarati. Although I can understand Kachi, my Kachi is not as good, and then Gujarati is not as good. It's easy if everybody spoke English. And we had African students. They did not speak good Swahili. Therefore English became the default language. Everybody spoke in English. (Aisha)

Aisha is one of the respondents who attended a private secondary school that is owned by an Indian foundation in Tanzania. She is Indian by decent and belongs to a large community of Indians born and living in Tanzania. She says that there are various Indian languages spoken by her community in Tanzania. Therefore, the use of English

language in her school served all the students well because each student might speak only one of the Indian languages such as Kachi or Gujarati. In addition to the Indian students admitted to that school, there were other African students who did not speak any of the Indian languages. Therefore, English became the uniting language for all the students with different language background. Those African students, she says did not even speak good Swahili from home, which made it easier preferable to communicate in English.

In the next and last example from Selina on the benefits of using English, she explained that speaking English in her secondary school made some students' life easier than for those who spoke Swahili, for instance. This was because speaking Swahili or other languages than English was punishable. But she said, speaking English had these other benefits to the students:

For instance, you want to take shower, you have to go and fetch water. So, if there's a line, someone can come from the end of the line and push you. They want to get water. If you cannot tell them in English, then you have to step back and let this person get water, and you stay because if you open your mouth in Swahili like maybe cursing her, or saying something like you know it's not your turn or whatever.... Since you don't know what to say, you let that person to do whatever they want to do. If you open your mouth in Swahili, it doesn't matter, whether you are talking about your life, you are in trouble. (Selina)

Selina shared her experiences that she thought made life easy to students who spoke English fluently. When she and other students lived in boarding school dorms, they shared some of many resources including water. To get water, each student had a

bucket to fetch the water from either a well or a tap. Students would form a queue or line to obtain water. The students who spoke English fluently used the language to their advantage. They pushed any other student who was in front of them in order to get the water first. The fluent students knew that those who do not know English could not argue in English, the language that was officially allowed in school. Any student speaking Swahili or other language would be sent to teachers for punishment. Sadly, students like Selina who did not speak English allowed those naughty students to get water instead of arguing with them in Swahili, which was punishable.

Such a comment from Selina does not reflect values of community, sharing, and respect that Tanzanian secondary schools were supposed to be cultivating under Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) philosophy. However, it is unfortunate something like that was considered ‘advantageous’ to a few students. Besides the different ways that speaking other languages than English was punishable, Selina’s comment shows yet another way that through notorious students, English policy punished students who lacked the language proficiency in some boarding schools. The respondent’s view of her experience made her see English as a resource through which proficient students’ life in her secondary school became easier than hers.

Following are more comments on advantages of using English in secondary school from a few respondents: each with a unique example, they all included one common aspect relating to globalization.

The first comment:

We all need international exposure. This means we need to be equipped in the world market. I mean the job market. For example, many people from other East African counties like Uganda, Kenya get jobs in Tanzania. (Salome)

Typically, one would not expect a job seeker in Tanzania from Kenya or Uganda be a fluent speaker of English as a necessary prerequisite. This is because the three countries share Swahili as an official language of communication. However, Salome's comment above refers to Ugandans and Kenyans acquiring jobs with foreign companies in Tanzania due to English language proficiency. This is why her comment relates to a globalization factor. Salome thus argues that Tanzanian secondary schools teach students in the English language so that they become proficient enough to take jobs that require English language skills. The job market she referred to includes mostly businesses of investors from outside Tanzania. Most of the time foreign companies in Tanzania use English as their official language for their businesses. One question though, that I asked Salome and other respondents, was about whether those job opportunities absorb or employ the majority of secondary school graduates, or even graduates from universities. Respondents admitted that it was only a handful of especially graduates from secondary schools.

Second example relating to globalization:

They want us to be aware that if we are going to college, and if we are going to the outside world, we can interact with people outside the country. That is why they introduced English in secondary school. That's what I understand. I maybe wrong. ... it won't be easy to be incorporated in global economy in terms of globalization. That's if we don't set our kids to learn English. (Fred)

Fred cited a significance that, English helps secondary school students prepare for university education. He seems to refer to college education within Tanzania and abroad because in Tanzania, all universities and colleges use English as the official language of instruction and communication. English in his view is important for any Tanzanian planning to go abroad whether for college education or other goals. Fred is being modest as he says he may be wrong which is typical for Tanzanians when they report about something they only have heard, but are not sure about. Finally, Fred commented that, it might be hard for future generations to be incorporated in the global economy if the children in secondary schools now are not set to learn the English language. It seems this is one of the advantages he and anyone might only predict, because he has not mentioned how many people have benefited by going abroad after studying English. In short, he sees English as a resource when one needs higher education, travels abroad, and for globalization.

Third example of benefit on English and globalization:

English is an international language spoken almost everywhere. Let's say I came to the US and I didn't know the language, that would be a problem.
(Habiba)

Habiba and other respondents see advantages of English for a globalized world, although almost all of them previously on *Swahili as a resource* argued very strongly in favor of using Swahili language for instruction. She believed that it is important to teach English in secondary schools because it is used by so many nations around the world. She gave an example related to herself. She suggests that if she had come to the US without going through the current English language instruction in Tanzania, or did not know the

language that would have been a problem. When I asked questions such as, how many Tanzanians have successfully been able to live, or study abroad, no respondent was sure how many actually benefitted from this factor. Respondents seemed to know better about their individual success of going abroad. This does not suggest that generalizing these advantages that are available to a few Tanzanians would be a plausible reason for a continued English-only instruction in secondary schools.

During the interview, when the next respondent commented that English language was hard, I asked whether difficulty in learning through the English language was challenging or something to keep up with. Kalistus gave the fourth example of English and globalization advantage below:

It was not discouraging. They knew our mother tongue was Swahili. So when you become a priest, in my case I was becoming apostle of Jesus. So it means that I would go around the world and preach the word of God. Meaning that I had to know English and Swahili. Swahili is the language I was born with. So I had to learn English. I think that private schools encourage us to speak English. (Kalistus)

Kalistus attended a Catholic seminary school where all seminarians are supposed to successfully become priests in the church. However, unlike diocese priests who are assigned duties within Tanzania after ordination, Kalistus belonged to an order of Apostles of Jesus within the same church. This order operates independently of the diocese authorities. It means that order priests may be sent to serve anywhere around the world. The possibility to serve beyond Tanzania necessitated his seminary to put more emphasis on the proficiency in the English language than other languages. He

additionally commented that the school saw no reason to emphasize learning in Swahili language because the assumption was that the students already knew the language. And of course like other respondents repeatedly said, Kalistus also commented that it was an advantage for him to attend that school since private schools in general encouraged students to speak English [more than public schools did].

Next, Maria is a freshman in one of the colleges in the US. She attended a public primary school, and later a private secondary school with high emphasis on English language proficiency, both schools in Tanzania. Her comment includes both the benefits and a disadvantage of using English in secondary schools in Tanzania. For the purpose of this section, I would like to highlight the advantage part of her comment. She responded to the question on how students in her school benefited from the use of English, as follows:

It helped them to write papers. Other friends went to study abroad. Even when it comes to communicating with foreigners, that was helpful. But other than that, I don't think it is helpful to the majority in the country [Tanzania].

(Maria)

She begins by explaining that English helped the students at her school to write academic papers as it was the official language of academics. This is the government's policy as well as her school rule. Besides that, she said that some students went to study abroad, and others were able to communicate with foreigners from outside Tanzania through the English language. She sees and appreciates the utility of the English language although the last part of her comment suggests that there are not enough

benefits for the majority of Tanzanians. A few students succeed to go abroad and the majority of Tanzanians may not realize those benefits.

Once again, the last four comments from four respondents below, Rita, Elia, Aisha, and Ali each include repeatedly cite one benefit of using English in secondary schools. The advantage beside many others is the English language enables establishing global connections and business.

Respondents commented as following:

“I think schools use English because they are preparing students to work in different places outside their country. ...We can take examples like yourself: you [researcher] would not have come to the US, if you didn't know English. Even at the embassy there [US embassy], I think they interviewed you in English.” (Rita)

For me there're so many advantages of using English in Tanzania. It's one of the poorest countries in the world. You don't have industries to depend on your own. So, you must go to other countries. (Elia)

I think, and it is even today an assumption that if you go to private school, you are planning to go abroad for further studies. So, if you go to European countries, or even you go to Asian countries, English is predominantly the main language of higher education ... you need to up your standard, so that you can compete and actually be able to get admission in colleges where English is going to be the primary language.... Not only I could speak it [English] fluently but I could also write fluently and read as well. I did a little bit of an internship after secondary school for an Asian business, then worked

for a British company before I left [to the US]. One of the reasons I got the job was that they were looking for someone who could speak English fluently. One of the owners of the business did not speak English. He needed a fluent speaker of English. (Aisha)

The exams come in English. It should be an advantage for you to know English.... There's a lot of foreign companies back home. Imagine you are a driver for a US or another foreign business, if you speak English it can be easy to communicate with your employer.... Let's say the instructions for you to use TV, cellphone, fridge at your house and all come in English. Even if you are not employed, you will be able to read the instructions in English. (Ali)

Looking at each of the four comments above, respondents' common suggestion is that English language helps Tanzanians inside their country, when foreign businesses invest. Similarly, they commented that English obviously helps many Tanzanians when they live abroad for different purposes.

First, Rita said that the importance of English specifically in secondary schools is to prepare Tanzanians to work in foreign countries. She pointed out that it is because of my education in the English language that I made it to the US. She remarked that Tanzanians, who seek a US visa at the American embassy, in Tanzania need to speak English well during the interview.

Secondly, Elia commented that he sees many advantages of using English language in secondary school in Tanzania. Being in one of the poorest countries in the world, Tanzanians need to go to other countries. His comment suggests that without

providing English language skills to the people, Tanzania will not be able to improve their economy and life in general. This is an interesting view. He does not explain explicitly how, for example if Tanzanians lived abroad in native speakers of English would make Tanzanian economy and life better than it is currently. When he urges that Tanzanians must go to other countries, there are two assumptions: 1) Tanzanians need to leave their country in order to find better life abroad. 2) Tanzanian government or the people need to go abroad to beg for assistance to teach or improve the English language proficiency. However, my experience in Tanzania as a donor recipient country shows that, support from “other nations” often comes in a form of either Aid, or Grants, or Loans, with conditions that result in unbearable ramifications for the poor countries like Tanzania.

Third, Aisha commented that attending private schools [which many respondents assumed to best teach English language skills] implies that students are planning to study abroad. She pointed out that European and Asian colleges were some of the Tanzanian students’ destinations to study. In order for Tanzanian students to secure admissions in those colleges, they need to have a high proficiency level in the English language. One reason is that colleges in those two regions use English as the main language of education. Aisha is currently one of the successful Tanzanian students. She lives and teaches at a college in the US. She adds that after high school, she was able to work for a British and a local Asian company in Tanzania. Both of the businesses hired her because she was fluent in the English language.

Respondents expressed that English is potentially a resource in different ways. One of the ways they commented it can be resource is, by looking at the benefits of using

English for instruction in Tanzanian secondary schools. Even the benefits of using the language are viewed and presented slightly differently from one respondent to another. Each comment from respondents Beltina, Aisha, Fatuma, Selina, Salome, Fred, Habiba, Kalistus, Maria, Rita, and Ali above have shown how different those advantages of using the language could be.

Secondary Schools That Supported Students' English Proficiency

Many respondents in this study attended private secondary schools. Compared to those who attended public schools, private school students seem to present a type of unique experience compared to public students as far as English language learning and use in their schools. The following are stories revealing how each of the participants viewed English as a resource in their private schools:

When I entered secondary school, I think I was like everybody else, because I went to a predominantly Swahili speaking primary school. So, from English as a subject [in primary school], it was a shock in form one, over sudden everything—you have a Swahili class, but Math, Chemistry, Biology, all of it was in English. So, it was challenging because you are supposed to know what they are talking about, and a dictionary became your friend. (Bahati)

Here, Bahati expresses the change from Swahili in primary school to English in her private catholic secondary school as a sudden one but not a problem. Her secondary school was arguably one of the best private schools in Tanzania. She learned all the subjects in English at secondary school level and Swahili only as a subject. To indicate that English at this level was a resource, she says, English language dictionary became a

student's friend. She realized that this is what every student had to learn and presumably she thought about her future advantages in learning the English language. She describes the whole situation in the beginning of secondary education as a shock—a sudden change and challenge—but one worth the effort. In other parts of the interview, Bahati indicates that even students coming from public primary schools whose instruction was Swahili improved their English substantially by graduation time in her private secondary school. Other respondents expressed similar sentiments about the benefits of English only instruction out-weighting the difficulties it entailed.

Students often narrated their experience in English-Only secondary schools as one of a passage through toil and doubt to competence and confidence, as in Beltina's account below:

I could memorize the things we were taught and I could pass the exams particularly in Mathematics and English. That's what encouraged me to stay. At the beginning, I was very discouraged. I couldn't understand anything. The students who went to Uganda or Kenya would interact with teachers very well to the point they would laugh in class. And I was just left out. I didn't feel good about it. I thought I was going to drop out of school. But when we had our first exam, I scored better than them [students who went to secondary school in Uganda and Kenya previously] in Math. (Beltina)

Beltina reports in the quote above that, students who attended primary schools in Kenya and Uganda were more proficient in English than she was. One indicator was that those students were able to communicate with teachers well enough that they all could laugh about something they are talking about, when it was necessary. Beltina said her

experience in the beginning about the difference between her and those students made her feel bad and discouraged. Earlier she identified herself as a student who attended public primary school that used Swahili as the main language of instruction.

Despite the challenges that students went through in the beginning of learning English language, Beltina's comment highlights some positive aspects of her learning experience. She said one part of English that was easy in the beginning was memorizing things she learned in English. She found the language easier in Math and English subjects than in other subjects like science and history. She performed better than the students who initially had attended English medium primary schools in Kenya and Uganda. She says doing okay in the two subjects was the reason for her to stay in secondary school. This suggests that proficiency in the language alone is not as important as understanding the subject matter students learn in secondary school.

A third example of type of secondary schools helping students become more fluent in the English language follows. Damas attended one public secondary school that did not support students' learning of the English language and good performance in academic subjects. However, he recalled and commented on better experiences from a private school that his friends attended:

Actually, to be honest, I tried to transfer to a seminary school, because at seminary school, they tend to spend more time being in classroom. But public school, we started school at 8:00am to 3:00pm. After that, day students [non boarding students] went home and boarding students remain in school and stuff like that. But, seminary schools, they have good performance and have more time to spend face-to-face with their teachers. (Damas)

From Damas's comment, it seems that he was not happy with his public secondary school he attended. He therefore once tried to transfer to a private school. He did not state what made his wish hard to be fulfilled. The private school was a seminary and as a norm for the majority of private schools, they tend to spend more time in studying, and their graduates succeed more than students in public secondary schools such as the one Damas attended. In public schools, he observes that students spent less time in school and had less contact with teachers. The greater access to English language practice and instruction was considered an advantage by Damas.

A Fourth example of how students in private schools were more successful in English language proficiency:

I think there are several advantageous ways. The first one, I had native speakers of English as my English language teachers. Secondly, the school had plenty of reading materials. So you can see these two factors combine into one major factor in learning English language, which is exposure to the language. And reading for pleasure was a big part of the English program at the school. We read a lot. We developed an appetite of reading stories. There were also lots of activities in the classroom like roleplaying, acting. If we had a book we read, we had to act out the parts. We had a school magazine. People had to contribute through writing. (Denis)

Denis commented that the advantage he got from his private school that emphasized the use of English language included exposure to English itself. His school had native speaking teachers of the English language, besides enough reading materials. The school cultivated positive attitudes and habit for students towards reading for

academic development and pleasure. Students acted out after reading, and contributed in writing to the school magazine. He pointed out the importance of having proficient teachers in the language, adequate teaching and learning materials, and teachers employing a variety of fun and helpful learning activities.

Having all the necessities for learning the English language Denis adds in his comment below that he did not even wish to transfer to a different school. He said:

I didn't wish to transfer to another school when it comes to English. It could be some other things but not English. I think I went to the best school. I wouldn't change if I were given a choice. (Denis)

The next comment describes why Denis considered his school better:

The seminary school, the medium of instruction was English, and every day you must use English from Monday to Friday in all aspects, whether you are playing sports, or you are doing any activity. This was a boarding school. And there was what we call 'English speaking policy', which we have a small piece of board saying speak only English. If you are caught speaking Swahili you are punished. Only on Saturdays and Sundays when you are eligible to use Swahili. (Elia)

Most of these positive experiences come from students who attended private schools. Elia went to a Catholic seminary school that is a private secondary school. He said English was a medium of instruction in his school - not to imply that Tanzania had some secondary schools whose official language was other than English. Rather, he made that point to show how private schools such as his implemented the English-only policy compared to other schools, specifically the public ones. Students spoke the

language throughout the week in academics and outside the classroom. An additional advantage to the implementation of the English-only policy is that his school was a boarding one. He probably wanted to indicate how students stayed away from their families and neighbors at home, who might have obliged the students to speak Swahili or other tribal languages. Finally, another reinforcement for Elia and other students to speak English was punishment for those who violated the English-only policy by speaking other languages.

His overall praise of his school's effort suggest that he did not see punishment as a bad thing because of the good intention to make students proficient in the English language. When I asked whether there were special times that students spoke other languages than English, Elia still insisted that those moments were rare:

“So, there’s no way they could speak another language, except English... Very few times. Let’s say out of 50-60 minutes of class, the teacher can use 2-3 Swahili terminologies. The rest of the class, teachers used English. Some teachers at seminary didn’t know Swahili at all because they were Indian sisters [nuns] from India, and we had students coming for internship from England ... an advantage to have someone who can correct you to use the language in a proper way. It was a good challenge, not a negative challenge.... I’m much - much better than a student who went to a normal school in which they use English just in class but out of class they don’t use English. Most of those people have hard time even to write an essay. (Elia)

He commented that teachers made sure students did not get opportunities to speak languages other than English. He gave an example of 2 to 3 Swahili words that could be

heard from a teacher in duration of a 50-60 minute class. His school benefited from having foreign teachers who did not know local languages of Tanzania. The school had exchange students from England where English is a native language. Those students from abroad helped local students to learn English well. Finally, Elia is glad he attended the school he did because he believes he is better at English than students who did not attend ‘good’ schools like his. He said the ability of those who did not attend private schools like Elia’s, to write well in the English language, is low.

Another example of how private schools are generally better than public schools came from Bupe. I asked her to explain what she meant by “Academic Schools”, and why they were better than public schools or some private schools. She said:

It’s English medium schools, which means they speak English most of the time. And they take Swahili as a subject. So, it was kind of vice versa compared to my school, because for primary school, I went to public school. ... [In secondary school] We had a system, if you don’t speak English, there was like a badge that says speak English only, something like that. If you are caught speaking Swahili, then you walk around with a badge, like to remind everyone to speak English. (Bupe)

In Tanzania, *English medium schools* is a catch term that is often used for commercial purposes to especially advertise private schools that supposedly have the highest emphasis in the use of English language in school. The only time students can speak Swahili in those schools is when they are taking it as a subject. Her primary school was not an English medium one but secondary school was. Bupe remembered how her secondary school used a badge to reinforce or remind students to speak the language. A

student caught speaking Swahili was required to walk with the sign so that other students can see the reminder to speak the English language. Since she does not suggest that it was fun to walk with the badge, it can be assumed that students avoided it by either speaking English or keeping quiet to avoid the shame or embarrassment.

Following is the last comment from Denis:

Yeah, so without exception they [private schools] used English all the time [in the class]. Unfortunately when I compare with other secondary schools, I taught after my education, I found that teachers were not very proficient in English. That was not our case, all the teachers were very proficient. (Denis)

Denis attended a private school where as a norm all students spoke English better than an average student in a public secondary school. However, he also shares his later unique experience as a secondary school teacher, of seeing the English language situation in a public school. The school he taught did not do well in English, in terms of proficiency compared to his school he attended as a student previously. What he saw as a teacher, he says was not the case for his school when he was a student. His comment suggests two important things: First, there is generally an obvious difference between private and public schools in terms of English proficiency. Secondly, time seems to be a factor for the differences Denis observed earlier as a student and later as a teacher.

During the years he attended secondary schools, the number of schools in the country were relatively low, while currently there are more than twice as many schools compared to the number when Denis was a student.

Parents' Encouragement and Support of Their Children in Secondary Schools

Below are eight respondents who shared their experience from their parents. The respondents explained how the parents played a big role to encourage their children to succeed as the students learned through the English language. The parents' encouragement as seen in the comments below were either explicit in the sense that encouragements were stated directly by the parents, or they were implicit in the sense that holistically the parents gave a positive impression towards the children's learning of English in secondary school. The parents' role was very crucial in the students' success. When I asked Bahati whether she sees any advantages to learning through the English language, she replied as follows:

Now yes. That time, no! They thought it was a good school. You are learning the language, even though I fought every year. I cried and I wanted to transfer to a different school. And every year they [parents] had a reason why I had to go back to the same school... I know personally, going through the experience, I hated it. I didn't wanna learn English, I didn't understand why my parents wanted me to learn English. But now that I look back, I thank them, because I think they had more insights than I had at the time. I wasn't thinking far enough. (Bahati)

Bahati attended a Catholic secondary school in Tanzania. The nuns ran the school she attended. Her school was and arguably is still one of the best in terms of teaching the English language in Tanzania. In her comment above, she reported that she did not like her school at all because the school did not allow the students to speak Swahili and tribal languages. Additionally, she said students who did not speak English were punished.

She recalled her parents' forceful encouragement for her to remain in her school because they believed she would learn English well and become fluent. She said that those days she was in school, she cried every day for her parents to send her to a different school. But now she does not regret anything. In retrospect, she has a favorable opinion of her school and she is glad she attended it. She especially understood the importance after her English skills facilitated her relocation from Tanzania to the US. English proficiency helped her communication during applications for the US visa and with general communication while she lives in the US.

A second respondent, Beltina, reported that her parents did not receive a formal education. Despite their lack of formal education, they insisted that their daughter Beltina should work hard to achieve good scores and be among the few top students in her class.

Unfortunately, my parents did not go to school. What they cared about was for me to come home with a good average. They wanted me to be within the top ten. If I was within that range, that was enough for them. Even if they don't know what is in there, they wanted to see the scores. (Beltina)

Even if her parents could not decipher Beltina's score reports, they nonetheless were invested in her doing well in her English-only private school. The value of English in a broader economy of exchange ultimately motivated them to pay for their children's costs of attending school. The comments suggest that her parents knew that someday their children might have a better life after graduating from school.

Similarly, Denis's parents were very happy that Denis was learning the English language. They wanted him to do well in school. They did not, however, consider this as

antithetical to learning one's tribal language. Denis's parents told Denis that when he learns English in school, he should not forget his tribal language.

My father was very enthusiastic about me learning even at a very early age. He was very impressed that I loved to learn and practice English. But other than that, they didn't have any particular opinion. All they insisted though was that I should not forget our language [tribal language]. They always wanted me to know it and speak to the elders. They often insisted it was the right way to do. (Denis)

Denis's parents' view suggest that they regarded English language learning as additive, not subtractive and knew well the advantage and place of both English and tribal languages in the Tanzanian community.

The pattern of parental investment in English language learning was a consistent theme in the interviews. For example Habiba commented that her mom was so excited to see her daughter (Habiba) learned English in addition to the Swahili which she already knew. They knew her English language skills would help her go to the university.

But I remember my mom was so excited that I was learning other language than Swahili.... She had a vision or thought I was going to the university, and if I didn't know the language, I wouldn't go. Parents want their children to succeed. (Habiba)

Similarly, Rita, another respondent said that her mother emphasized the importance of mastering English. She recalled:

I remember my mom saying that you have to work hard in school to learn English.... She wanted me to be able to go to the university. (Rita)

This pressure to learn English was especially present in families with university educated parents. Bupe's father has a university education. He spoke English with his children so that they could do better in secondary school.

So, my dad was very into education. He really emphasized to go to school to study. So, he was helping by speaking English to us. As I said, my parents helped us learn English by speaking to us so that when we go to school we can do better. I can see it now as something that was helpful.... I didn't like it by then but they had to push us because they knew it better. (Bupe)

She said she can see now how learning English was helpful. This suggests that while at school she did not think it was important to know English. Also she has realized some of the benefits after moving from Tanzania to live in the US. Bupe believed that her parents were right in pushing her to learn English.

Respondents' parents identified practical benefits to the study of English beyond the educational benefits. One respondent's father was a magistrate [judge] in a court. His dad warned Ali that he needed to know English well so that if Ali became a judge in the future, he would not face communication problems at work.

The language used in primary court in Tanzania is English. But the people who attend as accusers or defendants speak in Swahili. So my dad used to have a very difficult time because the people who are on the court that day speak Swahili. So, my dad had to listen it in Swahili, translate it into English and then write a verdict [judgment] in English, not in Swahili. After that, give it to the secretary to type it. When it comes to announce the verdict, he needs to announce it in Swahili so the people can hear it. So he said to me, you have

to know English, or you gonna work in lower courts and English will give you so many problems if you don't speak it. (Ali)

Ali points out how primary courts use both Swahili and English. Ali and his parents felt, therefore, that he would be in a good position if he knew well both English and Swahili.

The pervasiveness of parental investment in their children learning English in the accounts about their educational experiences offered by respondents testifies to a widespread impression that the Study of English brings social, professional, and economic benefits to students. While it could be argued that such parental impressions could be collectively mistaken, it seems more reasonable to conclude that this pervasive opinion was grounded to some degree in substantive fact. Learning English did provide students with access to opportunities that they would not otherwise have had.

Influence of Politicians, Scholars, and Parents With Better Socioeconomic Status

Some of the respondents believed that the dialogues and debates about language of instruction in secondary schools, in Tanzania, have to benefit Tanzanians. Respondent's comments about these debates revealed some of the ways they saw the speaking of English as a resource in different ways, just as indigenous languages can be a resource (Baker, 2011, Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981). Most often, felt a balance between indigenous language and English should be promoted by influential individuals in Tanzania. Joshua, for example, argued:

Tanzanians like to engage in rhetoric [about disadvantages of using English for instruction]. You give them an allowance for a conference run by an international organization, put them in a workshop, they will theorize, they

will come up with resolutions, but deep inside, I believe they know that English is the language that the kids need to succeed in the modern world. And, underground they will take kids to private “tuition” [private teacher’s lessons] for English. But in public meetings and conferences, they will theorize and speak very eloquently about the need to promote Swahili. They will talk about - our kids might not learn as well in English as they might in their own language. All those are great theories, and the Tanzanians will quote studies. They have a lot of elaborate theories, but deep inside they know that our kids should be taught in English as a way of promoting the language. Again, that’s me. (Joshua)

Joshua begins a reference to “rhetoric” when Tanzanians argue for the promotion of Swahili to become the official language of instruction, or at least one of the official languages for instruction in secondary schools. The comment observes that scholars and politicians attend workshops, training and the like to discuss and find a solution to an unending debate on the current and future language of instruction in Tanzanian secondary schools. Joshua commented that Tanzanian participants in these discussions who advocate for K-12 instruction in Swahili are often being disingenuous. These same scholars and politicians engaged in those discussions send their children to either English medium schools or to private lessons in English, outside of the secondary school official system. He goes on to say:

Many people are not being honest. Because, if you look at the powerful Tanzanians, every kid is studying abroad or in the English medium schools [kindergarten and primary schools] in the country. But when it comes to

making policy, they will speak very eloquently about the value of teaching in Swahili, the value of making it the medium of instruction. But, we have children studying in the US, in Canada, in Europe, in international schools in the country, or in Kenya! (Joshua)

Joshua's comment suggests that in the debates about the most appropriate language of instruction, some leaders extol the value of English, other the value of Swahili. However, he suspects that those advocating for Swahili instruction embrace the use of the English language in secondary school indirectly by they sending their children to study abroad in the English medium schools [even before they are admitted in college]. He does not seem to be impressed by that practice because, the same people make language policy in favor of their children who are already in the English language instruction schools, not those in the majority of public schools.

Several other respondents also referred to the apparent class segregation involved in who gets intensive instruction in English and the hypocrisy of political leaders who advocate for Swahili instruction in public schools but send their children to private or foreign schools. The presumption in these comments was that educated elites were reserving the English Language Education as a resource for their own children, while not providing this resource for most Tanzanians for whom they had lower expectations.

Bilingual Instruction Ideas from Respondents' Voices

Although most of the respondents in this study saw competency with the English language as a valuable resource, all of them also saw value to the use of Swahili and tribal languages. Individuals and schools should be able to use and value both was by far

the most common view of multilingualism in Tanzania. This led most to critique the harshness of English-only rules in some schools and as a policy generally in secondary schools. In conversations about the value of multilingualism, respondents often expressed a sense of English language as a valuable resource, but not the only or most important linguistic resource. There was considerable speculation about how a bilingual Swahili/English k-12 education system might work.

In what follows I examine comments about building a more universally bilingual education system. Such comments did not simply focus on including Swahili at the secondary level of schooling. It also, and often more vigorously, involved reflections on the need for more English instruction in public elementary schools. All of the respondents who discussed such things in these interviews believed that in order for students to be proficient in English at secondary school level, the language should be introduced earlier either in kindergarten or primary schools. The respondents' comments also endorse English being taught more intensively than it is being taught now. These comments about the continued use of the English language, only suggest how the teaching of English language can be improved.

Salome, for example, is one of the respondents who believe that both Swahili and English are viable languages of instruction in secondary schools. However, after explaining that she thinks that there should be instruction in Swahili, she remarks:

No, but I don't mean there should be no English. Students should learn English as a language, as a subject. Don't you see other nations? They speak..., for example Chinese students, they learn in Chinese and when they

come to America they learn English. Even when presidents travel to other countries, they can have translators in English language. (Salome)

She gives an example of other nations, particularly China where students learn all academic subjects in Chinese, and only English as a subject. When those students need to study or live in an English speaking country such as the US, they learn more English while abroad. Salome adds that it is not even necessary for presidents of countries such as Tanzania to be fluent in the English language. When the president of Tanzania travels abroad for example, he or she may have translators in the English language and Swahili. Still, she believes English instruction is a necessity.

Damas, like many other respondents suggest that students would do better in English in secondary school if they started learning it more intensively in primary school level.

Yes. Like I said earlier, it is good to start with English in primary school. In seminary, they are better because they spend 5 years instead of 4 years common for other schools. At the seminary, the first year is dedicated to orientation and building up their vocabulary. Most public and [other] private schools do not do that. (Damas)

Currently Tanzania has some private primary schools and one or two public ones that do provide intensive English preparation. When students from these schools begin form one in secondary schools most of them are already fluent because they spend one year learning English language. Seminary schools are special kind of secondary schools where students spend an extra year at the beginning to develop English skills. Damas sees this as holding great deal of value for students.

Elia said that he would prefer to see English taught starting in primary school. His comment suggests that English should continue being taught in secondary schools. He argues that there had been too much politics and too little scientific reasoning on which language to use in secondary school. His comment suggests that the literature and workshops that emphasize the importance of English in the country are more “scientific” than arguments on alternative language(s) of teaching secondary subjects.

I emphasize more on English being the medium of instruction from elementary schools. I oppose 100% to use Swahili as a medium of instruction from elementary school. The problem is that there's more politics than scientific reasons on which language to use in secondary schools. Teachers should be given high priority. Also curriculum needs to be changed, when you go to form one in secondary school, it's a repetition of standards 4, 5, 6 and 7. The only thing changing is Swahili to English. Time is wasted. (Elia)

He suggests that the current problems under English-only language of instruction in secondary school are due to low priority given to secondary school teachers. It might include issues of teachers' pre-service and in-service programs, and teachers' motivation such as good salary packages. Elia's concern is that, currently, students in secondary schools learn almost the same content that they covered in the last 4 years of primary school. The comment suggests that time is wasted, since the new material students learn is only the English language.

The next respondent is Fatuma. When I asked her whether she had additional comments about the subject of the interview, she said that she would like the government to allow English use in all subjects from primary school.

Yes. I think the government needs to change something. For example, I think, from elementary school, students should learn all subjects in English. They can learn through Swahili for 20% of the time and English 80%. (Fatuma)

Her comment suggests that students already know Swahili language. They should therefore spend more time on the new language. But she does not explain how easily the students can learn the content of subjects such as Geography, Science, History, Mathematics, and others while trying to understand the new language (English). She seems to be advocating for some form of bilingual education, however, the dividing of time between English (80% and Swahili (20%) creates a heavy slant towards English. Clearly she regards the learning of English as a priority in her vision of an ideal instructional approach.

Another respondent who suggested about having some new form of bilingual education is Bahati. She attended a Catholic girls private school, which was arguably one of the best schools in terms of English language instruction and best overall in academic performance nationally. In the section *Swahili as a Resource*, she strongly expressed that Swahili could be the language of instruction. Here, she sees again the benefits of using English and Swahili. Although it is not her personal choice that English should be the main language of instruction, understanding the difficulty it might take to switch from English to another language, she argues that, if English is to be continued students need to begin learning academic subjects through it from primary school in Fifth Grade (Standard Five). Her suggestion suggests the inevitability of English use even when students may not like it. She added that her sister's school was more flexible than Bahati's. They allowed Bahati's sister and other students to freely use English and

Swahili. However, the school rules stayed firm in writing academic work. Students were required to use English in all academic work [lessons notes and exams].

My thinking has always been that if kids need to use English in learning secondary school subjects, it should be introduced earlier in primary school, maybe Fifth Grade? So, it's not such a shock when you get into secondary school. It's good that it's there. But we need prep time.... For my sister, they [in their school] could speak Swahili outside or if you do not understand English in the class, you could speak Swahili, but your work [written assignments] has to be in English. (Bahati)

It is difficult to discern how much of these interview respondents advocacy for English instruction in the primary grades was a statement of the value of learning English for reasons of economic competitiveness or improved global connections, or whether it was acquiescence to the already existing dominance of English language education in Tanzania. The prevalence of English only instruction in secondary schools became, in part, a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy making it difficult for respondents to imagine an alternative for their education or that of the next generation.

English Language as Problem

Current Teaching of English-only in Secondary Schools Creates Anxiety in Students

Although respondents almost uniformly advocated for more intensive English education at earlier ages and saw English as an important resource for students socially and economically, there was a great deal of ambivalence expressed about the way English instruction was handled in Tanzanian schools. In this section we look at respondents comments about the teaching of English language, teaching other subjects through

English, the conflicting nature of the position of English as the medium, and forceful implementation of this monolingual dominated policy in secondary education. All these problems are reflected in the feelings that respondents had while in school and expressed as adult Tanzanians.

Rita commented that the emphasis on English became a problem when students were required or expected to use it to express their experiences and events that happen in and around their home surroundings. Rita pointed out that, it was hard to bring outside of class experiences to the classroom through English language.

English was very difficult especially outside the classroom, because I attended a day school, and you know that everybody went home after school. So, we had to make stories [at school] about what happened yesterday. You can't explain things in English. Especially, if you... "Yesterday," ... and then the teacher says, "what are you trying to say?" And then, you end up saying [in wahili]: "jana, mamangu ali ..." which translates as "yesterday, my mom did...." (Rita)

While in the classroom, she could recall most of the things that happened around her home. Internally, she reflected her thoughts in Swahili before she could attempt to utter them in English. Most of the time, she adds, that she found herself beginning her story sharing in the Swahili language, when her teacher insisted that she speak up. She then does not explain what happened after she spoke in Swahili. Although in a typical school setting, speaking Swahili would be punishable as she and other respondents remarked earlier in other parts of the interview. Otherwise, with a more lenient teacher, students like Rita would be allowed to code switch between English and Swahili. A student might

feel relieved if he or she is not punished for speaking Swahili. However, code switching would not waive the requirement for students to write their exams in English only. This is where Rita and others found their learning through English language a daunting task.

Secondly, Rita recounts that the use of English sometimes led to students' decision of eventually dropping out of school. This did not happen to her, but she remembered this happening to her friends after they had failed in the exams.

I think the disadvantage is that it causes some students to drop out of school.

I know some of my friends who failed the form two national exam and they never came back. I think it is because of the English language. There's no point of going back to school when they cannot communicate with teachers and friends. Many people don't need English in Tanzania. Me, I think for most Tanzanians, English is a waste of time. Many Tanzanians don't need English. (Rita)

Rita suggests that the purpose of school is for students to learn. If the Rita's friends suspected that learning would not happen after they returned to school, there was no value for them to remain in school. The emphasis on English-only communication became an obstruction to these students' education. She further observed that many Tanzanians do not need English language. She realizes that there are significant benefits of learning English as is evidenced in her previous comments documented in the “*English as Resource*” section. But here she allows that this utility does not apply to all, or even most, Tanzanian citizens.

Bupe seconds these observations. Like Rita, she attributes a great deal of student failure to the difficulty of the language of instruction. Bupe believes the problem is not

lack of ability or potential, but simply that most students had inadequate or no English language instruction in primary school [elementary school] before they began secondary education. She describes the introduction of English at secondary school level as a sudden phenomenon. She and other students were faced with this challenge.

At the end of the day they end up failing. It's not that they were not smart. It's just that English was not our medium of communication in primary school. And now in secondary school they're supposed to know, to learn all these vocabulary that are new. It was a challenge. Most of the students failed because the medium of communication was a problem! ... The difficult part for me was trying to learn English in front of other students, and people laugh at you, if you said the words not the right way. That was a daunting part for me. If that would not have been there, I could have better English language skills or communication skills.... The problem of wearing a badge if you don't speak English—that was to me ... I mean, I was trying to avoid it as much as I could [laughter]. Yeah. (Bupe)

Bupe remarks here on the shaming practices (the badge) and how she dreaded being marked in that fashion as someone who couldn't speak English. While the language was not understood, Bupe adds that students would laugh at a student who used incorrect words in English. The psychological impact of using the English language in front of others, when this is likely to elicit scorn and ridicule, is a significant problem beyond the inability to understand the subject matter. She lost confidence in speaking the language. Gaining confidence is a necessary step in learning. If these problems did not manifest, Bupe reported that she would have better English language skills now. Other

respondents reported having received corporal punishment as a way to discourage “other” languages and encourage the use of English instead.

For any student of a language or other subjects, punishment is generally recognized to be a poor way to achieve positive learning outcomes. There are examples of studies that focus on learners in similar bilingual environments such as in Canada. The European colonizers initially discouraged Aboriginal languages by applying cruel punishments to native people. The goal was to assimilate the native people into European languages (Sachdev & Hanlon, 2001, p. 70). To ensure that Tanzanian secondary school students learn English by any and all means, British colonial education used similarly cruel techniques. And now the Tanzanian government system employs some of these tactics.

Selina added an additional layer of analysis to the frequently repeated remarks about the inadequacy of the teaching of the English language in Tanzanian secondary schools. She went to a boarding school and was one of the students admitted with low proficiency in English. The school [especially teachers], in her opinion, did not care about the students who did not understand the language. They were only concerned about the behavior of speaking English or Swahili.

You get sticks [get beat up with sticks] or get punished. They [students] fail in the exams, you get punished because.... But I don't think anybody would care you don't speak English or you don't understand it. What they cared about was you have to speak English. (Selina)

Her comment suggests that her school treated students as if they all had the same level of proficiency in English. They proceeded with instruction as if students knew English, and

then punished students if they spoke Swahili or tribal languages. There was little nuanced attention to the teaching of English. The research has shown, however, that this is a very poor way of teaching English or teaching subject matter through a second language. If teachers do not pay attention to individual students' abilities, questions might be raised. Questions such as: (1) How can students be taught and evaluated fairly? (2) Besides teaching and learning languages, how are schools supposed to be providing meaningful education to citizens?

One of the central problems with English language medium instruction was the authoritarian and exclusive way it was used in secondary schools. Not only did this inhibit student learning of subject matter concepts, but it also created an atmosphere of shame, isolation, and intimidation that encouraged dropouts and other forms of less formal withdrawal.

Teachers' Low Levels of Proficiency and Ability to Teach Using English Language

Students were not the only ones with low levels of English proficiency. Some teachers also had low-level skills in English. Many Tanzanian teachers in secondary schools went through the same English instruction that their current students are experiencing. This means that the teachers did not understand the language as students, and they now cannot be efficient teachers in the language. This made it, therefore, difficult for them to teach well in English. Several of the interviews mentioned teachers who were not proficient in the English language. Teachers' problems with English affected students negatively. Teachers' lack of fluency inhibited both students learning of the English language and the content of the subjects taught in the English language in

secondary schools. In addition, most teachers received little pedagogical training. This means that those teachers spoke and taught English, but were not competent or had never learned efficient strategies for teaching the English language, or for teaching other subjects through the English language. John recalls:

I have friends who we used to be neighbors. I could see how sometimes they complained how their teachers were not good. They just kept quiet, didn't talk, just wrote notes on the board. ... The quality of teachers determines how much students get. My friends are clever kids; it's just that they went to public schools. (John)

John attended a 'good' private secondary school, but his fellows went to public secondary schools. His friends reported to him that they did not have good teachers. This contributed to students in public schools gaining little or no fluency in the English language. They also told him that students in the public secondary schools kept quiet in classrooms because they did not know the language. The only thing they did was to copy the teachers' notes. John believes that the quality of teachers contributed to the students' quality and quantity of what they were able to learn in schools. John understands well that his fellow students were probably smart kids. The only problem was the ability to express themselves in English.

Bahati made a similar observation about teachers who are less than fluent in English:

Some teachers, of course you can tell, they are struggling with the English language, but they are teaching. And I'm not sure, they're teachers when you tell them about this, they get mad and you get spanked. Because, they're like you don't understand English, it's your fault. But, some teachers were

understanding. So you had a range of differences in teachers. And always your work had to be turned in English. (Bahati)

Even when teachers saw fit to explain subject matter concepts in Swahili, students still faced assessment in English. Denis saw the teachers' problem both as a student and later as a teacher himself. He recalls that teachers would explain the content of academic subject to students in Swahili.

What are the teachers doing? So, a Chemistry teacher—teaching in Swahili, giving the students notes that they write on the board for students to copy, which are in English! And then they will have to answer the exams in English. The notes that they copy are for memorizing, they [students] don't know anything! So, remember they cannot pick a book and read for themselves and find out some knowledge. (Denis)

The notes the teachers give to the students, however, are written in English and the students are required to answer the exams and tests in English. What happens as a result, he suggests, is rote memorizing on the part of the learners. The students memorize how to answer questions in English, but they do not spend time trying to actually understand the topic. Denis comments that, all the students can do is copy and memorize the notes. They cannot for example read the English textbooks for the sake of learning. The reliance on English language assessment drove students to a kind of rote learning. As a result, students cannot develop critical thinking skills nor the ability to learn through the Socratic method.

This problem becomes compounded when one considers the way teachers are recruited and employed. After secondary education, most qualified students go on to a

university education, according to the selection criteria. Elia expresses concern that it is students who did not qualify for admission to the University level that go on to teacher courses [at a diploma or non degree level]. These teachers, he suggests, are the ones who did not understand English language while in secondary school themselves, and now become either English teachers, or they will teach their specialization subjects in the English language.

The disadvantage is that those who failed or didn't qualify to go to the university are the ones who become teachers. So, using English, you are forcing people to use the language they don't know. Teachers with a degree should be the ones teaching from early education to high school—do the same like it applies in the US. In this situation, it's better to use both English and Swahili even in exams students could be given options to respond either in English or in Swahili. That could [be] much, much better. (Elia)

Elia uses an example of the US where college graduates with Ph. D might teach from early education to college level. Elia locates the problem with using is in using English-only in secondary schools. He believes that students would learn better if they used both English and Swahili. In that case, the students could have the freedom to answer exams and tests in either language. His comment generally implies that there should be some form of bilingual education that allows both English and Swahili to be used.

Since many of the public school teachers were not Tanzanians, there were challenges related to dialect and accent as well. English spoken with a Swahili accent was different than English spoken with a Hindi accent. Aisha pointed out that this further complicated efforts to understand the English being used by the teachers.

One of the challenges we had that time, you probably will understand this: you know Africans, we speak Swahili, we have an accent. It's very unique versus the accent that the people from India have, especially those who became expatriates. So, we had problems understanding our expatriate teachers because they had heavy accent. They might be saying something and we might not understand. So communication would break down sometimes.

(Aisha)

Here she is not arguing that the expatriate teachers were not fluent in the English language, but rather their accent made it difficult for students to understand the teachers' messages. Her comment suggests that the Indian teachers probably had hard time understanding the students' and local teacher's English accent. The notion of dialects or varieties of English and varied accents of each is a contested one. There are camps with views opposing one another. There are scholars who argue that teaching should only be in the so-called "standard dialect" and those who think varieties or dialects should be used (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; Lippi-Green, 1997). In Tanzania for example, secondary schools are supposed to be teaching the Standard British English (SBE) which is also known as "the Queen's English" adapted from specific geographical location in England.

This problem of instructors' low levels of competency in English, yet being required to teach only in English, extended into the universities according to Joshua. It was endemic throughout the educational system.

Today, as you know even in colleges in Tanzania, at the university, students have a hard time using English. Even teaching English at the university is problematical. You know, the teachers have to mix in Swahili and English. A

lot of teachers are not even competent to teach in English themselves, you know. Things have drastically declined. Nobody who is honest can dispute this. (Joshua)

Joshua saw the teachers' language problem originating or beginning at university level. His comment suggests that university students might later become teachers who do not thoroughly know English in school. The teachers at university level have English language problems as well. He experienced his teachers' code switching between Swahili and English [unofficially]. Thus, English is difficult to teach effectively on the side of the teachers and difficult to learn well on the side of students.

Several other respondents expressed similar concerns about the competency of K-12 teachers, with the English language. It reveals that the official policy of teaching secondary school curricula only through the medium of English was considered a problem. People differed in how they thought this problem should be addressed, ranging from advocating for more English instruction in lower grades, to a robust bilingual approach to education in the upper grades. Either way, however, English being used as the exclusive medium of instruction was considered a problem.

The Burden of Learning Both the English Language and Academic Subjects

Generally, respondents here suggest that, there is a double burden to the students when they start secondary education in Tanzania. Students try to learn the new language (English) and all of a sudden, they are expected to be fluent in that language. As if that is not enough, the same students are expected to understand the content taught to them in each subject through English. In addition to understanding both the language and

learning the content, they are required to demonstrate their understanding through active participation in the classroom by asking questions, taking part in discussions, and responding to both the internal and national exam questions either orally, or through writing, or both, in the English language only.

What follows are some of the respondents' comments on how they experienced the burden of learning English language and learning the academic subjects in English. at the same time.

Beltina: Well, in science classes, it was really difficult because of the new terms and vocabulary that I was not used to. So, sometimes I could hardly understand what was going on. So mostly in science subjects, particularly Physics and Chemistry.

Interviewer: Why science particularly being difficult, can you elaborate more?

Beltina: Well, because like in History we could hear “majimaji”, “Maumau” [two African wars of liberation from European colonialism in Tanzania and Kenya respectively], World War II, and so I could relate to what I learned in primary school without understanding the language that much. In science things were new—all the terms, things like Bunsen burner, the scientific laws. Biology had even more difficult words to pronounce.

Beltina explained that English language was difficult especially in science subject areas. She makes a distinction between Sciences such as Chemistry and Art subjects (Social sciences) that include History. In the former subjects she says the vocabulary was new, while in the latter subjects, she saw familiar terms from Tanzanian and African history,

which she already knew from elementary school subjects. The difficulty of English language she adds was in pronunciation of the words.

Conversely, learning English primarily through the task of trying to learn academic subjects led to a very narrow competency with the English language. Habiba explains why this is so:

[English was easy]... using it inside the classroom, after a long time, you know some cues like "I can ask a question like this." You know those little things you can use to ask questions. And sometimes you don't go through the details. [repeated, rehearsed phrases, lacking full expression of student's thoughts in their own vocabulary]. But when there was visitors, I'm forced to use the English language. But I end up stuck because I do not have vocabulary. I never used English inside or outside the classroom besides asking questions. Now, I think that's a real challenge for most Tanzanian students, including myself, even now as I speak. (Habiba)

Habiba argues that she learned survival English in her school. Her fluency was limited to a few functions such as asking questions or using repeated phrases. She suggests that in such environment, a student cannot hold any meaningful conversation in English. She particularly recalled the difficult times when visitors came to her school and she was required to communicate with them in English. Her experiences, she believes, are the same for many Tanzanians. She warned the interviewer to be aware that even during the interview she still had the English language problems.

These difficulties learning English because of narrow opportunities to practice it were compounded by the fact that the structure of Swahili and English (not to mention

tribal languages) were very different. These things combined made for very frustrating experiences for some students, as Fred explains:

When you are not sure what word to use. For example, irregular words like child = children, the way they are formed, build = built. One time, I kept repeating the same mistakes even after my teacher corrected me. I felt so bad and difficult. I thought my teacher was not helping me and was not gentle.

(Fred)

Fred points out the English language difficulty due to the nature of the language that can be accounted historically. He pointed out that, irregular verbs [verbs that do not follow generalizable rules] were particularly the most difficult ones. Irregular verbs are a somewhat unique aspect in the English language. There are scholars who argue that the organization of language elements, such as words, phrases, and sentences is different between English and Swahili (the student's L1). His teacher tried to help by correcting him, something he says did not work. The difficulty in the language made his relationship with his teacher seem unfriendly according to the student's (Fred's) perception. He even thought that his teacher was not helpful and perhaps not gentle. Fred felt that he did not gain fluency in the language. In all these comments, we can try to imagine: If the language was not understood, how likely would students be able to learn and understand the academic subject contents? In this regard the English language was more than a problem, it was an obstruction to learning.

English-only Language of Instruction and the Negative Consequences to Students

Although each of the previous sections sheds light on how difficult the English language was in secondary school learning, this part focuses entirely on how students were negatively affected due to the language difficulty. The consequences can be seen as direct or indirect, and physical or psychological. Beltina, for example, observed how the constant struggle to learn in a language that students did not understand and then being graded poorly because of it made students dislike school.

Well, a couple of things: they [students with low proficiency in English] hated school because they were not succeeding. But, I think they were afraid of what their parents would say at home when they fail. The bad thing is that all who failed or got below the standard average were discontinued from school, or they had to repeat a class, especially form two. And those who failed in form four final exam, they didn't receive the academic certificate, which is very important. (Beltina)

In addition to generating bad feelings about school, consequences to students included discontinuation from school, or they repeated the classes, or if it was at the end of the program [form four], the students did not receive certificates of completing secondary education. Elia corroborates this observation, remarking on students whose English skills were low coming into secondary school:

Most of them were very low in grade in class. There're some of the students... That's the time they dropped out of school. Not because they didn't understand or because of any other problems, but because they didn't understand English. For example, we had to construct sentences, or write

essays about a topic. Some of them understood the questions but they couldn't articulate or write down sentences. (Elia)

Low performance on the standardized exams that determined advancement to the next form were among the most significant consequences of having been taught English poorly, then being given subject matter instruction in English. Students in this condition had neither sufficient mastering of English to understand the exams well, nor the subject matter knowledge due to not having understood their classes. Their failures on exams did not reflect their ability, but it had very real negative consequences for their lives, as Habiba recounts:

The school that I went you had to pass a certain average in order to go to the next level [class]. I know more than five students especially in form two who were unable to pass the exam. When you fail you have to go and find another school. (Habiba)

Even when students understood the subject matter being taught, they felt subject to shame and ridicule because of their poor English skills. The constant feeling of shame and experience of derision caused students to resent the schooling process, as Salome explains:

When I try to speak in English I feel so bad in the classroom even if I know the answer. Like other students can speak but I feel bad to answer it in English. You can see that sometimes I didn't like to learn in English and it means I was angry because I didn't like it. (Salome)

Damas described a similar feeling of dread associated with speaking in public.

Let's say it is Damas speaking. And then you are trying to ask or address something at the school general assembly, and at that moment you can't pronounce well, or you don't have good fluency compared to History students or other students who spoke before you: That was an embarrassment. You are trying to say something, but then you pronounce something funny. And you realize that. Yeah, it was an embarrassment. (Damas)

Damas saw English as a problem when some students felt embarrassed because of inaccurate pronunciation of the English words in front of other students. He made this comment when I asked him about what happened to students who could not speak or understand English language, and how those students seemed to feel about their situation.

Being instructed in English changed people's lives. Beltina felt this had happened to her. Her dream when entering secondary school was to become a medical doctor. However she did not perform well in her science classes nor on her science exams, so she is now a teacher. Beltina reflected that if she had been taught in Swahili [supposedly an easier and familiar language] she would have been more likely to fulfill her dreams.

If someone taught me in Swahili, the language that I understand, and then taught me to speak English, I think I'd have been better somewhere other than where I'm today. Because I wanted to be a doctor. But because I could not fit well with those terms in Biology.... So, I don't think there's any advantage really, in terms of providing knowledge. (Beltina)

Her last part of the comment suggests that there are no advantages of using English, if one thinks in terms of learners acquiring knowledge. Denis shared a similar view:

The key now should have been to develop both languages. You can read in blogs and can tell how terrible their [students'] Swahili language is. They're not learning Swahili well: they're not learning English well. And it's not improving. The Swahili is just terrible! (Denis)

Denis remarks on how the English only instruction also causes a decay or lack of development of Swahili skills. Students end up knowing less, not more.

Secondary Education and English Language as a Colonizing Tool

In addition to the practical, pedagogical problems with using English as a medium of instruction, respondents also remarked on the problematic cultural politics of always learning in English. Several interviewees indicated English has been mystified as a necessary language without which no education or learning can take place. As a result, parents, students, school owners, and almost everyone in Tanzania are trying to make sure they provide or get this “rare” and “necessary” resource. This view is supported by scholars who discuss this topic critically and extensively, most notably Lippi-Green (1997) and Wa Thiong'o (2009).

Maria refers specifically to the European colonization of Africa of 1880s, in which European nations scrambled, partitioned, and finally colonized Africa. In this case, education in Tanzania has remnants of the British colonization who by then occupied Tanganyika (now Tanzania). They started secondary education in English language, which remains the only language to date in secondary schools. Since territorial colonization ceased during independence in 1961, Maria suggests that, what is happening now through the English language of instruction is another form of colonization.

Maria, for example, regrets the loss of tribal languages and Swahili.

Maria: I think it is because of the Western culture.

Interviewer: What does that mean?

Maria: Because like colonization affected us so badly, and mostly at the university they teach through English. I think that is one of the reasons why they do it in secondary school too.... One disadvantage is – people forget their language. They forget to work on Swahili.

Others might refer to it as neocolonialism. Colonization in that broad sense is still alive today. Maria's last comment suggests that this form of colonization affects Tanzanians negatively as much as the old colonialism affected Tanzanians. The negative effects of using English-only include the displacement of Swahili, arguably an indigenous language in education.

Beltina offers a more pointed critique. She thinks value of English language skills are inflated, that people think they are more valuable than they practically are. This overvaluation of English she attributes to colonization.

What do the curriculum developers and government think about the issue of language of instruction? This is what we think of as colonization of the mind. We see so many English medium schools in Tanzania, because everyone thinks the moment you speak English, you can do anything, which according to me is not true, I think. The government needs to do something. They need to find some ways. When people complete form six cannot write even application letters, and many from Kenya do better. This is why I say it is

colonization. People don't care. They only look at fluency level of some. That's it. And it is not right. (Beltina)

Beltina argues that colonization imposed not just a language policy on Tanzanians, but also a mindset that associated intelligence and competence with the speaking of the English language. However, she thinks policy makers need to look at the actual consequences of the English-medium instruction laws and take responsibility for their multiple negative effects.

Beltina is not the only one who is skeptical about colonial practices. Scholars such as Lee Bell (2010) in *Storytelling for Social Justice: Connecting Narrative and the Arts in Antiracist Teaching* and, Linda Smith (1999) in *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* argue for an education that liberates colonized people. The two scholars discuss the importance of teaching students in schools “concealed” stories, instead of “stock” stories alone, and the need to actively involve indigenous scholars and communities in conducting research for their own communities, respectively.

Other respondents made similar comments about how the overvaluation of English leaves people without necessary practical skills, as Salome observes:

But this is a problem. If someone speaks English well, it does not mean he or she can perform well on the job. Well, just think, some students pass job interviews but they don't know anything. For example, they don't have any skills. (Salome)

Denis sees a related problem, that the school system at best teaches English, but little else.

*English medium schools are catering to the desire to learn English, right!
They hire teachers from Uganda and Kenya, they come and teach in English.
But, they [students] are not learning other stuff. I hear lots of stories of kids
going to private schools—they are doing well in English but when it comes to
other subjects—Geography, Physics, some other things, they cannot cope,
they only know English [laughter in a sad tone], which is not a good idea.*

(Denis)

The Tanzanians interviewed for this study consistently acknowledged a relationship between colonization and the English-only instructional practices. They often suggested Curriculum planners in Tanzania operate with a colonized mentality or attitudes towards language policy in secondary schools. This was most commonly expressed as a sense that proficiency in the English language equals knowledge and skills or ability in multiple ways. This echoes the views of mid 20th century revolutionary Frantz Fanon (1967) who discusses the role of African elites in African education. He argues that, these elites learn in colonial languages. Consequently, learning in the colonial languages changes their attitudes towards African culture. Beltina, Salome, Denis, and others expressed concern that English becomes a problem because curriculum developers have been colonized through the education they received in English. They therefore have given up fighting back for a relevant education that is supposed to be suitable for their environment and people.

Shortage of English Teaching and Learning Resources in Secondary Schools

There are so many factors that might negatively affect the teaching of and learning through the English language in Tanzanian secondary schools. Shortage of teaching and learning resources is one of them. In what follows, respondents point out specifically the shortage or absence of necessary resources such as English language teaching personnel and learning materials, particularly books. Denis and John are the two respondents who shared their experience about this problem as follows:

Another example is ... I found that form three [11th grade] had no English language teacher. And the headmaster said to me, could you take over that class? And I said, fine. And I go to class. It's horrible. They cannot do anything. They cannot make sentences, they cannot say anything, they cannot ask questions. And, I said, okay here I am, very enthusiastic, I'm pumped up—I want to teach. I designed my own program for that class. Before long, some students came to me with a syllabus and said: The syllabus shows this is what you're supposed to teach us [laughter]. So, what I thought was that they don't know anything in English. So, I was trying to make them at least speak something in the English language. But the students care about the syllabus because that's what they are asked on the test. We are inculcating the desires to pass exams, and not to learn. (Denis)

First, Denis lives and teaches at a university in the US. He has experiences of living and attending secondary school in Tanzania. He also worked as a teacher in two of the government secondary schools in Tanzania, before he moved to the US. He commented that in the two schools in which he taught, one had a class without English

teacher. The school headmaster [principal] asked him to teach that class. Denis implies that he had a class or classes already assigned to him as an English language teacher. However, the form-three class he was reassigned later was an additional class.

In addition to not having teachers who are specialists in the subject area, this also suggests that Denis and many other teachers in Tanzanian secondary schools teach beyond the recommended load. This affects both teachers and the students because they are being overworked. It might be difficult for teachers to prepare and teach lessons, provide students with assignments, and give the students feedback on a timely manner. The students suffer because the time overload does not allow teachers to reach out each student as much. If teachers use lecture method for example, which is regarded one of the poorest methods of delivering lessons especially to young learners, students may be unable to understand the teacher well during the learning process.

The other issue Denis found was that shortage of teachers led the students to focus on what would be asked on the test or exam, instead of a meaningful amount of learning. This part of his comment suggests that students have fixed amount of time that they need to spend in school and cover or learn a certain amount of content. Because of these dual competing factors of time versus content to be covered, students do not find it possible to learn meaningfully. As a result, they choose to prepare for texts and exams, which sound more important for them, given the problems and general circumstances in their school.

Secondly, John commented below that, there is a shortage of teaching and learning resources as well as low quality of those teachers in secondary school. Quality of teachers was discussed earlier in a previous section, but John links it with shortage of resources (teachers). Here is his comment:

I think the difficulty was ... I knew English but I didn't know the vocabulary of the subjects.... The medium of instruction was problematic. Even the teachers sometimes read stuff from the book. And I think they didn't have different ways to explain a single word. That was difficult. Even if I considered myself good in English, it was difficult. At that time there was no Internet. And they didn't encourage us to look up words from dictionaries or other ways. Most of the time we were memorizing. (John)

John is a secondary school graduate who learned English in the US, before he went to attend his primary education in Tanzania. He spoke English fluently in secondary school, although he commented that his fluency lacked academic vocabulary. That makes him partly see English language as a problem. His teachers read from the books for the students to learn instead of a better way of teaching. His comment suggests that teachers read because they were not competent as John said, or they read because there was mainly a shortage of materials that could facilitate easy teaching and learning. The materials could be projectors supported by electricity, computers, or textbooks for each student, so that students could read for themselves. He also suggests that information technology (IT) development is still undeveloped in secondary schools.

The Wastefulness of English-only Policy in Secondary Schools

Respondents pointed out the disadvantages of using the English-only language in secondary schools. Given the problems this monolingual policy of education creates, respondents appeal for the government of Tanzania to revisit and consider other options such as executing the teaching of the language better than it is done now, or include

Swahili as a language of instruction alongside English. Respondents cited a couple of examples from other countries such as China and Japan that only use English and a local or indigenous language of their respective countries.

Speaking of the English only instructional system, Denis complained:

That's not education. That's actually mis-education. It's actually wasting time for everyone. So, these days you have people learning English and after several years of learning English, they still can't speak the language. So, one of the disadvantages we have is that after learning from ... I don't know. Do they learn from third grade these days? So, from third grade to seventh grade, that's five years of learning English. And at the end of it, they're unable to create a sentence. And then add 4 more years of secondary school. At the end of that day, they are not even able to write anything. It's like 9 years wasted doing nothing. That's one big disadvantage. We are wasting time. People are coming out without anything, mis-educated because they come up with an impression that English is a very difficult language, an impossible language, you have to be super smart to learn that language [mixed feelings laughter]. (Denis)

Denis listed all the problems that he believed are a result of the English-only policy in secondary school. His comment suggests that there is so much time and resources spent by the government and parents to send children to secondary schools. However, after a long period, the students do not become proficient in the language. They also do not receive education. All these, he refers to as “mis-education”.

He additionally criticizes the government for wasting the time of students, teachers, and other workers involved [everyone]. The government is to be blamed because it is the only one that can have a final say about all sensitive matters of the nation. One of those is the type of education and how the students should learn. Denis' arguments suggest that, it is the government's decisions, which lead the Tanzanians to the impression that English is a difficult language to learn. When in fact, this is due to bad choices and timing, in relation to resources available and ability to execute the teaching of English successfully that is causing the problems.

Salome challenged the idea that the nation of Tanzania needs English in order to do well in globalized transactions such as trade, politics, and administration. He recommends that all students learn in Swahili. This means even government officials would not need to be fluent in English in order to travel and make communications with other countries. All communication would be possible through translators in both Swahili and English languages.

For example, the president of Tanzania can speak Swahili if he is abroad and someone can translate for him. I don't understand why you can't teach subjects in Swahili Language. If they teach in Swahili, you will see it, I am sure.... You know students can pass [exams] well? ... and it can be easier. Our government does not care very much, that's why. Even most parents don't know what to do because they are not educated. But they [government] need to change this. I am serious! (Salome)

Salome urges the government to change the current monolingual policy for secondary schools instruction. English further does not facilitate the necessary transfer and

acquisition of knowledge and skills specifically to these failing students. The fact that students fail in school or discontinue demonstrates those problems are real.

Fred explained the problems that are due to the English language and suggested that Tanzania could learn lessons from other countries such as China. Those other countries use their own languages in school and teach English as a subject. This implies that Tanzania could use Swahili, the language that is common for all Tanzanians. Focusing on economy, he does not see advantages of learning through English only that would compel Tanzania to continue with the current policy.

English Medium Instruction Contributes to Class Stratification

In this section, I present views from the respondents indicating that, type and status level of parents was a significant factor in determining the students' achievement level of English proficiency. In the previous section on "*English as Resource*", respondents explained how some parents played a positive role in their children's education in secondary school. In contrast, here, comments indicate that students whose parents did not offer any help in terms of verbal encouragement and material support did not do well in academics. Those students additionally were not proficient in the English language. This creates class stratification in educational experiences for students, a class stratification structured around English language fluency.

I mean kids who went to private school, speak good English, we people who went to public schools, we do not speak good English. But that's what I can think. It happens because like I said no one cares about English language in public school. (Fred)

Fred went to a public secondary school. In his comment above, he compares the English proficiency level of students in public schools and private ones. He noted that private schools teach English language better than public schools. The reason that English proficiency level is low in public schools is that, no one [parents, school authorities, or government] cares about the students' struggles with the English medium instruction, particularly in those schools. His comment also suggests that parents of the students in public schools do not take any action such as transferring their children to private schools that teach English better.

Aisha and John more clearly identify parental support as an issue. Aisha commented:

There were a few students who struggled because they did not have any help at home. But because everything was in English, it was overwhelming. So they don't have anywhere to go. There used to be national exam in the second year. And if they failed that, they never even finished high school. (Aisha)

Similarly John observed:

If someone comes from a bad family [low economic status family] and goes to a school where teachers are not competent in English, they might think the student is not smart. But it's just they are hard to understand because of the language. But, if we taught them [students] in a different language, they will be totally different persons.... We are losing a lot of resources in the language that students do not understand well. (John)

John identifies two main problems with English medium instruction. Along with the role of students' home background, he reiterated the teachers' quality and ability to teach

English that was discussed in one of the previous parts of this section. His comment suggests that when students originate from families with low socioeconomic status and attend schools with teachers who have deficiency, the situation makes those students look as if they are not smart. John suggests that English has created a myth in Tanzania where the general public and teachers regard fluency in English as synonymous to being smart or intelligent. English language then is both poor pedagogically and contributes to the stigmatization of low-income learners.

Parents of low-income students do not object to this educational system, however, because it is treated as natural and inevitable. Fatima notes a certain fatalism about the whole system.

Parents? Yeah, they don't say anything. They know it is difficult to learn through English. But they know it is a law or policy to learn through English.

What can he /she do? (Fatuma)

When asked about the role of her parents towards her education, specifically with regard to succeeding in the English language, Fatuma said her parents never said anything to her in terms of encouragement or other remarks. Her parents knew English was difficult overall. They lived with among other parents who talked about the English language in secondary schools in Tanzania. Fatuma excuses the passive role of her parents because she believes that the language policy is a government decision. The lack of action from her parents may be because they lack a sense of agency to change government policy. Since the government does not involve the parents in matters pertaining to their children's academic planning, choices, and decisions, the parents remain quiet. Her comments suggest that solving this problem would require a third actor to intervene or

mediate the government and parents, so that there is some dialogue about the secondary school language policy, students' academic progress and final academic outcomes.

English Instruction Does Not Promote Community Learning or Students' Sense of Self-worth as Tanzanians

Conversations about switching to the use of Swahili as the primary language of instruction (LoI) in Tanzania have occurred in many gatherings, workshops, conferences, and in academic publications. Beverly G. Kirkland (1976) wrote forcefully about this in "*The Language of Self-Reliance: Swahili-Medium Secondary Education in Tanzania*". Kirkland inventoried the benefits she thought would result from a shift in language education policy, including sociopolitical, psychological, as well as pedagogical benefits. She argues that to clearly understand the value of Swahili language instruction in the Tanzanian context, one needs to take into account the national goals of socialism and self-reliance. Self-reliance is the framework established to guide education in Tanzania after the 1961 political independence (p. 105).

Kirkland identifies three kinds of negative impact English-only schools have on Tanzanian culture and citizens. First, there are sociopolitical impacts to the society as a whole is involved. For example, both political and educational leadership at federal, regional, and district levels are affected by the nation's language education policies. . Second, there are psychological impacts on individuals. Finally there are pedagogical impacts that influence how students learn in schools. Many of the respondents in this study mentioned negative consequences of English-only secondary instruction that fit in one or more of these categories.

For example, Bupe speculated that it was force of habit that sustained the English language education system. The consequence, however, he felt would be the loss of the Swahili language, and with it some part of the Tanzanian national distinctiveness.

I think we just adopted English from the British system, from form one to four, with the curriculum and stuff. I think that's the main reason.... Generations and generations to come, people will speak less Kiswahili. So, vocabulary won't grow. The problem is that we are losing one of our national identity.

(Bupe)

Kalistus had a similar concern. He felt a loss of connection to his Tanzanian identity. He saw benefits to knowing English, but thought it came at a price and he consciously chose to do things that he hoped would lessen that cost.

I think, it makes us less Tanzanians. For example, myself, I go to Tanzania every year because I don't wanna lose my culture and the African I have. Learning English is okay however. You can learn, you can go everywhere, but you still have the culture. (Kalistus)

Maria, who had the advantage of going to an English language private school, also saw the advantage of speaking English. However, she, too, felt the risk of losing her Swahili fluency and with it connections to family and friends.

It [English language] made me work harder.... But then, it made me ignore Swahili a little bit [loss of L1 or diminishing L1 proficiency level]. It didn't feel good because most of the people who came from Swahili medium primary schools knew better Swahili than me. (Maria)

Ali saw a similar dynamic throughout Tanzania, this split between those who know or aspire to know English and those whose primary language is Swahili. He considered it a vestige of the divide and conquer politics of colonialism. In his view the nation as a whole needs to decide to go all the way one direction or the other, because the divisiveness is not good for the nation.

It was difficult when other students use Swahili and I speak English or use mostly English and throw in a few words in Swahili [code switching]. And then people are like, what's he talking about? And for them they were kinda slow because they have to think whether they want to say something in English or Swahili. ... the colonial residual is still in Tanzania. We have to either embrace it or get away from it. (Ali)

These respondents' comments above allude to the damage English-only instruction does to Tanzanian identity and national solidarity. Students risk losing a sense of pride in being Tanzanian. This will occur, they fear, through the loss of Swahili language, especially for the future generations. The loss will be due to lack of Swahili language's inability to be taught and practiced. Language is one important component in the culture of any people. English instruction also, in the view of these respondents, creates division among Tanzanian students. The main problem is not the English language itself, but the practice of emphasizing English language alone. Maria and other respondents indicated the importance of maintaining Tanzanian culture and identity through a fair language of instruction policy. Bilingual Intercultural Education (BIE) that allows at least Swahili to be part of the instruction program might address questions being raised in this discussion. The situation in Tanzania is not unique. There are good

examples of similar bilingualism and biculturalism from Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru on how BIE could be implemented (De La Piedra, 2006, Valdiviezo, 2010).

English Language as Right

First, language as a right is one of the three views developed by proponents of indigenous language in bilingual education contexts. Other views are language as a resource, and as a problem (Ruiz, 1984; Baker, 2011, and other scholars). Some people in society view language as a right. There are supportive ideas and resources from individuals, organizations, and government bodies, such as the United Nations. The efforts include governments establishing Bilingual Education in both a native and foreign language. For example, Bilingual Intercultural Education (BIE) is the case in Quechua for Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Maori in New Zealand (Fishman, 1968; Briggs, cited in Miracle, 1983). Quechua and Maori have been used in education along with Spanish and English, respectively. It is the right of indigenous people to preserve their language, identity, and culture for their new generations.

In the US, too, there is enactment to protect indigenous languages such as the many languages of the Native Americans (Baker, 2011). Language as a right view leads to bilingual-ism or multilingualism in a society. The United Nations also promotes and protects the rights of indigenous people and their languages. Studies show that children who do not understand well when they learn in a second language, and "when that language becomes a barrier to knowledge ...school authorities need to inform parents

about the research results on bilingualism. ...UNESCO recommends the use of the mother tongue...as universal language of instruction" instead (Brock-Utne, 2000, pp. 150 - 151).

Secondly, in this study about secondary education and language of instruction policy in Tanzanian, respondents did not express views relating to English language particularly as a right. The framework developed by Richard Ruiz and other scholars about language as right, deals with constitutional and legal rights of indigenous languages, or minority languages in their respective countries. Also indigenous people and immigrants in countries with dominant languages, such as English in the US and Canada established laws that protect languages of the minorities and immigrants in the respective countries. In this case, English in Tanzania is not an indigenous language or one of the minority languages of the Tanzanian people. The view does not fit well in that context for English language, based on the founding scholars of the views about indigenous language.

Third, we can appropriate the view of language as a right in order to fit in the context of Tanzanian secondary school. Modern scholarship in bilingualism and bilingual education suggest that, in a multicultural society, dominant languages such as English could be regarded both as a resource as well as right. Alberto Ochoa (1995) classifies bilingual education between the US perspective and Global perspective. From the US perspective, he argues that bilingual education policies are predominantly “monolingual”, suggesting that the learners may learn English and other languages, but the goal is to become fluent in the English language more than the other languages students learn. He characterizes the learning environment as subtractive immersion, where learners “swim-or-sink”. And, that another goal is for the learners to assimilate in

the English language and culture. In terms of “Global” perspective, Ochoa’s arguments suggest that students can learn a dominant language such as English and the outcomes may vary based on people’s choices. The outcomes could be monolingual-ism, bilingual-ism, or multilingualism. Programs in Global perspective promote multi-literacy in many languages as well as socio-political pluralism (p. 229). Based on the Global perspective, English could potentially be looked at as a resource, a right, or both.

Based on the recent scholarship on bilingualism and multilingualism, we can apply the views about indigenous language to fit the description of English language in Tanzania. Responding to my question on which languages could potentially be used in secondary education, Denis suggested that learning English in Tanzanian secondary schools could be a right.

This is how I would think about language program: two languages obligatory, English and Swahili, and they have to be taught well.... I want Swahili to replace English in many functions that are officially designated for English. Like the medium of instruction thing—that should be Swahili. But I don’t mean English should be eliminated. I mean English should be taught well as a subject. And you don’t need one language in all subjects in order to learn it well.... We know this can be done. We teach the language that is used in the classroom only [Swahili in the US colleges], and after 2 years are able to make students able to speak. The students we have in Tanzania take English for 9 years and are unable to make a sentence. So, it’s a problem of designing a curriculum and how we execute it. We are not investing enough in education; we are not investing enough in teaching the languages. I want

English and Swahili, but I want also several optional languages to be taught much more broadly than now—French, Portuguese, Arabic—these are languages that we should be teaching now. But they are not taught. Chinese, Japanese, should be there! (Denis)

Denis' comment above clearly shows that both Swahili and English can be resource in Tanzanian secondary schools. He does not indicate anywhere in this comment that either Swahili or English is a problem. He only believes that there is a broader problem in the educational system as a whole in Tanzania. The problem is how much the government allocates human and material resources to the teaching of either Swahili or English. Although the government does not do well on that part, he is optimistic that in the future things can change so that both the Swahili and the English languages can be taught to a certain standard. Additionally, he argues that the two languages are not enough for Tanzanian students in secondary schools. He would like to see many more languages taught; he suggested some of them in his comment above.

Since Denis suggests that both the English and Swahili (and other) languages could be viewed as resource, we can see that he is urging Tanzanians to create a multilingual environment in secondary school. The goal will be to provide students more freedom and choices of the languages they would like to learn. In creating a multilingual environment in Tanzania, students must be guaranteed a freedom of choice to learn various languages. This suggests that English, as a dominant language in the world, could be seen as part of an educational right to multilingualism. It becomes a rights issue if Tanzania adapts the Global perspective, in which fluency, literacy, and cultural knowledge in multiple languages is encouraged (see, Ochoa, 1995).

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In this section, first I shall restate the research question and indicate the extent to which data support or refute the assumptions that the current English-only medium of instruction needs to be reconsidered. Secondly, with the research questions in mind, I will summarize and discuss significant findings of the study and the extent to which the findings implicitly provide answers to the research questions. Following below is the research question:

i) How do Tanzanians see language of instruction policy relating to opportunity among the students?

- Do they frame the Swahili language as a problem, a resource, a right, or in some other way?
- Do they frame the English language as a problem, a resource, a right, or in some other way?

ii) How do they see all these influencing the cultural, economic, and political life of Tanzanians?

- For example, do they see Swahili or English languages as a source of divisiveness? As a means to some particular goals? Or as a cause that needs to be fought for?

In the preceding chapter the complicated terrain of language education politics was documented and organized into thematic categories. The respondents in this study

expressed a wide variety of views about the current policy regarding English language instruction in Tanzanian schools. These views at times seemed contradictory, with apparently contradictory views being expressed at times by the same person. In this chapter I provide some cross-thematic analysis of these findings, and then work through the possible implications of the study for Tanzanian educational policy and practice.

Languages as Resource

As we reflect on the thematic analysis of the data, the organization of the analysis of this data along the lines of Richard Ruiz's (1984) categories of language as a resource, right, and problem, needs some clarification. Ruiz's work refers to the way a student's L1 is regarded when they are in a context where an L2 is the primary language. In other words, it refers to the primary language of immigrant second language learners. The Tanzanian case does not fit this model perfectly. In Tanzania, Swahili is L1, and is the most prevalent language in the country, but an L2 is the more prevalent language globally and is being taught to all secondary students as the primary language of instruction for a variety of reasons. This essentially turns all students in Tanzania into ESOL students in their own nation. On the other hand, English is the minority language in the country, and thus is regarded also variously as a resource, right, and problem.

The first and perhaps most striking feature of the responses is the strength of the emotions people had about language policy in Tanzanian schools. No one in this study was lacking a strong felt opinion about language education policy. Beyond the emotions involved, another striking feature was the way respondents felt both Swahili and English were very important resources for students and communities. Their view of the way

languages were resource, however, were significantly different.

Swahili was seen as an important resource in respondents' lives for maintaining connections with family members and for national unity, among other reasons. It was also a pedagogical resource, in that it was a medium of instruction that permitted students to understand the subject matter content better. Note that the narration of the benefit Swahili brings was related to strengthening the bonds of Tanzanian communities and to substantive learning.

English on the other hand was seen as an important resource for individual student's career aspirations, because many of the good jobs were either found abroad or with foreign English-based companies in Tanzania. To a lesser extent it was seen as important for national competitiveness in the job market. In both cases, the value of the language was not located in how it enhanced the strength of Tanzanian communities nor in the way it improved instruction, but on how it shaped Tanzanian individuals and society to accommodate to an exogenous social system. This condition was materially real, however, so there were advantages to studying English—advantages everyone in this study, as English speakers, had to some extent experienced. This seeming contradiction in respondents' comments is a reflection of the colonialist history of Tanzania and represents a practical reality that Tanzanians face in making educational decisions.

What is missing, to a large extent, in the interview responses, is a critical acknowledgement of these contradictions. A few respondents, notably those whose work or study requires reflection on education policy, could point out this tension and its connection to the colonialist processes. Most however, simply lived in the tension and

described its effects on their lives. One of the most significant findings of this study is how aware students are of the daily difficulties and exclusionary consequences that result from the English-only secondary education system. These difficulties and practices of exclusion are a part of the hidden curriculum of Tanzanian schools. They teach Tanzanian students things about their worth, their place in a social hierarchy, and about Tanzania's place in the world. Their worth is low because their learning of subject matter or staying in school is not as important as mastering English. Their place is often low, because only the relatively wealthy can afford private English only elementary schools, and thus have access to educational success in secondary school. And Tanzania's place in the world is low because we have to incur these problems in order to conform to other nations' language and economic system. Other nations, however, do not make such educational compromises. We should not be teaching such things to our children.

This does not mean, however, that the silence around the colonialist causes of these difficulties was without meaning. This silence is created by the colonial system of education that Tanzania inherited, in which the need for English-only education is made to feel inevitable and natural. It is a form of disabling caused by the process of colonization. This interpretation is based on my experience as one of the community members of Tanzania that was shaped by the values of the Swahili people and culture, in light of the literature reviewed, and using the assumptions of symbolic interactionism. My interpretation was, less centrally, influenced by scholars who used poststructuralist theory in their qualitative studies (Lissa Mazei, 2007; and Jerry Rosiek & Julia Huffernan, 2014) such as *"Inhabited Silences in Qualitative Research: Putting Post-structural Theory to Work"*, and *"Can't Code What the Community Can't See: A Case of*

the Erasure of Hetero-normative Harassment". These two works in particular helped me to interpret silences in this qualitative study. In their account, silence is not absence of voice on the respondents' side, but a presence that has significance.

Taking this approach, I interpret the silence—the frequent willingness of respondents to simultaneously point out the problems with English-only secondary school, but then to acquiesce to or advocate for more English education—as a product of hegemonic processes that keep the respondents from imagining an alternative Swahili-based education system. Earlier in the *Literature Review* section, Stone-Mediatore (2003) warned that responses from interviewees in a form of personal experience narratives, those stories, which are experiences of the people's identities, desires and perceptions, are part of ideological processes. Thus encountering ideological representations of the world in interviews is not uncommon, since stories of the marginalized or oppressed people tend to reproduce oppressive structures or subject positions. Naming the silence and treating it as a present phenomenon thus, is an important analytic and political task.

Overall, what I find in these interviews is a great deal of direct reports about the limitations of the current English-only secondary education system. From comments about Swahili not being used to maximum advantage, to English being taught poorly, to subject matter learning not happening because both students and teachers are insufficiently competent with English, respondents reported that they or others will ill-served by this policy. I take the fact of these reported difficulties as my starting point for making a case for changes in the Tanzanian Education system. I do not necessarily adopt or endorse the preferred policy solutions of my respondents, because, as stated above,

their sense of possibility is often shaped by the ideologies of colonialism that I wish to think beyond.

Summary of Significant Findings

Swahili as an Unused Resource

English-only secondary instruction failed to take advantage of Swahili as an aid to instruction. There was frequently expressed a strong desire that Swahili should be the language of instruction or at least one of the languages of instruction in Tanzanian secondary schools. All respondents described in different ways how Swahili was informally used while they were secondary students during the four years. Most thought this was beneficial and/or necessary. Benefits to receiving instruction in Swahili included the following. Firstly, it is so natural many did not feel a need to explicitly explain why they use or think they should use Swahili (see for example Beltina's response in *Swahili as resource*). It was obvious that one could learn more easily in their primary language.

Secondly, they indicated Swahili being used frequently at home in different ways (see quotes from these respondents: Elia, Beltina, Fred, Maria, Selina, Damas, Bupe, Denis, Habiba, Bahati, Kalistus, and Salome, in *Swahili as Resource*). Respondents used Swahili with family, friends, and neighbors. Some of the students used the language on daily basis when they lived at home as day students. Boarding students used the language at home when they visited their families during vacations. Whether parents of the students were educated or uneducated, it seemed that all of the families preferred to

use Swahili at home. This constant use of Swahili would both be improved by studying in that language and its use in the ordinary activities of problem solving and negotiation would improve learning of traditional subject matters like science and history if taught in that language.

Thirdly, students indicated how they felt comfortable and less stressed when they learned Swahili as an academic subject in the classrooms. Their comments suggested that this comfort and lack of stress would extend to other subject matters if being taught in Swahili. Many scholars have discussed extensively about meaningful learning as a democratic process. Antonia Darder (1991) in her work, *“Culture and Power in Classroom: A Critical Foundation for Bicultural Education”*, addresses classroom practices in which dominant values and practices may silence voices of the marginalized students, such as African Americans, Latino, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and other bicultural students. Applying these views to Tanzania, English language may be considered as a dominant language of the educated world, the elites, whose power and status is higher than Swahili or other tribal languages in the country.

Understanding this should make everyone aware that teaching in such an environment requires many factors to be considered. Antonia Darder argues that in the US, most teachers are insufficiently prepared to meet the needs of such students. She further argues that even when prepared, the job these teachers are prepared for is merely delivering lessons to the students as passive actors in the process of learning. For a meaningful education process to occur, students need to be engaged in a meaningful dialogue that tests, allows, and challenges their critical thinking ability. All these cannot happen in a language that students do not know. Language is one of the most crucial

components of higher level thinking processes. Other scholars who make similar arguments include Valenzuela (1999), Wa Thiong'o (2009), Baker (2011), Skutnabb-Khangas (1981), and Brock-Utne (2000).

Fourth, respondents indicated that although Swahili was prohibited as a language of instruction in school setting, students and teachers often used it anyways inside and outside the classrooms. There are three reasons why this happened. One reason, respondents indicated was Swahili being familiar from their home. Another reason is that, English, the official language of instruction in secondary school was new and difficult for both teachers and students. The last reason is that the majority of secondary students in Tanzania attended Swahili medium primary schools. Therefore, Swahili was the only common language and familiar for all students. The requirement to use only English in secondary schools led to so many problems (see respondents' quotes under *English as Problem* section). Respondents expressed the English language situation as difficult, students being frustrated, and the policy creating worries among students due to humiliating strategies that schools used in their attempts to implement the English-only policy. The strategies included corporal punishment for students who did not comply with the rules, or simply were not proficient in the language. Students and teachers used Swahili covertly, because it helped them understand one another.

Despite occasionally signaling a view that Swahili would be a better medium of instruction for many students in Tanzania, respondents did not indicate strong optimism or prospects about an immediate implementation of teaching through Swahili language. Respondents expressed that the obstacles towards the implementation of Swahili instruction in secondary schools are beyond their power. The fact of this pessimism

about using Swahili language for instruction is itself a part of the problem, evidence of a pervasive hegemony that makes even conceiving of a change in language instruction policy difficult. Although the government of Tanzania could ultimately effect such a change, it would require that the political-will be assembled to do so.

Swahili Neglected as a Language

Respondents also mentioned that Swahili was neglected as a language and so many people did not develop as Swahili speakers and writers. It should be noted that the current English-only instruction as the main policy in secondary school is a form of bilingual education. Since Swahili language is taught only as a subject, technically the policy in Tanzania qualifies as bilingual education. As argued earlier under *English as Problem* section, such a form of bilingual education is considered as one of the weakest (Ochoa, 1995). It does not have a track record of preserving or enhancing the target language consistently.

Problems in bilingual education setting are many. Since Swahili is not given any official status in terms of using it as a tool for instruction in several academic subjects in secondary school, students get little practice with it. However, English is not taught well either. As a result, many students graduate without adequate levels of proficiency in both languages. Here is what one respondent says:

The fundamental problem of Tanzanians is ... their Swahili is lousy! Their English is worse. They pretend that they are a Swahili-speaking country, and it's well established. ... We are sidelining ourselves, because of our wishy-

washy attitude towards English, towards education as such, and towards Swahili as well. (Joshua)

Joshua suggests that under the current policy of English-only instruction in secondary school, there are two assumptions: 1) That, teachers and students do not need to spend time and resources to teach and learn the Swahili language; because it is their first language, it is assumed they know it and have no problems with it. 2) That students especially need to learn English language, because it is new and it requires more commitment or investment in terms of time and other resources. Additionally, English is the international language, a necessary resource that Tanzanians need in a globalized world. Therefore, English instruction is favored over Swahili language development. These two assumptions lead to an educational practice, Joshua believes, that leaves Tanzanian students with neither a sufficient knowledge of the Swahili language that they speak natively, nor with adequate levels of fluency in the English language. As a result, the students fall short of language skills in both Swahili and English.

Finally, the English-only secondary system conveys messages of lesser status to Swahili, which has affective as well as cognitive consequences. They can feel conflicted or resentful about having to learn in English. Wallace Lambert, cited in Jim Cummins (1981) identifies four different ways in which minority students can work out conflicts between home and foreign language and culture. Students might go through rejection of home language and culture, and identify with a foreign language and culture. Conversely they may reject the foreign language and culture, and identify with home language and culture. Students' may experience an inability to identify well with either foreign language and culture, or home language and culture. Finally, students may identify with

both home language and culture, and foreign language and culture. Applying the scholar's four ways in the Tanzanian secondary school environment, it is obvious that the Joshua's comment above indicates the third way of students working out conflicts between home language and culture, and foreign language and culture—the worst of the four.

Pedagogical Problems (Teachers' Quality and Professionalism)

One of the factors making English-language instruction problematic is the low level of English fluency among teachers. If Teacher's English fluency were high, there would not have been so much desire by students to speak and learn in Swahili in schools. Respondents reported that some teachers were not fluent enough to make themselves understood well, and were at times insecure about their English fluency. This led to reduced help from teachers unwilling to risk revealing their lack of English competency or even increased punishments to students perceived to be challenging them. This, respondents observed, often created student resistance and dislike of the educational process (See Bahati's comment under *English as Problem*).

Even when teacher's vocabulary was adequate, they often had no cultural competency in the language. Ability to speak a language is not merely oral. It includes understanding of various discourses and contexts in a particular language. This means, teachers' strategies to help students learn the language and subject matter were not adequate enough to help students enjoy the subjects they learned. Finally, there are additional students' survival actions and practices in the English-only environment that made the learning process unpleasant. For example, respondents reported that sometimes

they did not speak in the classroom at all to avoid humiliation and embarrassment, and they stayed away from teachers and students who spoke English fluently, thus increasing their feelings of isolation and confusion (see respondents' comments on *English as Problem*). Or they spoke Swahili secretly, or they wrote a note in Swahili and passed it on to other students, at risk of incurring punishment. Sometimes they cried and some of their classmates dropped out from school due to feelings of futility and frustration.

Even if the argument is made that English language is the most important thing for Tanzanians to learn, for this to be a reasonable policy, it has to be practically achievable. According to the reports of the Tanzanian school system graduates in this study, lack of English competency on the part of teachers was a pervasive problem that made the teaching of English to a nation of children practically difficult if not impossible.

Intensification of Class Stratification Through English-only Education

The practical impossibility of providing adequate English-only education to all Tanzanians has an additional consequence beyond poorly educated graduates. It also intensifies the stratification of wealth and status in the country. Looking at the views of respondents in this study, especially about *English as Resource*, we see indications that English's value as a resource is often overstated. If the main aim is to develop a Tanzania in which every person will have an equal chance to receive secondary education and achieve workable fluency in English, then that clearly is not happening. Or, more precisely, it is happening only for a very few Tanzanian children.

Respondents indicated that private elementary schools are where fluency in English is achieved. Most parents cannot afford education in the privately owned

secondary schools. Students attending public elementary schools, where Swahili is the medium of instruction, do not develop even moderate degrees of English fluency in their single stand-alone English language classes. Public school students, as many respondents in this study reported, end up at a serious disadvantage when they enter the English-only secondary school.

In secondary schools there are further stratifications. The private secondary schools siphon off the limited number of more experienced and competent English language teachers from public schools. As a consequence, public English-only secondary schools provide inferior English language instruction than the private schools. Even if one believes English education is the most important educational attainment to be sought, good language teachers and sufficient English learning materials are scarce and not made equally available in Tanzania.

The consequence is that the English-only instruction policy is intensifying class divisions in the country. Class advantage gives greater access to English language education to very few students who attend private schools, international schools, and “academic” schools. As a result, they pass well in the exams and test, and this in turn gives these students greater access to educational opportunities beyond secondary schools. They then are the ones who get well-paying jobs in the country as politicians, business owners, and others. This greater wealth enables them to send their children to private schools. These multigenerational class divisions are real, even if at times over estimated by policy makers and parents with high hopes for their children. The class distinctions begin in school and become permanent experiences of life among Tanzanians after they graduate from secondary schools. They affect the material conditions of

students' lives and their inner lives as well. Fluency in the English language makes students feel privileged and successful, while the less proficient students feel stupid, ignorant and unable to learn.

The main problem with this small class of elites is that the education in private school did not prepare them to serve the larger population of Tanzanians. This is the same problem Frantz Fanon (1967) pointed out half a century ago. When Africans receive education in a foreign language, they become alienated from their own communities. Their class status becomes their most important possession and they try to pass on their social capital to their children in the future generations, but not to the community. Tanzania needs a better secondary education policy that has equality and equity.

Globalization, Structural Adjustment Programs, and Tanzanian Education

In the *English as a Resource* section, respondents equate the English language with success, modernity, a key to greater opportunities, connection with the rest of the world in terms of access to opportunity, power privileges, and social capital (see comments by Aisha and other respondents on *English as Resource*). Although it is empirically the case that few Tanzanians enjoy these benefits, and that the benefits are often less than imagined, nonetheless many people regard English language education as an almost magical path to personal and national prosperity and status. This should be unsurprising. There is a great deal of scholarship documenting the way the language of colonizers is often mystified. For instance, on the promises that the English language brings prosperity, Lippi-Green (1997, pp. 63 - 67) explains how dominant languages and

cultures establish myths to validate a certain social order. The validation process confirms rather than explains the sources of cultural attitudes. In so doing, dominant languages become tools of oppression and reproduction of oppressive practices. Reproduction happens later as inequality becomes a social order, as the economically powerful manipulate working class to maintain status quo. In short, the subordination unfolds in the following order: 1) language is mystified 2) authority is claimed 3) misinformation is generated 4) non-mainstream language is trivialized 5) conformers are held up as positive examples 6) explicit promises are made 7) threats are made and, 8) non-conformers are marginalized. Other scholars such as Rubagumya (1990), and Wa Thiong'o (2009) document similar processes.

Understanding this process requires some knowledge of the history of colonization in Africa. The relationship of most African countries and European colonialists is a story of continually reproduced inequality unequal. For example, Wa Thiong'o (2009) describes language policy as a part of what he calls "*Dismembering Practices: Planting European Memory in Africa.*" He mainly focuses on the role of European languages, particularly in East Africa where he grew up. The European languages, he argues, erased African memories and planted the European memories. He adds that the goal was to make the Africans feel inferior. That is something Africans today take it for-granted as "normal" when in fact it is an effect of colonialism we inherited (pp. 3 - 7). This study documents in an up close and intimate way the manifestation of these global processes in the lives of Tanzanian school students and graduates.

Similarly, John Willinsky (1998) describes how European education and languages have had negative impacts for African learners. Language is not only a tool through which knowledge is shared with learners. It also carries a history of references and access to texts with particular worldviews. For example, Willinsky documents the way Hegelian historical theory makes its way to Africa through European languages, and is studied by Africans. Hegelian history characterizes the African continent as unhistorical, undeveloped, and dealing with conditions of mere nature (p. 118). Willinsky argues that, of all the forces of imperialistic expansion, language is one most significant driving force (p. 190).

The experiences of Tanzanian students in English-only secondary schools cannot be adequately understood without reference to these broader macro-social forces that are determining the conditions of possibility in their lives. The globalization of the economy in the 1980s, for example, has affected many Third World nations, particularly their education policies. The impacts of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) promoted by the IMF were felt in Tanzanian secondary schools and the quality of education was affected severely.

To understand the whole phenomenon, Hammond & McGown (1993) first define SAP as the name given to a set of “free market” economic policies imposed on countries by the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) as a condition for receiving financial assistance. Looking carefully at the goals of WB and IMF, it is clear that those financial institutions with their donor countries created and imposed policies mainly for their own benefits. They wanted English-speaking professionals with which to

work and conduct commerce, and English speaking populations to whom they could market goods.

Vavrus (2005), in her famous study, *“Adjusting Inequality: Education and Structural Adjustment Policies in Tanzania”*, found that the genesis of the monolingual form of bilingual education can also be traced back in the 1980s, from the Structural Adjustment Policies. International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank forced governments of the so-called “Third World” countries to withdraw from running nationalized industries and hand those over to private ownership. After the countries implemented these privatization policies, the impact included a quick wave of emerging private schools in the case of Tanzania. Private secondary schools for example, did far better than government schools in providing almost everything – teachers and teaching facilities, enough desks and books. Consequently, a good number of children from socioeconomically well-off families attended in those schools. Private schools and parents of children attending those schools afforded hiring best teachers for English language. At that time, government sponsored public schools witnessed an increased number of students who failed in exist exams, due in part to the flight of good teachers to private schools. The scholar adds that the current language of instruction policy in Tanzania does not provide adequate English education nor does it give room for students to learn Swahili until they achieve full literacy in that language.

These negative effects were not lost on citizens and leaders of conscience. Around the same time SAP policies were imposed to the country, in 1985 the Ministry of Education submitted recommendations to the government, through a presidential appointed committee, that Swahili language was to be used as the alternative language of

instruction in all grades. However, the recommendations have never been implemented. One of the major obstacles includes the pressure from agencies like the IMF and conditions stipulated by private donors to Tanzanian schools who, for example, provided aid to establish the British Council in the country to train more English language teachers and provide more resources such as library and English textbooks (Rubagumya, et al, 2010). It is an obstacle because first, Swahili instruction had never been effected. Secondly, the English language support programs such as the British Council was not adequate, given the mushrooming establishment of schools as well as an increased number of students' enrollment in public schools at that time. I remember only one library and center for the English language established in Dar Es Salaam. That is not enough for the country with over 25 political and administrative regions and thousands of schools across those regions.

Lastly, globalization or privatization of economy and social services is a source of problems in education and other sectors for an undeveloped economy such as Tanzania. Mwalimu J. K. Nyerere (n.d.) who was once a secondary school teacher, a philosopher who established ESR as a set of guiding principles of education in Tanzania warned about SAP in the 1980s. Here is a quote from Mwalimu J. K. Nyerere about global economy and SAP conditions to poor countries such as Tanzania:

It's nonsensical, and we have so many stupid leaders who think you can develop somehow, you can hand-over the development of your country to something called private enterprise and regulate it.... The Japanese have not done it, the British, the Germans have not done it. They meet, in June. ...The big seven! To do what? To discuss how to control the economy.... Where is

the private sector? Where's it in Tanzania...? How do you open up markets to big competitors when you have no power to compete? It's ridiculous.... In the world of boxing, there're heavy weights, mid weights, and feather weights. Although the rules are the same, you put them separately, in separate weights.... You don't put in the same ring, the heavy weight and feather weight (laughter). Never! Never! ... That Germany and Burkinafaso should be in he same ring! And that's called globalization, freedom, liberalization.... You protect the weak until they become strong, before they can compete. That's the rule.... The problem is pressure from the rich. That we should open up markets for competition. (J. K. Nyerere, speech translated by the researcher)

The quote above is part of J. K. Nyerere's speech he made around 1980s, the years when he as the president refused aid to Tanzania because of the conditions from wealthy donor nations. It is the time when Tanzanians experienced scarcity in basic items such as soap, sugar, and others. He declined the conditions imposed to the government and affected the productivity in consumption manufacturing industries among other sectors. In short, Nyerere does not argue against globalization, but he is against it in the way the system is unfair and too difficult for small economies such as Tanzania to be able to compete with the European industrialized economies, for example. He argues that countries such as Japan and Germany did not entirely give up the governments' role to control their economy in their respective countries. He argues against the notion that Tanzania had to hand over the economy to private sector 100%. He uses a metaphorical statement about Boxing in the world and how competitors are placed in their respective weights.

Nyerere made this speech as he prepared to step down as president of Tanzania. He noted that some African leaders could not reason enough to resist external pressure that would affect their countries adversely. His speech has significance in understanding how the wave of globalization affected education services in Tanzania, particularly the funding and subsidizing of public owned schools. In ESR, he advocated education for all Tanzanians, but the SAP policies became an obstacle, as they demanded that governments especially in donor driven economies should cut both taxes and support for public services, among other things.

Thirty years later, the respondents of this study described the educational terrain left in the wake for these development policies. What they describe is a schooling system that poorly serves the majority of Tanzanians, and even leaves many of those who “succeed” alienated and frustrated with their limited English skills and their lack of developed fluency in Swahili.

Post-colonialism, Feelings of Inferiority, and English Language of Instruction

The respondents of this study, whether in favor of or opposed to English medium instruction, all felt there are deep problems in the Tanzanian educational system. And these are students who were relatively successful in the system. A number of scholars have argued that before colonization of Africa in the 19th century, different ethno-linguistic groups did not have a language of instruction problem that most of the African countries deal with now. It is argued that in pre-colonial Africa, each ethnic group used their own language to educate their children (Alidou, 2004, cited in Brock-Utne & Hopson, 2005, pp. 3 - 6).

Respondents in this study repeatedly argued that one of the main reasons English has been used as the only means of instruction since colonialism, and is still used currently is the momentum of colonialism itself. This resonates with the scholarship of several post-colonial scholars who have offered that colonization of people occurs in two main ways: economically and culturally (Wathiong'o, 2009, and Sleeter as cited in Valenzuela, 2009). Angela Valenzuela for instance, in her famous book *Subtractive Schooling: US-Mexican Youth and the Politics of Caring*, argues that the colonizing group constructs and imposes a belief system, claiming that they are culturally and intellectually superior to the conquered. She adds that rhetorical assaults on the colonized people's culture, language, and religion are a common practice. Schools are a powerful tool for the colonizer in teaching their cultural values and belief system.

Applying her ideas to the Tanzanian secondary education context, we can say this has been happening since the beginning of British occupation, during, and after colonization of the modern Tanzania. The British imposed not only their political structures but also their cultural values, particularly the English language, which ultimately became the only language of education in public and private secondary schools. Valenzuela (2009) explains that colonization has subtractive elements, meaning that it tends to diminish or eliminate culturally significant knowledge of the native society. That knowledge is not shared in the culture of the colonizer's. She believes that in colonized societies, school as a colonizing agent ignores what indigenous people of a particular culture and identity define as education. Additionally, school as a hegemonic structure imparts subtractive assimilation policies and practices (also see Cummins, 1985; Baker, 2011; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; and Darder, 2012).

Fanon (1967) similarly argues on how European languages brainwash Africans. His ideas certainly apply especially to Tanzanians in the context of this study, to rethink about the issue of language of instruction. Language by itself may not be a problem. Language becomes a problem when it is used as a colonizing tool in which ideas, ideologies, and all sets of beliefs are found that speakers of the language believe. Scholars such as Lippi-Green (1997) argue that English language from an imperial culture can be used to impose all those ideas and values to their subordinate people and cultures.

Respondents in this study both described such process, and, more poignantly, reflected it in their views of English language instruction. They observed the way Swahili and English were not languages of equal statuses. From colonial relationship between Tanzania and Britain, is it obvious that English is considered more valuable than Swahili, in the Tanzanian secondary school setting. And those who are fluent in English are considered more valuable and intelligent than those who primarily speak Swahili or their tribal language. At one point this was an outsiders view of Tanzania. But now it is reflected in the thoughts and feelings of many Tanzanians themselves.

The Place of Tribal Languages in Tanzania

First, although I established the main focus of my study around English and Swahili languages, after the interviews with my respondents, the issue of tribal languages of Tanzania emerged as well as the need for some space for a few foreign languages to be learned as optional subjects, in secondary schools. However, I would like to pay special attention to the notion of indigenous languages, which are presented here as tribal

languages in Tanzania. It is important because my study partly utilizes one of the frameworks about indigenous language (Ruiz, 1984).

Second, under *Swahili as Resource* section, a few respondents went as far as commenting about the tribal languages of Tanzania during the interviews. For example: Denis, Elia, and Joushua commented on the place of tribal language use specifically in rural secondary schools where some students might benefit from learning in both Swahili and their tribal languages in one hand, and around home settings where tribal languages might be used to communicate with family members and local people in the other. They also highlighted on the importance of these languages as a means of acquiring and sharing knowledge in general about the student's specific local environments and history.

Summary Conclusions

To summarize, the conversations with graduates of the Tanzanian education system who participated in this study helped me to answer two basic research questions. The first was: How do Tanzanians see language of instruction policy as relating to opportunity among the students in secondary schools? The general answer is that all of the respondents found the Tanzanian educational system to have a flawed language of instruction policy. Although the flaws they identified varied.

In order to provide some more refined analysis, I used a conceptual framework found in the existing literature to parse the interview data more carefully. I looked for ways in which respondents framed both the English language and the Swahili language as a problem, as resource, as a right, in educational contexts.

What I found was that both Swahili and English were regarded as resources, but in very different ways. Swahili was more of a resource for community and family activity. It was also considered by many to be a more natural language with which to think through problem solving and higher level thinking tasks. However, English was considered a resource for responding to large economic conditions in the context of a globalized world and social system.

Similarly, both Swahili and English were considered a problem at times. English was a problem insofar as it displaced Swahili and indigenous languages, as a poor way to help Tanzanians learn about substantive subject matter, and also in the way that it divided Tanzanians into classes. Swahili was primarily seen as a problem when it was perceived to interfere with the acquisition of English language skills. Without the history and current condition of colonialist exploitation, most of the reasons respondents gave for defending English-only instruction would evaporate.

As a researcher, I would like to underline the fact that Swahili could be made an official language of instruction along with English. It is only the naturalized inertia of the existing poorly functioning system that prevents this. Tanzanians need to know that there are some major problems associated with teaching in the English language, that there is widespread dissatisfaction with the educational experience in Tanzanian schools, even among the best educated. And they need to know the research literature supports another approach. Hopefully my study and research can contribute to a conversation that helps Tanzanians collectively insist on some improvements.

Implications

So what might be done, if the themes that emerged from the interviews conducted from this study (in conjunction with the literature reviewed here) are to be taken seriously? In what follows I offer a few suggestions for changes in practice and policy that I believe the findings of this study recommend. I also point to future directions for studies on language of instruction issues in Tanzania.

Swahili Could Be the Official Language of Instruction

Before any substantive implications can be discussed in detail, it needs to be acknowledged that Swahili could be used as a medium of instruction in secondary schools. To those outside of Tanzania, this may seem to be an obvious statement. However, the inevitability of the English-only system is so entrenched as to make this seemingly obvious statement something that needs to be defended.

In this study, respondents spoke of multiple ways that Swahili is a linguistic resource that is being under-used in the educational system. The policy of instructing only in English in the secondary schools is benefiting only a few, and in those cases mainly by perpetuating their class privilege, not by better educating them about the world of science, math, history, etc. Respondents in this study and the research literature clearly recommend that subject matter education be conducted in a language students understand. Imagine the scientists and engineers, philosophers, and poets that are lost each year because no one will teach them in a language they can understand.

The English-only policy in secondary schools could be changed. Swahili could and, in this author's opinion, should be the language of instruction along with English

language. Given the importance of English language not only in Tanzania, but also in the world, it should be taught as a subject and not a medium of instruction for core subject matter (see comments in both Swahili and English under *Resource* and *Right*, comments). Rugemalira (1990) in his study shows that the language policies in Tanzania have been contradictory. Additionally, in more than one occasion, the government hesitantly agreed to the researchers' and the president-appointed committee's suggestions to replace English with Swahili instruction in 1969, 1970, 1974, 1979, and 1982, but the recommendations were never implemented. I urge the government, all Tanzanians, and organizations that support secondary education through Swahili and in some cases through local indigenous languages and to implement this as soon as possible.

There are scholars who document precedents of bilingual education programs and make suggestions on how best bilingual programs can be used in education, especially for learners among minority and indigenous communities. These scholars include Skutnabb-Khangas (1981), Baker (2011), and Ochoa (1995). These scholars have studied countries in which successful bilingual programs were implemented. The countries include Canada, USA, Peru, and New Zealand among others. The current English-only instruction in Tanzanian secondary schools is one of the weakest forms of bilingualism. Ochoa in (Darder, 1995, p. 229) refers to weak forms like that as a monolingual form of bilingualism. He describes it as subtractive emersion, a swim-or-sink, leading to cultural assimilation. Most researchers recommend something more pluralistic and supportive of the local languages or first languages of the students and community members.

Such a conversion may seem daunting or risky. However, I believe there should be more hope than worry about implementing a better bilingual program in Tanzanian secondary schools, one that includes Swahili. This means both Swahili and English can be used officially as teaching media. Some members of the public in Tanzania have argued that Swahili is not developed enough to use as a medium of instruction in secondary schools. This opinion seems to me to be a product of colonialism in the way Fanon warns us about, a feeling that our cultures and languages are somehow inherently inferior. That somehow our traditions and language cannot convey equally complex concepts and ideas as European cultures and languages.

There is not space here for a rigorous refutation of these linguistic deficit theories, but some personal testimony may suffice to set this racist view aside for now. While in Tanzania, I attended at two Teachers' colleges in Tanzania, namely Mpwapwa and Dar-Es-Salaam (now DUCE). While there, I took six (6) courses in Swahili out of eight (8) courses. The six courses were: *Uongozi katika Elimu* (Leadership in Education), *Upimaji na Tathmini katika Elimu* (Evaluation and Measurements in Education), *Saikolojia ya Elimu* (Educational Psychology), *Falsafa ya Elimu* (Educational Philosophy), *Utafiti katika Elimu* (Research in Education), and *Elimu ya Siasa* (Political Education). The only subjects taught in English language were History and English. There were no complaints from anyone in the class about Swahili and students seemed to enjoy learning in Swahili more than learning through the English language. How is it going to be too difficult to use Swahili in secondary school alone if we used it in graduate courses? Additionally, in primary schools, students learned all science subjects in Swahili. There has never been a complaint about Swahili being used in Science, for

example, at the elementary levels. This argument, though heard often, is simply specious.

Objectives of Secondary Education and the Current English Instruction

Tanzanian secondary education instruction obtained mainly through English, a foreign language does not adequately address or reflect the objectives of Secondary Education in the country. To understand how an English-only policy constitutes problems and challenges, we can look closely at the following secondary education objectives as stated in the 1995 Education Policy (Ministry of Education [MoEC], pp. 6 - 7):

- (1) To consolidate and broaden the scope of baseline ideas, knowledge, skills and principles acquired and developed at the primary education level.
- (2) To enhance further development and appreciation of national unity, identity and ethic, personal integrity, respect and readiness to work, human rights, cultural and moral values, customs, traditions and civic responsibilities and obligations.
- (3) To promote the development of competency in linguistic ability and effective use of communication skills in Kiswahili and in at least one foreign language.
- (4) To provide opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge, skills, attitudes and understanding in prescribed or selected fields of study.
- (5) To prepare students for tertiary and higher education, vocational, technical, and professional training.

(6) To inculcate a sense and ability for self study, self-confidence and self-advancement in frontiers of science and technology, academic and occupational knowledge, and skills.

(7) To prepare the students to join the world of work.

First, it is evident from respondents that learning the English language, was at least partly indicated as resource. There are many ways that the language helped the learners during their secondary education life (see respondents' comments under *English as Resource*). Respondents expressed advantages such as secondary graduates' ability to speak English with foreign visitors in Tanzania, to speak English while abroad, getting good grades in academic subjects through memorization or cramming strategies, and securing jobs as drivers for foreign businesses in Tanzania. However, these advantages do not seem to be tangible benefits for the majority of Tanzanians, nor do they seem to be tangible benefits when relating to the seven MoEC policy objectives for secondary education in Tanzania.

For example, the first objective is reasonably stated as to consolidate and broaden what students have learned in primary (elementary) school. The assumption is that, while at primary level, the students have successfully completed their education in Swahili and would be able to add to their education at a secondary level. However, due to the English language barrier, the majority of students who attend public schools unfortunately end their educational journey in failure.

The second objective highlights another difficulty in achieving the policy objectives. Attempting to use a foreign language to achieve objective aspects of national identity, cultural values, respect, and human rights, through a foreign language seems

illogical and unlikely to be successful. Some respondents indicated that their parents felt they were unable to contribute to anything to the academic success of the student, because the parents did not speak English. The researcher infers this as a cause for some parents to feel disrespected and excluded from their child's education, making family life difficult. And some human right (objective 2) is violated when the students do not learn in secondary school through their home or familiar language.

The third and fourth objectives (developing linguistic competency and acquisition of knowledge and skills, respectively) seem difficult to achieve under the current form of bilingual education, which is predominantly monolingual. Joshua, one of the respondents commented that the students' levels of proficiency in both Swahili and English are inadequate because Swahili is partly used as subject matter and partly forbidden to use around school settings. Meanwhile, the officially allowed medium of English is difficult for many students.

Lastly, objectives 5, 6, and 7 are articulated as well in the objectives of the MoEC policy. Unfortunately, they cannot be achieved or simply difficult to achieve. "Preparing students for higher education", as stated in objective 5 only allows a few students to qualify for college education. This implies that deliberate inequality in terms of economic classes is created among Tanzanians. There will be the majority who do not receive higher education, while a few will have access to most opportunities that come after higher education. In terms of building confidence under objective 6, Elia (see under *English as Problem*) indicated that some Tanzanian leaders do not properly understand the written English when signing contracts and agreements with foreign governments and businesses. The majority of Tanzanians do not have the same confidence in English

language that they have in Swahili. Also, the students are not competent enough in the world of work as ought to be in objective 7. Overwhelmingly, respondents complained how the required use of English in Tanzanian secondary schools has allowed more Africans from neighboring countries to take jobs that require fluency in the English language. This partly implies that English language is taught and learned well in Tanzanian secondary schools.

Previous Studies on Bilingual Education and Problems in Tanzania

Before providing more specific recommendations, I will review some striking facts about bilingual education in Tanzanian secondary schools, from previous studies. First, Rubagumya (1990) has clearly indicated that there are problems in teaching students using English language, because it is not a familiar language. He points out problems including teachers' inability or inadequate command of the English language. Therefore, this makes one wonder as to how should students learn in a foreign language that the teachers do not understand as well!

Secondly, it should be clearly understood that strong and effective bilingual educational programs have been a solution to problems in many bicultural nations or communities. The best examples come from the United States and Canada where the multitude of ethnicities and races demand that students learn in their first language, if English is not their first language. Cummins (1981) discusses bilingual education strategies and the school politics involved in teaching and learning especially in Toronto area where more than 50% of the children did not speak English as their first language. In such a context, the need to teach the students in both French and English became

obvious. Besides the fact that using one language in education has advantages such as uniting people as a nation, he believes that considerations should also come from cognitive factors of the children whose first language is not the mainstream or the majority language.

There are many reasons for teaching and learning in two languages or bilingual education. What Cummins adds and I believe would help the students of Tanzania is the fact that using the students' first language helps them to transfer literacy skills from their first language to the second language. He also argues that the reason why researches published on bilingual education, and communities do not see any beneficial changes, is the fact that even those researches are published in the languages that are commonly shared among researchers only. This implies that, it would be hard for the majority of Tanzanians for example, to benefit from my research simply because they cannot understand the English language.

Thirdly, studies in the US, especially with revitalization of native Indian languages and Hawaiian language provide models Tanzanians would do well to learn from. Wilson and Kamana (2006) indicate that Hawaiian language had by 1983 almost no native speakers because it was banned in the 1800s from being used in education. However, revitalization efforts to retain the language have had some impacts including a feeling of exclusion for those who started learning in Hawaiian language in school. This means oppression of minority students in schools is not done directly by any outside member but some of the indigenous members who have established a strong negative sense about their own language, see those learning Hawaiian as anti-progressive. The authors also account of devastating and terrifying experiences on how the imposition of

English in the 1800s was done both psychologically and physically to the students who spoke Hawaiian in school against the policy then. This example is similar to corporal punishment that students experience in Tanzanian boarding public-secondary-schools, in the name of ‘positive strategies’ to acquire English.

Respondents of this study and a number of scholars suggest that bilingual and bicultural education in the contexts of education such as Tanzanian secondary school would benefit many learners.

Forms of Bilingual Education That Tanzania May Adapt

It has been found that bilingualism and bilingual education are the most effective educational practices in multilingual societies—both for subject matter learning and for second language acquisition. There are various forms of bilingual education in the world. Scholars have classified the models or forms differently. First, before presenting the table of the 10 forms of bilingual education from Baker (2011), it might be useful to summarize in a nutshell the details found in the entire table. Categorically, out of 10, Colin Baker identified two major forms of bilingual education programs such as those promoting monolingual-ism and those whose expected outcomes are bilingualism and biculturalism

Furthermore, under the programs that promote bilingualism, there are two sub-versions. One is a weak version of bilingualism while another comprises strong forms of bilingualism. The second thing worth noting is that, all monolingual forms and weak forms of bilingual education are often a target for minority learners of second language, where less support from native speakers and resources are limited. After that, it is

noticeable too that the goals and outcomes for those forms with shortcomings are either, assimilation, subtraction, or both and monolingual-ism, isolation/separation, or both respectively. One major thing noticeable too is that the target learners for all strong forms are either majority learners or minority learners. Practically, it is hard for minority learners to succeed in such programs because they are either expensive or require political and bureaucratic processes. The processes eventually make it hard for the learner to benefit from the programs in countries with low levels of economy such as Tanzania.

Table 1 presents a summary of bilingual programs that Colin Baker developed. It is from among those programs that Tanzania can adapt one form. On the table, the last two columns contain strengths and limitations of each program for the Tanzanian secondary school learners.

Table 1
Types or Forms of Bilingual Education Programs
(Modified from Baker 2011, pp. 209–210)

Major Form	Sub-Form	Target Learner	Resource (Support)	Medium & Manner	Program Goals	Outcome & Policy	Strengths for Tanzania	Limitations for Tanzania
(A) Mono-lingual Programs	1) Structured Immersion	minority	no native language & peer support	lessons conducted in the majority language	assimilation & subtraction	mono-lingualism in majority language	ss have more time to think & learn in L2	Swahili literacy skills undeveloped ss think mostly about language, not content low self esteem in Swahili culture rural schools suffer
	2) Content Based ESL	minority	using visual aids, repetitions	lessons conducted in the majority language	assimilation & subtraction	mono-lingualism in majority language	learning both language & content (curriculum content is the focus using L2)	less exposure to native language limited critical thinking content does not reflect L1 setting
	3) Segregationist	minority	limited or no support	ss learn through minority language separated from majority programs	segregation & subservience	segregation & mono-linguism in majority language	maintains indigenous language (L1 is maintained by force and accidentally, not by choice)	segregates learners no access to majority language promotes racism denied higher ed.
(B) Weak Bilingual Programs	1) Transitional	minority	initial use of L1 bilingual teachers	lessons conducted in minority language briefly, then in the majority language	Assimilation	monolingualism in majority language	students use of L1 (helps students with a smoother transition cognitively from L1 while learning L2).	segregates learners may delay L2 proficiency

	2) Mainstream with FL Teaching	majority	FL teacher help	ss learn FL as a separate subject	Additive	Bilingualism	FL not for school instruction, Swahili would be. FL would be learned as a subject, additional to L1. Swahili speakers benefit by learning more subjects in L1 than in FL).	few lessons relatively fewer ss become competent in FL expensive for Tanzania
	3) Separatist	minority	language community support	students learn in the minority language	exclusion stagnation	monolingualism in L1	easy to learn through it preserves ...?	separation from the rest of the world limits higher educ opportunities creates inequality (English vs Swahili medium schools)
(C) Strong Bilingual Programs	1) Immersion (100%-80%-50%)	majority (same L1 backg)	support by L1 & L2 bilingual teachers	lessons conducted in both languages with an initial emphasis on the minority language	Additive	full bilingualism & biliteracy	biliteracy biculturalism academic success, learners' freedom (ss who do well in English might choose to continue with more learning in English, and those who are only good in Swahili would find opportunities related to the language they are proficient in.	hard to achieve full bilingualism expensive for Tanzania (but great) optional

	2) Maintenance /Heritage, eg. Spanish & Navajo (USA)	minority, immigrant, indigenous people or natives etc.	L1 or heritage language used	lessons conducted in minority language	Additive	bilingualism & bi-literacy	secure identity maintains indigenous language	divisions costly conflict in making one official language Tanzania will need over 120 languages, each used in school! some tribes feel inferior hard to balance
	3) Two-Way /Dual	minority & majority eg. (English & Spanish)	adjusted to the ss language level	lessons conducted in both languages for all students	Additive	bilingualism biliteracy	access to content in both languages Ability to develop bilingualism	would require another main language and speakers who live in Tanzania (impossible for now) because Tanzania does not have 2 majority languages
	4) Mainstream Bilingual	language majority, plus 1/3 or more minority.	bilingual teachers	two majority languages used, especially where there are 2 more majority languages	Additive	bilingualism/ multilingualism	-biculturalism -cognitive advantage -L1 and L2/foreign language	needs resources, expensive hard to make 2 languages instructional later in higher education

Note: L1 = first language; L2 = second language, FL = foreign language, ss = students.

The two programs highlighted in green in Table 1 are the ones I believe might have more practical advantages for the Tanzanian context. In number 4 above, the term ‘language majority’ is a bit problematic in that particular part as it confines the program to the existence of only 2 majority languages, while suggesting that there can be more, and those ‘more’ imply minority languages, given the examples of countries the author (Baker) cited. As the term is understood, two majority languages in a Western context is different from 2 majority languages in a Second or Third world context, such as in Singapore, or Nigeria (Baker, 2011).

Colin Baker’s model above is helpful for understanding the various forms of bilingual education countries might adapt. However, it contains a lot of details that Tanzanians might find it hard to follow and understand one aspect after another in the English language, which is not very familiar to many Tanzanians. For simplicity, the I use another generic framework that has fewer elements and fewer details (see Figure 1 and 2 below). A model or framework developed between Figures 1 and 2 suggesting the type of bilingual education that can be suitable for Tanzania.

Structure of Bilingual Education That I Propose for Tanzania

In some parts of the world such as Peru, there have been efforts of trying to establish a bilingual education that would include a native language in school. Quechua is the native language that the government proposed to be learned in school along with Spanish (a second and dominant language of instruction). Valdiezo (2010) argues that although the government accepted the inclusion of Quechua in education to co-exist along with the Spanish language, still Spanish remained the focus. This means the

resources and amount of time needed to learn Quechua was less than that allocated for Spanish language learning.

In what follows, I demonstrate diagrammatically how such a program to include Quechua was designed (Figure 1). Later, I adapt the same framework and propose a form of Swahili-English bilingual education suitable for Tanzanian secondary schools (figure 2). However, I modify the feature that retains a privileging of the dominant language, permitting Swahili to become the primary language of subject matter instruction. I feel no obligation to retain all the features of the Peruvian policy. Jerome S. Brunner, cited in Dodd (1969) is quoted as saying that, “I shall take it as self-evident that each generation must define afresh the nature, direction and aims of education to assure such freedom and rationality as can be attained for a future generation.”

Figure 1 is a framework that was created in Peru as an effort to establish a bilingual education policy that between the two languages. The framework typically advocates for an indigenous language in education. Then Spanish is suggested as a second language to be learned. It is unfortunate however, that although the efforts were initiated by elites from among the Peruvians, the policy was predominantly colonial. It was colonial in a sense that Spanish, the colonial language was given higher priority in schools in terms of resources and funding generally than Quechua, the indigenous language. Since Figure 1 deals with bilingualism and bilingual education policies, I adapted this framework and changed perspectives. Instead of prioritizing English language for instruction in Tanzanian secondary schools, the researcher’s primary focus is Swahili as the main language of instruction (see Figure 2).

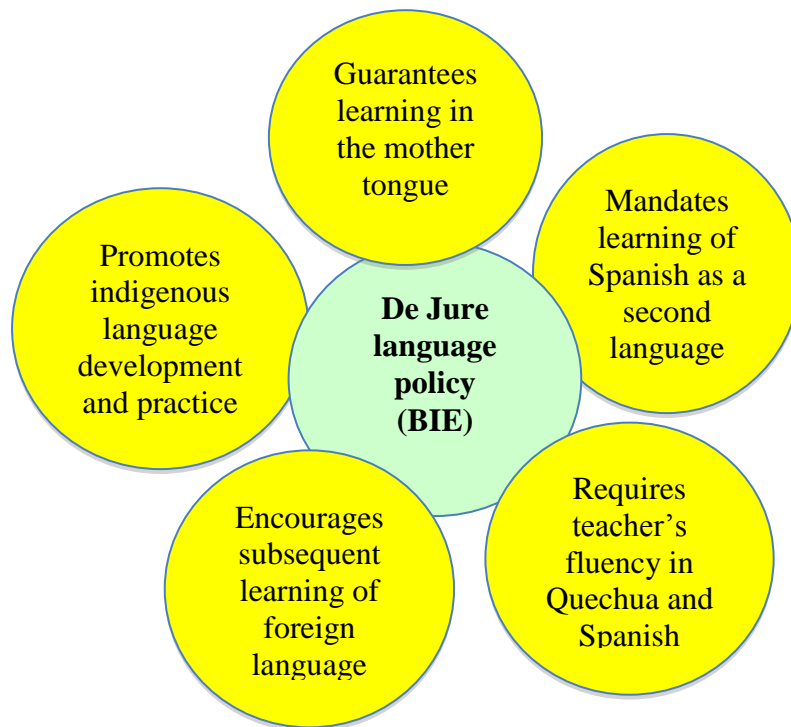


Figure 1. Bilingual Intercultural Education (BIE) between Spanish and Quechua that favored Spanish instead of Quechua, the indigenous language. Source: Valdiviezo (2010).

In the framework I propose in Figure 2, the first element is found in the center of all elements. The Bilingual Intercultural Education (BIE) in Swahili and English languages is guided by the principles of ESR as its core. This means that students can learn in different languages and different academic subjects with the guidance of 3 principals of African socialism advocated by Julius K. Nyerere in ESR (Dodd, 1969).

The principles are:

- i) Equality and respect for human dignity
- ii) Sharing of resources that are produced by the society's efforts
- iii) Work by everyone and exploitation by none



Figure 2. A proposed decolonizing indigenous and bilingual education program between Swahili and English instruction in Tanzanian secondary schools. Adapted and modified from Valdiviezo (2010).

First, I believe that ESR principles guide the use of education to create a new and appropriate kind of society in Tanzania. The root of this concept of ESR is in the traditional past of Tanzania. Secondly, under ESR, schools have dual role in society: Schools have dual role in the generation of society:

(1) The social role, in which students learn attitudes appropriate for an African socialism based society in rural economy. ESR has to foster the social goals of living and working together for the common good. Secondary education should not help students accept values appropriate for our colonial past. Elitism should be viewed with a critical eye,

because students maybe alienated from the rural communities where the majority of Tanzanians (80%) come from. (2) The vocational role. In this, secondary education should help the majority of the pupils go to school in an agrarian life, so that they become better farmers (Dodd, 1968).

The second element on the framework is ESR itself. This means students should learn, understand, and show by action that they understood about ESR and its core-values. Third, the bilingual education in Tanzanian secondary schools should promote Swahili language learning and its cultural practice. Forth, the students should learn in Swahili language to overcome the present difficulty encountered when the students learn using English. Next, understanding the importance of global connections and interdependence between nations and people around the world, English should be taught well only as a second or foreign language and a subject. The last element requires teachers of academic subjects to be fluent in Swahili and English languages.

Such a decolonizing form of bilingual education in addition to the elements indicated on the framework in Figure 2 above, needs to address three main curriculum issues developed by Education Development Center (2000). The issues are: 1) Academic rigor (2) Equity (3) Developmental appropriateness of the content taught to students. First, on academic rigor, the curriculum should focus on how to help students learn skills and understand underlying concepts and their interconnections, with reasoning, and ability to communicate the ideas as learners. Secondly, equity will require that the curriculum address ways to deal with important aspects to be taught to all students considering factors such as gender, physical abilities and disabilities, and age of the students. Thirdly, appropriateness has to address issues such as ways in which

teachers teach students based on the prior experiences that students have, students' interests, and motivation (pp. 23 - 48).

The recommended bilingual form of education in Tanzania applies both in terms of policy consideration as well as teaching and learning practices in the classrooms.

Implications and Considerations for Future Studies

I strongly believe that this study was unique as it focused on the secondary school graduates that previous scholars have not involved in the previous studies. There should be more in depth studies like this to involve more participants and a variety of techniques of data collection such as interviews, direct participation of researchers, through observations as participants work and live their life within the community in Tanzania.

Second, the government of Tanzania should effect the change from English-only language of instruction to mainly Swahili instruction, and better teaching of the English language only as a subject or foreign language. The structure of a new bilingual program in secondary schools should follow the model identified in Figure 2 above. The implications include the government's grater allocation of financial resources, human resources and others to enable both effective training in teachers preparation programs as well as the actual teaching in secondary school classrooms. Better teaching of the English language for example would require bringing to Tanzania native speakers of the English language to teach in pre-service teachers' colleges. The native speaker expatriates are particularly necessary as language instructors for Tanzanians who prepare to teach this foreign language. It is not easy for nonnative speaker instructors alone to be effective in preparing teachers who are expected to teach well in secondary schools. I

learned this lesson during my first year of studies as a graduate student in the US. Although I had used English until I completed my B.A in Tanzania in the English language, I was shocked that English native speaking professors provided clearer instruction than nonnative speaking professors who taught in Tanzania.

If these kinds of implications, informed by these continuing inquiries, could be implemented, the experience of children in Tanzanian schools could be radically transformed. The frustrations and missed opportunities described by the respondents of this study can and should be avoided. The future of Tanzania and the many diverse communities with in Tanzania depends on us taking these issues seriously and acting on best bilingual and bicultural education research.

Third, the fact that a few respondents included the issue of tribal languages in Tanzania and that, various scholars point out the existence of about 130 tribal languages in Tanzania, makes it fair for me partly to acknowledge that fact in this study. The same fact also compels me to argue for Swahili as the uniting language to be used in secondary education. At the same time, it is equally important to suggest that there is a need for future studies that focus mainly on the role of Tanzanian tribal languages in education and society in general. Those future studies might offer insights into the role of the tribal languages in Tanzanian society and the implications of this for education policy.

Finally, while thinking about the proposed changes, it is important to acknowledge that a change in the language of instruction in secondary schools from mainly English to mainly Swahili will not necessarily bring about some of the desired ideological changes I have described. This means that, if the government decides that Swahili is to be the main language in all secondary schools, we might well continue to

see wealthy Tanzanian parents embracing the English language instruction by sending their children to study abroad so that the children become fluent in the English language. It also means that, the promises or advantages of the English language are still real for some Tanzanians such as those echoed through the voices of my respondents. The beneficiaries of the English language such as those travelling or studying abroad and those working in foreign investors' companies in Tanzania might strongly embrace the dominance of the English language in Tanzania.

I offer this divided feeling about the language of instruction because many respondents in my study pointed out that the teaching of English language in particular and the teachers quality in general need to be improved. From that view, it would seem that if my respondents saw an improved teaching of the English language in secondary schools, and all students were fluent in the English language, Tanzanians' opinion about the shift from English to Swahili instruction might be different. The other obstacle in the language of instruction shift would be due to the fact that, for any significant change especially in education setting, it takes a while until everything works successfully. For example, implementing the instruction through Swahili implies a transitional phase between the changes. This means that teachers who would immediately begin the Swahili instruction were trained mainly through the English language in the past, both as students and teachers. They possibly might have some strong remnants of strengths of an education through English language regardless of its colonial history. As a result, they would teach in Swahili while their personal choice might be teaching through the English language.

Back to my main argument, while I acknowledge the possible reluctance in the language policy change from English instruction to mainly through Swahili, I would like to reiterate that, I strongly emphasize on the need for a shift from English instruction to mainly Swahili instruction. The reasoning for such a change ultimately rests on the premise that protecting and using a people's indigenous language in education has the advantages I have described. To do this, Tanzanians will need to rethink their relationship to language (Swahili in this case) use in education as a resource and as a right, rather than a problem (Ruiz, 1984 and, Baker, 2011).

APPENDIX A

RESEARCH INSTRUMENT (INTERVIEW PROTOCOL)

Principal Investigator (PI): Marko Mwipopo

University of Oregon, College of Education, Department of Education Studies

Critical and Sociocultural Studies in Education (CSSE) Program

Dissertation Research Entitled

“Secondary school graduates’ personal experiences in the context of English-only language of instruction within and outside school setting in Tanzania”

Respondent: _____ Date: _____ Time: _____

Here are some of the questions I have for you: Provide as much information as you can, according to your knowledge and experience.

- 1) Briefly state where you were born, and what you have been up to?
- 2) Please tell me whether you attended a public or private secondary school, the name of that school and the years you attended the school.
- 3) During secondary school, what language(s) did you use at home and why?
- 4) Did you already speak the English language when you entered secondary school? If so, what was your level of fluency? Did you speak English more fluently or less fluently than the average student at your school when you first enrolled?
- 5) While at school, who were the people you spoke English with? Who did you speak other languages with? Were you discouraged from speaking other languages? If so how were you discouraged? Can you give examples?

- 6) In what language did you communicate with your teachers in the classroom? Can you provide examples of moments where communication with teachers was a challenge? Did teachers ever speak to you in something other than English? Under what circumstances? Why?
- 7) What can you say about teachers of each subject and the way they used English? How did they help you or other students to learn English language and the subject matter?
- 8) What happened to students who could not speak or understand English language? How did these students seem to feel about their situation?
- 9) What was difficult or easy when using the English language in the classroom and outside the classroom?
- 10) Did you ever wish that you attended at a different school? Are there any differences between one school and another in terms of the English language instruction?
- 11) Why, in your opinion, do schools use this foreign language for instruction in secondary school? What are the advantages? What are the disadvantages? (Ask for examples of each)
- 12) If a different language could be used in secondary school, what would that language be? How would students' learning be different?
- 13) Who became more fluent in the English language use, you, your friends, or other children who attended who attended different schools? Why do you think this was the case?
- 14) What did your parents say about your learning to speak English, if anything? Did you agree with them?

15) Are there any stories or opinions you would like to share with me on this topic that I have failed to ask about? Remember, you are the expert on your experience in these schools. I try my best to ask good questions, but you know more about your experience than I do. I appreciate hearing anything you have to offer.

16) Do you have any questions for me?

As I mentioned earlier, your information is important for my research in making the learning process and experiences at secondary school level in Tanzania understood and improved. I would like to thank you so much once again for your time and generous sharing of your knowledge about the English language issue.

APPENDIX B

IRB APPROVAL



UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

DATE: July 27, 2015 IRB Protocol Number: 07032015.003
TO: Marko Mwipopo, Principal Investigator
Department of Education Studies
RE: Protocol entitled, "Secondary School Graduates? Personal Experiences in the Context of English-only Language of Instruction within and Outside School Setting in Tanzania"

Notice of IRB Review and Exempt Determination
as per Title 45 CFR Part 46.101 (b)(2)

The above protocol has been reviewed by the University of Oregon Institutional Review Board and Research Compliance Services. This is a minimal risk research protocol that qualifies for an exemption from IRB review under 45 CFR 46.101(b)(2) for research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior.

Please note that you will not be required to submit continuing reviews for this protocol, however, you must submit any changes to the protocol to Research Compliance Services for assessment to verify that the protocol continues to qualify for exemption. This exempt determination will expire July 26, 2020. Should your research continue beyond expiration date, you will need to submit a new protocol application.

Your responsibility as a Principal Investigator also includes:

- Obtaining written documentation of the appropriate permissions from public school districts, institutions, agencies, or other organizations, etc., prior to conducting your research
- Notifying Research Compliance Services of any change in Principal Investigator
- Notifying Research Compliance Services of any changes to or supplemental funding
- Retaining copies of this determination, any signed consent forms, and related research materials for five years after conclusion of your study or the closure of your sponsored research, whichever comes last.

As with all Human Subject Research, exempt research is subject to periodic Post Approval Monitoring review.

If you have any questions regarding your protocol or the review process, please contact Research Compliance Services at ResearchCompliance@uoregon.edu or (541)346-2510.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Sheryl Johnson'.

Sheryl Johnson, BS, CHES, CIP
Director
Research Compliance Services
University of Oregon

CC: Gerald Rosiek, Faculty Advisor

COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS ■ RESEARCH COMPLIANCE SERVICES
677 E. 12th Ave., Suite 500, 5237 University of Oregon, Eugene OR 97401-5237
T 541-346-2510 F 541-346-5138 <http://humansubjects.uoregon.edu>

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APPENDIX C

PARTICIPANT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

#	Name	Sex	Interview date	Starting time
01	Bahati	F	08-13-2015	5:00 pm PT
02	Beltina	F	08-23-2015	6:15 pm PT
03	Salome	F	08-13-2015	5:20 pm PT
04	Damas	M	08-14-2015	8:42 pm PT
05	Denis	M	08-13-2015	7:15 am PT
06	Elia	M	08-13-2015	1:00 pm PT
07	Fatuma	F	08-02-2015	4:10 pm PT
08	Fred	M	08-26-2015	6:00 pm PT
09	Habiba	F	08-06-2015	6:15 pm PT
10	Joshua	M	07-30-2015	8:06 pm PT
11	Kalistus	M	08-14-2015	12:15 am PT
12	Maria	F	08-10-2015	5:15 pm PT
13	Rita	F	08-14-2015	12:15 pm PT
14	Bupe	F	08-18-2015	8:15 pm PT
15	John	M	08-18-2015	9:26 pm PT
16	Ali	M	08-22-2015	9:20 pm PT
17	Selina	F	08-24-2015	5:05 pm PT
18	Aisha	F	08-26-2015	5:40 pm PT

APPENDIX D

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

(PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS ATTENDED)

#	Name	Sex	Primary school attended		Secondary school attended	
			Public	Private	Public	Private
01	Bahati	F	✓			✓
02	Beltina	F	✓			✓
03	Salome	F	✓			✓
04	Damas	M	✓		✓	
05	Denis	M	✓		✓	✓
06	Elia	M	✓			✓
07	Fatuma	F	✓			✓
08	Fred	M	✓		✓	✓
09	Habiba	F	✓			✓
10	Joshua	M	✓		✓	✓
11	Kalistus	M	✓			✓
12	Maria	F	✓			✓
13	Rita	F	✓		✓	✓
14	Bupe	F	✓			✓
15	John	M		✓		✓
16	Ali	M		✓	✓	✓
17	Selina	F	✓			✓
18	Aisha	F	✓			✓

Note: Respondents with check marks for both public and private schools attended both types of schools.

APPENDIX E

RESPONDENTS' IDEAL PREFERENCES OF LOI FOR TANZANIAN

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

#	Name	Swahili	English	Other	How much teaching for each language
01	Bahati	✓	✓		- Don't know - But teach in Swahili and English
02	Beltina	✓			- All subjects in Swahili
03	Salome	✓	✓		- All subjects in Swahili - English as a subject
04	Damas	✓	✓		- All subjects in Swahili - English subject from standard 1
05	Denis	✓	✓		- All subjects in Swahili - Teach well English and Swahili languages
06	Elia	✓	✓	✓	- Use Swahili, tribal & English languages - Begin English earlier
07	Fatuma	✓			- All subjects in Swahili
08	Fred	✓	✓		- Begin English from kindergarten
09	Habiba	✓	✓		- All subjects in Swahili - English as a subject
10	Joshua	✓	✓	✓	- All subjects in English - Teach other languages as subjects
11	Kalistus	✓	✓		- All subjects in Swahili - English as a subject
12	Maria	✓	✓	✓	- Subjects in Swahili - Subjects in English, Learn French
13	Rita	✓	✓		- Subjects in Swahili - Teach English subject
14	Bupe	✓	✓		- All subjects in Swahili - Begin English language/subject at primary
15	John	✓	✓		- Hypothetically use Swahili (Implies there're are hurdles or limitations)
16	Ali	✓	✓		- Swahili in all subjects is a good idea - English in all subjects is more beneficial
17	Selina	✓	✓		- Learn subjects in Swahili 50% - Learn subjects in English 50%
18	Aisha	✓	✓	✓	- All subjects in Swahili, Learn English - Chinese might take over

APPENDIX F

TANZANIA'S SECONDARY EDUCATION & DEMOGRAPHIC TREND FROM 1961 TO 1991

Year	Number of Schools	Number of Students	Number of Teachers
1961	41	11,832	764
1971	116	43,352	2,199
1981	158	67,602	3,262
1991	405	166,812	10,928
2001	937	289,699	14,352
2011	4,367	1,789,547	52,146

Source: Ministry of Education (Elimu), Tanzania, 2011

APPENDIX G

DEFINITIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

- 1) Primary school = Elementary school
- 2) Academy/academic school = English medium kindergarten, or primary school
- 3) International school = English medium school focusing on external curriculum
- 4) ESR = Education for Self Reliance, a guiding philosophy for education in Tanzania
- 5) Tuition = Extra lessons that students pay for, outside the regular school sessions
- 6) L1 = First language of a student
- 7) L2 = Second language a student learns after L1
- 8) LoI = Language of instruction, synonymous to medium of instruction
- 9) O-Level = Ordinary level (the first four years of secondary school)
- 10) A-level = Advanced level (two years of high school)
- 11) Private school = Generally a school owned and run by religious organization, individual people or community, conceived as more expensive than public school
- 12) Public school = School owned and run by the government of Tanzania
- 13) Kiswahili = Used synonymously to Swahili language
- 14) SBE = Standard British English
- 15) FL = Foreign Language
- 16) BIE = Bilingual Intercultural Education
- 17) IMF = International Monetary Fund, established in in 1945 as part of the UN
- 18) WB = World Bank
- 19) SAP = Structural Adjustment Policies, introduced by WB and IMF to poor countries in the 1980s

20) Ujamaa = African socialism leading to ESR ideas and a philosophy founded by J.K.

Nyerere

21) NECTA = National Examinations Council of Tanzania

22) MOEC = (formerly) Ministry of Education and Culture

23) CSSE = Critical and Sociocultural Studies in Education

24) EDST = Education Studies (department)

25) ESOL = English for Speakers of Other Languages

26) AD or Anno Domini = A date denoting a number of years from the birth of Christ

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