

**LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION PLANNING IN TANZANIA:
A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS**

By

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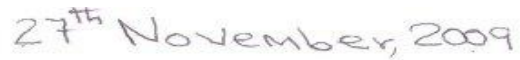
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DECLARATION

I, **Eustard Rutalemwa Tibategeza**, hereby declare that this thesis submitted by me for the Doctor of Philosophy (Linguistics) degree at the University of the Free State is my own independent work and has not previously been submitted by me at another university/faculty. I furthermore cede copyright of the thesis in favour of the University of the Free State.



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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved parents, Mr Amos Tibategeza Bigwire and the late Mrs Rozalia Tibategeza for the sacrifices they made to invest in my education.

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a background of the study in connection with language-in-education planning and policy in Africa in general and Tanzania in particular. The chapter further provides the statement of the research problem and hypotheses, aim and objectives of the study, significance of the study, overview of the research methodology and outline of the remainder of the thesis.

1.2 Background to the Study

The next two subsections (sections 1.2.1 and 1.2.2) focus on language policy in Africa and Tanzania respectively. They point out language experiences after colonialism and how African languages have been ignored in the educational settings. Additionally, studies indicate that there is a need to consider the use of African languages alongside “imported” languages for learners’ cognitive development and promotion of bilingualism and biliteracy in education.

1.2.1 Language Policy and Planning in Africa

Language planning in Africa is a critical issue especially in educational settings. Bamgbose (2000: 99) submits that language planning in Africa takes place against the background of several factors. These factors include societal multilingualism, the colonial language legacy, the role of education as an agent of social change, high incidence of illiteracy and concerns for communication, national integration and development.

Since most African countries are multilingual, they are faced with a challenge when it comes to language planning. The challenges range from language choice for purpose of administration, communication and education, cost of language development, the role of minority languages and the place of bilingualism in the

overall language policy. A common practice in African countries has always been that funding language issues is not a priority and language issues rank low in comparison with unemployment, crime prevention, housing, corruption, healthy services, infrastructure development and good governance (Wright, 2002: 172; Kamwendo, 2006: 64). Simala (2002: 48) therefore asserts that the resources African governments put in language issues are limited.

It has been a common tradition again in most African states to adopt the general framework of language policy inherited from the respective colonial power. According to Heine (1990: 173) there are two reasons behind this driving force. First, there is fear of entertaining hundreds of ethnic languages and therefore, the European languages seem to constitute a convenient tool of bridging sociolinguistic, cultural and political antagonisms which are taken to endanger the national unity. This line of thinking ties in with what Brock-Utne (2005a: 175) points out that there is a commonly held argument that there is such a multitude of languages in Africa that it is impossible to choose which language to use in education. She underscores that due to many languages, it is considered costly to publish textbooks in these languages. It is therefore deemed prudent to retain the colonial languages at the expense of ethnic languages which most people are conversant in.

The second reason advanced by Heine behind the maintenance of colonial language policy is the fact that the political leadership of the first generation after independence was the product of the people educated through foreign languages and these leaders took it for granted that a modern state was to be run in a European language. Mateene (1999: 164) regards this hypocrisy of African leaders as dishonesty and disappointment because they use African languages in their campaign for election but switch to a foreign language not known by the voters after election. This explains why language policy in Africa has been dominated by

the promotion of “imported” languages such as English, French and Portuguese, hence the preference to monolingualism in education.

Reacting on why specifically English in Africa has gained prominence, Canagarajah (2005: 196) submits that globalisation has made the state borders permeable and therefore reinserted the importance of the English language for all communities through multinationals, market forces, population culture, cyber space and digital technology. He underscores that apart from the pressure the nation state is facing from outside, it is also facing pressure from within. For example:

- i) The claims of diverse social groups and ethnic communities within the nation have become more assertive.
- ii) Post-modern conditions have created certain significant changes in discourse, thus calling for a different orientation to language planning.
- iii) People no longer think of their identities in essentialist terms (as belonging exclusively to one language or culture), their cultures as monolithic (closed against contact with other communities) and their knowledge forms as pure (uniformly local or centralised) (Canagarajah, 2005: 196).

Referring to the language situation in Burkina Faso, Nikièma (2002: 8) reports that French is the sole language of instruction at all levels of education. He underscores that people have no opportunity to use their own languages that were used in the country long time before French was introduced. These languages, he argues, are spoken by the overwhelming majority of the population and some are referred to in the constitution as national languages.

Despite the adoption of “imported” languages in African education systems, such languages have remained the minority ones in Africa. This is because they have not reached the masses of the population in most African countries. According to

Heine (1990: 175) less than 20% of African people are able to make use of their “imported” official languages. This implies that people in their communities still make use of their languages, unlike what is contained in the language policy documents. As Wolff (2002: 136) clearly argues that since the knowledge of the African languages is shared by the teachers and the learners, the English only policy in the schools remains a myth despite the requirement by the language policy. He underlines that the reason for this is that in practice teachers revert to a language other than English (or any other foreign language) when students indicate that they do not understand the instruction given in English.

The expectations of language planners and politicians to adopt European languages in Africa were:

- i) That relevant European language would develop into a viable medium of national communication.
- ii) That the language would be accepted and adopted by the African population.
- iii) That the language would spread as the lingua franca.
- iv) That the language would be the first languages hence replace local languages (Heine, 1990: 176).

However, Heine highlights that these expectations have not been realised in Africa, nor is it likely to happen in the foreseeable future. There is every reason to believe that by the end of this millennium the majority of people in Africa will still be ignorant of their respective imposed official languages, be it English, French or Portuguese.

Adoption of the “imported” language can also be associated with economic development that would best be achieved by means of the language whose mother tongue speakers belong to the economically most successful communities in the

world. European languages were and are still associated with economic and technological progress while African languages are allied with economic and technological stagnation and backwardness. Nonetheless, as Heine (1990: 176) clearly puts it, this has turned out to be a fallacy, as the gap between the industrialised and the third countries continue to widen considerably. This can be associated with inadequate system of communication at the national level.

In relation to economic opportunities, Moto (2002: 28) submits that since the knowledge of English opened up opportunities for some jobs during colonialism, it began to be clear to the natives that knowledge of spoken and written English was more useful and economically rewarding than knowledge of local languages. However, Mateene (1999: 168) stresses that the fear people have that they will not be employed if they study in African languages is unfounded. He makes it clear that what the employers want is technical know-how or professional skills, which include the acquisition of literacy best acquired in one's native language. To emphasise his point, Mateene argues correctly that it is possible for a person to learn and master in part-time lessons the language of employment and job market. So he concludes that Africans should not devote all their schooling years to acquisition of non-native languages, if the purpose is employment.

Language-in-education programmes arose with the advent of colonialism and the dominant impact of the languages of the colonisers. This is unlike the pre-colonial era where local mother tongue languages were used quite naturally within each ethnic or linguistic group for the purpose of socialisation of the young generation.

With regard to negative language attitudes towards African languages, Wolff (2006: 42) points out that the post-colonial African elite are defined by their linguistic behaviour of preferring the use of ex-colonial language(s). The reason of this is because they have succeeded in a foreign language based education system in which the colonial language was the dominant language of instruction. Judging

from their own educational experience which shows success through using colonial languages, the idea of using indigenous African languages in education tends to meet strong opposition from such political elite.

Pointing out one of the major challenges to educational language planning in Africa, Bamgbose (2000: 88) asserts that there is wide spread negative attitude to African languages among Africans themselves of all walks of life. Therefore, as Owino (2002: 29) precisely puts it, African future in using the indigenous languages has a lot to do with linguistic attitudes of the elite ruling class which favours the use of western languages.

However, Wolff stresses that their success cannot guarantee efficiency of the system today. Many of such elite have come to accept the fallacy that real education can only be obtained in a world language such as English, French or German. In relation to exclusive use of foreign language, Wolff (2006: 42) points out:

Where formal education is exclusively or predominantly linked to an official language of non-African origin, African languages stand little chance to be accepted as languages of teaching and learning by the vast majority of African peoples unless their uninformed attitudes can be changed by awareness campaigns and successful social marketing for superior educational models.

Moreover, African languages are ignored by Africans themselves because they are being told lies about their languages and many of them accept the lies. Such lies, among others, are:

- African indigenous languages cannot be modernised.
- The rich linguistic and cultural heritage of Africa is useless for development and progress.

However, in connection with modernisation of African languages, Kembo-Sure (2002: 28) makes it clear that all languages have a creative and infinite capacity to develop in order to meet the communicative needs of their speech communities. He stresses that if there are any lexical gaps in a particular language then borrowing can be the best alternative to fill up such gaps. Nevertheless, such languages need to be put into use for them to get a chance to grow and develop. That is why Simala (2002: 80-81) laments that African languages have been condemned to low status positions and have not been empowered to perform any significant roles beyond speech forms in intra-community speech.

The roles of African languages are determined by African leaders for the sake of national unity. They are quite unique in declaring “imported” foreign languages to be unifying languages which they consider to be neutral in terms of ethnic and linguistic rivalries because of their foreign origin (Mateene, 1999: 177). The fear that to promote many African languages may threaten national unity is unjustified because political unity is not guaranteed by monolingualism. Mateene (1999: 166) gives an example of India with about 1600 languages and yet politically more stable than Burundi, Somalia and Rwanda which are basically monolingual states but politically unstable.

If and where indigenous African languages are used in the educational systems, they are used in highly restricted ways. They are restricted to the experimental schools or pre-primary and/or primary education. Wolff (2002: 132) asserts that African languages are occasionally found in adult literacy campaigns in rural areas or are only used in the first three or four years of primary education.

To solve the African language question, the post-colonial African elite need to question insulting judgements from former colonial masters. They need to pay attention to what African linguists’ research findings say in connection with the use of the language known to an individual in education. Bilingual education can be

used in education, where an “imported” language with one or two indigenous languages can be languages of education.

On the appropriate language for learning, Brock-Utne (2005a: 173) argues rather convincingly that if the child’s major learning problem is linguistic, then all the attention of African policy makers and aid to the educational sector from donors ought to be devoted to strengthening the African languages especially in basic education. Experience in most schools indicates that children are considered incompetent when they just lack knowledge of the language used in instruction, and as it has been explained above, such a language is always foreign to the learners. That is the language they hardly hear and seldom use outside the school. Brock-Utne is emphatic that the aim of education for all becomes a completely empty concept if the linguistic environment of the learners is not taken into account.

Referring to the language situation in Kenya, Bunyi (2005: 131) asserts that the supremacy of the colonial language, English, in education has remained an enduring legacy of colonialism where a switch to English begins at the fourth year in Kenyan primary schools. This policy, according to Bunyi, places enormous challenges to the majority of Kenyan children and their teachers who live in rural areas in which English is rarely used.

Focusing on classroom situation, Brock-Utne (2005a: 183) observes that what is taking place in the classroom in most African schools is the use of “safe talk” a phrase that was originally coined by Heller and Martin-Jones (2001: 13) to mean:

Classroom talk that allows classroom participation without any risk of loss of face for the teacher and the learners and maintains an appearance of ‘doing the lesson’ while in fact little learning is taking place.

This particular style of interaction arises from teachers' attempt to cope with the problem of using former colonial language, which is remote from learners' experience outside school, as the main medium of instruction. In this kind of class interaction, learners and teachers create the impression that all is well in the class, while in fact learning is not taking place.

Similarly, Muthwii (2002: 77) argues that over the years African people would benefit greatly if the indigenous languages were used in education, government administration and politics, in trade and industry and in judiciary. Muthwii submits that language policies in Africa favour the ex-colonial languages as languages of power and higher status while according African languages lower status known as primary functions and they are thus used by family and friends, in local markets, streets, traditional and social institutions.

With regard to quality of teachers and materials, Bamgbose (2000: 79-80) notes:

... One of the most persistent myths in learning a second language is that 'longer means better' and this is translated into the complementary myth of 'earlier means better'. This myth has informed the desire of the elite parents to give their children a so-called 'head-start' by sending to private fee-paying schools, where instruction is given exclusively in English. It also informs policies that demand an early introduction of English as a teaching medium. The fact is that 'longer' can mean 'better' if it coupled with excellence. Experience with the performance of primary school teachers shows that many of them are poor models of both spoken and written English. Since they have to pass on their knowledge of English in the teaching of other subjects, the negative results from the practice are predictable. These include high drop-out rates and products from primary school system that are barely in English... Unless teaching is effective, materials suitable and teachers tolerable models, what passes for a long period of teaching may be years of faulty English, which pupils would have to unlearn at a later point in the education cycle.

Mateene (1999: 170) underscores that some people would justify interrupting the use of a language and replacing it by a new one on the pretext that the first language is not well developed for secondary education. Ironically, it is such

interruption which stops the scientific development of that language as it is the practice of a language in classroom that makes it develop. Through transitional language programmes, an African language is mostly replaced by an “imported” language in the African educational setting.

Laufer (2000: 50) asserts that when it comes to the issue of using African languages as media of instruction, policy makers and planners argue that there are no enough people trained to teach African languages. However, he is of the view that if there is political will it will be quite possible to train African language speakers to teach their languages. He stresses that this would be done in a relatively short time at a low cost and it would make an enormous contribution to enhancing the status of African languages.

Any consideration of the medium of instruction issue has to take place against the background of the role of primary education in the community. The role of primary education becomes more important in African countries where such education is terminal for most children. Findings from some studies show that most African countries seem not to understand that primary education is terminal, as the curriculum is designed in such a way that all the children will be going on to the secondary schools. Since the medium of instruction in such schools is the “imported” official language, the primary school does not prepare children adequately for this level.

Bamgbose (2000: 88) argues correctly in the issue of attitude barriers that many people have come to accept that the real education can only be obtained in a world language such as English. The idea that the child will benefit if his/her initial education is given in the first language is disputed by many parents. This poses one of the major challenges to educational language planning in Africa.

As a way forward, various scholars have stressed the need to make use of African languages alongside “imported” languages. Wolff (2002: 129) observes that the African language question cannot be solved unless the role of African languages as media of instruction is clarified. He makes it clear that this does not mean abolishing English, French or Portuguese and belittling their role in education and technology but rather put them in their proper place in the education systems of African countries. Mateene (1999: 168) concurs with Wolff where he argues that there is a need for change of emphasis and status in favour of truly African education unlike the current trend where ex-colonial languages are more favoured in education. They are, however, not to be the first choice for media of instruction in African education systems. Inasmuch as people would like to learn and use the so-called “imported” languages, African languages can also be given prominence for the sake of promoting bilingualism and biliteracy in education.

Stressing on the use of African languages in education, Prah (2002: 10) is of the view that Africa needs its languages not only for primary education, but also for general development of African society. He stresses that Africa will achieve its developmental goals better if the whole educational structure is linguistically indigenised. There is no way poverty alleviation can be attained if the country’s citizens do not acquire appropriate skills in a language that they have competence in. Moto (2002: 43) is emphatic that excluding African languages in education and the economic sector helps to perpetuate the unfounded myth that some languages are superior to others. Therefore, empowering African languages is an exercise that should entail provision of encouragement, assistance, expertise and support to any efforts that promote indigenous tongues (Simala, 2002: 49).

Wolff (2002: 144) is worried about the tendency in Africa where African languages are used in the first two or three years of primary education with a change-over to a European language without insisting on the maintenance of the African language as the subject of instruction in the school system. He proposes that African

languages should be media of instruction and at the same time subjects of instruction.

Education stakeholders such as parents and teachers have been reportedly not willing to accept the use of African languages. Probyn (2005: 158) confirms this by saying that although learners' home languages as media of instruction promote cognitive development and improve L2 learning, parents and teachers seem to be sceptical. She is therefore of the view that massive education has not been properly given to them. She submits further that if parents, teachers and learners are to be convinced of advantages of additive bilingualism and an expanded role for indigenous languages as media of instruction, a massive education programme will be needed to popularise the pedagogical advantages and theoretical underpinnings.

Nikièma (2002: 10) has suggested that since the outstanding efforts have been made in Burkina Faso to develop national languages, they should be used in education alongside French. He is against the government's decision to use national languages as the media of teaching of elementary mechanisms. This concurs with the acknowledgement of bilingual education by Lavoie (2008: 349) who says it is a better way of contributing to sustainability of multiliteracy in the Burkinabe society.

Clegg (2007: 1) proposes that it is high time we Africans stopped teaching through European languages alone and introduce bilingual education, where learning will take place in two languages throughout schooling. He stresses that an African language in which a learner feels comfortable should be used alongside English or any European language in education. Clegg is mindful of the cost involved in bilingualism but he stresses that it is lower than the overall cost of ineffective L2-medium education. Clegg submits further that parents may be wary of education in two languages and feel that bilingual education marginalises L2. However, he

underscores that the opposite is always true that L2-medium education limits school L2 use while bilingual education promotes it. He therefore proposes a campaign of public information to educate parents about the value of bilingual education. This tallies in with what Luo and Ogutu (2002: 97) put forward that since it is obvious that second language acquisition proceeds on the platform of a first language early learned in childhood, it does not look likely that monolingualism is a necessary condition for language learning.

Adeyeni (2008: 21) reports that on realisation that education of its citizens and access to basic education is a fundamental human right, English which is an official language and Setswana, the national language, form bilingual education of Botswana. The same is true in Malawi where Kamwendo and Kachiwanda (2000: 180) report that one of the outstanding features of the new language policy in Malawi is the inclusion of languages other than Chichewa and English in teacher training programmes. This entails that the education system turns to be bilingual in Malawi.

In recognition of bilingual education and the empowerment of African language, Brock-Utne (2005: 190) proposes that a three language model be adopted. In this model learners would use a local language during the first grades, while lessons in the regional language would also be given at this level. Regional language would then be a medium of instruction in secondary and tertiary education. Then an international language would be taught as a subject from the time the regional language takes over as a medium of instruction.

However, as Wolff (2002: 144) puts it, there has always been unwillingness from most governments to implement decisions, decrees and constitutional stipulations. The governments usually confine to “implementation avoidance strategies”. He argues that they do this through documents full of escape clauses with unspecified modalities and time frame, lack of explicitly mentioned measures to ensure

compliance, no provisions being made for constant evaluation, lack of funding, publicity and implementation agencies. Similarly, Adeyeni (2008: 26) points out that developing indigenous languages in support of bilingualism has always been viewed by many African governments as a waste of resources without any immediate economic gains. Due to this, he asserts, African governments have readymade excuses for not implementing the language-in-education policies. Such excuses are: lack of funds, manpower, material resources and workable models.

Since Africa is virtually multilingual, the advocacy by researchers above for the use of African languages in education implies bilingual education. However, there are some obstacles which can be anticipated as far as implementation of bilingual education in African countries is concerned. The most common obstacle is status quo maintenance by the political elite which ensures that the class reproduces itself. The other obstacle is related to language attitudes people have where English or other foreign languages are seen as languages of power and those who can master them have a chance of being successful in life. For that matter they see languages other than foreign languages as of low status and no need for them to be learnt in school. But more importantly, there is lack of understanding among the education stakeholders of how bilingual education works. To them bilingualism is tantamount to confusion on the part of their children. Massive education would be a better weapon to clear out all these misconceptions among the parents, teachers, students and policy makers.

1.2.2 Language Policy in Tanzania

After Tanzanian independence in 1961 a form of bilingual education as ideal for the new state was envisaged. In this form of bilingual education it was anticipated that learners would be bilingual and biliterate in both Kiswahili and English. This means Kiswahili would be used as the medium of instruction (henceforth MoI) in the school career alongside English, which would serve as another language of education. To begin with, Kiswahili was declared a national and official language

after independence and Mol in primary schools in 1967. For the case of English, it was declared a co-official language and was taught as a compulsory subject in primary schools. However, English has remained the only Mol at post-primary level in education until now leading to a situation which does not really enhance bilingualism (see section 5.2.1.1).

Although students in Tanzania, as a study by Rubagumya (2003) indicates, admit that they understand their teachers better when teaching is carried out in Kiswahili, the majority of them still think that English should be maintained as the medium of instruction in secondary schools. Explaining this controversy, Wolff (2006: 186) asserts “decades and centuries of marginalisation have created deep-rooted negative prejudice in the minds of many Africans towards their own indigenous languages which stems from traumatic experiences during colonial times”. Education stakeholders in Tanzania such as parents, teachers, students and policy makers have the impression that home languages do not enhance the performance of pupils in their examinations and their ultimate success in education. This explains why parents who can afford it take their children to schools where instruction is carried out in English as early as possible. The resurgence of English stems from colonial experience during which English was regarded as prestigious, the fact that it is currently Mol at post-primary education and the need for an international language in this era of globalisation (Swilla, 2009: 18-19).

However, Rubanza (2002: 40) points out a weakness in the language-in-education policy that the demand for the use of Kiswahili and English at primary and secondary school levels respectively disconnect the students’ experiences in Tanzania. He stresses that what students bring from home, whether an ethnic language or Kiswahili, is not built upon but rather wiped out and they are forced to begin with “a clean plate”. This definitely affects their concept formation in their education.

Rubagumya and Lwaitama (1990: 143) suggest that a point of departure in language planning should be that language be placed within the framework of a wider political and economic context of society. They argue that the policy which is imposed from above is likely to fail as the society members will not feel that they own it in any way. This coincides with what Msanjila (2004: 44) proposes with regard to the language of education. He argues that the medium of instruction should be accepted by a good number of people in a particular speech community. That entails that both bottom up and top down planning strategies are appreciable in order to have democratic, realistic and achievable policies.

With regard to language planning in Tanzania, Gadelii (1999: 14) points out two drawbacks which have been noted. Tanzanians are alleged not to master English well enough and African languages other than Kiswahili have been neglected. He is emphatic that there is nothing that should principally prevent people from simultaneously mastering both Kiswahili and English. So he suggests that through the education setting, two languages could be used as languages of education and communication and therefore have adequate resources for their development. This could eventually help people in Tanzania to achieve the envisaged ideal to have both Kiswahili and English promoted under the auspices of additive bilingual education.

The current sociolinguistic situation in Tanzania necessitates the continued use of Kiswahili as a unifying language. The majority of urban children now actually acquire it as their first language. It is also the language most frequently used in government offices as well as in everyday activities countrywide. Conversely, English is rarely heard outside the classroom, except in transactions involving a foreigner. Due to this, Brock-Utne (2005: 180) claims that there are no many Tanzanians who need English in their daily lives as all communication outside the classroom is either in the vernacular languages or in Kiswahili, which dominates in

most domains in Tanzania. In view of this, she proposes that Kiswahili be a language of instruction at all levels and English be taught as a subject.

Looking at the language policy in Tanzania, Swilla (2009: 6) points out three key contradictions rising between ideology, language policy and actual implementation of language of instruction:

- i) While the government statements maintain that Kiswahili is the medium of instruction of primary education, English has been legalised as Mol in private primary schools. The majority of students in English medium schools are Tanzanians.
- ii) The Ministry of Education offers the English version of the primary school syllabus for use in English medium schools. Government primary schools use Kiswahili version of the syllabus.
- iii) Since 2000 the government administers the English version of the national Primary School Leaving Examinations (PSLE) in English medium schools unlike in the past when the examinations were only provided in Kiswahili in such schools.

In addition Swilla (2009: 7) faults a mismatch which appears in the government documents, the *Education and Training Policy* and the *Cultural Policy* of 1995 and 1997 respectively (see sections 5.2.1.1.1 and 5.2.1.1.2) in connection with language of instruction in the educational system. She therefore concludes that having legalised private primary schools and the use of English as Mol in such schools, the government was not ready to state openly that English had also become Mol in primary schools. She associates the current language policy and practices as elite closure, a social mobilisation strategy by which people in power establish and maintain their powers and privileges. To maintain this practice the elite ensure that their children attain competence in English by enrolling them in good quality English medium primary and secondary schools or even abroad. Due

to various language policy contradictions pointed out in her article, Swilla proposes that it is high time the government stated in its education policies and related documents that both English and Kiswahili are to be languages of education. However she does not clearly state the kind of language model which would take care of her proposal.

Similarly, Rubagumya (2007: 7) points out some weaknesses in the implementation of language policy. He stresses that “whereas initiative to extend linguistic rights to citizens come from the state, the same state puts in place impediments to the implementation of these initiatives”. He gives an example of the *Cultural Policy* document released by the government in 1997 recognising the importance of all home languages of Tanzania but the same languages remain banned in the mass media.

Reacting to language-in-education policy in Tanzania, Rubanza (2002: 49) considers socio-economic factors as being a reason to unwillingness to take to board Kiswahili as one of the languages of education in Tanzania. People have preconceived attitude about English, which make the well-to-do families to have their children sent to English medium schools or even neighbouring countries, where they think English is well taught. He therefore stresses that unless this attitude towards English is changed among the people, problems will continue to exist. He believes that using Kiswahili as a language of education cannot be realised by mere policy statements as obtaining in the *Education and Training Policy* of 1995 or the *Cultural Policy* of 1997 but rather by attitudinal combat to be fought from all corners of Tanzania.

Commenting on the English situation in Tanzania, Rubanza (2002: 45) asserts that students do lose their English skills after completing their studies because the society they work and live in does not use the English language. He equates English with school uniform, in that students put it on when at school and put it off

when they go back home. The same is true for English which is supposedly spoken at school but students switch to either Kiswahili or ethnic language when at home. This suggests a major effect of poor implementation of the bilingual education in Tanzania. The linguistic situation seems to be divided in two contexts. Kiswahili is a common language used in all government business, in the streets and in most urban families. However, in post-primary educational institutions, English is the sole language of instruction.

Despite the adoption of one of Africa's largest languages as a national and official language, the government has constantly insisted that English should remain the only Mol at post-primary level (see section 5.2.1.1.1). This decision is attributed to its tremendous power and prestige in the global market. Similarly, the decision to cling to English as a language of education at post-primary level can be attributed to what Wolff (2006: 186) considers to be the experience the post-colonial elites have because they were successful in a foreign language-based system in which the colonial language was the dominant Mol. Students are therefore compelled to learn in English, a language neither the learners nor teachers have properly mastered. This situation has been detrimental to the learning and teaching process. The government position to cling to the use of English at post-primary level reveals a limited understanding of what a system promoting bilingualism and biliteracy in education should involve. Therefore the present study looks at all the above language problems as stemming from language policy design, inadequate comprehension of bilingual education and poor implementation of the policies.

1.3 Statement of the Research Problem and Research Hypotheses

Researchers and educators in Tanzania (see section 1.2.2) have shown great concern regarding the country's language-in-education policy that does not effectively promote bilingualism. Kiswahili, a language both learners and teachers master, is not seen as useful resource to be used in education but as a problem to be eliminated in the educational settings. This makes English, an "imported"

foreign language, to be the only medium of instruction in post-primary education. The language experience the students acquired in primary school through the use of Kiswahili, which is at that level used as the only Mol, is not used as a springboard in secondary schools but rather the medium of instruction is changed to English.

Previous studies (Rubagumya, 1991, 2003; Rubanza, 1996, 2002; Qorro, 2005; Brock-Utne, 2005, Rugemalira, 2005; Mpemba, 2007; Swilla, 2009) undertaken on the language-in-education issue in Tanzania have clearly indicated that students are affected negatively by the current subtractive system of bilingual education. The above studies have predominantly focused on describing the variety of problems arising from the language-of-instruction dilemma at post-primary level. The studies have consistently advocated a switch to Kiswahili as the sole language of instruction at all levels of education in Tanzania. However, none of these studies have actually presented a comprehensive analysis of the language-in-education policy implementation as such, investigating why the current system of education does not produce bilingualism as envisaged in the founding ideals of the state.

This study is guided by the following hypotheses:

- i) The problem of education in Tanzania is related to inadequate language-in-education policy design. The language policy should be a result of the findings from sociolinguistic research in a given area, where views of the stakeholders are taken into account. The policy sets out provisions for follow-up, monitoring and revision of the policy itself in light of changing circumstances. Apparently, the language-in-education policy in Tanzania is politically driven and therefore there is lack of a technical flavour required in designing a sound language policy to be operational in the educational system.

- ii) There is poor implementation of language-in-education policy in the Tanzanian education system. Teachers, school administration and the inspectorate department lack clear guidelines on how to implement the language-in-education policy. Directives from the Ministry of Education are not constantly given thus leaving a loophole for each school to take its own decision on matters which were to be explicitly stated in the language policy and guidelines.
- iii) There is inadequate comprehension of the concept of bilingual education in connection with additive and subtractive types of bilingual education. The Ministry of Education is not clear on what kind of bilingual education Tanzania envisages to promote and whether its line of thinking can lead to maintenance of the majority language Kiswahili and add to it English, a language of wider communication through the educational settings.

1.4 Aim and Objectives of the Study

This study aims to present a sociolinguistic analysis of the current language-in-education policy implementation in Tanzania. The analysis is presented against the background of sociolinguistic principles of bilingual education. The typology of bilingual education, first developed by Baker (1993) and subsequently modified by Garcia (1997) and the theories of bilingual education put forward by Cummins (1978, 1980) serve as a point of departure.

The specific objectives of the study are:

- i) To provide a critical overview of language-in-education policy development in Tanzania from pre-colonial times to the present day.
- ii) To develop a model for implementing strong bilingual education in Tanzania as envisaged in the founding ideals of the state.

- iii) To analyse the corpus of language-in-education policy documents created by the relevant Tanzanian authorities in terms of the model above.
- iv) To analyse the challenges regarding the implementation of a strong bilingual education policy in Tanzania.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The study holds significant implications for the educational system in Tanzania because:

- i) The study produces a viable and relevant model for the implementation of strong bilingual education in the Tanzanian sociolinguistic environment, which guides policy-makers tasked with language-in-education planning.
- ii) Curriculum designers are able to design syllabi and other instructional materials that are relevant to a bilingual education model that caters for the envisaged ideals of the state.
- iii) Ultimately, students, parents and other education stakeholders are to benefit from the findings of the study regarding a bilingual education policy that cultivates linguistic proficiency and academic literacy in both Kiswahili and English.

1.6 Overview of Research Methodology

As is typical with this type of evaluation research, a study applied a variety of research instruments to collect relevant data. Documentary review was used to review language policy documents to provide information on overt language policy, planning and implementation in Tanzania.

Interviews were conducted with relevant education stakeholders for the purpose of capturing information on their views and perceptions regarding the concept of

bilingual education as well as their understanding of the current policy and implementation.

Class observations were conducted to check the implementation of the current language policy in the selected schools. Linguistic landscape was also subjected to observation in connection with bilingual education principles. Observation in general was meant to supplement the information gathered from interviews and serve as a cross-checking device.

Lastly, focus group discussions were used in this study to unveil language-in-education policy implementation challenges in the schools. This provided for further cross-checking and assisted to inform the development of a model for strong bilingual education.

The research methodology is discussed in detail in chapter three of this study.

1.7 Outline of the Remainder of the Thesis

The thesis is organised in six chapters.

Chapter one provides the introduction to the study where language-in-education policy and planning challenges in Africa in general and Tanzania in particular are discussed. The chapter also provides the statement of the research problem and hypotheses, aim and objectives and significance of the study.

Chapter two addresses language planning with emphasis on theoretical considerations related to bilingual education, principles of bilingual education and overview of some bilingual education programmes.

Chapter three focuses on the methods and procedures that were used to gather information on the implementation of the language-in-education policy in Tanzania.

Chapter four provides the overview of language-in-education policy and planning in Tanzania effectively from pre-colonial era to the present time. The review of some studies carried out in this country in connection with problems of the medium of instruction in secondary schools also form part of this chapter.

Chapter five presents and discusses the data collected from Tanzania in the selected schools and institutions. The data largely base on the sociolinguistic analysis on the implementation of the language-in-education policy guided by bilingual education principles and theories.

Chapter six presents the overview, overall conclusions and recommendation of the study, which includes a model for implementing bilingual education in Tanzania.

CHAPTER TWO

LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY AND PLANNING

2.1 Introduction

The chapter discusses language planning with emphasis on language-in-education policy and planning. Language policy, ideology and practice have been explained in this chapter to see how they lead to explicit language policy. Likewise, the differences between language policy and language planning have been identified for the purpose of pointing out what activities are conducted under each aspect.

Three theories which are related to bilingualism, namely Separate Underlying Proficiency, Common Underlying Proficiency and Developmental Interdependency Hypothesis, all developed by Cummins (1978, 1980) have been critically reviewed in this chapter with regard to their relevance to bilingual education. Furthermore, principles of bilingual education have been reviewed for the purpose of assessing the success of bilingual education programmes. García's (1997) typology of bilingual education is included in this chapter because it has a detailed distinction between a monolingual form and weak form of bilingual education.

Language policy and planning, bilingual education and theoretical aspects are included in this chapter because the theories inform the kind of bilingual programmes to be embarked on in a given polity context and the eventual success of the programme entirely depends on language planning goals.

2.2 Language Policy and Planning

Niska (1998: 2) defines planning as utilisation of resources in a consciously controlled manner. He stresses that planning is normally confined to economy, education, population and any other social issues in a given country. From his definition, he considers language as a resource which equally needs to be planned.

Various scholars have traced the beginning of the term language planning in scientific literature. Cooper (1989: 29) submits that language planning is not the first term to appear in literature but rather language engineering advocated by Miller (1950, quoted in Cooper, 1989: 29). He rightly accepts the fact that language planning was first used in literature by Haugen (1959), where he defined language planning as the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community. He, however, viewed these activities later as outcomes of language planning, a part of the implementation of decisions made by language planners, rather than language planning as a whole (Haugen, 1966, quoted in Cooper, 1989: 29-30). Shohamy (2006: 49) admits that language planning was the term used in the 1950s and 1960s and observes that language planning was taken to refer to sweeping intervention and control of language behaviour, that is, the language people would know in a given country.

Similarly, Deumert (2000: 384) admits that the term language planning was introduced in the late 1950s by the American linguist, Einar Haugen, which meant all conscious efforts that aim at changing the linguistic behaviour of a speech community. Therefore, the term language planning, as evidenced above, was first used by a famous linguist Einar Haugen, who is considered to be the father of language planning.

Equally important, scholars have tried to differentiate language policy and language planning. Kaplan and Baldauf (2003: 6) argue that language policy and language planning are sometimes used, both in the lay and technical literature, as synonyms and aspects of the same activity while they are actually of two different activities. They see language planning as the activity that leads to the promulgation of a language policy while language policy is the body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules, procedures and practices intended to achieve the objectives of the policy. Their definition implies that a language policy has to be promulgated at the highest

levels of the authority and implemented by appropriate agencies at lower levels. In the same line of thinking, Deumert (2000: 384) submits that although language policy and language planning are used interchangeably, language policy specifically refers to more general linguistic, political and social goals underlying the actual language planning process.

Schiffman (1996: 13) distinguishes between *overt* and *covert* language policies, where the former refers to those language policies that are explicit, formalised, *de jure*, codified and manifest and on the other hand the latter refers to language policies that are implicit, informal, unstated, *de facto*, grass-roots and latent. Schiffman stresses that the covert policies are usually ignored not only by researchers but also policy-makers as they value the overt and explicit formulations and ignore what takes place down on the ground, in the field and at the grass roots level (Schiffman, 1996: 13). He therefore argues that it is not enough to study the overt and declared policies but it is equally important to study the covert and *de facto* policies. The covert and *de facto* policies may constitute the overt policies in some contexts and that is why they are of great importance and need to be studied and researched on.

Language planning has been claimed by some researchers to consist of a process of systematic, government-authorised long term sustain and conscience efforts (Weinstein, 1980: 30). Bourne (1997: 49) accepts this stance by saying an authoritarian state frequently uses the national language as a point of unity and social cohesion and finds linguistic diversity threatening, an element to be contained or eliminated. When there are problems in a given state, language can be used as a bond that unites people.

In trying to get a clear definition of language planning, Cooper (1989: 31) looks at different definitions of language planning given by different authors and analyses them in a question: Who plans what for whom and how? Eventually, he gives his

own definition “language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure or function allocation of their language codes” (Cooper, 1989: 45). He contends that his definition, unlike the ones he analysed, does not restrict the language planners to authoritative agencies; it is not restricted to the target group and it does not specify the ideal form of planning.

Language policy is the primary mechanism for organising, managing and manipulating language behaviour as it consists of decisions made about languages and their uses in society. It is through language policy that decisions are made with regard to the preferred languages that should be legitimised, used, learned and taught in terms of where, when and in which contexts (Shohamy, 2006: 45). Language policies refer to documents, laws, regulations or policy documents that specify these language behaviours. However, Shohamy (2006: xvi) points out that language policy should not be limited to formal, declared and official policies but rather to the study of the powerful mechanisms that are used in most societies nowadays to create and perpetuate *de facto* language policies and practices. She stresses that it is through language education policies, language tests and language in public space, referred to as policy mechanisms or devices, that real (*de facto*) policies can be created.

She stresses further that language policy may involve battles between pressures from various groups demanding recognition, self-expression and mobility on the one hand and those in authority who prefer to uphold national, regional and global languages. These mechanisms, perpetuated through language policies, affect language behaviour directly or indirectly (2006: 46).

Language policy, according to Shohamy (2006: 47) attempts to make order in society in terms of language use and it is believed to be instrumental in settling some of the conflicts such as which language should get which status in the

society. The language can be labelled global, national, local or regional, and it can also be regarded as official, correct, standard or national due to the language policy in place. The language policy can as well assist in legitimising the revival of marginalised and disappearing languages and the languages the society considers important for its economic and social status like English.

With regard to language policy scope, Shohamy (2006: 48) stresses that although language policy is often perceived on a national political level, this is not always the case. She observes that language policy exists at all levels of decision making about languages ranging from the individual to the global context. For example, the family may make decisions on which language to interact with children at home. Similarly, children as a group may decide which language to use in various domains and contexts for varied reasons. The same can be done as to which language to use in education and work place.

Shohamy (2006: 49) correctly observes that while language planning refers to control, it does not leave anything to the individual to decide, because the governing board determines everything ranging from what the person needs to know to how s/he will arrive there. On the other hand, language policy is less interventionist and refers predominantly to principles concerning language use. Shohamy stresses that language policy may include a statement as to which language should be official in a given nation or that indigenous groups should be allowed to maintain their languages but it does not go further to specify the groups or languages and how that would be implemented. She goes further and admits that sometimes there may be language policies, mostly language education policies, which specify clearly the exact languages students have to learn, including hours and methods teachers have to employ, specific situations in which the languages are to be learnt and language tests needed to demonstrate knowledge of the languages. However, in most cases such statements are vague and subtle.

In trying to make clear what the language policy is, Spolsky and Shohamy (1999: 32) define the term 'ideology' as community's generally accepted beliefs of the language and its use while the term 'practice' is the deducible implicit rules that seem to underlie the language use of a defined community. They demonstrate that there might be a policy in place which may not change people's practice due to their ideology on a given language. For example, the policy may state categorically that the language policy is language X but people continue to use language Y because of the belief they strongly hold that language Y is a language of economic power, prestige and wider communication.

They further contend that a language policy may be defined by the language, function or role, segment of the population to whom it applies and by the action involved. It is the word *should* that distinguishes policy (what people should do) from practice (what people commonly do). Sometimes, policies have no effect because they ignore the existing general language practice, or because of refusal or resistance on the part of the people who are expected to change. Successful language policy involves charting a feasible route from the existing general language practice to the desired practice, taking into account existing users and their willingness to modify their repertoire. That is why Spolsky and Shohamy (2000: 3) admit that there are some nations where it is difficult to clearly tell what the language policy is unless one searches for implicit lines of language policy in a maze of customary practices, laws, regulations and court decisions. England and the United States are highlighted as good examples whose language policies are implicit.

Eastman (1983: 1-2) demonstrates that the study of language planning focuses on the decision-making that goes into determining what language use is appropriate in particular speech communities. It is concerned with how language can be conducted and interpreted successfully in a speech community, given the language goals of that community. It further looks at the choices available to a speech

community and at possible recommendations of language policy for adoption by that community. Language planning, therefore, has to do with the way people's ideas about language are coordinated. It involves gathering data for making decisions about which language(s) are best in certain situations.

Language plans are deliberately done by authorities, governmental or education, with particular aims in mind. Language planners who work at the request of such authorities have to recognise that they have ethical and moral as well as linguistic obligations when they make recommendations about what can or should be done about language (Eastman, 1983: 4).

It is stressed that if the speech community in question does not accept the purposes, goals and recommendations of language use established by politicians and educators on the advice of sociolinguists, no matter how sensible the matter seems, it cannot be successful.

Cooper (1989: 31) rejected the definition which looks at language planning as restricted language activities undertaken by the government, government-authorised agencies or other authoritative bodies, that is, those organisations with public mandate for language regulation. His rejection was based on the feeling that such restriction would exclude a number of language planning activities which fall within the field of language planning.

McGroarty (1997: 67) argues that language policy can be defined as the combination of official decisions and prevailing public practices related to language education and use. It includes:

- i) Language planning as defined by Cooper (1989: 45) that it is deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to acquisition, structure or functional allocation of language codes.

- ii) Language practices which are related to language learning and use which, though unofficial and occasionally inadvertent, are widespread.

Fasold (1984: 250) submits that language planning is an explicit choice between alternatives and he therefore suggests two ways in which the choice can be made:

- i) The instrumental - since language is a tool, planners choose a language or improve one for greater effectiveness. This is the planning done by the government.
- ii) The sociolinguistic - planners try to solve a social problem, taking into account symbolic value of languages and weighing the social consequences of their choice.

Although individuals may have the role to play in the second way, it is difficult to see how they can have sufficient credibility, authority or competence to be successful in the first.

Following the two ways of language choice advanced by Fasold (1984), Ozolins (1993: 19) makes a distinction between language planning and language policy. He sees language planning as a technical branch of linguistics describing what speech communities do and on the other hand language policy as a part of social and hence of public policy of what the government does. He concludes that the study of language policy requires examination of behaviour of both the speech and the political communities.

Kirkwood (1989: 2-4) sees language planning in sequence of stages, from fact finding to procedures where goals and strategies are set and to implementation of what has been planned. Due to this, planning is never ending as after implementation there will always be evaluation and providing feedback to allow adjustments and changes to be made to original decisions.

Although Cooper (1989: 34) sometimes accepts the contention that language planning is intended to solve problems, he is of the view that it is hard to think of any instance where language planning has been carried out for solving communication problems. He stresses that “language planning is typically carried out for the attainment of non-linguistic ends such as consumer protection, scientific exchange, national integration, political control, economic development, the creation of new elites or maintenance of old ones, the pacification or cooption of minority groups and mass mobilisation of national or political movement” (35). He agrees with Karam (1974:108) who asserts that “regardless of language planning, in nearly all cases the language problem to be solved is not a problem in isolation within the region or nation but is directly associated with the political, economic, social, cultural and/or religious situation”. Cooper further submits that the definitions of language planning that limit the field on problem solving are not wrong but misleading as they sidetrack attention from the principal motivation of the field.

It is therefore preferable to define language planning not as efforts to solve language problems but more precisely as efforts to influence language behaviour and language policy as documents indicating laws, regulations that specify the behaviours in language planning.

2.3 Language Planning Models

There are various stages and activities which can be said to occur as part of the language planning process (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 28). They are of the opinion that two kinds of activities are identified, those for modifying the language itself and those dealing with attempts to modify the environment in which the language is used. For that matter, there have been some models developed for language planning which are conceptually useful for understanding the language planning process.

A well known model for the study of language planning developed by Haugen (1966; 1987) has focused on status and corpus planning and includes: selection of norm, codification of norm, implementation and elaboration.

Table 2.1: Revised Model of language Planning

	Norm (Political Planning)	Function (Cultivation)
Society (Status planning)	1. Selection of norm (decision procedures) a. Identification of problem b. Allocation of norms	3. Implementation (educational spread) a. Correction procedure b. Evaluation
Language (Corpus Planning)	2. Codification (Standardisation procedures) a. Graphisation b. Grammaticalisation c. Lexicalisation	4. Elaboration (functional development) a. Terminological modernisation b. Stylistic development

Source: Haugen (1987: 64)

According to Haugen (1987:59) 1 and 3 in Table 2.1 above are the responsibilities of the society while 2 and 4 are taken care of by linguists and authors. However, Haugen admits that the revised model cannot be taken to be a complete theory of language planning. What it does is to provide a description of what language planners have done, but not identifying the reason behind and the goals they intended to accomplish.

Kaplan and Baldauf (2003: 202) have also developed a language planning framework (see Table 2.2) which sets out the language planning processes. According to them, this framework is a result of other language planners' contribution on what constitutes a model for language policy and planning. The goals in this framework are not independent of each other.

Table 2.2: A Framework for Language Planning Goals

Approaches Types (Overt - Covert)	1. Policy Planning (on form) Goals	2. Cultivation Planning (on function) Goals
1. Status Planning (about society)	Status standardisation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Officialisation ▪ Nationalisation ▪ Proscription 	Revival <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Restoration ▪ Revitalisation ▪ Reversal Maintenance Interlingual Communication <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ International ▪ Intra-national Spread
2. Corpus Planning (about Language)	Corpus Standardisation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Graphisation ▪ Grammatication ▪ Lexication Auxiliary code standard <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Graphisation ▪ Grammatication ▪ Lexication 	Lexical Modernisation Stylistic Modernisation Renovation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Purification ▪ Reform ▪ Stylistic ▪ Simplification ▪ Terminological unification Internationalisation
3. Language-in-education (Acquisition) Planning (about learning)	Access Policy Personnel Policy Curriculum Policy Methods & Materials Policy Resourcing Policy Community Policy Evaluation Policy	Reacquisition Maintenance Foreign Language/Second Language Shift
4. Prestige Planning (about image)	Language Promotion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Official/government ▪ Institutional ▪ Pressure group ▪ Individual 	Intellectualisation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Language Science ▪ Language of Professions ▪ Language of High Culture

Source: Kaplan and Baldauf (2003: 202)

Below are some explanations for each of the activities identified in Table 2.1 and Table 2.2.

2.3.1 Selection

Deumert (2000: 388) defines selection as a term used to refer to the choice of language or language variety to fulfil certain functions in a given society. The selection can be meant to get an official language, medium of instruction, national language and the like. When a problem is identified, there is a need for the relative status to be assigned. According to Haugen (1987), this can be called allocation of norms where one language can be replaced by another. The selection can be

preceded by lengthy argument in public or private, and it may be arrived at by some kind of majority decision. It can also be made by an authoritative ruler, or it can be resisted by the people and the like. As a common feature, Haugen accepts that selection is performed by the society acting through the leaders. It is a form of policy planning, which establishes that a given language norm, be it a single item or a whole language, shall enjoy/lose a given status in society. Haugen also recognises the fact that while official government agencies are often involved, individuals may also make their selections which eventually are followed by voluntary groups, whose practice may become normative for a church, political party, a province or even a whole country.

2.3.2 Codification

Codification is the creation of a linguistic standard or norm for a selected linguistic code. Codification, according to Deumert (2000: 389) is commonly divided into three stages, graphisation (developing a writing system), grammatication (deciding on the rules of grammar) and lexicalisation (identifying the vocabulary). Codification can be done by an individual person who informally and knowledgeably decides to give explicit, usually written, form to the norm s/he has chosen. Haugen (1987:60) emphasise that in areas where the concept of an alphabet, a syllabary or a system of ideograms exists, a writing tradition can arise simply by the adaptation of a known system to the new language. He gives an example where the Japanese began writing their language with the ideographic *kanji* of Chinese.

Extraction and formulation of grammar rules by linguists is a process referred to as grammatication, where Haugen claims that the grammars used at school are prescriptive. Another process in codification is lexication, defined as the selection of an appropriate lexicon. He adds that lexication may also involve the assignment of styles and spheres of usage for the words of the language. He concludes that

the typical product of codification has been a prescriptive orthography, grammar and dictionary.

Haugen explains that selection and codification have been included in the same column in Table 2.1 because they both involve decisions on form and are part of policy planning.

2.3.3 Implementation

This process implies the activity of the writer, an institution or a government in adopting and attempting to spread the language form that has been selected and codified. Haugen contends that this process is done by producing books, pamphlets, newspapers and textbooks in the language in question. Those responsible in the schools or media introduce the language as a medium of instruction or entertainment or as a subject to be taught. Laws and regulations contained in the language policy are promulgated to encourage its use.

Eastman (1983: 8) contends that implementation of language policy is the procedure used to bring about the change in language that allows the policy objectives to be realised. Implementation means how a plan is put into operation to achieve a stated goal.

2.3.4 Elaboration

Deumert (2000: 392) contend that elaboration involves the terminological and stylistic development of a codified language to meet the continuing communicative demands of modern life and technology. He stresses that the production and dissemination of new terms are the main areas of elaboration. Elaboration therefore, is the continued implementation of the norm to meet the functions of a modern world. A modern language of high culture needs a terminology for all the intellectual and humanistic disciplines, including the sciences without excluding cultural underworld that runs from low to popular.

Eastman (1983: 8) is of the view that elaboration of a language policy is the extension of the decided-upon language(s) or writing system(s) to all spheres of activity in which its use is envisioned. He stresses that the orthography has to be detailed enough and adaptable to accommodate new words and borrowing; a writing system has to fit available techniques of printing, handwriting and graphics. The language decided upon and codified has to be kept flexible so as to retain its integrity as well as continue to the goals of the policy.

Furthermore, there are language planning dimensions which appear in Table 2.1 and Table 2.2. These are status, corpus, language-in-education, and prestige planning. However, the first two have dominated the field of language planning.

2.3.5 Status Planning

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 30) define status planning as those aspects of language planning which reflect social issues and concerns and hence are external to the language(s) being planned. Therefore, status planning can be seen as principally concerned with what languages are to be used for societal, institutional or individual purposes to reach particular language goals. Status planning involves status policy planning whose goal is standardisation, that is, defining in some manner the particular status a language holds in a society. This can either be done overtly through legislation or constitutions but can as well occur implicitly in some countries. Overt status standardisation may take form of officialisation, nationalisation and/or proscription.

According to Baker (2006: 50) status planning is a political phenomenon by nature where it attempts to gain more recognition, functions and capacity for a language. A language can be secured and revitalised if its use is maintained in official domains such as education, mass media and if the language is used in courts of law. Baker asserts that in order to influence language change, status planning has

to affect everyday usage of the language in the home and street, family and work relationships and not just official usage.

With regard to officialisation, there can be efforts through the national constitution to have a particular language(s) officialised. Kaplan and Baldauf (2003: 203) give an example of Spanish in the Philippines where in the first constitution the language was given primacy but in the subsequent constitutions, it lost its status and instead English and Tagalog took over. They further contend that apart from the fact that the status of the languages can be included in official documents, these policy statement of official intent constantly have failed to be put into practice. A good example is the declaration of intent in the *Cultural Policy* (1997) to have Kiswahili used as the language of instruction at all levels of education in Tanzania, which has failed to be implemented until today.

Nationalisation of a language can be directly planned or may occur through differentiation. When a country becomes politically independent, there is a need for it to have a language of communication with its people. This was the case in many African states after gaining their freedom from former colonies. For example in Tanzania, despite the fact that the country has 150 (Languages of Tanzania Project, 2009: 2) ethnic community languages, Kiswahili was selected as a national language.

Language proscription, according to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 36) is more reinforced at the macro level. They illustrate this through the case of Taiwan, where various actions were taken at the governmental level to either promote or hamper the use of various forms of Chinese. This eventually resulted in the Chinese varieties to be pushed out of aboriginal languages in Taiwan.

According to Spolsky and Shohamy (2000: 10) policy concerning language status takes the form of laws or regulations determining the permissible or required

languages in certain situations. They stress further that status planning focus on the principles and regulations or practices which determine which language or language variety should be used in a speech community for what purposes. It is a desirable functional allocation of languages and decisions about which named language is acceptable in which domain (2000: 10).

This involves attempts to change the relative prestige in which a particular political or ethnic community holds a language or language variety. It is usually carried out to raise prestige, through ensuring that the language is used in some prestigious domains such as public life, rather than in non-prestigious ones like the home. As Mekacha (1994: 109) correctly puts it, the greater the number of domains of use, and the more significant they are to the public and official life of the community the higher the status; likewise the higher the status, the greater the prestige that will then be accorded to the language.

Similarly, Spolsky and Shohamy (1999:41) define status as decisions about desirable or required functional allocation of languages, decisions about which named language is acceptable or should be used for which domain or function. They stress that status policy involves assigning rather than assessing status. It determines which languages should be used by which people in which situations or functions.

Basing on language functions, Deumert (2000: 385) defines status planning as all efforts undertaken to change the use and functions of a language or language variety within a given society. Allocation of new functions to a language, for example, using the language as medium of instruction or official/national language may affect the role a language plays in a given society.

Language planners distinguish various functions of a language in a society. Stewart (1968 quoted in Cooper, 1989: 99-119) outlines a well-known list of ten language functions and Cooper (1989) adds two others as indicated below:

i) Official

The use of a language as a legally appropriate language for all politically and culturally purposes on a nationwide basis. In some countries, such as South Africa, have the official language stated in the national constitution. Cooper (1989:100) asserts that Stewart's definition for official language is apparently restricted to the languages the government has declared as official by law. He therefore makes a distinction between other two types of official language, the language that the government uses as a medium for its daily activities and the one the government uses as a medium for symbolic purposes. He therefore refers to these three types respectively as statutory, working and symbolic official languages.

ii) Provincial

The use of a language as a provincial or regional official language. In this case the official function of a language is restricted to a smaller geographical area. Cooper (1989:104) asserts that provincial boundaries are sometimes drawn or redrawn to increase linguistic homogeneity within each province. He identifies India as a case in point for creation of administrative units on primarily linguistic ground.

iii) Wider communication

The use of a language as a medium of communication across language boundaries within the nation. There is existence of status planning if the planned function of communication is vertical integration, a link between the ruler and the ruled, between centre and periphery (Cooper, 1989: 105).

iv) International

The use of the language as a major medium of communication which is international in scope. This can cover functions like diplomatic relations, foreign trade, tourism and the like. International languages of wider communication link citizens of one country with citizens of another. For example, the languages like English or French would be the likely choice when communication involves tourists, foreign customers, foreign colleagues or students. Cooper (1989: 106) submits that status planning of international languages of wider communication takes place in connection with determining what foreign languages will be taught in schools.

v) Capital

The use of the language primarily as major medium of communication in the vicinity of the national capital. This is especially important where political power, social prestige and economic activity is centred in the capital. Cooper (1989:106) stresses the importance of this function in the sense that languages often diffuse from the political and economic centre to the periphery. For that matter the capital city may be an important factor of the spread of a particular language.

vi) Group

The use of the language primarily as the normal medium for communication among the members of a single group such as tribe, settled group of foreign immigrants, refugees and the like. Cooper (1989: 107) cites the late nineteenth and early twentieth century efforts to restore Hebrew and Irish to their status as the ordinary medium of communication for the Irish and Jews in that order as examples of status planning for the group function.

vii) Educational

The use of the language as a medium of instruction in primary or secondary education either regionally or nationally. Determining languages of instruction for school system is the status-planning decision which is frequently made in most countries. It is the decision mainly made emanating from political pressures and it is the most considered area by educationists and students of language planning (Cooper, 1989: 109). When colonial territories become independent, the mobilised masses expect greater political and economic participation. These expectations may have exerted pressure to replace colonial languages with indigenous languages as media of instruction. However, the implementation is always difficult considering the fact that elites are unwilling to surrender those personal advantages won through a colonial language. The other reason put forward by Cooper is the economic and political rivalry among competing language groups where a colonial language is preferred for each group instead of using a language of one group.

viii) School subject

The language is commonly taught as a subject in secondary and/or higher education. Language teaching has occupied a prominent place in curriculum where students study languages as school subjects though they do not speak such languages natively. Cooper (1989) offers some reasons for including such languages in the curriculum. Among them is to enable students to obtain employment requiring knowledge of the second language, to benefit from instruction offered through a second language and to link them to an ethnic or national heritage.

ix) Literary

The use of language for literary or scholarly purposes. For example, until 18th century Latin was used as the main language of literary particularly in

scientific writing in Europe. The promotion of vernaculars for literary and scholarly purposes is a common feature of nationalist movement, because such movements may serve to raise the national consciousness of the masses or at least the intellectuals (Cooper, 1989: 115). Fishman (1982 quoted in Cooper, 1989:115) point out that champions of vernaculars of high-culture functions are unlikely to succeed unless they, or those they represent, control the economy and political apparatus in which the community operates.

x) Religious

The use of a language primarily in connection with ritual of a particular religion. For example, Islam uses Arabic for recitation of religious texts and prayers. When the status of a liturgical language is fixed, the language eventually becomes less intelligible to adherents of the religion either because the adherents' language, originally the same or similar to the sacred language, has changed over time or the religion has been adopted by speakers of other languages. When missionaries want to convert others to their religious beliefs, they must decide what language to use as the medium of their message. Cooper stresses that the advantage of using the potential convert's mother tongue is not only that the message is likely to be understood but also that the message is less likely to appear alien.

xi) Mass media

The use of the language in the print media and electronic media. When the government control mass media, they also determine the languages in which the media are conveyed. Cooper (1989: 118) gives an example of Israel government where time is determined as to how long should radio and television programmes be in Hebrew, Arabic or foreign languages. He stresses that the pressures for language allocation depends on ethnolinguistic groups, willingness to accommodate the demand, desire to

promote or to repress given languages, the availability of programmes and personnel in a given language.

xii) Work

The use of a language as a medium of communication in the work place. Cooper (1989: 118) is of the opinion that economic power of a given group in a state is likely to determine the language of work. People can be attracted to learn a certain language due to the fact that its speakers control the economy. He cites an example from the Quebec Province where Francophone workers who aspire to enter the ranks of top management feel obliged to learn English because control of economic and financial institutions is concentrated in the hands of Anglophone minority and foreign Anglophones.

The list indicates most of the roles a language may be subjected to in a given society. It therefore summaries what obtains in the status planning dimension of language planning.

2.3.6 Corpus Planning

According to Kaplan and Baldauf (2003: 209) corpus planning consists of the internal linguistic goals that need to be set to codify, standardise, modify or elaborate a language(s) so that the language is capable of developing and sustaining the language environment in which it exists. Corpus planning involves developing both policy for, and the specific language forms and tools to support language development for the variety of uses that a language has.

This is normally understood as action to improve the ability of the language to respond to change. It is often, though not always, concerned with modernising the word stock of a particular language.

According to Deumert (2000: 385) typical activities of corpus planning include:

- i) Devising a writing system for a spoken language
- ii) Initiating spelling reforms
- iii) Coining new terms
- iv) Publishing grammar books

Additionally, Baker (2006: 51) observes that all languages, whether minority or majority, are constantly concerned about modernising the vocabulary. He is of the view that science and information communication technology are the two examples where standardised terminology is created and spread. Due to new concepts emanating from technological inventions, common agreed terms need to be in place to accommodate such inventions.

Spolsky and Shohamy (2000: 15) emphasise that corpus planning is another kind of policy and planning that deals with the nature of the language. It is intended to modify the structure of the language in terms of grammar and lexicon. They further submit that the most obvious corpus planning arose from the need to establish a writing system for an unwritten language. That has been an extremely common task historically, as all but a tiny handful of languages had writing systems developed for them in historical time. Once a writing system is in place, the planners may be concerned with changing its spelling, a section which is indeed a regular topic for corpus planning.

The second obvious area of corpus planning is the result of the need to supply new words for the language which is selected for a new function. This largely depends on cultural change and modernisation which call for new functions and hence need to have new words to cater for new concepts (2000: 15).

Contributing on corpus planning, Cooper (1989: 122) observes: "Just as an architect's design may or may not please the customer, who may accept or reject

the blueprint, build the structure with or without modification, look for a new architect or abandon the project, so the language planner's design may or may not please the public for whom it is intended". The planner may design, for example, a spelling system which is easy to learn, easy to use, economical to print, inexpensive to implement and in all technical ways and improvement over the system it is meant to reform. The public may greet the proposed reform with enthusiasm, indifference, scorn or disgust depending on their language ideology and practices.

Cooper stresses that in corpus planning, form follows function in that the corpus planner designs or selects structures on the assumption that a given function, overt or covert, can be served by a modification of the corpus. He cites an example of St Stefan of Perm who reduced unwritten Komi to writing when he wanted to translate the liturgy into Komi language and use the same as a medium of instruction in the schools.

Cooper (1989: 125) points out three traditional categories of corpus planning as graphisation, standardisation and modernisation. He, however, adds that codification and elaboration are also mentioned but submits that they can be included under the rubrics of standardisation and modernisation in that order.

With regard to graphisation Cooper (1989: 126) accentuates that there are principles and criteria for judging the adequacy of writing systems. He classifies them into two major categories as psycholinguistic or technical and sociolinguistic criteria.

Psycholinguistic or technical principles and criteria are concerned with the extent to which the writing system is easy to learn, read, write, can be easy as well to carry it over to another language and is easy to reproduce by modern printing techniques. However, there is a growing concern on these criteria on the argument that in

practice, what is easy to read may not be easy to write or print and likewise what is easy to learn may not be easy to use.

Not only may goals conflict, but also there may be disagreement as to the means of whereby a given goal is to be attained. For example, if easy of reading is a goal, a question may be on the maximisation of the goal itself. If one believes that reading entails the matching of the written symbols with oral units, then a system which represents each phoneme or syllable with a unique symbol will be designed. In this way the writing system will represent the phonological realisation of each word.

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 40) contend that graphisation focuses on how language can be written in a uniform manner to enhance mutual intelligibility. They underscore that not only do writing systems provide the basis on which literacy materials can be established but also they reduce the linguistic variation in a language community. They further observe that for vernacular languages which have not developed a standard orthography or which do not even have written history, graphisation is of great importance for literacy to occur.

Standardisation is the development of the norm which overrides regional or social dialects (Cooper, 1989: 125). There can hardly be single-style language users as people move from style to style or from variety to variety to suit their communicative context. Similarly, people move from oral to written or casual to formal to suit their communicative intent. Thus, Cooper stresses that even if we control a standard variety; we can modify it or abandon it as the communicative circumstances dictate.

Grammatication involves the extraction and formulation of rules that describe how a language is structured. Kaplan and Baldauf (2003: 210) are of the view that many languages in the pacific region had to develop grammars in order for those

languages to be used in education. Since grammar of any language is a complex phenomenon because language changes to accommodate the communicative needs, grammatication can be seen as on-going activity. For lexication, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 42) define the term as the selection and development of an appropriate lexicon. It involves specifying how words are to be used in particular social, political and cultural domains in a society.

Modernisation refers to the process whereby a language becomes an appropriate medium of communication for modern topics and forms of discourse. When a language is extended for new functions and topics, its resources expand in order to meet the new demands. The process is not restricted to languages in the developing countries but also extends to those in developed and modern societies. The word elaboration falls within this process, as sometimes language modernisation is referred to as elaboration (1997: 150). Planners for elaboration of terminology face several choices. First, they have to decide whether to adopt a term already in use or to coin a new term. When the majority of speakers already have a word to use for a given notion, the language planners will ideally adopt the word instead of coining a new one and get the task of convincing the public to abandon it in favour of another.

When language planners choose to coin a new word rather than approve an existing one, they face two alternatives: 1) build the word from indigenous source either by a) giving a new meaning to an existing word, b) creating a term based on indigenous root or c) translating a foreign term (creating a loan translation) or 2) borrow a word from a foreign language. If the latter is done, a further decision has to be made as to how far to indigenise the loan, by modifying its pronunciation, its spelling or its affixes to suit the structure of the borrowing language.

However, there are conflicting goals when planners want to create terms. The words created have to be understood within the speech community but at the same time they want to facilitate communication to speakers of other countries. The two

goals can best be achieved by using indigenous sources and international borrowing respectively.

2.3.7 Language-in-Education (acquisition) Planning

Language-in-education planning applies to teaching and learning of first languages (L1), which are sometimes referred to as native languages, mother tongues or maternal languages, vernacular languages, to second languages (SL or L2) which are those used as vernacular languages to enable the learner to participate in his/her society; and foreign languages (FL), those learnt later for the variety of reasons involving communication with other societies, but not in normal everyday use within the learner's society (Ager, 1996: 4).

Cooper (1989: 33) looks at language-in-education planning as a useful category in language planning because of two reasons. First, considerable planning is directed towards language spread, the objective of which is to increase the users or uses of language or language variety. However, he stresses that not all planning for language spread can be under status planning because, he argues, planning for an increase of language usage fits for language status but an increase in language users - speakers, writers, listeners and readers requires a separate category.

Second, the changes in function and form sought by status and corpus planning affect, and are affected by, the number of a language's users as new users are likely to be attracted by new uses to which a language is put. He gives an example of Kiswahili in East Africa being used as a lingua franca, therefore attracting more speakers in that region.

A policy concerning language-in-education sets requirements or situations or opportunities for learning a desired or required language or variety of language (Cooper, 1989: 33). An approved foreign language curriculum for public schools is

an example of language acquisition or education policy or planning (Spolsky and Shohamy, 1999: 40).

Spolsky and Shohamy (2000: 13) contend that other aspects of language acquisition policy do not necessarily go beyond the educational domain. An acquisition policy takes the form of a statement specifying which segment of the population should spend a defined amount of time acquiring defined levels of competence in specific languages. The most common form of this is the school foreign language policy, which determines how many and what languages are to be taught, starting at what age, to what proportion of the school population and for how many years and hours per year. They stress that the decision on these matters is part educational but largely the decision is influenced by political, cultural and other factors.

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 125) underscore that in order to develop a soundly based language policy, it is important to consider: the languages spoken in that society, the purposes they serve, the speakers, where the speakers are physically located, the motivation for preserving the languages, and what attitudes people have on the languages. This can be done through a sociolinguistic survey. If the people have negative attitudes about certain languages, for example, speakers of a certain language associated with lower socioeconomic, lower educational or lower status levels, then planning for better attitude can be made to lift up the language. On the other hand, if a language is seen as having high prestige in terms of economic power, then the need to normalise those impressions to reduce the imbalance in the society can be considered. This will inculcate harmony between those who would like to study the languages and the parents whose children may not get a chance.

On acquisition planning, Shohamy (2006: 76) talks of language education policy (LEP) which she defines as a mechanism used to create de facto language

practices in education institutions, especially in centralised educational systems. LEP is considered a form of imposition and manipulation of language policy as it is used by those in authority to turn ideology into practice through formal education. Schools and universities is where language policy decisions are carried out. Such decisions are: Which language(s) to teach and learn in schools, at what age to begin teaching these languages, for how long should they be taught, by whom and for whom (who is qualified to teach and who is entitled or obliged to learn) and how (which methods, materials, test etc) (Shohamy, 2006: 76).

Explaining LEP and its power as a mechanism, Shohamy (2006: 76) emphasises that countries with centralised educational systems, decisions regarding LEPs are made by central authorities such as government agencies, parliaments, Ministries of Education, regional and local education boards and schools. In all these situations LEP serves as a mechanism for carrying out national language policy agendas. LEPs are imposed by political entities in top-down manner, usually with limited resistance as most generally schools and teachers comply.

In the current political environment where states are becoming more multilingual, multinational and at the same time more global, students are compelled to learn languages that reflect and affect the interests of different groups in quite different ways. Such preferred languages may include languages that are considered important in the global world, as it is the case with English in most countries.

LEP is considered a powerful tool as it can create and impose language behaviour in a system which it is compulsory for all children to participate in. It can further determine criteria of language correctness, oblige people to adopt certain ways of speaking and writing, create definitions about language and especially determine the priority of certain languages in society and how these languages should be used, taught and learned.

It is important to note the indirect and covert agendas behind LEP, not only in specific nations but also in transnational, colonial and global entities as they are often accompanied by propaganda and ideologies. Shohamy (2006: 78) gives an example where through the use of English tests as requirements for acceptance to institutions of higher education, the power of the English language and its speakers is perpetuated. She also refers to a case in the former USSR where a newly opened university funded by USA and other western countries, declared English as MoI, in that way the local languages of the area were overlooked and devalued.

In most cases, educational staff and personnel, including teachers, principals and inspectors, are responsible for carrying out the language educational policies in the educational systems, classes, schools and districts as they see it as part of their job. They are often implemented with no questions asked with regard to their quality, appropriateness and relevance especially their validity in terms of successful learning for students in schools. Thus, the staff and personnel act as soldiers of the system who carry out orders by internalising the policy ideology and its agendas as expressed in the curriculum, textbooks and other materials and the very perceptions of language.

One reason that teachers internalise the ideology is that they are not part of the process of making LEP and do not obtain training in issues of language planning and LEP and its relevance in the social and political contexts. Shohamy stresses that when, in rare cases, there is some representation of teachers they are not listened to. Even in the training programmes for teachers language education policies are not included as part of teacher knowledge, preparation and training. Therefore, Shohamy observes that by framing LEP decisions as political acts, their creators remove teachers from providing professional input and action. She concluded that teachers are mere bureaucrats of big government policies without having any say in their shaping and delivery.

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 127) submit that once education policy in a polity has been determined, there are some issues to be examined as part of any language-in-education policy implementation programme. These have to do with policy issues in language-in-education, namely curriculum, personnel, materials, community and evaluation policies. Each one of these is explained below.

2.3.7.1 Curriculum Policy

When the language to be taught in schools has been selected basing on the criteria developed in the education sector, the focus therefore is directed on the curriculum issues. Since the school time is limited due to many activities that are included in the curriculum, the primary concern is on the space that should be allocated to language instruction. This will have to consider the activities already in the curriculum and see how they can be squeezed or gradually removed without necessarily affecting the education system. This is likely to be a difficult decision to make because some of the issues, such as HIV/AIDS, family education and practical subjects for the graduates to get the well-paid jobs or employ themselves are in the curriculum due to societal pressure calling for their inclusion. On the other hand, some social groups may already have a feeling that their subject is under-represented. Looking at all this one realises how difficult it might be when language instruction has to be added to the curriculum.

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 128) observe that the other critical issue with regard to curriculum policy lies in the time to start language instruction. This involves duration for language instruction and intensity for its administration. This also creates a problem of space in the curriculum due to the fact that the earlier the language education is introduced the greater the probability of its success, which in turn, demands larger space in the curriculum for a greater duration.

Considering the number of contact hours needed for students to master the foreign language, and the fact that some languages are more difficult to learn to read and

write than others, language instruction may be regarded as not cost-effective and students' motivation is likely to be affected, as achievement seems unrealistic. This is a result of the need to devise a model which permits communicative activities for language learning. In order to achieve this, class size need to be reduced to create opportunities for student-student and student-teacher interaction. Under the circumstances prevailing in most African classrooms, devising the class into small groups constitutes a daunting problem, as this requires more human and material resources. This ties in with what Kamwendo (2006: 64) claims to be a practice in Africa where funding of language issues is not taken to be a priority.

2.3.7.2 Personnel Policy

When a decision is taken in the education sector that a language has to be taught in schools, the planning issue is to have teachers to deliver the instruction. This requires the deployment of teachers who are qualified in the pedagogy and reasonably fluent in the language(s) in question. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 130) identify three problems associated with this decision, namely the source, the training and the rewarding of teachers. The country undertaking to introduce a new language is undoubtedly likely to face the shortage of qualified teachers, hence the need of training, rewarding and retaining them. This requires investing heavily in the education sector.

As a stop-gap measure, some countries may be forced to use untrained teachers who may also have limited competence in the target language. However, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 130) are of the view that strategies can be developed to boost the pool of qualified teachers where those trained in one language to re-train in the new popular language to be able to retain their teaching positions. Nevertheless, there are cases where the teaching methodology and the contents of the languages may be quite different, in that generalisation is difficult. That means training in this case takes longer than anticipated for the purpose of solving a problem on the short term basis.

Another strategy suggested by Kaplan and Baldauf to solve the problem of personnel is the importation of teachers from a country where the target language is spoken natively. Apart from the fact that not all native speakers can be language teachers, this strategy may turn out to be unrealistic on the basis that the cost of hiring such teachers cannot be afforded by African countries. Even if these teachers are to come on voluntary basis where they are paid by some donor agencies, experience shows this group is from untrained personnel and hence unqualified. This problem is intensified by the fact that trade unions in a country may have restrictions to such untrained and thus unqualified teachers with the argument that there are already many unemployed teachers in a country. However, the argument may not take into account that unemployed teachers are not for language teaching.

With regard to incentives to teachers, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 131) observe that people may not choose to join the teaching profession unless the government is prepared to give good package to them. The government need to provide in-service training to have teachers to maintain their proficiency, as there is evidence that language skills may diminish if the language is not used for communicative purposes. The in-service training will not only acquit the teachers with modern methods of teaching but also will expose the teachers to their colleagues and get to share some issues related to language teaching. Teachers may have different approaches to some topics depending on the kind of students they have and their socioeconomic background.

2.3.7.3 Methods and Materials Policy

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) demonstrate that content and methodology form part of the concern in the materials policy. They stress, “The objective of language instruction is not to limit the learner to a small in which to function in the target language, but rather to provide the learner with as wide a base of registers as

possible (1997:133)". With regard to methodology, they are of the view that effective instruction must be interactive, that is, the students must be able to use the language in the classroom among themselves and their teacher. The tendency for teachers to dominate the class and make the students passive listeners is not seen as an efficient way for language instruction. Teacher talk (TT), where the teacher dominates the class by giving a lecture without creating situations for students to use the language, must be reduced to the minimum for students to acquire communicative skills.

There has been a debate on the question of the relative reality of content. While some argue for teacher's language to be simplified to the level of the learner, others prefer the language presented to the learner to be authentic. Kaplan and Baldauf are of the opinion that if the objective is to permit the learner the access to the wide range of registers, authenticity will be the best choice. They submit that simplified materials run the risk of making students lose interest in the content presented.

Furthermore, the materials have to coincide with the methodology being employed to deliver language instruction. This requires the methodologies used to train teachers in the teachers' colleges and universities to take into account the two above. However, what determines all this is the objectives set for language instruction in the curriculum. In order to produce competent speakers and listeners as the objective in the curriculum, the best approach would be communicative. However, teachers may decide to be against a new methodology not because they do not understand the theories upon which it was founded but because the new methodology contradicts the way they were trained. In this case the teachers seem to be rigid to what they are used to because their strategies and techniques of teaching appear appealing to them and they are comfortable to continue using them. On methodology and materials, Kaplan and Baldauf demonstrate "Language-in-education planning must select an appropriate methodology, must

guarantee that the materials to be used are consonant with the methodology, provide authentic language, and are also consonant with the expectations of teachers” (1997:134).

2.3.7.4 Community Policy

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 134) assert that language education takes place in a community where the people have a role to play in terms of funding and their attitudes towards language education. If the community attitudes towards the target language teaching, the target language and teachers are negative, there is less hope that language education will be a success. They stress that an important aspect of language-in-education planning is the development of a variety of approaches to community attitude. A sociolinguistic survey is of great significance to establish the evidence about attitudes in the community regarding a language or a variety. This will help to remove the stigma that people might have by trying to devise strategies to convince them that language education is as important as those activities supported and valued in that community. Moreover, the community has to be convinced that multilingualism is not a threat to national unity but a resource that the community, including students and teachers, must be proud of.

The community need to be aware that language-in-education planning, like any human resource development plan, has its cost implications. The plan therefore should be to share the available resources, no matter how limited they might be. This is because language education is equally important for the betterment of the community and the nation at large. Once the community, policy makers, politicians and all the stakeholders are convinced of the benefits related the language-in-education plan, there should not be withholding of the resources necessary for the achievement of the plan at the implementation level.

2.3.7.5 Evaluation Policy

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 135) demonstrate that in order to justify the expenditure, as compared to expenditure for other activities in the education sector, there is a need for evidence that the envisaged plan and its implementation are cost-effective. The plan should clearly indicate the strategies that will be involved to carry it out and how success is expected hence the need for the take off of the project.

Furthermore, since the objective of language teaching in schools is attainment of bilingualism among the target population, there is a need to address the question of the degree of bilingualism in the registers of the target language. Kaplan and Baldauf comment on the assumptions underlying educated bilingualism that the two languages in bilingual environment are equal in status, power and attraction and that education bilingualism implies near native proficiency in both languages and in all registers. They argue that the two languages cannot be of equal status, power and attraction because the learners come into the school environment with their first language fully developed. That means to them their first language is of greater power, status and attraction as the students can do everything they need using their first language not the second language. With regard to near native proficiency, Kaplan and Baldauf are of the opinion that it is difficult to attain it due to limited duration of instruction in the target language and all possible registers are not permissible in the school curriculum.

Evaluation of language-in-education policy has to take into account the objectives of the programme. Assessment instruments should be designed in such a way that they measure what has been taught to students. This will eventually demonstrate the relationship between the syllabi and the assessment. Kaplan and Baldauf accentuate that individuals assessed in the programme will attain different points regardless of the quality and amount of instruction provided. This is because every

individual embarks on the programme with different motivation, readiness and differing attitudes towards the second language.

2.3.8 Prestige Planning

The primary prestige policy goal is language promotion which is overtly putting policies in place or acting in ways that signify policy-like stances that enhance the prestige and status of languages in a country. Prestige planning can be undertaken by the government, institutions, pressure groups and even individuals. Deumert (2000: 387-388) argues that prestige planning is vital when the promoted language has previously been limited to low-culture functions in a given society. He indicates the relationship between prestige planning and status planning where the former is the prerequisite of the latter since the status changes to be socially accepted, the prestige of the promoted language has to be improved.

Kaplan and Baldauf (2003: 222) maintain that prestige planning consists of those prestige-related goals that need to be met to promote and intellectualise a language effectively for the language to have stature to develop and sustain a stable language environment or ecology. Prestige planning is essentially about developing both policy and the encouragement for the use of specialised language forms so that the full capabilities of the language are actually used in important or prestigious situations. To them language may gain prestige or lose it through use and promotion by societal, institutional or individual bodies or through the intellectualisation of the language through use in high status activities.

The primary prestige policy goal, according to Kaplan and Baldauf (2003: 222), is language promotion. This means putting policies in place or acting in ways that signify policy-like stances that enhance the prestige and status of the language or languages in the polity. Language planning and policy is not complete once the sociolinguistic, linguistic and educational work is done. In order for the policy and planning to have impact, extensive promotion needs to be done at different levels.

This can be done at the level of the government, institutions, pressure groups and even individuals.

At the level of the government, Kaplan and Baldauf (2003: 223) have given examples from the Pacific indicating how governments have played part in language promotion. The Singapore case where there was the campaign for 'speak Mandarin' which began in 1979 brought a drastic effect on Chinese dialect which is used in Singapore where its use at home fell from 59.5 per cent in 1980 to 23.8 per cent in 2000.

In some cases, government sponsored institutions are set-up to support and help promote language issues. Institutional prestige planning varies widely in scope and may include corpus planning, research on language issues and providing advice to government as well as language promotional activities.

Pressure groups can also play a significant role in promoting a given language. Kaplan and Baldauf (2003: 223) cite an example from Australia, where a number of language organisations such as Applied Linguistic Association, Australian Federation of Modern Language Teacher Association and the like, lobbied the government to take action on the matter of developing a national language policy.

High individuals linked to the government power can also have an important impact on language policy development. They cite an example of Sukarno whose creative use of language in speeches and other pronouncements contributed to an opening up of and use of more creative language styles in Indonesia.

Language-in-education planning is the type of language planning in which a nation, state or local government system aims to influence aspects of language, namely language status, distribution and literacy through education. Language planning in the education systems ranges from primary schools to universities. The process

can entail a variety of modifications, such as student textbook formatting, a change in methods of teaching an official language or the development of bilingual education. Since language-in-education planning is useful to governments, there is a need to consider the effects on other aspects of state planning, such as economic and political planning.

2.4 Language Policy Model

Spolsky (2004: 11-14) argues that language policy can be viewed in terms of language beliefs, practices and management. The speech community members share a general set of beliefs about language practice and they can assign value and prestige to the language varieties used in their place. He stresses that such beliefs both derive from and influence practices and hence basis for language management which can be intended to confirm or modify the beliefs.

Shohamy (2006) basing on Spolsky's (2004) explanation puts forward a model she refers to as a language policy model. In this model (see figure 2.1), three components of language policy, that is, beliefs, practice and management are included.

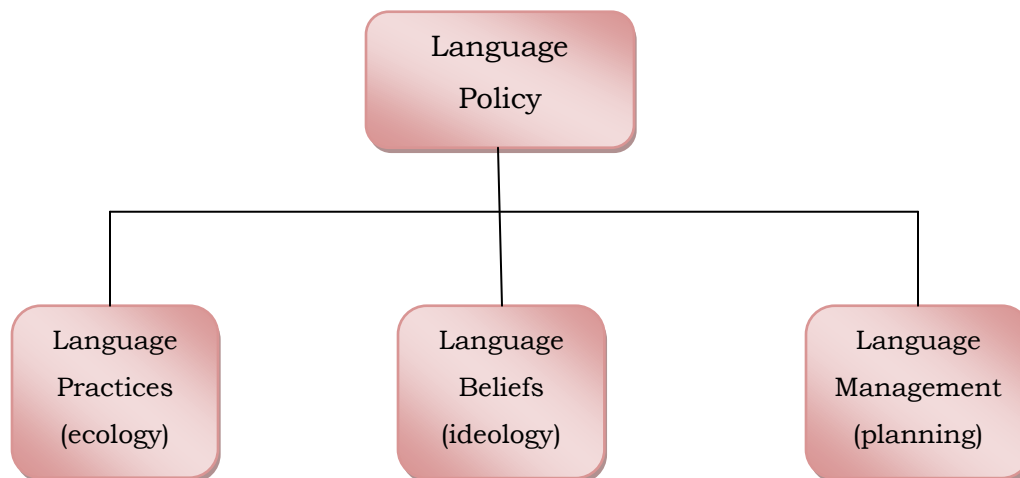
Language beliefs refer to ideologies about language that lie behind each policy. He gives an example where a group may have a belief that a nation equals language so to them a language is a unifying factor of their nation.

Language practice refers to the ecology of language and focus on the kind of language practices that actually take place in the entity. For example, regardless of the policy and beliefs certain languages are used in certain places for various reasons. For example, the *Training and education Policy* (1995) in Tanzania states that the language of instruction in secondary schools is English but it is common to find Kiswahili being used most inside the classrooms due to language of education problems obtaining in Tanzania secondary schools. This ties in with Shohamy's

argument that “it is always the case that formal language documents become no more than declaration of intent that can easily be manipulated and contradicted” (2006: 53).

Spolsky (2004: 222) argues that the real language policy of community is more likely to be found in its practices than in management. He stresses that unless the management is consistent with the language practices and beliefs, and with the other contextual forces that are in play, the explicit policy written in the constitution and laws is likely to have no more effect on how people speak than the activities of generations of school teachers vainly arguing the choice of correct language. Language management refers to specific acts that take place to manage and manipulate language behaviour in a given entity.

Figure 2.1: Language Policy Model



Source: Shohamy (2006: 53, based on Spolsky, 2004)

This model is of great significance as it serves as the foundation for the introduction of the concept of mechanisms or policy devices, as means through which policies are introduced and incorporate hidden agendas of the language policy (Shohamy, 2006: 52).

2.5 Bilingual Education

Akkari (1998: 103) looks at bilingual education as not only the ability to use more than one language in education but also the use of more than one dialect. Akkari further emphasises that bilingual education can exist beyond settings of the formal schooling and thus including other socialisation agents namely the family, community, mass media, peers and neighbourhoods. However, in this study the definition by García (1997: 408) that bilingual education is the use of two languages, will be adopted, as the study does not focus on dialects but languages. Furthermore, that definition is taken to avoid falling in a trap of establishing a clear-cut definition of the language and a dialect especially in African context where two or more languages may be mutually intelligible to warrant the same to be dialects of one language.

The goals of bilingual education, according to Baker (1993) can be grouped into two: assimilationist and pluralistic goals. The former seek to assimilate minority language speakers into the majority language and culture, hence the minority language becomes less important and may eventually disappear. On the other hand, the latter principally uphold individual and group language rights, hence seen as support for group autonomy which may not be viewed as a menace to larger group unity.

Colonial authorities, according to Ansre (1978, quoted in Obondo, 1997) could be divided into two groups, the pro-users and anti-users of the indigenous languages. Belgium, German and British were pro-users while Portugal and France are classified as anti-users. Historically, the anti-users were of the view that an assimilation model of colonialism could be the best rule to achieve their goals. In this case, they believed that Africans had to learn and speak a colonial language as a sign of civilisation which they intended to impart to them. The anti-user rulers made this policy clear through official declarations. Obondo refers to one of the official declarations, which was made in Angola in 1921 by the High Commissioner,

Senhor Norton De Natos, where the teaching of foreign and indigenous languages was forbidden. Instead, only the use and teaching of Portuguese, not only in Angola but also Guinea and Mozambique, was allowed.

Conversely, pro-users allowed the indigenous people to retain their languages in education because they were interested to get civil servants of low cadre to assist them in administration. A good example of this policy by pro-users is in Tanzania where both the Germans and the British encouraged the use of Kiswahili, an indigenous language, in day-to-day government activities and in lower levels of primary education.

The history for or against the use of bilingual education can be traced in other countries as well. García (1997: 405) underscores that despite the great diversity in the world, educational systems have largely favoured the language of the elite hence favouring monolingual education programmes. She asserts that the Greek and Latin languages were used in Europe as languages of schooling at the expense of local languages. The continued upholding of monolingual education in the language of the elite and placing great value on those who speak the language of the elite have been widespread especially in African countries. Those who are sole speakers of the local languages get the third class status in the society.

Referring to the United States of America, García (ibid) submits that ethnolinguistic groups valued their own non-English languages as a symbol of culture. She reports that consequently bilingual education, organised by ethnolinguistic groups who could run their own schools, grew throughout in the 19th century. Due to nationalism and human rights movements, monolingual education was openly blamed in the USA as it was accused of excluding the minorities. Therefore, throughout the 1960s the use of mother tongue, especially in the initial years of schooling along with the majority language, became a much required alternative.

2.6 Bilingual Education and Cognitive Development

Bilingual education has been seen as of great importance to students because of cognitive, social and psychological reasons (García, 1997: 409). These reasons in turn necessitate the cognitive development of an individual child. García underlines that students who are bilingual and biliterate have shown to have increased cognitive advantages such as more divergent and creative thinking, greater metalinguistic awareness and cognitive control of linguistic processes and increased communicative sensitivity. Socially, bilingual education brings about greater understanding among groups and increased knowledge of each other. Bilingual education cuts across multicultural education as it uses language to oppose racism and inequality between different groups. This is especially the case where ethnic conflicts are rampant. Moreover, psychological reasons can be realised with regard to the fact that bilingual education to minorities help to do away with lack of self-esteem as the failure for minorities has been linked with bicultural ambivalences. Bilingual education in this sense, according to García, is empowerment pedagogy as it enables incorporation of the home language and culture in the school. The home language is also used in assessing the students in their tests and examinations. All these cognitive, social and psychological advantages of bilingual education can positively affect the learners and eventually assist to enhance their education.

One of the fundamental reasons why bilingualism has been viewed depreciatively for a long time is because of a basic erroneous belief about how the brain stores languages. The misconception, which is held widely by parents, teachers and most importantly policy makers, is that bilingualism may result in a cognitive burden for the child. This has led to many parents opting out of bilingual education on this basis, thinking it might disadvantage their children educationally, socially, culturally and emotionally.

Furthermore, there is concern among different people on the question of bilingualism and the brain as to whether the brain of the bilingual child functions differently from that of the monolingual one. The issue here is whether a language is differently organised and processed in the brain of a bilingual child compared with that of the monolingual (Fabbro, 1999: 34). With regard to language and the brain, Paradis (2004: 18) submits that one of the topics in studying bilingualism and the brain has been lateralisation. In the majority of the right-handed adults, the left hemisphere of the brain is dominant for language processing.

Likewise, Baker (2006: 143) asserts that parents do get advice from teachers, doctors, speech therapists, schools psychologists and other professionals that they should not raise their children bilingually otherwise their children will get problems. The expected problems which are mentioned to be associated with bilingualism on the child are a burden on the brain, mental confusion, inhibition of the acquisition of the majority language, identity conflicts and the like. The advice still is for the parents to use one language with individual children. However, in the last decade such prejudiced and unfounded advice have decreased as better advice based on wealth of research is slowly spreading. Yet historically, anti-bilingualism advice has frequently dominated. Baker refers to an extreme example given by Isaacs (1976) where Welsh children had to get their mouths washed with soap and water and beaten with a cane just because they had committed a sin of speaking Welsh.

Such anxieties about bilingualism and thinking remain among some members of the public. The anxiety that two languages may have a negative effect on an individual's thinking skills tends to be expressed in two different ways:

- i) Some tend to believe that the more someone learns and uses a second language, the less skill a person will have in their first language.
- ii) That the ability to speak two languages may be at the cost of efficiency in thinking. The intuitive belief being that the two languages residing

inside the thinking quarters will mean less room to store other areas of learning. The monolingual is pictured as having one language residence and therefore maximal storage space for other information.

From the early 19th century to approximately the 1960s, the dominant belief among academics was that bilingualism had a detrimental effect on thinking. The early research on bilingualism and cognition tended to confirm this negative viewpoint, finding that monolinguals were superior to bilinguals on mental tests. However, Baker (2006: 145) argues that these tests have some obvious limitations. For example, there is a question on a definition for the word intelligence and who can be classified as intelligent; of which the answer to this is far-searched.

Another limitation, among others, is the language in which these tests are conducted. In most cases bilinguals are tested in a language which is not their mother tongue. Even if they were to be tested in their mother tongue, the problem would be the concepts used in the tests. If the concepts were taught in a second or foreign language, testing bilingual children in their mother tongue would definitely result into a total failure. The way the brain works with language is discussed in the theories of bilingualism which forms part of section 2.8 in this chapter.

2.7 Theoretical Considerations in Bilingual Programmes

The theories discussed in this section are about the theories which have been developed in connection with bilingual education. The theories explain some myths which people have regarding how the brain works when it comes to having two or more languages in education.

The theories of bilingual education discussed in this chapter are: Separate Underlying Proficiency, Common Underlying Proficiency and Developmental Interdependency Hypothesis.

2.7.1 Separate Underlying Proficiency

Separate Underlying Proficiency (SUP) developed by Cummins (1978) is the perception of bilingualism on a model of mind. Baker (2006: 168) describes SUP as viewing the mind as if two languages are housed separately within it. In this view, the two language compartments are separated and they also have a limited storage capacity. The two languages in this model seem to work against each other, as for example, when a new language is added to one side of the scale, this seemingly results into an imbalance on the other side.

Baker (2006: 167-168) argues that the balance and balloon picture theories of bilingualism and cognition appear to be held intuitively by many people including parents, teachers, politicians and they mostly subconsciously take the balloon picture as the one best describing bilingual functioning. In this model two languages operate separately without transfer and with a restricted amount of room for languages. However, research has proved this to be unreliable as Bialystok (2000 in Baker, 2006:168) correctly puts it, "Nothing we know about memory substantiates these fears. Indeed, the fact that millions of children routinely grow up with more than one language in their environment and appear to suffer no obvious trauma should allay the concerns of most parents".

Baker further illustrates that research has suggested that it is wrong to assume that the brain has only a limited amount of room for language skills which would make monolingualism preferable to bilingualism. What is actually available in research evidence is that there are cognitive advantages rather than disadvantages for being bilingual.

The other misleading notion with this theory is that the first and second language are kept apart in two balloons inside the head but evidence suggests that language attributes are not separated in the cognitive system. For example, when a lesson is taught through Kiswahili as MoI, it does not mean the Kiswahili part in the brain is

the one which will be fed, rather concepts learnt in Kiswahili language can readily transfer into other languages like English, French and the like. Teaching a child to multiply numbers in Kiswahili or use a dictionary in English easily transfers to multiplication or dictionary use in the other language. A child does not have to be taught again to multiply numbers in another language provided the two languages are well developed.

Another problem with SUP is that the model is not supported by research or practice. Research studies have proved that bilinguals stand a better chance in education than monolinguals. For example, a study conducted by Bialystok (1987 quoted in Baker, 2006) which examined the difference between bilinguals and monolinguals in their processing of words and the development of concept of a word, found out that bilingual children showed more advanced understanding of some aspects of the idea of words than did monolingual children.

In terms of practice, SUP fails to comply with the common fact where bi/multilingual people constitute the majority of the world's speakers. Such people live in their contexts without any seemingly detrimental effects from their bi/multilingualism. Experience from bilingual education indicates that students can learn two or more languages successfully without obvious effects in the acquisition of the other language. What is actually the case is that skills and knowledge acquired from one language can have a link in the acquisition of another language. What this theory tries to suggest is that bilingualism may result in some sort of linguistic deficit and that education and educational development may become impaired by bilingual experience, a claim which is not supported by research findings.

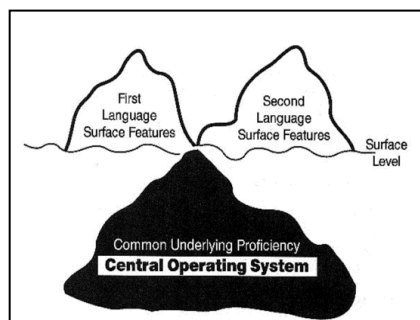
2.7.2 Common Underlying Proficiency

Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) is a model which accurately depicts the working of the mind in relation to bilingual education. This model was first suggested by Vygotsky in 1930s and subsequently developed by Cummins (1980).

This was in response to an allied misconception that there is a direct link between the amount of exposure to English in school and home and subsequent achievement in English literacy. According to Tiakiwai et al (2004: 38) this exposure is referred to as time on task theory, which is premised on the notion that maximum exposure in the second language is required for successful language acquisition and learning to occur.

Cummins' (1980) Common Underlying Proficiency theory of bilingualism has been pictorially represented in the form of two icebergs protruding above the surface as in diagram 2.1 below.

Diagram 2.1: Common Underlying Proficiency



Source: Baker (2006:169)

In diagram 2.1 above the two icebergs are separated above the surface which means two languages are visibly different in outward conversation but underneath the surface, the two icebergs are fused so that the two languages do not function separately but rather they operate through the same central processing system. All the two languages operate through this system as they all can contribute to, access and use the system.

According to Baker (ibid) the Common Underlying Proficiency model of bilingualism can be summarised in six parts:

- i) Irrespective of the language in which a person is operating, the thoughts that accompany talking, reading, writing and listening come from the same central engine. This means that when a person has two or more languages, there is one integrated source of thought.
- ii) Bilingualism and multilingualism are possible because people have the capacity to store two or more languages. People can also function in two or more languages with ease.
- iii) Information processing skills and educational attainment may be developed through two languages as well as one language. Cognitive functioning and school achievement may be fed through one monolingual channel or equally successfully through two well developed language channels as both the channels feed the same central processor.
- iv) The language the child is using in the classroom needs to be sufficiently well developed to be able to process the cognitive challenges of the classroom.
- v) Speaking, listening, reading or writing in the first or the second language helps the whole cognitive system to develop. However, if children are made to operate in an insufficiently developed second language (e.g. in a submersion's classroom) the system will not function at its best.
- vi) When one or both languages are not functioning fully (e.g. because of pressure to replace the home language with the majority language), cognitive functioning and academic performance may be negatively affected (Baker, 2006: 169-170).

The theory however has been presented as if it is a perfect alternative to bilingual education. Despite the fact that it gives a promising hope regarding how the brain works with more than one language, there might be a problem when languages are completely different in terms of orthography and grammar. Furthermore, the theory does not consider the management part of language planning. If the education system lacks proper planning, inadequate provision of teaching and learning materials, availability of competent personnel and proper support from the stakeholders, the theory may not be of any significance.

2.7.3 Developmental Interdependency Hypothesis

Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis (henceforth DIH) developed by Cummins (1981) where close relationship between the two languages of the bilingual child is indicated. It states:

“To the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly (Cummins, 1981: 29).”

This hypothesis was in response of the claim that all facets of language proficiency - listening, speaking, reading and writing – were the result of one common dimension of language proficiency, the claim that Cummins rejected saying there are more than one dimensions.

Evidence has shown that some children excel in a language, but still perform badly in school if their academic language skills remain undeveloped. In this hypothesis it is submitted that a child’s second language competence is partly dependent on the level which a child already has in the first language. As Baker (2001) puts it, “The more developed the L1, the easier it will be to develop the L2. The less developed the L1, the more difficult the achievement of bilingualism will be”. In relation to this Cummins states:

The Level of L2 competence which a bilingual child attains is partially a function of the type of competence the child has developed in L1 at the time when intensive exposure to L2 begins. ...initially high level of L1 development makes possible the development of similar levels of competence in L2. However, for children whose L1 skills are less well developed in certain respects, intensive exposure to L2 in the initial grades is likely to impede the continued development of L1 (1979: 233).

This indicates that the appropriate time for the child for bilingualism is when the first language is well developed because when the first language is at the low stage of development, it will be difficult to attain bilingualism.

Huguet et al (2000: 135) have commended this hypothesis as it is supported by research studies. They give an example of Spanish/Catalan speakers where it was found out that those students aged 12 were more competent in Catalan and at the same time they were competent in Spanish.

DIH can be of much significance in the school programmes to promote bilingual education basing on the first language which children have when joining the school. Tiakiwai et al (2004:47) accentuate that "Schools which do not draw on a bilingual child's first language at all, as is commonly the case in English-only classrooms, will not be able to harness any development that [a] child already has in L1". To them this is the reason why some bilingual students fail in the education system as time is not given for them to exploit their skills gained in L1 before they are exposed to L2.

Additionally, Thomas and Collier (2002) have argued rather convincingly that in some longitudinal studies length of L1 education turned out to be more influential than any other factor in predicting educational achievement of bilingual students. They stress, "...the strongest predictor of L2 student achievement is the amount of L1 schooling. The more L1 grade-level schooling, the higher L2 achievement" (2002:7).

Tiakiwai et al (2004: 16) conclude that the findings indicated above serve as an alert about the consequences of preventing L1 development in students. According to their experience, students who performed poorly in studies conducted were those whose L1 was entirely ignored and instead concentration was on submerging them in English language instruction. In this regard, Cummins' DIH gains weight considerably in education as it clearly illustrates the need to nurture the first language of the children in African schools. Tiakiwai et al also are of the view that the time on task argument, that the earlier and the longer English instruction occurs for non-English speakers, the more likely they are to acquire academic English and succeed at school. That exposure will be meaningless if the children's first languages are seen as obstacle to the learning and teaching process.

DIH came out, as Cummins (1993) puts it, as a result of the two opposing views from supporters and opposers of bilingual education. The former are of the view that children cannot learn in a language they do not understand, hence the need for the first language to counteract the effects of home-school language mismatch. The latter accentuate that bilingual education is illogical in the claim that less exposure to the target language can lead to greater achievement in that language. They therefore argue that maximum exposure to a foreign language to minority language students is a far-searched alternative for the eventual mastery of the language. To Cummins (ibid) all assertions, linguistic mismatch and insufficient exposure are inadequate and he sees DIH as a solution. Likewise, as Akkari (1998: 116) underscores, "The assertion that language minority fail principally because of home-school mismatch does not concur with successful minority students who have received instruction entirely through the second or foreign language". On the other hand, insufficient exposure is not supported by research evidence that suggest that there is no relationship between the amount of school exposure to the majority language and academic achievement in that language.

DIH could conveniently explain the situation in most African schools particularly Tanzania, where students having been instructed for seven years in primary school in Kiswahili are made to abandon it upon joining secondary education and English is the only Mol. The school system does not exploit the richness of the commonly understood language, Kiswahili. English being the sole language of instruction at this level, students find themselves frustrated as they are compelled to learn in a language they do not understand.

2.8 Principles of Bilingual Education

The effectiveness of bilingual programmes depends largely on some principles which have to be adhered to from the grass roots level of education to the highest level in a given polity. In this subsection, sociolinguistic and socio-educational principles are discussed, thus paving the way for bilingual education programmes to be embarked on depending on various contexts.

2.8.1 Sociolinguistic Principles of Bilingual Education

There are sociolinguistic principles which can lead to failure or success of developing bilingualism. The principles identified are monolingual and bilingual instructions (García, 1997: 416; Baker, 2006: 261).

In connection with monolingual instruction, García (1997: 416) contends that exclusive use of one language in education generally leads to monolingualism. She stresses that this is applicable to both language majority groups as well as minority groups, unless the sociolinguistic vitality of the language minority is strong in the ethnic community and the home. She argues that for the maintenance and development of low-status languages, there is a need of support of these languages in educational setting. Lack of such support, bilingualism and biliteracy is unlikely to be attained.

Regarding bilingual instruction, García (1997: 416) submits that when two languages are used in instruction, bilingualism and biliteracy are attained only by differentiating the roles of the languages in society. She recommends that the language of lower status or lower use should initially be used extensively as a medium of instruction. This does not consider the fact that students are of the language minority or majority (see Figure 2.1)

The use of two languages should be compartmentalised through the curriculum. Compartmentalisation is easier when different teachers use different languages for instruction. García (1997: 416) is of the view that in some cases compartmentalisation can be achieved by allocating a specific language to a certain time of a day, a certain day, certain subjects or specific physical locations, such as different classrooms and even schools.

García (1997: 417) cautions that the prolonged use of two languages without compartmentalisation, whether that is done consciously or unconsciously, usually leads to language shift to a high-prestige language, an aspect encouraged in transitional bilingual education. She, however, stresses that the concurrent use of two languages is useful only in the beginning stages of bilingualism just to contextualise second-language input in second-language instruction. With regard to mother tongue, García (1997: 417) argues that there is a need for it to have a place in the school curriculum. The use of mother tongue may cease as medium of instruction, but it should continue to be taught as a subject.

The teaching of second language must go beyond second-language instruction methodology. That is, approaches such as the natural approach, the notional-functional approach and total physical response are valuable in the very beginning stages of bilingualism (García, 1997: 417). The second language is to be used as a medium of instruction but also be taught as a subject in its own right.

Figure 2.2: The use of two languages in school and society (Adopted from García, 1997: 417)

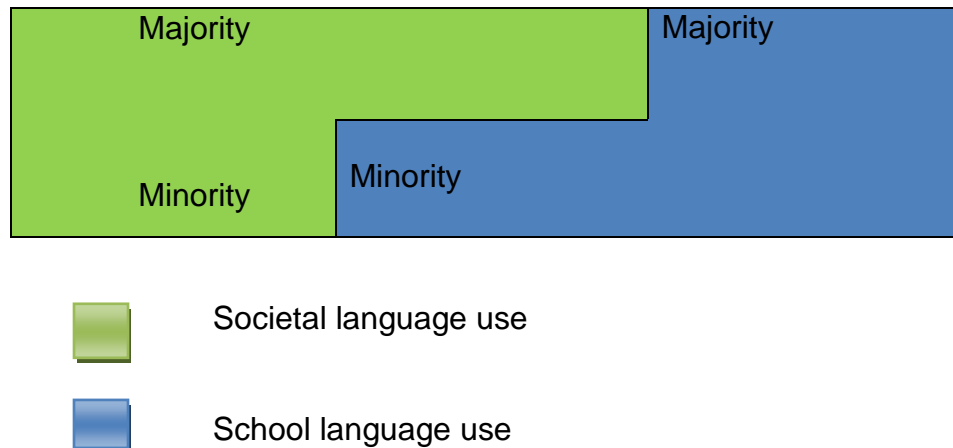


Figure 2.2 illustrates the use of two languages in school and society to complement their use at the initial stage of developing bilingualism.

2.8.2 Socio-Educational Principles of Bilingual Education

There are some socio-educational principles which are needed to develop bilingualism and biliteracy in education. Most importantly stakeholders such as parents, school administrators and teachers, community members and the students have to be committed to develop bilingualism and biliteracy. Additionally, there are some characteristics which are required in the educational agents and educational culture of the school. Skutnabb-Kangas and García (1995, presented in García, 1997: 418-420) developed some of these important socio-educational principles, which are discussed in this section.

Under educational agents, three characteristics are of great significant. First, Skutnabb-Kangas and García (1995) propose that there must be a bilingual administration and staff, where in this case administrators, teachers, paraprofessionals, clerical and custodial staff must be bilingual, or willing to work towards becoming bilingual (García, 1997: 418). This suggests that one of the

interview questions a person is asked before employment is whether s/he accepts working as bilingual or rather in a bilingual situation. Where possible the staff can be of different ethnicities or even nationalities. This again entails that people working within the school are in support of bilingualism and ready to work in a bilingual context.

The second characteristic put forward is that there must be highly qualified teachers of one language or the other who are bilingual (García, 1997: 418). In allocating subjects to teachers, it is recommended that teachers who are bilingual should teach only one language. It is stressed that these teachers should have native or high levels of linguistic competence in the language in which they teach or that they teach. This means, a person may not be a native speaker of English, but since English is the language of instruction in which teachers have to teach, they will be expected to command the language well.

Third, there is a need to have highly parental participation and support. In this case, parents are expected to have made a choice of bilingual schooling for their children. On making such a decision, parents demonstrate that they understand what bilingual education is for their children, and that they are committed to bilingualism and undertake to be active participants in their children's bilingual education.

Talking generally on educational agents, Baker (2006: 261) contends that at the school level, the characteristics of staffing, the size of the group and the language composition of the school affect whether where, when and how bilingual education is successful. The human, material and physical resources are to be considered for the success of bilingual programmes. Well trained teachers, curriculum materials in all content areas, buildings and other facilities have to be in place.

On the second principle of educational culture they enumerate five characteristics important in the school culture. First, there must be a completely bilingual education context, where the entire school system is committed to promote bilingualism for all, multilingualism for some and monolingualism for none. This bilingual context is to be implemented in both primary and secondary education where the two languages' usage is promoted beyond the classrooms. This entails that the students will be able to use the languages bilingually when in and outside the class and even at home.

Second, there must be a language policy that aims to make students bilingual and biliteracy. To do this, Skutnabb-Kangas and García (1995) suggest that the students' mother tongue should have an important space in the school curriculum so that it may play a significant role to link students' ethnolinguistic identity (García, 1997: 419). Apart from being clearly compartmentalised from the second language, the mother tongue can be used as a medium of instruction, as well as taught as a subject matter in linguistically homogeneous groups.

Skutnabb-Kangas and García (1995) further demonstrate that student's second language should initially be taught in linguistically homogeneous groups using the students' mother tongue to make what they are being taught comprehensible. Progressively, the second language can be increasingly used as a medium of instruction by contextualising it through visuals, gestures and other paralinguistic features.

The language policy in the school should take into consideration the interdependence existing between languages and the Common Underlying Proficiency (see section 2.7.2) where it is arguably said that the two languages have the same central processor.

Third, inclusive educational strategies that support bilingualism and biliteracy should be in place in the school culture. It is observed that an inquiry-based approach to learning with the use of two languages as instruments for knowledge is to be promoted. Similarly, a student-centred, interactive and largely participatory pedagogy that encourages cooperatively learning, whole language strategies and writing process among the students must be adhered to.

The other characteristic put forward is the use of teaching materials that are highly varied. Here the teaching materials prepared by teachers to aid students' understanding must reflect the situations in which the language is used in the society, without forgetting the bilingual usage.

Last, Skutnabb-Kangas and García (1995) submit that there must be fair and authentic assessment. To ensure fair assessment of the students involved in bilingual education programme, second-language learners should not be compared with native speakers. The assessment proposed by Skutnabb-Kangas and García (1995: 420) is criterion-referenced or performance-based and is to be conducted in a language of instruction or a language chosen by the students. Criterion-referenced assessment is designed to provide a measure of performance that is interpretable in terms of clearly defined and delimited domain of learning tasks while performance-based is the assessment based on authentic tasks such as activities, exercises or problems that require students to show what they can do.

These characteristics if carefully and strictly followed can open the doors of the school to all children to use their vernacular language and a second language, hence bilingualism and biliteracy in education.

However, there are some economic factors which have been explained to indicate that bilingual education can be expensive. Spolsky (1977: 12) looks at three of them as: expenses involved in training teachers to be able to work with more than

one language, having two sets of teaching and learning materials and extra costs with regards to language planning and modernisation.

If one focuses much on these negative economic aspects related to bilingual education, there is a danger of despair. What is important is to perceive bilingual education as having economic long term outcomes as well. In the long term, schooling may be seen as preparation for employment. To many parents, the learning of the standard language is seen as the principle method for their children to obtain good jobs. For example, it is assumed correctly that in most African countries speaking English enable people to get employment unlike those who cannot.

Furthermore, for a programme to be deemed to be bilingual, there are some key issues that have been suggested. First, in order for a programme to be bilingual both languages must be used as media of instruction and thus to deliver curriculum content. Therefore, Baker and Pry-Jones (1998: 466) conclude: "If there is a useful demarcation, then bilingual education may be said to start when more than one language is used to teach content (e.g. Science, Mathematics, Social Sciences or Humanities) rather than just being taught as a subject by itself".

Additionally, goals and outcomes of bilingual education have been addressed as key factor. The programme should aim to achieve, foster and maintain longer term student bilingualism and biliteracy. This kind of programme is additive bilingualism which is based on the developmental interdependence hypothesis (see section 2.7.3), where acquiring literacy in one's first language (L1) is seen to provide the strongest basis for successfully transferring literacy skills to the second language (L2) such as English.

2.9 Bilingual Education Programmes

Some types of bilingual education promote *additive bilingualism*, where students come to school speaking their mother tongue and a second language is added. Cummins (2007: 112) defines additive bilingualism as the form of bilingualism that results when students add a second language to their intellectual tool-kit when continuing to develop conceptually and academically in their first language. On the other hand, other types of bilingualism are involved in *subtractive bilingualism*, where students are instructed in both their mother tongue and a second language. Eventually, however, instruction in the mother tongue ceases, with the second language becoming the sole medium of instruction and ultimately the only language of the student (Lambert, 1980). According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 582) in a subtractive bilingual context, the bilingual student's L1 has low status and is not valued by the school or the wider community, nor is bilingualism seen as desirable or useful. Therefore, the educational aim is to shift the bilingual students to L2 as quickly as possible. This eventually leads to students not becoming bilingual and also less development of L1 as a language of education.

From the above definitions, Baker (2006: 215) refers to educational programmes that support additive bilingualism as strong bilingual education, where those which are pro-subtractive bilingualism are weak bilingual education. Often bilingual education for the language majority promotes additive bilingualism, whereas that for the language minority develops subtractive bilingualism.

Bilingual education may aim at different goals such as enrichment of the elite through bilingualism, preservation of language minorities, societal integration, increased world communication, understanding and pluralism (Ferguson et al, 1977).

The typology of bilingual education (see Table 2.3) was first developed by Baker (1993), and García (1997) extended it by a more detailed difference between a

monolingual form and a weak form of bilingual education and Wiley (2002) adopted the original version of Baker. The typology of bilingual education by García advances three forms of bilingual education: monolingual, weak and strong bilingual education. In monolingual education, the minority language is completely replaced by the majority language while in weak bilingual education the schools aim at making minority language students to use the majority almost solely in their schooling. Full bilingualism and biliteracy is the aim of strong bilingual education where the two languages and cultures in question enrich each other (Baker and Jones, 1998). Within the three forms of bilingual education identified above, several programmes are identified with four variables namely the type of child involved in the programme (minority or majority child), the language used in the classroom (minority or majority language or both), the educational aim (assimilation, enrichment or pluralism) and the linguistic aim (monolingualism, limited bilingualism or bilingualism) (García , 1997: 410).

Additionally, Hornberger (1991) submits that there are three models that are commonly referred to in literature according to their aims. These are transitional, maintenance and enrichment programmes. A transitional model aims at fostering language shift from a minority language to a majority one and is broadly concerned with the cultural and linguistic assimilation of minority language speakers. A maintenance model aims to maintain an L1 minority language and is concerned with strengthening the cultural and linguistic identity and the language rights of minority language speakers. An enrichment model aims for language development or extension, usually via instruction in a minority language that is an L2 for students and is thus more broadly concerned with fostering cultural pluralism and social autonomy.

2.3: Types of Bilingual Education

	Type of child	Language in classroom	Educational aim	Linguistic aim
I Monolingual Education for language minority students leads to relatively monolingualism				
1. Submersion	L minor	Major	Assimilate	Monolingualism
2. Submersion + Withdraw SL	L minor	Major	Assimilate	Monolingualism
3. Structured immersion (sheltered Eng)	L minor	Major	Assimilate	Monolingualism
4. Segregationist	L minor	Major	Assimilate	Monolingualism
II Weak bilingual education leads to relative monolingualism and limited bilingualism				
1. Transitional	L Minor	Minor to Major	Assimilate	Monolingualism
2. Mainstream + withdrawal F/SL	L major	Major and FL/SL	Enrichment	Limited bilingualism
3. Mainstream + supplementary F/SL	L major	Major and FL/SL	Enrichment	Limited bilingualism
III Strong bilingual education leads to relative bilingualism and biliteracy				
1. Separatist + withdraw SL	L minor	Minor and major Major and minor	Autonomy	Bilingualism
2. Two-way dual L	L minor and L major	Major and minor	Enrichment, pluralism	Bilingualism
3. Mainstream + supplementary heritage L	L minor	Minor and major Minor and major 2 major	Enrichment, pluralism	Bilingualism
4. Maintenance	L minor	Many major or	Enrichment pluralism	Bilingualism
5. Immersion	L major	major and minor	Enrichment pluralism	Bilingualism
6. Mainstream bilingual	L major		Enrichment pluralism	Bilingualism
7. Two/multi-way	Many L major		Enrichment	Bilingualism

mainstream bilingual/ multilingual			pluralism	
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Source: García (1997: 410)

2.9.1 Monolingual Education

García (1997: 411) asserts that when students from language minority group are schooled solely in the language of a majority society, there is minority language loss. She emphasises that unless the language minority community has other institutional or societal support for the maintenance and development of the minority language, children often become monolingual speakers of the majority language, either entirely so or relatively so, depending on societal and family circumstances. There are four programmes, according to García (ibid), whose main eventual goal is assimilation to the majority language.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 579) refers to monolingual education as non-forms in the sense that although some of the programmes under monolingual education are taken as bilingual programmes, they do not properly fall within the terms of the classic definition of what bilingual education is. She contends that in western countries non-forms usually lead to monolingualism in the majority language, regardless of whether these forms are used with minority children or majority children.

2.9.1.1 Submersion Programmes

According to García (1997: 411) this programme is popularly known as “swim or sink” which means students are placed in the mainstream education with no planning for inclusion of students who do not speak the majority language. Relating to swimming and this programme, Baker (2006: 216) maintains, “Submersion contains the idea of language minority student thrown into the deep end and expected to learn to swim as quickly as possible without the help of floats or special swimming lessons”. The programme assumes that students will have a

clear feeling from the beginning that they will fail if they do not learn English or for that matter, a target language fast; and the system tends to blame the victims as if it is their own faults not to work hard. Language minority students are simply put into classes where instruction, materials and assessment are solely in the majority language. The minority students are taught alongside the fluent speakers of the majority language students and both teachers and students are expected to use only the majority language while the minority language is seen as an obstacle to be taken out of the way. Most language minority students fail to learn in these settings, although most become monolingual in the majority language in the process. This is common in societies that do not recognise the linguistic diversity of the language for minority language students.

In submersion programmes there is a misplaced principle that is followed that the earlier and the longer the exposure to the majority language, the quicker they will learn the language of the majority group. This ties in with time on task principle, which means the more time spent in L2, the more likely the student will acquire the L2. Conversely, student's L1 is seen as an obstacle and potentially interfering with the focus on L2 and the aim is to take it out of the way.

2.9.1.2 Submersion and Withdrawal Second Language Classes

In this programme, language minority students attend mainstream classes where no provisions are made for them. The students are in submersion education in the majority language for all content subjects such as Biology, Geography, Chemistry, History and the like. To assist them for the second language learning, the students are withdrawn from the normal class containing majority language students by a language teacher. The purpose here is to facilitate the acquisition of the majority language, and little consideration is paid to the education of the language minority students.

Baker (2006: 219) emphasises that pull out classes are meant for compensatory lessons for the minority language students to learn the majority language, which they have to use as a language of education. As soon as students become bilingual, the withdrawal exercise for language instruction comes to an end. As García (1997: 411) observes, this type of programme is the easiest to plan and requires the least resources, and thus may be the most popular in the world today. Akkari (1998: 108) who refers to this programme as 'segregated language remediation' is of the view that the programme can have negative labelling especially in Francophone context, where minority language students are classified as non-French speakers.

Explaining shortcoming of the programme, Baker (2006: 220) contends that the programme may have some negative effects to minority language students in a variety of ways. For example, such students are likely to lag behind the majority language students who do not take part in withdrawal classes in terms of curriculum content delivered to them when the minority students are attending withdrawal classes. Furthermore, Baker maintains that minority language students may experience stigma for absence and therefore get mockery comments from their peers reducing them to disabled and backward students in the majority language.

2.9.1.3 Structured Immersion Programmes

Structured Immersion Programmes, according to Hornberger (1991 quoted in García, 1997) are recently becoming popular in the United States where language minority students are immersed in instruction which uses exclusively the majority language. Unlike in submersion programme where the majority are instructed alongside with the minority students, Baker (2006: 217) submits that in structured immersion programme only the language minority students are found, but the language used is the majority language. For that matter the first language of the minority students is replaced by the majority language with time.

This programme is intended for the minority language students and therefore the teacher, who also uses the majority language, designs materials using the majority language for the intended group. It is further clarified that the teacher in this programme is required to simplify his language to the level of the students to ease understanding and initially the teacher may tolerate contributions from children in their home language (Hornberger, 1991; Brisk, 1998). But as August and Hakuta (1997) clearly put it, "... there is no native support". The main purpose in this programme is to accelerate the acquisition of the majority language for the minority students while little consideration is placed on the quality of the education students eventually receive. As soon as students become bilingual, they are transferred to mainstream monolingual classes thus achieving the linguistic aim of the group to become monolinguals.

2.9.1.4 Segregationist Programmes

García (1997: 412) maintains that segregationist programme is planned by a language majority which wants to exclude a language minority class. In this type of program only the minority language is used in the education of the minority students. This programme aims at deliberately limiting the minority students' access to the languages of socio-political and economic power and prestige. The example of South Africa during apartheid, where the Bantu speakers got instruction in their native languages, could illustrate this point. According to Kamwendo (2006: 56) the abuse of language policy for racist goals, mother tongue education, which in this case is equated to minority language, has remained unpopular not only in South Africa but also in other African countries.

Baker (2006: 221) underscores that the ruling elite can prescribe education in the minority language only in order to maintain subservience and segregation. Students in this programme "do not learn enough of the power language to be able to influence the society ... to acquire a common language with the other subordinated groups, a shared medium of communication and analysis (Skutnabb-

Kangas, 1981:128)”. Segregationist programme, therefore, makes the target group powerless economically, politically and even culturally as they are denied the language of power.

2.9.2 Weak Bilingual Education

García (1997: 412) is of the view that when the school system does not devote enough time and effort within the bilingual curriculum to the development of non-dominant language in the society, the students, will have limited bilingual ability. This is the case not only for language majority students when the second language does not occupy an important place in the curriculum, but also for language minority students when instruction in the mother tongue ceases once the student has become proficient in the majority language. Similarly, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 579) describe weak forms of bilingual education as leading to strong dominance in one of the languages, mostly the majority language. She concurs with García (1997) on the fact that the linguistic aim of weak bilingual programmes is limited bilingualism rather than multilingualism and multiliteracy. She concludes that such programmes are rightly placed in bilingual education in its classic sense because of the use of two languages as media of instruction.

2.9.2.1 Transitional Bilingual Education

Baker (2006: 221) observes that transitional bilingual education aims to shift the children from the home language, which is considered the minority language, to the dominant language. It serves as a bridge for students in that it helps them move from their native language to the target language (Roberts, 1995). The underlying aim of the programme is social and cultural assimilation into the majority language. This programme requires planning and resources as initially, the students’ minority language is used, with majority language being taught as a second language, most often by the same bilingual teacher (García, 1997: 412).

According to Cummins (1980) transitional bilingual education differs from submersion programme in that the former allows language minority students who are to use their home language as they are briefly taught through the home language until they have acquired enough proficiency in the majority language in order for them to cope in mainstream education. For that matter, “transitional education is a brief, temporary swim in one pool until the child is perceived as capable of moving to the mainstream pool” (Baker, 2006: 221).

Progressively, both the minority and majority languages are used in instruction, with little compartmentalisation between them. Eventually, students are transferred out of the bilingual classroom to a monolingual one. The transition from bilingual instruction when the student is monolingual to monolingual instruction when the student is bilingual is planned in order to accelerate the shift to the majority language as it is intended that the use of majority language will be increased in the classroom while at the same time proportionately decreasing the home language use. According to Mitchell et al (1999) there is underlying argument that if the minority language students do not acquire competency in the majority language as quickly as possible, they are likely to lag behind their majority language peers.

The goal in this programme is assimilationist and therefore the outcome is subtractive bilingualism. However, since students are initially instructed through their first language, they have more chances to survive in the school system.

2.9.2.2 Mainstream and Withdrawal Foreign/Second Language Classes

García (1997: 412-413) maintains that mainstream and withdrawal foreign/second language classes programme is an effective one in teaching a foreign language or second language to the majority language students. The target group is in mainstream classes for all subjects and in addition the students are withdrawn for foreign or second language instruction with a language expert. Baker (2006: 223) refers to this programme as ‘drip-feed’ which means that in the school system little

time in a day is allocated for the second/foreign language teaching. In this case the second/foreign language teaching such as French, German, Chinese or Spanish is taken as a subject in the curriculum like other subjects similar to Chemistry, Biology or Geography. This programme also requires planning, although the degree of bilingualism attained by the students is often related to importance granted to bilingualism in society. However, the linguistic aim of this programme is to lead an individual to have limited bilingualism.

2.9.2.3 Mainstream and Supplementary Foreign/Second Language Classes

According to García (1997: 413) this programme is popular among parents who want their children to be fluent in a second language where a second language is not part of the school curriculum. In this programme students undertake their studies in schools where the majority language is solely used as MoL and then, in addition to that, they go to supplementary classes or schools on weekends or after school where the foreign or second language is taught. Parents have to pay extra tuition fee to get their children taught in these language lesson classes.

2.9.3 Strong Bilingual Education

García (1997: 413) accentuates that when schools and communities spend considerable effort and resources to develop bilingualism, the target is that students have a greater possibility of becoming bilingual and biliterate through the school system. Additionally, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 580) contends that strong bilingual education promotes multilingualism and multiliteracy of all participants in the programme regardless of whether the participants represent linguistic minorities or majorities. She further submits that strong forms of bilingual education are recommended due to scientific evidence showing that they can reach the desired goals.

All the programmes under this form of bilingual education have the eventual aim of developing bilingualism to the students in the programmes.

2.9.3.1 Separatist with Withdrawal Second Language Classes

Separatist programmes in strong bilingual education are organised by the language minority group especially when the group has power to do so. Instruction is through the medium of the minority language only, although the majority language is often taught as a subject in withdrawal classes. García (1997: 413) observes that the purpose of this type of education is to prepare the language minority to pursue political autonomy. García gives an example of the *Ikastolas* in Spanish Basque region during the Franco regime, where underground Basque language schools were founded to promote Basque linguistic, cultural and national identity.

This programme can also be used to protect the minority language speakers from being over-run by the language majority speakers considering political, religious or cultural reasons (Baker, 2006: 224). Therefore the language community in such circumstances organises this kind of programme for its people's survival and protection.

2.9.3.2 Two-Way/Dual Language Programme

As García (1997: 414) puts it, dual-language or two-way bilingual programmes are the more popular means of achieving bilingualism, biliteracy and biculturalism through the public funds in the United States. The programmes attract students from both the majority and the minority students. Both minority and majority languages are used in the instruction with compartmentalisation, often having to do with time of day, and sometimes a different teacher. Such programmes are extended throughout the students' education and García maintains that the minority students manage to maintain their ethnic language and hence become

bilingual and biliterate while the results for the majority language students are not much promising.

Baker (2006: 229) maintains that the use of both languages of two different groups in the classroom aims at producing balanced bilinguals with 50% - 50% ability in two languages. This is because if one language becomes more dominant than the other, bilingualism and biliteracy would be at risk. However, Baker reveals that the reality in schools indicates that language imbalance occurs due to large numbers of minority language students.

Akkari (1998: 111) observes that bringing children from two different language groups together, this programme enables all groups to learn a language other than their own while at the same time achieving academic standards. He further submits that the implementation of two-way bilingual programme depends on factors such as the size of the linguistically diverse population in a particular school or region, the financial resources and the prestige of the foreign language in the area. This programme therefore can be seen as advantageous to both minority and majority language students because each group's language is used in education aiming to achieve literacy.

2.9.3.3 Mainstream and Supplementary Heritage Language Classes

The programmes in this type of bilingual education require that language minority parents send their children to mainstream schools that function in the majority language, and also have their children in supplementary schools for heritage language classes which are often after school or weekends (García, 1997: 414). In these programmes, the students are taught the ethnic or heritage language and the history and culture of their ethnolinguistic group. Since they are mostly organised by ethnolinguistic groups, they require such groups to have economic and educational resources. In order for this type of education to result into successful

bilingualism and biliteracy, the family and the neighbourhood community need to provide contextual support for the development of ethnic language.

2.9.3.4 Maintenance Programme

This programme uses both a minority and a majority language throughout the education of the language minority. García (1997: 414) asserts that both languages are compartmentalised, in most cases using different teachers for instruction that takes place in different languages. García maintains, “Its aim is to promote the maintenance and development of the minority language and the increased knowledge of minority history and culture, as well as full development of the majority language and knowledge of its history and culture (1997: 414)”. According to Cummins (1992 quoted in García, 1997) Canada supports maintenance programmes which are referred to as heritage bilingual education.

Akkari (1998: 109) referring to this programme, which he terms ‘language developmental bilingual education’, is emphatic that the programme strives to achieve fluent bilingualism and biliteracy as well as academic excellence. He asserts that the native language of the students is developed through language arts or content-area instruction while at the same time the majority language is being phased in gradually.

Roberts (1995:374) maintains that the goal in this programme is to promote bilingualism and biliteracy because the language, other than English, is seen as a resource. That means languages, other than the majority, are also seen as resources to the students and the society at large to be nurtured. Since the programme promotes the development of two languages, the outcome is additive bilingualism, the outcome which Cummins (1998) associates with positive cognitive benefits.

2.9.3.5 Immersion Programmes

García (1997: 415) submits that immersion programmes have been designed for language majority students or speakers of high-status languages wishing to become bilingual. Initially, instruction is solely through the medium of the minority language with a bilingual teacher but with time the majority language is also used in instruction thus allowing instruction using the medium of both languages throughout the students' education. García maintains that this type of education programme was originally designed and implemented in the French-speaking of Québec for Anglo-phone students who also wanted to become fluent in French.

2.9.3.6 Mainstream Bilingual Programmes

As García (1997: 415) puts it, this type of programme uses two languages, which are all majority, throughout the majority students' education. García associates this type of programme with another programme in Brunei, the programme that requires instruction for all Malay-speaking children using Malay and English. It is presupposed that bilingualism and biliteracy of the target group can be guaranteed.

2.9.3.7 Two/Multi-Way Mainstream Bi/Multilingual Programmes

This programme also uses more than two languages throughout the students' education. García (1997: 415) submits that though there are students from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds, all of them are considered majority students and all the languages which are used in the programme are granted equal value in the school curriculum. García gives an example from the European Schools where students in such schools are initially taught using their mother tongues but at the same time receiving instruction in a second language. With time, instruction for these students in European Schools is done through both languages and the groups are eventually mixed, leading to the education aim of having bilinguals and biliterates.

2.10 Conclusion

The term language planning has been traced to have been used in the 1950s by Einar Haugen, who is now regarded as the father of language planning. From then, various writers have used the term in literature referring to control of language behaviour.

In the field of language planning there is a difference between language planning and language policy. The former as indicated in this chapter refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure or function allocation of language code while the latter refers to documents, laws, regulations that specify language behaviours in a given country. However, in this chapter, it has been pointed out that sometimes official policies may be different from what actually people do. This is exemplified in the language ideology and practices. People may decide to use a particular language because of their belief that it is a language widely accepted with economic and prestige power. For that matter, well to parents will make sure that their children attend schools where such language are taught and used as media of instruction.

Haugen (1966) developed a language planning model which has been revised and which serves as a guide to language planning activities. Kaplan and Baldauf (2003) have also set a language planning framework that sets out the goals for the language planning processes. In Haugen's model there is selection of norm, codification, implementation and elaboration. In this model the responsibilities of the society and those for the linguistics and authors have been pointed out in the whole field of language planning. Moreover, the language policy model including three language policy components, beliefs, practice and management has been developed by Shohamy (2006) basing on Spolsky's (2004) explanation. The model serves as the foundation of the language policy mechanisms.

Four dimensions of language planning have as well been captured in this chapter. These are status, corpus, language-in-education and prestige planning. In all these dimensions, various activities are indicated focusing on the development of the language in terms of its functions, structure, teaching and learning and prestige. Under language-in-education planning, five policy issues have been pointed out. These are curriculum, personnel, materials, community and evaluation policies. These have to be taken into consideration as part of any smooth language education implementation programme.

Bilingual education especially for minority language students is the issue of human rights, where it is for their advantage that their first language is used as a language of education. As it has been explained in this chapter, bilingual education has positive cognitive, psychological and cultural benefits to students in question. Theories of bilingual education, namely CUP and DIH, have demonstrated that a child can add to the first language another language and no cognitive effects are anticipated. These theories will be applied in the current study to develop a viable model of strong bilingual education with the aim of promoting bilingualism and biliteracy in education in the Tanzania.

Additionally, sociolinguistic principles of bilingualism have been discussed based on monolingual and bilingual instructions. The principles may lead to failure or success of developing bilingualism and biliteracy in education.

Moreover, there are some socio-educational principles required for bilingualism and biliteracy. These principles have been discussed under educational agents and educational culture. The former has three characteristics while the latter has five characteristics. These characteristics have to do with what is to be available in the school premises to enable bilingualism and biliteracy be promoted. They consider the staff, parental participation, bilingual education context, language policy in support of bilingual education and biliteracy and fair assessment.

Lastly, bilingual education programmes, based on the typology of bilingual education developed first by Baker (1993) and adopted by García (1997), have been discussed in this chapter. The typology looks at monolingual education, weak bilingual education and strong bilingual education. Monolingual education considers the minority language as an obstacle and seeks to replace it with majority language as soon as possible. Weak bilingual education is based on transitional model which seeks to gradually transfer minority language students to using majority language as a sole language of education. Strong bilingual education aims at full bilingualism and biliteracy of the students.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the methods and procedures that were used to gather information on the current language-in-education policy implementation in Tanzania. The information served as the basis for our sociolinguistic analysis of the implementation of the current language-in-education policy, investigating specifically why the subtractive bilingual education applied in Tanzania cannot meet the requirements of additive bilingual education as initially envisioned at the establishment of the Tanzanian state.

The procedures which were used to conduct the fieldwork are explained where research instruments such as documentary reviews, interviews, focus group discussions, and observations are systematically developed and described. The selection of the case study also form part of this chapter, where the students and teachers in primary and secondary schools, heads of schools, parents, school board members and officials from HakiElimu NGO, the Tanzania Institute of Education and the Ministry of Education were targeted. The research design was also developed based on theories and principles of bilingual education as a guide to the study to ensure that relevant information with regard to language-in-education policy in Tanzania could be captured in the fieldwork. The chapter finally focuses on how the information collected through the research instruments was analysed for the purpose of facilitating realistic generalisations and forming logical conclusions of the study.

This study was approached from a sociolinguistic angle, where the language use in education according to language-in-education policy in Tanzania was analysed with the focus on establishing the implementation of the envisaged ideals of the

state to have bilingual and biliterate citizens through the education system. The study was guided by three hypotheses, namely:

- i) The problem of education in Tanzania is related to inadequate language-in-education policy design.
- ii) There is inadequate comprehension of the concept of bilingual education with regard to additive and subtractive types of bilingual education.
- iii) There is poor implementation of language-in-education policy in Tanzanian education system.

Based on these hypotheses, the researcher was interested to gather the following information:

- i) The perception of education stakeholders, namely pupils, students, teachers, heads of schools, parents, school board members, NGO and Ministry of Education officials on the language-in-education policy.
- ii) Information on views and perceptions of the respondents regarding the concept of bilingual education.
- iii) The inadequacies in the current language-in-education policy in Tanzania.
- iv) Indicators of inadequate comprehension of the concept of bilingual education among policy makers and implementers.
- v) If the language-in-education policy is designed in accordance with the criteria of bilingual education.
- vi) If the sociolinguistic environment in the schools favours both Kiswahili and English as languages of education.
- vii) If teaching materials available in the school are geared towards bilingual education.
- viii) If students' assessment take into consideration both Kiswahili and English as languages of education.

- ix) If the inputs of stakeholders with regard to language-in-education policy are taken into consideration during policy design.
- x) The stakeholders' views in connection with Kiswahili being one of the languages of education alongside English.
- xi) The challenges hindering smooth implementation of language-in-education policy in the schools.
- xii) The role of the Ministry of Education in implementing bilingual education in the schools.
- xiii) If the concept of language across curriculum (LAC) is captured in the subject syllabi.
- xiv) Recommendations for improving the language-in-education policy in Tanzania.

Through these key issues, the researcher was able to get information regarding inadequate language-in-education policy design, poor implementation of the policy and inadequate comprehension of the bilingual education concept as presented in chapter five.

3.2 Research Design

Kombo and Tromp (2006:70) define the research design as the structure of research which is used to hold all the elements in a research project together. They underline that the design is used to structure the research, to show how all of the major parts of the research work together to address the research questions. The research design therefore is seen as the conceptual structure within which research is conducted.

This study used the descriptive research design to investigate the language-in-education policy implementation in Tanzania. Descriptive research design is largely meant to describe the state of affairs as it exists in a given place. Such a design is not only restricted to fact findings but can as well result in formulation of principles

of knowledge and solution to significant problems. The data collected through such a design is subjected to classification, analysis, comparison and interpretation for the purpose of identifying the problem and suggesting a remedy for it.

Through this design, the study sought to present a sociolinguistic analysis of the current language-in-education policy implementation in Tanzania through the study objectives and hypotheses (see sections 1.3 & 1.4). The information the researchers wanted to collect from the field is outlined in section 3.1 above. Through different research instruments (see section 3.7) the data collected would shed more light on language-in-education policy and planning leading to the strong bilingual model of education in Tanzania.

The design was preferred in this study because, as Wisker (2001: 118) correctly submits, it helps to find out more about the phenomena and therefore capture it in a detailed way.

3.3 Pilot Study

A pilot study is a preliminary and usually a small-scale research study designed to test logistics and gather information prior to a large study for the purpose of improving the main study's quality and efficiency.

The pilot study was conducted in Mwanza region in Tanzania from 14th January to 16th February 2008, where one primary school and one secondary school were identified for this purpose. In this pilot study, pupils, students, teachers and heads of schools were involved, where interviews and focus group discussion questions were tried out. The researcher conducted interviews with teachers and heads of the identified schools. Five teachers from each school were randomly selected, thus making the total number of teachers involved in the interviews to be 10. Two heads of schools, one from the primary school and the other from the secondary school took part in the pilot interviews.

As for the focus group discussions, the researcher involved teachers and students of two schools. In each school 10 teachers and 12 students were randomly selected with the assistance from the school administration, thus making the total number of participants in focus group discussion to be 22. Then two groups were formed from each category in each school and the discussions took place at different intervals. We had four sessions of focus group discussions in each school, that is, two for students and two for teachers.

The researcher also observed classes on session to test the observational schedule. The subjects observed were Kiswahili and English in primary school and English and Biology in secondary school. Each subject was observed twice on different days but the same classes.

The main reasons for conducting the pilot study were:

- i) To enable the researcher to see if the questions in the research instruments, interviews and focus group discussions, could capture the intended information from the research subjects.
- ii) To check if the wording was clear enough for the respondents to interpret the questions the same way.
- iii) To check if there was any research bias and therefore detect provoking questions for the side of respondents.
- iv) To identify logical problems likely to happen in the proposed methods.

After the pilot study, the researcher carried out an evaluation to make sure the objectives were achieved as previously envisioned. There were interview questions and those for focus group discussions which seemed ambiguous to the participants. Additionally, some questions seemed relevantly similar and therefore attracted the same answers from the participants. The questions which seemed ambiguous to the respondents were edited and those which seemed to attract the

same answers were deleted. Furthermore, the researcher noted that there were some questions which did not attract information relevant to language-in-education policy. Since they were regarded as irrelevant to the study, the researcher decided to remove them from the list.

However, the researcher was convinced that the participants' responses to most of the questions would help in eliciting the relevant information to this study using the suggested research instruments. Furthermore, the views from the active group discussions assisted the researcher to add some few key questions which elicited significant information during the main study.

3.4 Area of the study

Kombo and Tromp (2006:75) argue that it is important to be careful in selecting the research area, as that is likely to influence the usefulness of the information produced. Among other things, they recommend that the issue of accessibility to the area should be considered. The study was conducted in Tanzania in two regions, namely Mwanza and Dar es Salaam. Mwanza was the focal point because the researcher selected eight schools as case study (see section 3.6). The two regions were selected because of the following reasons. Since the study was basically intended to be conducted in primary and secondary schools based in Nyamagana district which is found in Mwanza, the researcher selected these areas because he is familiar with and accessible to the place. The researcher has lived and worked in Mwanza region for over fifteen years. He worked as a secondary school teacher, teachers' college tutor and is currently employed as academic staff member by St Augustine University of Tanzania (SAUT) located in Mwanza. The nature of his work before in the area has made him to visit several primary and secondary schools, whose heads, when approached for fieldwork, gave him considerable support in obtaining information pertaining to language-in-education policy implementation in Tanzania.

As for Dar es Salaam, the researcher selected the area because it is where the officials in the Ministry of Education and Tanzania Institute of Education are found. The officials involved in this study are officially responsible for language-in-education planning in Tanzania. The researcher's experience with working as both a teacher and teachers' college tutor in the ministry made him interact with the officials in a collegial but professional manner to get the required information. Moreover, the researcher based his fieldwork in Dar es Salaam because the targeted NGO, HakiElimu, which is famous in the country for its firm stand in educational matters, is located in that region.

3.5 Target Population

The population has been defined as a complete set of individuals, cases or objects with some common observable characteristics (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003: 41). Additionally, Kombo and Tromp (2006: 76) state that a population involves a group of individuals, objects or items from which samples are taken for measurement. The population therefore, can be seen as the large group from which a researcher can draw a representative sample for the sake of collecting information relevant to the study being conducted.

The target population for this study included students and teachers in primary and secondary schools, heads of secondary schools, secondary school board members and parents in Mwanza region as well as officials of the Ministry of Education, Tanzania Institute of Education and HakiElimu NGO based in Dar es Salaam (see section 3.4). The ministry is responsible for promoting education and Vocational Training in Tanzania. The responsibility of the Ministry of Education is to supervise and manage Pre-Primary, Primary, Secondary, Special Education, Adult Education, National Vocational Training, Teacher Education, School Inspection and Planning and co-ordination of all educational plans (www.moe.go.tz accessed on 14th January 2008). The researcher, therefore, believed he could get relevant

information related to language-in-education policy implementation and challenges from officials in the ministry, Tanzania Institute of Education and HakiElimu NGO.

As for the students, teachers, parents, heads of schools and school board members, the researcher decided to include them in the study population because they are the immediate target beneficiaries of the language-in-education policy in Tanzania. They know the difficulties and challenges associated with policy implementation in the classroom environment. They would therefore share with the researcher of their views with regard to difficulties in connection with implementing bilingualism and biliteracy in their schools based on the current subtractive system of bilingual education in Tanzania. They would further give their recommendations with regard to the appropriate model of strong bilingual education in the country, the ultimate intent of this study. They would as well point out to the researcher the challenges for language-in-education planning and their views on what ought to be done to have an efficient language policy for the betterment of the education sector in Tanzania.

One of the districts from Mwanza region, Nyamagana, was selected randomly in which four secondary and four primary schools were taken as the case study in the study conducted from November 2008 to January 2009. In each secondary school, students in the second and fourth year were targeted while in primary schools pupils in the fifth and seventh year were earmarked. Second year students in secondary schools were taken because they would be in position to explain the challenges they faced regarding a transitional programme of medium of instruction from Kiswahili to English. The researcher was of the view that since the study would be conducted from November 2008 to January 2009, taking other students in lower forms would make him not get appropriate information as the students' experience would not be rich enough to explain the challenges in implementing the language-in-education policy in Tanzania and hence they could not be able to give sound suggestions for the way forward. As for those in the fourth year, the

researcher believed that the students, having spend almost four years of their training in secondary schools, they had much more to say related to the unattainable goals of education in connection with the language policy.

In Primary schools, the pupils in the fifth and seventh year were involved in the study because the researcher believed that having studied English as a compulsory subject for six and eight years respectively from pre-primary school and used Kiswahili as medium of instruction (Mol) for the same period, they knew the challenges they had been facing. Based on such challenges, the researcher could suggest ways to alleviate the situation for the purpose of promoting bilingualism and biliteracy in the Tanzanian education system.

3.6 Case Study

The case study is an in-depth investigation of individuals or groups used to determine the relationship between certain variables and certain behaviours (Fox and Bayat, 2007: 70). Case studies are particularly useful in depicting a holistic portrayal of the societal experiences and results with regard to an individual programme. In this study, the case study involving four primary and four secondary schools was useful for evaluating the language-in-education policy implementation in Tanzania against the envisaged ideals of the state in connection with promotion of bilingualism and biliteracy in education.

In this study the researcher selected four primary and four secondary schools from Mwanza region in Tanzania to form the case study. The schools were not far from one another, which enabled the researcher to get relevant information required (see section 3.1). In such schools pupils, students and teachers participated in focus group discussions and class observations while heads of the schools and a few teachers (see section 3.7.1) took part in interviews. In addition parents and school board members of the selected schools were also subjected to interviews for their views on language-in-education policy implementation.

Since all the students and teachers in the selected schools could not be involved in the study, the researcher made random selection of some representatives. In each primary school visited (see section 3.4) two classes in the fifth and seventh year, were intensively used for class observations but 10 pupils from each class took part in focus group discussions (see section 3.7.4). The same was true for the four selected secondary schools, where all the second and fourth year students were involved in class observation methods. Nevertheless, 10 students from each class were selected to take part in focus group discussions.

For the case of teachers from the primary schools forming the case study, the researcher selected randomly 10 teachers from each school making a total of 40 teachers. All these 40 teachers took part in focus group discussions but 16 teachers out of 40 (four from each primary school) participated in interviews as well. The same number of teachers was taken from four selected secondary schools for interviews and focus group discussions. However, selection of teachers in secondary was based on their specialisations (science or arts subjects).

The other category involved was heads of primary and secondary schools, where eight heads were all involved in the interviews. Furthermore, the researcher interviewed 16 parents and 10 secondary school board members.

The last three categories of respondents who were however not part of the case study came from the Ministry of Education, Tanzania Institute of education (TIE) and HakiElimu NGO, all of them based in Dar es Salaam. Two officials were from the ministry, two from TIE and one from HakiElimu, making a total of five officials. These officials took part in this study through the interview method. Table 3.1 shows the summary of respondents for the research instruments which were used.

Table 3.1: Summary of Respondents

Teachers		Students		Heads of schools	Parents	Board Members	ME Officials	TIE Official	HakiElimu Official
40	40	60	60	8	16	10	2	2	1
Total	80	Total	120	8	16	10	2	2	1
Total									279

3.7 Research Instruments

In order to get data from the field on the present study with special focus on language policy design, implementation and comprehension of the concept of bilingual education in Tanzania, four research methods were applied. These are documentary reviews, interviews, observations and focus group discussions. These enabled the researcher to collect enough, relevant and unbiased data for the study, as the combination of these research instruments enhanced and strengthened the study's validity. As Patton (1990) observes, a combination of different methods provide cross-data validity checks and therefore reduce errors that can be experienced when one particular method is used.

3.7.1 Documentary Reviews

Documentary review is one of the research methods applied in this study to gather important information on language-in-education policy implementation in Tanzania. The method focused on obtaining relevant and reliable documents from the government and its departments and the schools, which have a link on the language policy in Tanzania. In order to be successful in this, the researcher visited the Ministry of Education headquarters, Tanzania Institute of Education and the primary/secondary schools selected as case study. This was done in consideration that the places were directly involved in designing, disseminating, implementing and evaluating the language-in-education policy of Tanzania.

The documents reviewed were divided into two categories, those generated by the government and those generated by the schools. Documents generated by the government were:

- Education and Training Policy (1995)
- The Cultural Policy (1997)
- Education Circulars 2001 - 2005 (2006)
- Basic Statistics in Tanzania: Regional Data (2007)
- Subject syllabi (2005)

Documents generated by the schools were:

- Staff meeting files (1995 - 2008)
- Daily Report logbooks (2005 - 2009)
- Circular/Correspondence files (1999 - 2008)

The method was of great importance to the researcher in collecting data from the field for various reasons. First, the researcher got implacable directives directly or indirectly related to language policy from the Ministry of Education to the people responsible for implementing the policy at the grassroots. This gave a clear picture of the position of the government on language policy and the way the teaching and learning process is impeded by various linguistic, cultural, political and economic challenges in Tanzania.

Secondly, the information gained from the educational circulars proved that there were obvious discrepancies between what the circulars, which are the result of the educational policies, directed and what obtains in the schools, where the policy implementation is expected.

Thirdly, the documents indicated to the researcher various unimplemented promises contained in the government policies particularly those related to education. This contributed to the researcher's recommendation for a language model developed in chapter six regarding the promotion of strong bilingual education for Tanzanian learners.

Furthermore, the documents related to basic education statistics gave a clear picture of important statistics regarding the teacher/pupil/student ratio. The facts contained in the documents would explain some challenges the government is facing in the implementation of its educational policies particularly language-in-education policy.

Additionally, the researcher could confirm through the documents reviewed particularly staff meeting minutes, school rules related to language use, school language policy in correspondence and daily report writing, that language-in-education policy implementation faces tremendous challenges.

Lastly, the collected subject syllabi for secondary schools, the documents which are designed by the Tanzania Institute of Education, gave the researcher valuable information on language across curriculum and how the concept is not well reflected in those syllabi. The researcher further came to the realisation that due to inadequate language-in-education policy design, its implementation at various stages is largely crippled. The policy design was not based on the theories and principles of bilingual education as developed by García (1997) and Cummins (1978, 1980) respectively.

3.7.2 Interview Method

The interview is considered as an oral administration of questions in a face-to-face encounter between the researcher (interviewer) and the respondent (interviewee). Mugenda and Mugenda (2003: 83) demonstrate that in order for the interview to be

successful there is a need for the researcher to establish a friendly atmosphere with the interviewees. This enables the researcher to get accurate information from the respondents. It is therefore important to stress here that research interviews are different from interrogations conducted between the police and alleged criminals.

The interview method was used to capture information on respondents' understanding of the official language policy, the feelings of the students and teachers about the language policy implementation in the classroom, the comprehension of the concept of bilingual education by policy-makers, consideration of bilingual education principles in designing language-in-education policy, teaching materials and assessment and factors hindering smooth implementation of the language-in-education policy. Additionally, the researcher wanted to solicit information on schools' language policy on the use of both Kiswahili and English on carrying out their day-to-day businesses, the punishment for students speaking Kiswahili in secondary schools and the respondents' recommendations for improving language-in-education policy in Tanzania. The information is in line with the criteria and theories of bilingual education.

The researcher used the semi-structured interview with teachers in the primary and secondary schools, parents, heads of primary secondary schools, members of the secondary school boards, and officials from Ministry of Education, Tanzania Institute of Education and HakiElimu NGO (See Table 3.1). Guide questions (see Appendices 1 - 8) were prepared for each group which gave the researcher the opportunity to probe for more information. The researcher observed interview ethics in trying as much as possible not to direct the respondents towards the answers needed as well as not being judgemental on the respondents' answers according to his values and beliefs.

This method enabled the researcher to obtain details of individual reaction and specific views of the interviewees. This ties in with views expressed by Frankfort-Nachmians and Nachmians (1992) and Kothari (1990) in relation to research methods in social science studies. The method was selected because it was regarded advantageous to the researcher in various ways. First, it allowed flexibility in the questioning process. This was important to the researcher, as it enabled him to determine the wording of the questions, to clarify terms which seemed unclear to the subjects, and to probe for additional information and details. This was the case when the answers from the interviewees were unsatisfactory or unclear and when the respondent had not understood the question(s) posed.

Secondly, in-depth information was gathered by using open-ended questions (see Appendices 1-8). In this way the researcher increased the reliability of the data collected, as each respondent was subjected to similar questions with other respondents in the eight categories of respondents, that is, secondary and primary school teachers, parents, members of the secondary school boards, heads of schools, officials from the Ministry of Education, Tanzania Institute of Education and HakiElimu NGO.

Thirdly, the researcher could collect supplementary information such as the background about the respondents and their environment that eventually aided the researcher in the interpretation of the results. For example, the views respondents had about the use of English as a sole language of instruction at post-primary level of education was linked to colonial mentality in the sense that the master's language is better.

Fourthly, the method allowed the researcher to clarify and elaborate the purpose of the research and hence convinced the respondents about the importance of the research in language-in-education policy particularly on bilingualism and bi-literacy

in education in Tanzania. This was advantageous because the interviewees as a result gave what the researcher considered more complete and honest information.

In conducting the interview, the researcher clearly explained the purpose of the study to each interviewee and established rapport before starting the interview. The interviewing task was conducted by the researcher himself. Moreover, the researcher tried as much as possible to be consistent in his communication style and language so that each respondent was exposed to the same measurement environment.

A digital voice recorder was used during the interview session and then the researcher did the coding as soon as possible when his mind was still fresh and could remember what transpired during the interview. In addition, field notes to supplement the recorded interview session and to guide the researcher in data analysis were taken during the interview.

3.7.3 Observational Method

Observation is the method which allows the researcher to get information by seeing what is happening without asking questions. Nunan (1992: 43) argues that in order to find out about the behaviour, there is a need to investigate it in the natural context in which it occurs. He states further that this can only be obtained through the observational method and not otherwise.

Wisker (2001:178) accentuates that, "Observation can be a rich source of information for the researcher ... It enables you (researcher) to capture what people actually do rather than what they say they do."

Using this method, the researcher was in a position to get a first-hand picture of language-in-education policy implementation in a classroom in particular and within the school premises in general. This means the researcher was able to observe

the subjects in the context and relate them to the study hypotheses while observing. The researcher also focused on linguistic landscape within the schools to establish if the designing of signboards considered bilingualism. Additionally, the researcher intended to find out if the schools had it as a key objective that bilingual education should feature in the linguistic landscape designing.

Class observation was used in primary and secondary schools, where the researcher observed classes in progress, the language use by pupils and students outside the class but within the school premises, the language use in the staffroom and the linguistic landscape within the school premises. This was to check the implementation of the language policy in relation to bilingual education practices in Tanzania.

In all the four secondary schools visited, the language classes, that is, English and Kiswahili and science subject classes, namely Biology and Chemistry, were observed where each class was observed three times. Each class lasted for 40 minutes. The language classes were observed to see how students and teachers interact and determine some challenges being faced in connection with the current language policy that dictates the use of English as MoI in secondary schools. This was in connection with the hypothesis on poor implementation of the language-in-education policy in Tanzania, where the language used in classrooms, through code-switching and translations, is against what the language policy prescribes.

The science subject classes were observed to check the teacher's language proficiency and for that matter the challenge in the current language policy in secondary schools where some teachers are said to be the product of the system with poor background of English language. This was in line with one of the principles of bilingual education which stresses on the need for teachers to be bilingual. According to Garcia (1997: 418) teachers must have high levels of

linguistic competence in the language they teach or the language in which they teach for them to be able to function in a bilingual school situation.

The class observation in the schools was guided by the following key issues, which are based on principles and theories of bilingual education developed by García (1997) and Cummins (1978 & 1980) respectively:

- i) How does teaching in the classrooms observe bilingual education?
- ii) To what extent is teachers or/and students/students' interaction maintained when only English is used in the classes observed?
- iii) Is the teaching and learning process in the classes under observation encouraging an inquiry-based approach using two languages as instruments for knowledge?
- iv) Are the classes under observation encouraging student-centred, interactive pedagogy and cooperative learning through bilingualism?
- v) What are the inadequacies of language-in-education policy design reflected in the classroom?
- vi) What is the sociolinguistic context in the classrooms in connection with bilingual education policy?
- vii) What is the teacher's language competence in connection with Garcia's (1997: 418) principles of bilingual education?
- viii) How does the class size affect the teaching and learning process, hence poor implementation of the language policy?
- ix) What are the indicators of inadequate comprehension of the concept of bilingual education by the school personnel?
- x) What are the language-in-education policy implementation difficulties in the classrooms?
- xi) Does students' assessment take into consideration both Kiswahili and English as the languages of education as required by principles of bilingual education?

- xii) How is the concept of language across curriculum (LAC) maintained in class by teachers who are not language specialists?

Apart from the observation conducted in classrooms, the researcher also observed pupils and students' language use when they were outside their classrooms but within the school premises. This was in connection with socio-education principle of bilingual education which requires that the entire school system must be designed to promote bilingual education and the bilingual context must be encouraged beyond the classrooms. The researcher's interest was to see if there is language policy in the schools advocating the use of both Kiswahili and English. More importantly the researcher wanted to check if pupils/students have the freedom to switch from Kiswahili to English without any limitation from the school administration.

The researcher further made observations of language use by teachers in the office, which all the teachers use as a common room. The focus was on whether teachers implement bilingual education policy when interacting among themselves and with students who come to the office for various purposes. This was in connection with sociolinguistic principle of bilingual education requiring the administrators, teachers and other staff in the school to be bilingual or willing to work towards becoming bilingual.

Furthermore, the researcher observed the language use in accordance with linguistic landscape within the school premises. The language use in the school signboards, names of buildings and classes, offices, kitchens and dormitories was observed. The observation for linguistic landscape considered whether the sociolinguistic environment in the schools favour both English and Kiswahili as languages of education in connection with bilingual education implementation strategies.

This method was successful in this study as it was of much significance to the researcher because of various reasons. First of all, the method helped the researcher to study the way teachers interact with pupils/students in the classroom. The intention was to see if there is enquiry-based approach to learning with the use of two languages as instruments of knowledge. This enabled the collection of first-hand data uncontaminated by factors standing between the researcher and the respondents.

Secondly, data collected by observation described the observed phenomena, as they were occurring in their natural setting. The elements of artificiality could be avoided because the researcher had discussed this with the subject teacher to be observed in the introductory meeting held before each class observation to establish rapport.

Thirdly, the method was useful as it included those respondents who would probably not be willing to express themselves verbally; as the method demanded less active involvement on the part of the individuals being studied. These advantages are related to what is put forward by Frankfort-Nachmians and Nachmians (1992: 23), who are convinced that this method can yield fruitful results in the social science studies.

To be more successful in this method, the researcher explained his plan to the subject teacher whose class was to be observed. The observation method was largely guided by sociolinguistic principles of bilingual education. The researcher was interested in language proficiency of the teacher, students' class activities provided if they tie with bilingual education, student – student and teacher – students' interaction and student-centred learning, students' easiness to follow when English is used, teacher's strategies to make students understand, violation of the official language policy and students' courage to ask questions in the class where English is solely used as MoI. These are connected to language-in-

education policy implementation. Appendix 13 shows the classroom observation schedule.

The researcher made field notes right in the classroom but without attracting students' attention. For the observation that took place outside the class, the researcher also made field notes indicating where and what was being observed. This was important for the analysis of data collected. The researcher's experience gained in these observations was of great significance in the focus group discussions as it helped him to lead smoothly the discussion.

3.7.4 Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussion is a form of qualitative research method in which a group of people are asked their attitude towards a product, service, concept, advertisement, idea and the like. Grudens-Schuck et al (2004:1) submit that the method is one of the tools that educators can use to generate valid information to the advancement of programmes, communities and organisations.

In this study the researcher guided group discussions for teachers, students and pupils, during which group members were encouraged to talk freely and spontaneously about language-in-education policy implementation in Tanzania. In each primary/secondary school 10 teachers, 15 students/pupils were involved in the focus group discussion. There were two groups for teachers and two groups for students/pupils in each primary/secondary school, each group comprising five and seven or eight members respectively. Table 3.2 summarises the respondents involved in the focus group discussion.

Table 3.2: Respondents in Focus Group Discussion

Respondents	Primary				Secondary				Total
	PA	PB	PC	PD	SA	SB	SC	SD	
Teachers	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	80
Students	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	120
Total									200

A few guide questions (see appendices 9 - 12) for each group were prepared prior to the discussion which served to initiate open-ended discussion on language-in-education policy design, implementation and the comprehension of the concept of bilingual education in Tanzania. Each group included individuals of similar background or experiences as they were either pupils/students or teachers.

The number of participants in each group was considered reasonable for the discussion as the researcher was aware of the fact that too small a group would not give the opportunity and freedom for the participants to talk. On the other hand the researcher believed that having a large number of participants in a group would make some few individuals monopolise the discussion, and therefore defeat the whole purpose of group discussion. Most importantly, the researcher considered the reasonable time between one to two hours of conducting the focus group discussion.

At the beginning of the focus group discussion, the researcher, having introduced himself and explained the purpose of the study, asked opening questions which were intended to make the participants talk and feel comfortable. These questions were easy to answer but the researcher made sure that such questions did not

emphasize the differences among participants, something that could make some of them not talk freely in the discussion.

The researcher tape recorded all the discussions and at the same time taking field notes which helped him to identify the participants, the order in which they spoke and particularly non-verbal features which accompanied what they said. This aided the researcher in the process of data analysis.

The researcher decided to use this method because of the following reasons. Firstly, the questions were asked in an interactive group setting where each participant was free to talk to other members. This helped the researcher to study in a more natural setting than a one-to-one interview, and as such he managed to tap participants' views and opinions on the implementation of the envisaged ideals of the state on bilingualism and biliteracy in education in Tanzania.

Secondly, the method produced rich data because, basing on their experience, pupils, students and teachers were able to point out some interesting issues (as presented in chapter five) in connection with the language-in-education policy implementation. This was made possible by the kind of approach the researcher used to assure the participants' confidentiality and that their views would be valued.

Thirdly, the focus group discussion promoted self-disclosure among the participants and participants were able to piggy-back on the comments of others and that added richness to the dialogue that could not be achieved through the normal interview where one person is engaged.

This method as well provided for further cross-checking regarding the information gathered from class observations and linguistic landscape. Additionally, the

gathered information enlightened the researcher on the development of a model for strong bilingual education in Tanzania educational settings.

Lastly, the method proved to be effective as it helped to explore the participants' concerns and feeling about the language-in-education policy in Tanzania from the perspective of the participants themselves rather than the researcher. This enhanced the strength of the data collected from the participants and as such contributed to the reliability of the data.

3.8 Data Analysis

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003: 115) submit that in order to understand raw data collected from the field, there is a need to analyse it so that the researcher can make sense of the data. According to Kombo and Tromp (2006: 117) data analysis is the examination of what the researcher collected in a survey or experiment for the purpose of making deductions and inferences. This involves uncovering underlying structures, extracting important variables, detecting any anomalies and testing any underlying assumptions and making interpretations. Data analysis generally is the process of looking at and summarising data with the intent of extracting useful information for the purpose of facilitating conclusions.

Since this study is qualitative in nature, the researcher used the quick impressionist summary and thematic analysis. In the quick impressionist summary approach the researcher summarised the key findings from documentary reviews, interviews, the observations and focus group discussions with brief explanation, interpretation and conclusion. The approach made it possible for the researcher to determine what the results mean and how significant they are in the specific context in which they belong with regard to language-in-education policy implementation in Tanzania.

In the thematic analysis the researcher subjected information obtained in the field through the research instruments (see section 3.7) to themes. The researcher had

different themes through which the data are presented, which are based on the principles of bilingual education as developed by García (1997). Simple tables and direct quotation were in addition used in presenting the findings. Interpretation of the data in connection with the implementation of the language-in-education policy and related challenges are systematically discussed in chapter five.

3.9 Conclusion

In order for language planning to be successful, there is a need for active support and participation of the community towards which the planning is directed. This is in connection partly with sociolinguistic principles of bilingual education which require active parental participation and support. The efforts to plan and develop the African languages in education cannot be guaranteed if there is resistance from its own speakers. The parents and all education stakeholders must be well informed and committed to bilingual education and should be concerned about the teaching and learning process in general and language policy implemented in the school in particular. The research study was largely concerned on establishing the real situation in the schools in connection with language-in-education policy implementation in Tanzania. The views from pupils, students, teachers, parents, school board members and officials from the Ministry of Education, Tanzania Institute of Education and HakiElimu NGO, who in general sense form a large number of education stakeholders in Tanzania, enhanced a sociolinguistic analysis of the language policy implementation and eventually have in place the proposed model for strong bilingualism and biliteracy in education (see section 6.4.1).

Lastly, since the study involved a case study with varied experiences of respondents, the results would be liable to generalisation to other parts of Tanzania. The analysis and interpretation of the data collected in the present study would focus on how additive bilingual education, as envisioned by the founding ideals of the state, could be manifested in the Tanzania education system.

CHAPTER FOUR

LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION PLANNING IN TANZANIA

4.1 Introduction

Language planning in education is a necessary activity in a society, as changes taking place every day in the education sector require planning to accommodate such changes. The need for language planning may be based on political, psychological, economic and cultural needs in a society in question. This chapter focuses on the overview of language-in-education planning and policy in Tanzania effectively from pre-colonial era to the present day. The review of some studies undertaken in this country emanating from problems related to the medium of instruction in secondary school education also form part of this chapter. A discussion is as well on some reflections on the language-in-education policy with particular attention on its implementation challenges in the schools. Eventually, the research gaps which this study strives to work on are identified.

4.2 Background Information

According to the national website, <www.tanzania.go.tz> (accessed on 10th August 2007), the United Republic Tanzania (henceforth URT) is located in the eastern Africa between longitude 29° and 41° east, latitude 1° and 12° south covering a total of 945,087 square kilometres with a population of 34,569,232 million people. Tanzania was so named after the union between the then Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964. In this study, Tanzania is used instead of Tanganyika regardless of the period referred to in order to maintain consistency to the readers.

Tanzania has 150 ethnic community languages (henceforth ECLs) scattered all over the entire country. However, Kiswahili, an African language and English, a foreign language, are the ones accorded official status. Kiswahili is a national and official language and Mol in pre-primary and primary education. It is the language

mostly used in all the government offices and the language of the people mostly in urban areas in their day-to-day activities. Similarly, English is a co-official language and Mol in secondary and tertiary education.

In 1995 Kiswahili was spoken as either first language or second language by almost 95% of the population and in 2004 the National Kiswahili Council (BAKITA¹) estimated that 99% of the Tanzanians speak Kiswahili (Batibo, 1995). Various studies (Mekacha, 1994; Rubanza, 1996) have indicated that most children acquire Kiswahili simultaneously with their respective ECLs. Children who join primary education conversant with one of the ECLs find it easier to learn Kiswahili due to the similarities obtaining in Bantu languages, the mother tongues of most children.

The language planning eras included in this study are pre-colonialism, during colonialism and post-independence. In pre-colonial era, different ECLs dominated in day-to-day activities among the indigenous people (Tumbo-Masabo, 1999; Massamba et al, 2001, Kiango, 2005). The language question during colonialism centred on the colonial languages, namely German and English, and African languages, that is, Kiswahili and ECLs, which were preferred by missionaries. Studies indicate that emphasis was on the development of colonial languages and Kiswahili (Whitely, 1969; Mazrui and Zirimu, 1978; Brock-Utne, 2005b). These studies further maintain that after independence in 1961, Tanzania made important decisions on the promotion of Kiswahili as a national language and language of education in primary schools. As a British colony, Tanzania has also continued to use English as an official language and the language of instruction at post-primary education.

Moreover, the Presidential Commission of Education, which was appointed in 1980 to review the education system in general and submit suggestions, is also

¹ BAKITA is an acronym for Baraza la Kiswahili Tanzania (National Kiswahili Council of Tanzania) and that is how it is popularly known in Tanzania.

discussed in this chapter. Among other things, it was suggested that Kiswahili should be the language of instruction in secondary and tertiary education following the language problems which were detected among the students in secondary schools.

In 1984 the British government funded a study to look at the problems related to English language teaching. The study came out with a proposal to start the English Language Teaching Support Project (henceforth ELTSP) which was established in 1987. The project, however, did not achieve its main objectives of improving English teaching in secondary schools as it was envisaged (Criper and Dodd, 1984; Rugemalira and Lwaitama, 1990; Byoya, 1992; Brock-Utne, 2005b).

Furthermore, the problem regarding language-in-education planning in Tanzania particularly on the appropriate language(s) of education in all levels of education has attracted linguists and educators to indulge themselves in conducting studies and disseminating findings to policy-makers for the purpose of trying to solve the problem (Msanjila, 1990; Mbaabu, 1995; Rubagumya, 1999, 2000, 2003; Qorro, 2005; Senkoro, 2005; Mpemba, 2007). These studies have focused on the problems related to the language of instruction in secondary schools and higher learning institutions in Tanzania and the repercussions to the affected students. Through these studies, the political statements regarding the government political will to have Kiswahili and English used as languages of instruction are discussed in this overview. The chapter is the base for the study on language-in-education policy implementation according to the envisaged ideals of the state to have Tanzanian learners competent in both Kiswahili and English as languages of education and hence promotion of bilingualism and biliteracy in education.

4.3 Language-in-Education Planning Eras

In this part, the language issue is discussed according to different eras, namely pre-colonialism, during colonialism and post-independence. This is done to get a

clear background of language policy in Tanzania right from the pre-colonial era and relate it to what is currently obtaining. In all these eras different languages, German, English, Kiswahili and ECLs, were used for different purposes. Some languages got material support from the governments in power and others were left to fade on their own. The attitude people have today regarding foreign languages and their use especially in education, can be attributed to what status these languages were accorded during colonialism.

4.3.1 Pre-colonial Era (1500 - 1884)

Before colonialism each ethnic group used its own language for communication, although it is true that some languages had mutual intelligibility and therefore interaction could cut across the ethnic boundaries. Massamba et al (2001: 14) point out that there was trade among different tribes before the coming of the colonialists especially between people from the coastal areas of Tanzania and those of upcountry. This is proved by the fact that the colonial traders were guided by locals to get into the interior of the country. Likewise, Mbaabu (1995: 41) asserts that trade between ethnic groups necessitated inter-ethnic communication and Kiswahili was the lingua franca used as a major language of inter-communication.

Before colonisation, each community used its own language to educate its children. Education across ethnolinguistic groups was not necessary until the arrival of colonialism and western education, when formal schools were introduced and children speaking different languages were placed in the same classroom. The same was true in Tanzania, where each ethnicity had its own system of education based on the family and the language used was the vernacular of that ethnic group (Tumbo-Masabo, 1999: 1).

Education was based on physical activities and as Omari (1997 quoted in Roy-Campbell 2001: 35) demonstrates, much of the education before colonialism focused on doing or observing what the elders were doing. At a more technical

level, this education included blacksmithing, leather making, metalworking, pottery, woodwork and cloth making. All these activities were passed down through guilds. Informal education also included specialised functions such as hunting, organising religious rituals and practice of medicine, which occurred within the family or clan. In those days already there were over 120 different ECLs and each community felt no need of language planning as they had one language and all the people understood well that language. In these activities, the elders were relied upon as they had the required knowledge and most importantly had a good command of the language used to pass knowledge to the youngsters. It is worthy stressing here that ECLs were exceedingly used to facilitate informal education.

4.3.2 During Colonialism Era (1885 - 1961)

This section explains how language issues were dealt with during colonialism in Tanzania. Tanzania was colonised by German (1885 - 1918) and Britain (1918 - 1961). It was in this period when formal education and colonial languages were introduced, hence the beginning of language planning in Tanzania. In the subsequent subsections, language planning in general and language-in-education policy at various eras in particular are discussed. The focus is on German, English, Kiswahili and ethnic community languages.

4.3.2.1 The German Rule (1885 - 1918)

The language question during the German rule focused on three categories of languages, German, Kiswahili and ECLs. Each language is explained according to how it was used during that period. The question is what role the German government played in developing each of these languages to be used in administration and education.

4.3.2.1.1 The German Language

The German language was used in administration when only the Germans were involved but it was not so popular in Tanzania. Brock-Utne (2000: 176) reports that

the Germans had a misconceived feeling that people in Tanzania could not learn to speak German sufficiently well and that is why they emphasised Kiswahili instead, as it is explained in the next section.

Reporting on why the German language did not gain speed in Tanzania, Maganga (1997: 133) asserts that local chiefs were used in administration of villages as it was considered to be expensive for the Germans to rule everywhere especially at village level. In this case, the German language could not help, as village administrators did not know the language. Therefore, Kiswahili was preferred for the purpose of making communication in administration smooth.

However, Mwansoko (1992: 5) makes a point rarely heard in literature that the initial language policy for the Germans was to use German language in administration and education. They were against the use of Kiswahili due to its close affiliation to Islam and the potential it had to unite the indigenous people, something they considered menace to their rule. In order to fulfil their dream, they built government schools along the coastal areas such as Tanga, Dar es Salaam and Bagamoyo for local civil servants. The language used in these schools was German, expecting that the graduates would spread German in the work place. However, the policy resulted in a total failure due to the religious and language situation that prevailed in the coast during that time. The parents associated German with Christianity and refrained from sending their children to those schools (Henderson, 1965: 203). Therefore, the Germans were forced to abandon the policy.

Talking of the language used by Germans in education, Roy-Campbell (2001: 41) contends that there were varied perceptions about using German in school. One group was of the view that the use of German exclusively would close the cultural gap between the colonised and the colonisers and hence facilitate the colonial project. From a religious point of view, on the other hand, there were those who

believed that the use of African languages was vital as it was in line with their primary goal of religious conversion. However, the concern was about the danger of affording too many Africans with the knowledge of the German language. Their hesitation was that teaching the German language to the Africans could be a potentially disruptive force as it could create a perception among Africans that they were equal to the Germans (Stoecker, 1986 quoted in Roy-Campbell, 2001: 41). It was however later agreed that German be used as a language of instruction from the fifth year of primary education and above (Tumbo-Masabo, 1999: 2).

Therefore, it can be seen that the German language did not gain much influence in different sectors during the German rule. This is the reason why the German language is not spoken in Tanzania regardless of the fact that Tanzania was colonised by Germans from 1885 – 1918.

4.3.2.1.2 Kiswahili Language

When Tanzania was declared a German colony in 1885 Kiswahili was by then already spread in the interior due to trade caravans (Mbaabu, 1995: 48). According to Kurtz (1972 quoted in Brock-Utne, 2005b: 53) few people are aware of the fact that the Germans used Kiswahili as a language of the government administration and translated Kiswahili from Arabic script to Roman alphabet. This was probably done because, as indicated earlier, Tanzanians were considered not good enough to learn and speak the German language well. But Kurtz adds that they did so as they wanted to pacify the coastal people who were mostly Muslims and spoke Kiswahili. This, as far as African language promotion is concerned, portrays a good picture of Germans in Tanzania unlike what we encounter most in history of German's brutality such as forced labour, killing of Mkwawa², merciless killing of those who opposed them principally in the Maji Maji war³ just to mention a few.

² Mkwawa was a famous Chief of Hehe people in the southern part of Tanzania

³ Maji Maji (literary watery) war was so called due to the witchcraft beliefs the local people had that bullets from their enemies, the Germans, would turn into water and therefore leave them unharmed.

Since the Germans relied heavily on Kiswahili-speaking coastal people for administration of the colony, this encouraged the spread of the language even further into the interior (Rubagumya, 1990: 5-6). It is worth noting here that the Germans promoted Kiswahili on a large scale because it aided considerable administration activities during their rule. The impact of the period of German rule in Tanzania upon the fortunes of Kiswahili in the country was considerable (Mazrui and Zirimu, 1978: 56).

The only qualification for one to get employed for various civil servants of low cadre in the German rule was the Kiswahili language skills (Massamba et al, 2001: 17). This made even those who did not want to learn Kiswahili to be motivated to do so. Maganga (1997: 134) further notes that correspondence with village leaders was mainly done through the use of Kiswahili and it was insisted that the letters not written in Kiswahili or occasionally in German were to be ignored in the offices.

Furthermore, Whitely (1969) reports of the efforts made by German administrators in using Kiswahili in Tanzania as indicated below:

Great efforts were made to document it (Kiswahili), scholars like Velten, Seidel, Buttner and others provided the materials on which courses at the Oriental Seminar in Berlin were based. A Governor like Rechenberg (1906 - 1912) spoke the language, and his successor, H. Schenee, had attended courses in Berlin.

This indicates how German administrators played part in promoting Kiswahili as they tried to learn and use it in their day-to-day administrative duties in Tanzania. It is therefore said that by the end of their colonial rule in 1918, Kiswahili had already spread in many parts of the country (Kiango, 2005: 159).

In terms of education, Brock-Utne (2005b: 53) argues that the Germans did a lot in the promotion of Kiswahili after their decision to make it a language of instruction in primary schools. During the brief rule of the Germans in Tanzania, they used

Kiswahili as lingua franca in schools. Kiswahili was used in the first four years of primary education as Mol in village schools (Mbaabu, 1995: 48; Tumbo-Masabo, 1999: 2).

However, Roy-Campbell (2001: 42) is of the view that since the Germans' purpose of schools was to train Africans to service the colonial bureaucracy, Kiswahili was the most effective language of instruction. This indicates that they did not decide to use Kiswahili for the purpose of promoting an African language but it was the only alternative available for them in order to meet their colonial objectives. Regardless of the motivation behind the emphasis the German colonial government put on Kiswahili language, its use in colonial education provided the cornerstone for Kiswahili to become the lingua franca in Tanzania.

Referring to the initial language policy by the Germans, Kiango (2005: 158-159) asserts that after the Germans had failed to have German used as Mol in government schools, they were forced to abandon the idea and therefore, the period from 1885-1918, Kiswahili was Mol in indigenous primary schools from standard I-IV.

It can therefore be seen that Kiswahili was promoted during the German rule unlike the British rule where the emphasis was on English (see section 4.3.2.2).

4.3.2.1.3 Ethnic Community Languages

As it has been indicated above (see section 4.3.1), ECLs were used mainly at the village level, though in some cases, where people were involved in trade ECLs managed to operate beyond the village level. Maganga (1997: 134) maintains that the ECLs only received much attention from the missionaries. This is further indicated by Mazrui and Zirimu (1990: 47) who report that there were times the missionaries refused some subsidies from the government during the German

government unless they were assured that the vernacular languages could continue to be used.

Mafu (2004: 57) asserts that missionaries used ECLs such as Sukuma, Nyakyusa, Makua, Haya and Chagga (among the languages of Tanzania) in their teaching. Likewise, Tumbo-Masabo (1999: 1) when talking of ECLs in education, she refers to the debate which was there during the German rule as to which language to be used as Mol. She claims that ECLs were used mostly by missionaries in their schools rather than Kiswahili or German. The missionaries had a feeling that using people's language could be the best weapon to win the Africans easily into Christianity.

The missionaries translated the bible into ECLs since their mission was to use the people's language to pass evangelical messages to them. Therefore, one can say that the use of ECLs were largely limited in formal education, the tendency which has continued until today.

In conclusion, therefore one can say that the Germans did a lot in promoting Kiswahili in Tanzania for having the language used in administration and education. The German language was not spread in the country because of the Germans' belief that Africans could not learn the language. ECLs were much favoured by the missionaries who used these languages in the villages for evangelical purposes. The development of Kiswahili, an African language, has its history in the colonial rule for it was seen as a lingua franca in most of the parts in Tanzania.

4.3.2.2 The British Rule (1918 - 1961)

This section pays attention on language policy during the British rule and English, Kiswahili and ECLs are in turn discussed.

4.3.2.2.1 The English Language

English was introduced in Tanzania as a colonial language when the British took over from the Germans in 1918. English was used as a language of the government business and those who could use it were able to get employed by the British government. These were the people who formed the embryo of political leadership that took over power when Tanzania gained its political independence in 1961 (Brock-Utne, 2005b). Since English was so valued during this time, those few Tanzanians who went to school were eager to learn it for their personal gains.

Kiango (2005: 159) submits that when the British took over from the Germans they abolished the use of the German language in administration and its role was taken over by English. English was the language of power and even people who did not understand English admired those who could speak it sufficiently well.

As it has been pointed out earlier, English was more favoured unlike other local languages. In the education system, the same was true as English was preferable to Kiswahili and ECLs in Tanzania. Mbaabu (1995: 49) points out that after the First World War (henceforth WW1), when Tanzania became under the British rule, English was enthusiastically used in education, as it was the case in other East African countries, Kenya and Uganda, which were also under the British rule. For example, English was Mol throughout the entire education system, except the first four years of primary education in native African schools (Rubagumya, 1991; Massamba et al, 2001; Kiango, 2005).

Additionally, Mafu (2004: 57) demonstrates that there was the tripartite education system in Tanzania during the British rule. That means there were schools for Europeans, Asians and Africans. English was solely used as Mol in European and Asian schools throughout the education system. For few Africans, who went to school and learnt English, were nick-named *Wazungu Weusi* (Black Europeans)

(Rubagumya, 1991: 74). To them this was considered as a high flattering remark one could get in those days.

The British rule used most of the resources to promote English through the school system. Some strategies were used to make students speak English at school. For example, it is ascertained that those who spoke it were praised and it was a common tendency in those days to find those caught speaking another language, especially African languages, being punished (Rubagumya, 1991: 74). This trend is still practised in most of the secondary schools in Tanzania where one is likely to find 'Speak English' signboards all over the school compound (Senkoro, 2005: 12; Mpemba, 2007: 72) and students going against such instructions get punished (see section 5.2.2.8).

There was yet another question on the language of instruction at post-primary level. English was used as Mol at this level because it was thought that African languages, Kiswahili or ECLs were not developed enough to be used at this level and they were seen as languages of the slave (Massamba et al, 2001: 18). But one would logically reason that the British could not be expected to promote African languages at the expense of English. This is what makes English to have high status in diglossic Tanzanian situation when compared with Kiswahili.

4.3.2.2.2 Kiswahili Language

Rubagumya (1990: 7) argues that the governors of Tanzania and Zanzibar and other East African countries during colonialism were convinced that Kiswahili was a viable lingua franca for the Tanzania and across East Africa and therefore saw the need to standardise it. Due to this, the Inter-territorial Swahili Language Committee was formed on 1st January 1930 with the approval of the Secretary of State for Colonies in London. The main aim of the committee was to promote the standardisation and development of Kiswahili. Other objectives of the committee are well elaborated elsewhere (see Rubagumya, 1990:7).

Massamba et al (2001: 21) indicate also that in addition to the committee formed above, the British rule formed another important committee, the East African Literature Bureau. The aim of this committee was to encourage young writers and give them advice on how to publish in Kiswahili. They also point out that the British rule did a lot in promoting Kiswahili and their efforts resulted in the standard Kiswahili, though to a large extent, they did it for their own benefit since Kiswahili was used to strengthen their administration. These efforts also saw the production of leaflets in the department of agriculture and a large radio audience could be reached in Kiswahili (Maganga, 1997: 137).

Similarly, Kiango (2005: 159) submits that since Kiswahili was already well established in local administration, the British did not see a need to make changes and therefore decided to continue using it. This was largely done to avoid unnecessary costs which could be involved in changing the existing policy.

Furthermore, Kiswahili was also of great help in the mobilisation of people to fight against colonialism. Upon forming the political party, Tanganyika⁴ African National Union (henceforth TANU), the founder leaders used Kiswahili throughout the country and it is said there were few cases where translation was actually needed since Kiswahili was understood by the majority all over the country (Kiango, 2005: 160). Also, as a lingua franca, Kiswahili was used by TANU leaders as a weapon to unite the people from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds. Therefore, TANU leaders reaped the fruit of the positive policies of British rule towards Kiswahili.

Likewise, members in the Legislative Council were allowed to use Kiswahili when the Speaker satisfied himself that the concerned members could not express themselves well if they used English (Maganga, 1997: 137).

⁴ After the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar the party's name was changed to Tanzania African National Union.

Regarding Kiswahili in education, Roy-Campbell (2001: 10) says, Kiswahili, an indigenous language, gained widespread use as the language of basic education in the first four years of primary schooling throughout the colonial period. It was the language more emphasised at this level as the colonial government wanted the children to acquire literacy skills in their indigenous languages and Kiswahili was regarded as viable African indigenous language to serve that purpose.

However, it seems some British officials did not like the use of Kiswahili in the education system. This is confirmed in the Binns Mission report quoted in Cameron and Dodd (1970:110) which suggested the removal of Kiswahili in the school curriculum. According to the report, Kiswahili was standing in the way of the strong development of English teaching. The report therefore suggested that a policy be followed which would lead to eventual elimination of Kiswahili from the schools where it was used as a lingua franca. However, the British government decided to maintain Kiswahili as Mol for African elementary education, despite reservations by the Binns Mission report.

Likewise, Massamba et al (2001: 11) demonstrate that the British saw Kiswahili as an inferior language which could not be used in post-primary education as Mol. "Kiswahili was seen as a language of the slaves and English of the rulers (2001:18)". However, they had no alternative except to use it as Mol in the first years of primary education in order to fulfil their intention to get few civil servants who would help them in administration. They also assert that in order for the British to achieve their objective of having the same education at primary level of all their colonies in East Africa, they decided to have one indigenous language and Kiswahili was then taken.

4.3.2.2.3 Ethnic Community Languages

As it was in the German rule, ECLs were not given priority. Instead they were only used in local administration. This made the languages to have very low status as

compared to English and Kiswahili (Tumbo-Masabo, 1999: 2). What is witnessed today for the negligence of ECLs in Tanzania may be attributed to the status accorded to them during colonialism. This assumption is confirmed from the fact that what status English had in those days has continued to be the same in Tanzania today.

In the education system, the ECLs continued to be used in the missionary schools, as it was the case during the German rule. However, the prominence was placed on Kiswahili and English. ECLs continued to be constrained at the level of family and community education.

In conclusion therefore, the resources used to promote English in the British rule laid the ground for the language to have high status among the Tanzanians, thus making the elite to continue to value the language especially as a language of education.

4.3.3 Post-Independence Era (1961 - Present)

1961 is the beginning of the period when the efforts of political leaders through TANU became fruitful where they managed to end the British colonial rule in Tanzania in December 9th 1961. This era has witnessed remarkable efforts to promote Kiswahili in an independent Tanzania and the use of English in post-primary education. The following subsections make a review some policy documents and pronouncements made by the government officials.

4.3.3.1 Education and Training Policy and Cultural Policy

There are two important documents which have been released by the Tanzanian government regarding the language policy. These are *Education and Training Policy* (1995) and *Cultural Policy* (1997). The documents talk about educational and cultural issues in general and each one of them have a chapter on language policy. The documents are the reliable policy statements on languages issues in

Tanzania since independence. Before these documents were released, political statements and circulars were relied upon in connection with the language policy (see sections 5.2.1.1.1 & 5.2.1.1.2).

4.3.3.2 Pronouncements on the Use of Kiswahili

There have been some pronouncements made by the government regarding the use of Kiswahili. These pronouncements have, to a great extent, promoted Kiswahili usage as the official language of government business and education. Additionally, it was realised that declaring Kiswahili a national language was by itself not enough and therefore policies, structures and programmes for its development and dissemination had to be put in place (Mulokozi, 2002: 2). Mulokozi observes that the following policies played a part in promoting Kiswahili. These were:

- i) Adoption of Kiswahili as a national language in 1962
- ii) Adoption of the policy of Ujamaa (socialism) and Self-reliance in 1967 - a policy which led to the creation of factories, state farms and Ujamaa villages. This brought together people from different linguistic backgrounds and Kiswahili became their lingua franca.
- iii) Adoption of Kiswahili as the official language of the government in 1967.
- iv) Abandonment of the Cambridge School Certificate Examinations in 1970. This necessitated the use of Kiswahili as a student was to pass Kiswahili in order to get a certificate unlike in the past where English was compulsory for the award of a certificate.
- v) Adoption of the Cultural Policy (Sera ya Utamaduni) in 1997 (Mulokozi, 2002: 2)

Likewise, Kiango (2005: 160) submits that in 1961 Kiswahili was already an established lingua franca and became promoted further when it was made a language of the parliament. This, according to Brock-Utne (2005b: 54) was

officially done by the first President of Tanzania, Julius K. Nyerere, on 8th December 1962 when he addressed the parliament in Kiswahili. This was regarded as declaring Kiswahili a national and hence parliamentary language as it was done by the President in the legislative assembly. Nyerere is seen as having done a lot to promote Kiswahili personally as he was involved in some activities which can be attributed to Kiswahili promotion. For example, he translated two Shakespeare's plays into Kiswahili.

Rubagumya (1990: 9) notes that the use of Kiswahili to fight for independence was an advantage to the language itself because after independence this state of affairs enhanced the status of the language. Right from the beginning Kiswahili was regarded as the national language and became an important tool for almost all state activities of the independent Tanzania.

In the late 1960s and 70s nationalist sentiments were so high in Tanzania that those who spoke English in public and not Kiswahili were accused of having colonial hangover (Rubagumya, 1991: 70). This again could be seen that Tanzanians placed value to their language, which mobilised the majority to eliminate colonialism.

In another development, in 1967, the then Prime Minister and Second Vice President, Rashid Kawawa, issued a directive requiring all government offices and parastatals to use Kiswahili as the official language. Following this directive, all government offices and parastatals used Kiswahili in their correspondence unless it was to do with foreign countries. The signposts in the streets and government offices were changed into Kiswahili and bilingual forms in the bank and post office were made available. To emphasise the use of Kiswahili the government issued another directive that discouraged the use of English. This time the directive emanated from the President's office and it is emphasised that:

The cabinet has given the directive that from now on, all communication to the cabinet ... or any other Ministerial sitting must be in Swahili. As per the above directive, all concerned secretariats will return to respective offender all correspondence written in English nor will such documents receive the ministry's attention in their sitting (quoted in Roy-Campbell, 2001:72).

Similarly, Rubanza (1996: 83) contends that soon after independence Tanzania solved the national language problem with the '*Swahilisation policy*' in 1967, the policy which made Kiswahili Tanzania's national and official language and proceeded with enthusiasm to invest tremendously in financial and human resources towards its development. It was at this time when BAKITA was established by Act of parliament, charged with all duties and functions of Kiswahili development all over the country.

In the process of having Kiswahili developed, the Institute of Kiswahili Research (henceforth IKR) of the University of Dar es Salaam was also established in 1964. This was transformed from the Inter-territorial Language Committee which was established during the British rule in 1930. IKR's main duties were collection, contextualisation and cataloguing of new Kiswahili words (Kiango, 2005: 161).

Commenting on the factors which favour the use of Kiswahili at present, Mulokozi (2002: 5) outlines the phenomenal urbanisation taking place in Tanzania as a way of making Kiswahili a mother tongue of millions of Tanzanian town-dwellers who speak no other language except Kiswahili. Additionally, he correctly stresses that failure of efforts to promote English has made even the educated Tanzanians to feel more comfortable speaking Kiswahili than English.

Kiswahili status has risen progressively since independence from being a vernacular to a national and international language⁵ (Yahya-Othman, 1990: 48). It has come to be a language of which most of the people in Tanzania use to

⁵ Kiswahili is one of the official languages of the African Union (AU)

communicate among one another. It is also a language through which most of government businesses are run. It can therefore be argued that after independence Kiswahili was transformed from a language of colonial administration into the language of liberation movement and expression of national unity, culture, identity and ideology.

4.3.3.3 Language of Instruction in Primary Schools

As it has been indicated above (see sections 4.3.2.1.2 and 4.3.2.2.2), during colonial rule, Kiswahili was used in the first four years of primary schooling and thereafter German/English became the sole language of instruction. In 1967 the Tanzanian government declared that Kiswahili would be used as Mol throughout the seven years of primary school. Commenting on the decision, Mulokozi (1989:3) correctly underscores, “The decision to make Kiswahili the sole language of primary education ... enhanced the status of Kiswahili as a language of education, and contributed directly to its subsequent rapid expansion terminologically and geographically”.

After independence education in the national language was seen as the key to the success of the Tanzanian state. A number of policies were elaborated and introduced to make it the language of education. Talking of different pronouncements after independence in Tanzania, Tumbo-Masabo (1999: 2) demonstrate that the language policy in education which was used during British colonial rule was changed in 1967 when Kiswahili was made the sole language of instruction in all seven years of primary education. Before that decision was taken, Kiswahili was only used as Mol in the first four years of primary education.

The decision to make Kiswahili Mol in primary education was followed by another important decision to make Kiswahili Mol in all teachers' colleges (henceforth TCs)

training Grade A⁶ teachers (Msanjila, 1990: 312). It was reasonable to have Kiswahili as Mol in the teachers' colleges bearing in mind that it was a language through which the teachers would be expected to teach different subjects in primary schools upon their graduation.

Apart from making Kiswahili Mol at primary school level, the government also made a positive input in Kiswahili by making it serve the same purpose for adult education (Rubagumya, 1991; Massamba et al 2001; Kiango, 2005). The use of Kiswahili in Tanzania, a language understood by most people, reduced illiteracy from 75% to 17% by December 1977 (Kiango, 2005).

The decision to make Kiswahili Mol at primary school level considered the fact that it was a lingua franca in Tanzania and most of the students and teachers had good knowledge of the language. It is Kiswahili the language used in daily activities, the language used to address the bus conductor, to enquire about a balance at the bank, to ask for stamps at the post office, to reserve a seat at the railway station, to speak to the medical assistant at the health centre, to make a statement at the police station, to talk to the teacher at a nearby school about the progress of your child and the like (Senkoro, 2005: 8). The language is also of fundamental importance to the students pedagogically as it is understood that students learn better in a language both students and the teachers command well (Rubanza, 1996: 87).

Although Kiswahili is not the mother tongue of all the students in primary schools, it is the second language of most of them. It is an indigenous language that has received the status of national language. Therefore, the decision by the government to make it Mol for primary education is, to say the least, laudable.

⁶ Grade A teachers are holders of Certificate in Education which authorises them to teach in primary schools.

4.3.3.4 Language of Instruction at Post-Primary Level

The language of instruction after independence remained English in all secondary schools and other higher learning institutions. Tumbo-Masabo asserts that after Kiswahili was made Mol in primary schools, it was envisioned that it would apply to secondary schools and other higher learning institutions as well. The hope emanated from the second five year plan, 1969/70 – 1973/74 where it is stated:

Children, on entering secondary school, will now have to shift to study in a new language, at the same time as taking on more difficult sets of subjects ... as the government moves over to the complete use of Kiswahili it will hence become more and more inappropriate to have the secondary and higher educational system operate in English (URT 1969 quoted in Brock-Utne, 2005b:56).

In connection to this plan, in 1969 the Ministry of Education issued a circular to all heads of schools outlining the plan for the gradual introduction of Kiswahili as Mol. Following this circular, curriculum developers had already started to translate and compile all the technical and scientific terms of school subjects. This also motivated government departments and institutions to start preparing for the implementation and ensure that Kiswahili take the position of English with effect from 1971, as it was envisaged. BAKITA and IKR, for example, started coining and standardising terminologies for the purpose of writing books to be used in secondary schools. However, the envisaged plan did not materialise and English continued to be Mol in secondary schools.

In 1980 the Presidential Commission of Education was formed to review the education system in Tanzania (Mwansoko, 1994; Tumbo-Masabo, 1999). The Commission's report was submitted to the President in February 1982. The Commission recommended, among other things in education, a switch over to Kiswahili medium in secondary schools in 1985 and subsequently at the tertiary level. However, in August 1983, Jackson Makweta, who had chaired the commission and had then been appointed Minister for Education, quite

unpredictably, announced that the anticipated switch over to Kiswahili medium would not take place (Uhuru⁷, 8th August 1983). As Brock-Utne (2005b: 57) puts it, this must have been a statement that was difficult for Makweta to make, as he was himself involved in the move to suggest for the switch over to Kiswahili in the Presidential Commission of Education. It is alleged that the proposal was discussed in the ruling party, as Tanzania by then was under a single party system, and decided not to implement the suggestion to make Kiswahili Mol in secondary schools (Kiango, 2005: 160). In 1984 the government issued a directive which insisted on the use of English as Mol in secondary schools (Tumbo-Masabo, 1999: 4). Official government response to the Presidential Commission's recommendations came out in July 1984. The government released a small document outlining the government position on the report. In that document it was stressed that the teaching of both Kiswahili and English would be improved. The statement stressed that both Kiswahili and English would be used as media of instruction. This was in line with the Presidential Commission's recommendations in connection with the fact that students at various levels lacked adequate ability to communicate in English and Kiswahili (URT, 1984: 19).

However, Mwansoko (1994: 16) is of the view that far from being frustrated by the reversal of the policy of the medium of Kiswahili, the supporters of Kiswahili have taken it as a challenge to continue tirelessly with the modernisation of the language and ensuring that the language becomes a viable tool for professional communication and pedagogy. The debate as to what language is to be used as Mol in secondary schools and tertiary level is therefore still going on in Tanzania.

The language-in-education policy in Tanzania is compounded by the fact that there is lack of political will to use Kiswahili, a language in which learners are comfortable, and instead the elite prefer the use of the colonial language, English.

⁷ Uhuru was and is still the state-owned newspaper

4.4 Studies on Language Planning in Tanzania

Different researchers and educators have written extensively on language planning and policy in Tanzania. They have mostly dwelt on the problems emanating from the language of instruction, English, which is used at post-primary level of education. Particularly the studies focus on English language teaching project, mushrooming of English medium schools, language training programmes and the challenges facing English language teaching in general. In the following subsections, these studies are reviewed followed by the researcher's reflections.

4.4.1 English Language Teaching Support Project

Brock-Utne (2005b: 58) demonstrates that two years after the Presidential Commission had delivered its report with a proposal to make Kiswahili Mol at higher levels of education; the British government funded a study to look at the problems related to English language teaching in education in Tanzania. The study was carried out in July/August 1984 by Clive Criper, a linguist from Edinburg University and Bill Dodd, an administrator with long experience from Tanzania. Brock-Utne contends that the study confirmed what had earlier been the case with other researches (Materu and Mlama 1978: 34) that the level of English in most schools was too low for effective learning to take place. The most significant findings in the study were:

Only about 10% of Form IVs are at a level that one might expect English medium education to begin. Less than 20% of the University sample tested was at a level where they would find it easy to read even the simplest books required for their academic studies (Criper and Dodd, 1984:14 & 43).

Based on these findings, Criper and Dodd (1984) advised the government through the Ministry of Education to issue an unambiguous circular setting out the policy on English medium in secondary schools. Criper and Dodd's advice, unlike other studies' suggestion to switch to Kiswahili as Mol in secondary schools (Materu and Mlama, 1978, the Presidential Commission Report, 1982) insisted on the

maintenance of English as Mol. This seems to be one of the ways of strengthening the use of the English language especially in the former British colonies. Though the suggestion was not in favour of Kiswahili, as educators would have expected, one fact is obvious, that the study funded by the British government could not have betrayed the mission of having English spread all over the world.

As a result of the recommendation of Criper and Dodd (1984), the English language Teaching Support Project (henceforth ELTSP) was established in 1987 with the major aim of improving the teaching and learning of English at secondary school level. The project was to be fully funded by the British development aid (1,460 million pounds sterling).

Lwaitama and Rugemalira (1990: 36) observe that although the ELTSP was a direct result of the recommendations made by the British government-funded study (Criper and Dodd, 1984), the project arose against the background of a renewed interest in the debate about whether English could continue to function as an effective medium of education at secondary and tertiary levels.

4.4.2 Mushrooming of English Medium Schools

After the release of *Education and Training Policy* (1995), private agencies were encouraged to participate in the provision of education, to establish and manage schools and other educational institutions at all levels. It is against this background that English medium schools started mushrooming in various towns and cities in Tanzania. In these schools, English is the sole language of instruction and Kiswahili and other languages, such as French, are taught as mere subjects. Pupils/students are encouraged or rather forced to speak English all the time in the schools premises. This section attempts to identify what transpires in such schools in connection with the language policy and the challenges both pupils/students face according to studies conducted in Tanzania.

The study conducted by Rubagumya (2003) on English Medium Schools in Tanzania was guided by the following questions:

- i) Why have these English-medium schools been established, and by whom?
- ii) Why have parents decided to send their children in these primary schools?
- iii) What is the background and training of teachers (in those schools)?
- iv) What kind of learning environment is being created?
- v) What is the nature and quality of communication between teachers and learners in these English-medium schools? (2003: 150)

Rubagumya (2003: 149) asserts that pressure from different corners of the Tanzanian society made the government to liberalise primary education. The Education Amendment Act no. 10 of 1995 made changes to the Education Act of 1978 which allowed the establishment of private primary schools. Before this amendment all non-governmental schools were only allowed to provide technical education; and this excluded private primary schools. In the *Education and Training Policy* (1995) it is stipulated that all levels of education were open to private actors. It is from then, that English medium schools were started in most parts of the country notably in big towns and cities like Dar es Salaam, Mwanza, Arusha, Mbeya and Tanga. Though Rubagumya groups English medium primary schools in two categories, international schools and non-international schools, this section focuses on the latter, which follow the national curriculum except that they use English as Mol.

As Rubagumya (2003: 156) rightly observes, there are three main reasons with regard to the establishment of the English medium primary schools in Tanzania. These are pressure from parents, an urge to provide a needed service to the community and income earning. However, Rubagumya is of the view that in most

cases the three reasons are taken in totality. The second reason can be expanded by attributing the mushrooming of these schools as a failure for the government to provide the quality education to its people. Establishing these schools is a message to the government that it has left a vacuum by failing to make the expected investment in the education sector (Rugemalira, 2001).

In that study Rubagumya (2003) indicates that parents have different views regarding their decision to take their children to English medium primary schools. The views are divided into two categories:

English and Globalisation

“What will Kiswahili help me in this global world?”

“Kiswahili cannot help my kid to live in this changing world”

“My intention is to make my child competent in English especially for the world of science and technology”

“Nowadays without English, no service in the world”

English and Education

“I want my child to know English in order to get the best education”

“I wish my child to communicate in English language and to get better education through English language”

“I want my child to get international education in English”

“No English, no education”

“Sending my children to Kiswahili medium school would have defeated my plans for them. That means they would have to study in Kiswahili and Kiswahili is a regional language. It lacks the international scope which enables full blossoming of intellectual potential” (Rubagumya, 2003:156-157).

These responses from parents are obviously in favour of English as Mol not Kiswahili for their children. They also seem to have a misconception between learning a language and using a language as Mol. To them, in order for their children to learn English, English must be used as Mol. That is why they, to borrow Rubagumya's (2003) words "vote with their feet" to have their children in English medium schools. The parents also relate the declining standard of education in public schools to the use of Kiswahili as Mol. This unfounded conclusion is made relying on the fact that students completing primary or secondary education cannot speak English. Commenting on the quality of English medium schools, Rugemalira (2005: 81) notes:

... EMSs⁸ outperform the government Kiswahili medium schools in the examination and the assessment made by school inspectors. This superior performance cannot be due to use of English as the medium of instruction; rather *it is achieved in spite of the use of English* [Emphasis added].

Rugemalira underscores that the factors that make EMSs perform better are better supply of teaching and learning materials in English, appropriate physical infrastructure that take into consideration a reasonable of pupils/students in each class with adequate furniture and adequate number of well-qualified teachers. He also mentions something which zealous educators tend to ignore that most of the students in EMSs come from well to do families where they are exposed to learning materials such as books, TV and computers. This helps them to get ample time to interact with such materials and since their parents are curious on their progress, they get assisted for their improvement. This in totality explains why EMSs do better than public Kiswahili medium primary schools.

⁸ EMS is the acronym of English Medium School

4.4.3 Language Training Programmes

The training of language teachers in Tanzania falls under three categories, namely Grade A teachers who teach in primary schools, Diploma teachers who are expected to teach in secondary schools and graduate teachers who teach in secondary schools especially advanced level and teachers' colleges. There have been some studies conducted in Tanzania regarding the training of teachers in general and language teachers in particular. Inadequacy in training the language teachers has been attributed to poor implementation of the language policy in Tanzania.

On completion of ordinary level of secondary education, students undergo a two year training course in teachers' colleges after which they are awarded a certificate in education which allows them to teach. Upon graduation they are recognised as Grade A teachers and they are deployed in different primary schools in the country to start teaching. In the past, Grade A teachers were expected to teach all the subjects in primary schools regardless of how competent the teacher is in the subject he is assigned to teach. This means the head teacher was responsible to allocate subjects depending on the number of the teachers he had. One would be assigned, for example, to teach English or Geography and the teacher would be expected to comply.

Lack of specialisation for Grade A teachers made the teaching of English at primary level be seen as a by-the-way subject as nobody could claim to be an expert in the subject. Of recent the Ministry of Education has allowed Grade A teachers to specialise in language and arts subjects or science subjects. The weakness in the training of Grade A teachers lies in the selection of who is to be trained.

Diploma teachers are expected to be trained in teachers' colleges for two years after they have completed advanced secondary education. The teachers must

have passed at principal level⁹ in at least two teaching subjects in the advanced certificate of secondary education examination (ACSEE). During the course the student would be exposed to teaching methodology of both subjects. In addition the students take Educational Psychology, Curriculum and Teaching, Foundations of Education and General Studies.

In a study conducted by Batibo (1990) in connection with the decline of the standard of English especially in primary schools, it was found out that lack of teaching and learning materials, lack of language proficiency from the teachers, lack of clear objectives on the position of English and lack of motivation among the teachers and pupils were among the main factors behind the poor teaching of English. Batibo stresses that in a situation where the future of the English language is unclear, nobody could be prepared to invest in terms of money and manpower in promoting English language. He points out clearly that there is a need to know when Kiswahili would officially become the medium of instruction at the secondary school level and whether English would be required for all Tanzanians or only for a few people who would need it for their professional life. He makes some suggestions regarding the way forward. His suggestions are made basing on the possibility that English remains MoI or Kiswahili replaces English as MoI at the secondary school level. His suggestions range from the time when English should be taught, teaching materials, increase intake of teachers trainees in the language teaching, increase the number of English periods and special training of English teachers.

4.4.4 English Language Teaching

The teaching of English language in Tanzania faces various problems including, though not limited to, lack of textbooks, sufficient qualified teachers, conducive environment for teaching and learning, audio-visual materials and poor sociolinguistic environment. This has led to the decline of teaching and learning of

⁹ A principal pass ranges from A - E

the language not only in primary schools but also the problem spills over to secondary schools. The following subsections focus on some of these problems one after the other.

4.4.4.1 Textbooks

Looking at the factors contributing to poor teaching of English in primary schools, Batibo (1990: 56-60) reports that most of the primary schools lack textbooks, reference books and subsidiary reading materials. In some cases only the teacher's book is available and where there are students' books the ratio is very much discouraging.

This situation is not limited to primary schools but the same is the case in secondary schools too. Many schools, especially the newly established ones at the ward level, face serious book shortage. They do not have simple story books to help them improve their English nor do they have grammar books to help them acquire basic grammar structures. The problem becomes compounded when there are no qualified teachers with personal copies. There is no way foreign language teaching can be efficient without necessary textbooks and reference books. These are some of the challenges the Ministry of Education has to effectively look at to have the goals of teaching of an international language, in this case English, realised.

In his study, Mpemba (2007: 85) contends that policy-makers justify their reluctance to the switch to Kiswahili as Mol because, among other factors, there are no textbooks which can be used if Kiswahili is made Mol at post-primary level. They fail to realise that the situation is even worse when English is currently Mol with insufficient textbooks almost at all levels of education.

4.4.4.2 Audio-Visual Materials

Objectives of the Diploma training programme are divided into two main categories, academic and professional objectives. One of the professional objectives is to ensure the trainees are capable of producing aids and materials for teaching. The teaching materials can be visual such as pictures, real objects like stones, leaves, papers, flowers and the like but they can also be audio such as tape recorded cassettes for students to learn some language sounds. The preparation of some teaching materials may need funds for their purchase but some are readily available for teachers to pick from the school environment. One of the qualifications of the teaching materials is that they help the learners to use more than one sense in a learning situation.

In their training programme, the student-teachers are always insisted to use teaching materials as they aid the understanding of the learners and more importantly they facilitate the retention of what has been taught in class. The students can also associate what they have learned with what is happening in their areas especially when the materials available in their environment are utilised. This makes the teaching and learning process meaningful to the learners since what is taught is not just abstract knowledge to them but something they can associate with their day-to-day lives.

Experience has indicated that the problem which is recurrent in most schools in Tanzania is that teachers, upon graduating make little use of the teaching materials. They only do that when the school inspectors have visited the school or when the head of the school, which is rarely done, supervises the class to check the teaching progress. As it has been indicated above, the teaching materials are of great significance, especially to the language class as students can learn vocabulary items, sentence structures, tenses, just to mention a few. Failure to use the teaching materials has been attributed to poor mastery of the English language for most students in secondary schools.

4.4.4.3 Traditional and Electronic Media

Traditional media, according to O-saki (2005: 42) include the blackboard, flipcharts and manila cards, while electronic media is the use of overhead projector, TV and video, computers and power point projectors. It is expected that in order for the teaching and learning to go smoothly the traditional and electronic media must be made available in the schools. However, what is witnessed in most of the schools, especially in rural areas is that the maximum one can see is the blackboard although it is reportedly claimed that some schools lack even the blackboard.

One cannot ignore the importance of use of traditional or electronic media in the learning process. First of all let us look at the traditional media. The blackboard helps a teacher to jot down important points for the students to follow. The teacher can also use the blackboard to have some simple drawings which will emphasise what s/he is explaining. This makes the students understand better the concepts because they have heard of the concepts and now they are able to see them on the blackboard. Additionally, the flipcharts can be used by the teacher to write some points which can be referred to even the following day. Therefore a teacher can make use of the materials which are relatively similar to connect what was learnt before and what the students are learning now. This may not be possible with the use of the blackboard, where you have to erase everything no matter how important they are in order to get a space for other materials or the next teacher. The same can be said about the manila cards which are mostly used for drawing charts and pictures and diagrams.

The problems is that these materials are not available in most of the schools and given a chance to visit the schools one is likely to get the same cry from the teachers, especially language teachers. This makes the language teaching exceedingly problematic.

Coming to the electronic media, the situation in most rural schools leaves a lot to be desired. One cannot talk of the computer or the TV in teaching when most of the students including their teachers have never used electricity. For the urban schools, the problem is the meagre budget which cannot allow the school administration to purchase them. This makes the use of electronic media difficult despite their usefulness in enhancing learning.

4.5 Reflections

Having looked at different eras on how language issue has been handled in Tanzania and the studies related to language policy, the subsequent subsections focus on reflections in connection with language-in-education planning in Tanzania. The challenges ahead of the Tanzanian society are evaluated from a sociolinguistic point of view, based on the studies conducted in Tanzania. Eventually research gaps, which need attention in the education sector for the purpose of implementing strong bilingual and biliteracy in education, are pointed out.

4.5.1 Language-in-Education Planning

Language of instruction in which education is principally conducted is one of the far-reaching and significant features of any education system in the world; Tanzania included (Prah, 2005: 27). This is the language expected to be used by the learners to get knowledge and help them to develop socially, economically and most importantly culturally. It is in the medium of instruction in which knowledge will be produced and reproduced. The development of any society largely relies on the way Mol is understood by the learners where they contextualise the knowledge gained depending on their needs and environment. Language in a society has a substantial contribution in people's development. Walsh (2006) demonstrates that language has a direct link with development as it influences cognition. If the mother tongue is used as Mol, it will give confidence to the learners with respect to their historical and cultural heritage.

Prah (2005: 27) demonstrates that the denial of mother tongue as Mol signifies the social and cultural inferiority of the people whose mother tongue is not used as Mol. He is of the view that in free societies, knowledge has to take place in the language of the people where they can be creative and innovative. Learners need their mother tongue that speaks a lot in their hearts and minds. He emphasises that African emancipation cannot be possible where Mol is different from the language which is used in everyday lives of the people as the learned will be culturally removed and alienated from the masses. This is what Nyerere used to emphasise in his philosophy of socialism and self-reliance that those who get education should be part and parcel of the society.

Language is an essential ingredient in the development process and since there is no education without language, it is common sense that language through education can bring economic changes in a society. What is important to realise in this phenomenon is that the language used should be familiar to the learners.

There are various considerations that have to be taken into account in order to select the language of education. Fasold (1984:292) poses three important questions to consider for selecting a language of education:

- Do the prospective students know the language well enough to learn effectively through it?
- Would the proposed choice be consistent with overall nationalist aims?
- Are the language itself, the material written in it and the number of people able to teach in it adequate for use at the proposed level?

Fasold claims that Kiswahili would be the choice for higher education in Tanzania on the first two criteria, but is prevented on the third one. Reacting on this claim, Rubagumya (1990: 2) underscores that Fasold's third criterion cannot be the only reason why Kiswahili is not the medium of instruction in secondary and higher

education. He is emphatic that the former colonial languages are still considered to be important with regard to scientific and technological development. That is why English in Tanzania has continued to be the language of education at post-primary level.

The other claim related to the above argument that has always been put forward against Kiswahili being the language of education is that the language is not well developed to cater for scientific and technological terminologies. Studies have indicated that a language can only develop when it is put in use. Pattanayak (1981 quoted in Roy-Campbell, 2001:9) makes it clear that:

If a language has not been exploited for expressing certain abstruse, it is due to no inherent defect in that language. Language can be enriched through use, and so the argument that a language cannot be used because it is not rich is *putting a cart before the horse* [Emphasis added].

This suggests that Kiswahili can cater for the needs of the education sector in all levels once it is declared Mol in secondary schools and higher institutions as linguists and educators will be motivated to invest tremendously in coining some terminologies and making translations and hence have the language developed. This will in turn promote additive bilingual education in Tanzania, unlike the current subtractive form, as students will be able to have Kiswahili as Mol and in addition have a foreign language, in this case English.

4.5.2 Lack of Political Will

Political will to have Kiswahili a language of education throughout the education system in Tanzania has been cited as one of the major reasons for poor implementation of strong bilingual education. Studies conducted in Tanzania have indicated that English has ceased to be a viable language of education at post-primary level as the students and teachers do not master the language (Brock-Utne, 2005b; Qorro, 2005). The proposal has been to switch over from English to

Kiswahili as Mol at post-primary levels. However, lack of political will from the government has made the switch over difficult and English has continued to be the sole language of instruction. This has been confirmed in several statements where the people who are expected to support the move of making a smooth switch have made it intricate. Despite the fact that the proposal is based on research findings from reputable academics and educators regarding the change of the medium, there has been silence from the government. When a statement was issued, it was against the move regardless of what the researchers have been saying.

In the same year when the Presidential Commission for Education submitted its report, the Minister for Education was quoted passing blames to teachers who used code switching in classrooms to cover up their lack of proficiency in English (Roy-Campbell, 2001: 97). The Minister accentuated the importance of English by saying that it has enabled the country's intellectuals and experts in various fields to communicate with other people in international arena and that has led to securing technological and scientific benefits. This could be taken to mean that the minister was in one way or another discouraging the Presidential Commission's proposal and therefore favoured the continued use of English as Mol and teachers are expected to have proficiency in the language. However, as Roy-Campbell (ibid) correctly argues, the minister's statement had some contradictions as he had acknowledged that teachers had difficulty with the use of English as Mol, but he unfortunately provided a rationale for the continuation of English as a medium in education.

Additionally, there was a statement in 1983 from the government, almost two years before the proposed date¹⁰ that English would remain Mol in secondary schools some time to come. This was made by the Minister for Education, who chaired the Presidential Commission. This was reported in Uhuru, on 8th August 1983.

¹⁰ The proposed year by the Presidential Commission of Education for Kiswahili to be Mol in secondary schools was 1985.

The other statement against the use of Kiswahili as Mol was made by the first President of Tanzania, Julius K. Nyerere. When addressing a seminar organised by the Society for Enhancement of Swahili Language and Poetry in Tanzania, Nyerere made a justification for retaining English as Mol in post-primary education. He said:

English is the Swahili of the world and for that reason it must be taught and given the weight it deserves in our country. ... It is wrong to leave English to die. To reject English is foolishness, not patriotism ... English will be the medium of instruction in secondary schools and institutions of higher education because if it is left as only a normal subject it may die.¹¹

Nyerere held the same views, as many other stakeholders in education who believe that in order to learn a foreign language it must be used as Mol. People maintain that the more the exposure to the language as Mol the more the students will pick the language. To them, teaching English as a subject is likely to reduce the time devoted to it and therefore make students not to have enough opportunity to practise it. In Rubagumya's (1991: 75-76) words, "It is believed in official circles that without English Tanzania cannot develop; and that without English as the medium of instruction the language will be lost to Tanzania irretrievably".

However, studies have indicated that English is rarely used outside the classroom and most importantly students are reported to learn English only in English language classes (Rubagumya, 1991; Qorro, 2005; Mpemba, 2007). As it was observed in these studies, less English is used in other subjects and the teachers who try to use it have been found to mislead the students. This is what Qorro (2005: 109) refers to as negative exposure which is not desirable; the exposure to incorrect English that students get when teachers of other subjects who are not proficient in English are forced by the current language policy to use English as Mol.

¹¹ Nyerere's statement was reported in *Mzalendo*, a state-owned newspaper, October, 28, 1984

In another attempt by the government to indicate that Kiswahili is not accepted as Mol, the then Minister for Education and Culture, Joseph Mungai, in a breakfast meeting which was organised by HakiElimu¹² on 22nd November 2001 he made clear the position of the government that English should remain as Mol in secondary schools. Responding to question about the follow up of *Cultural Policy* (1997) and the proposal to start teaching in Kiswahili from 2001 in Tanzanian secondary schools, the Minister said:

I hear there is some pressure to change. It mostly comes from professors. My own opinion is that I have to take into account what the community wants. Is it the community which has asked for change? I get a large number of applications from groups that want a licence to start English-medium primary schools. I have not had a single application from anyone who wants to start a Kiswahili-medium secondary school. The Tanzanian community is not thinking about this language issue. I hear it from professors. I don't hear it from the community. The day I hear it from the community I shall start thinking about it (Quoted in Brock-Utne, 2005b:68).

This statement, apart from indicating lack of the political will to have Kiswahili used as a language of education, it undermines the efforts of the professors who are responsible to conduct research through which new knowledge is generated for the purpose of informing the government on what is to be done with regard to the development of the country particularly in the education sector. As Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2002: 4) rightly observe, the minister's statement undermines the efforts by the consultancy team and the professors, many of whom have done research in classrooms for years and seen the problems children have. One cannot be expected to get information that guides the decision making mechanism from the lay people except from professors and experienced educators and researchers. It is the professors who give sound and reliable suggestion backed with research evidence and related theories from the areas of their specialisation. Of course, the community he was referring to cannot be ignored right away, but he

¹² HakiElimu literary translated as right to education, is an NGO dealing with education issues in Tanzania.

cannot make a decision based on unfounded beliefs simply because they come from the community.

Looking at what the Minister was saying closely, one would realise that politicians do make contradictory statements. In this statement he claimed not to have received any application to start Kiswahili-medium school. But the same person rejected the application lodged by a group of researchers from Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa (LOITASA) that intended to conduct a two year experiment, where students in the first and second year in secondary schools in Tanzania would be taught Geography and Biology in Kiswahili as MoI and be tested in these subjects in Kiswahili after two years of teaching. Unlike in the past where the government would say there were no funds to accomplish the mission, this group came with money that would be used to get the required books and learning materials in Kiswahili (Brock-Utne, 2005b). However, permission was not granted to carry out the experiment, claiming that secondary school students could not be used as guinea pigs. Despite the fact that the researchers explained how carefully the experiment was designed not to affect the students in question, the minister was reluctant to accept their proposal.¹³

4.5.3 The Status of Ethnic Community Languages

Researchers and educators in Tanzania, apart from their concern on the use of Kiswahili as a language of education at post-primary level, have also been worried about the way ECLs are ignored in the education sector. The government has been silent with regard to the status of ECLs, the languages spoken by a good number of people all over the country. Rubanza (1996: 89) asserts that the government has forgotten the role of the 150 ECLs. He is of the view that the government's fear to give a clear statement on these important languages can be

¹³ However, the experiment was carried out on a small scale basis using the research clearance from the Vice Chancellor of the University of Dar es Salaam who is empowered (by the government circular Ref No. MPEC/R/10/ of 4th July 1980) to issue research clearance to staff and students of the University of Dar es Salaam on behalf of the government.

associated with loyalty to divisive ethnicity at the expense of national unity. The government fears that overt attention to ECLs can be considered to be practically the same as encouraging an ethnic loyalty which will in turn inhibit the development of broader and stronger national unit, the nation is enjoying at the moment. However, Rubanza argues rather convincingly that fear of creating tribalism is far-fetched as there has never been evidence that lack of ability to speak any of the ECLs has resulted in people being less tribalistically-minded than those who speak ECLs.

Talking about ECLs situation in Tanzania, Brock-Utne (2005b: 54) demonstrates that when the census is being taken in Tanzania, one question which the census takers are not obliged to ask is that of language of the inhabitants. This has been the case since the time of Nyerere as it was considered a way of combating tribalism in the country. This has led to the failure to establish how many people speak their first language other than Kiswahili.

The ECLs have probably been viewed as a problem in Tanzania and not as resources to be developed. With 150 ECLs in Tanzania, they were supposed to be like a garden of flowers with a variety of colours that make a scene beautiful. Tanzania has to be made beautiful with these languages with well established cultural heritage through a language policy that encourages their usage in education. These are the languages used most of the time in everyday communication especially in rural areas. If these are developed, then they will in turn result into high productivity in those areas. In a study conducted by Mulokozi (1996) to establish whether all children joining primary schools in rural areas in Tanzania had adequate mastery of Kiswahili to be able to follow instructions in this language, the study revealed that in some parts mastery was so limited and that could affect their learning. Therefore developing ECLs languages could help these children to benefit from their studies at least at this tender age. The importance of language in developing an individual cognitively cannot be over-emphasised.

4.5.4 Language Problems in Education

The problems pupils/students get in Tanzanian schools has brought concern to researchers. The challenges both learners and teachers get in the teaching and learning process leaves a lot to be desired. English is introduced right from first year of secondary education as the only language of instruction. According to Rubagumya (1997: 85) “Here is where the disconnection in language takes place for the knowledge of Kiswahili gained over seven years of primary schooling is not built on and used as a springboard to move on to the next stage of secondary education, instead it is abandoned”. Unlike in primary education, the students at this level are expected to use English as MoI in all the subjects except Kiswahili, which is taught as a mere subject. Judging from the poor English background they had had in primary schools, one would indisputably guess what frustrations students get in the learning process. This issue does not get a critical review and students proceed in education with deficiency skills in MoI. The fact that even the teachers are the product of the system makes the matter compounded.

According to Rubagumya et al (1999, quoted in Vuzo, 2005: 55) there are three functions of language in the classroom:

- Language for building relationship among students and between students and teachers
- Language for teaching and learning
- Language for developing communication abilities

It is expected that in a classroom these functions should help the learner to achieve his/her academic goals. However, in a Tanzanian context, where the students are compelled to learn in English, the language they do not master, their goals are far-fetched and the functions become unrealistic. Despite all what has been done to prepare the necessary learning materials, English has continued to be used as MoI. A Tanzanian sociolinguistic environment where English is not

used in the day-to-day activities, be it in the government business, at the family level or the language for socialisation among the peers, yet remains MoI, it may be expected that learners and teachers alike will encounter enormous difficulties in using the language with adequate proficiency.

As indicated above (see section 4.3.3.4) there was a proposal in the President's Commission report to have Kiswahili used as MoI in secondary schools but later the proposal died a natural death (Rubagumya, 1991: 77). This was preceded by the position of the government which the Minister for Education made that English would continue to be used.

After the government position, English gained momentum to an extent that people believed that without English Tanzania cannot develop; and that without using English as a medium of instruction the language will be lost in Tanzania irreversibly.

Talking of the implications of the language situation in Tanzania, Rubagumya (1991: 80) points out the attitude of policy-makers towards bilingualism and how these attitudes affect language policy in education. He also looks at the assumptions held by these policy-makers about language learning. Policy-makers who are of course in power make decision on bilingual education depending on whether they see bilingualism as a resource or as a problem to be overcome. If they see it as a resource they will encourage the development of all languages but if seen as a problem, only one language will be developed while others are neglected. The tendency in Tanzania has been to look at African languages especially ECLs as divisive and undeveloped. In that way policy-makers do not think these languages can be used in education. That is why over 150 ECLs in Tanzania do not have any official status.

Commenting on the absurdity that exists in education as a result of the choice of language of instruction in secondary schools, Rubanza (1996) identifies three different conflicts. These are: i) English being associated with socioeconomic and political possession and hence a determinant to access to resources, job opportunities, power and prestige in society, ii) English language mastery for those few students who join secondary schools being poor and iii) limited domains which require the use of English in Tanzania. Rubanza is of the view that in order to avoid the frustrations students encounter at post-primary level, there is a need to review the language policy in education and see if Kiswahili can replace English and have ECLs used at lower levels of primary education. The above conflicts do not make a sociolinguistic environment conducive enough for the learning to take place for secondary and tertiary students.

Likewise, O-saki (2005: 44) submits that in a situation where teachers and students are to use a language of instruction in which they lack proficiency, there will be difficulties in understanding one another and the concepts they will be using. In this case the interaction between the teacher and students or students among themselves will be very low or none at all. Therefore, many secondary school students are likely to be barred from access to knowledge as a result of the language barrier.

Nevertheless, the continued use of English as Mol in secondary schools has been supported by some stakeholders of education in Tanzania. In a study conducted by Qorro (2005) whose objective was to find out why public awareness on the ideal language of instruction in Tanzania seems to be low despite years of debating, researching and disseminating findings, show that parents prefer the continued use of English as Mol because:

- English is an international language; it enables wide communication with many more countries.

- If Kiswahili is used the children will fail to get employed and to communicate with foreign countries currently investing in Tanzania.
- Kiswahili is a young language and its terminology is not sufficient especially for science and technology (Qorro, 2005: 102).

However, Qorro (2005: 105) observes that these views in favour of the continued use of English as Mol in secondary schools do not consider the immediate classroom situation in Tanzania where the teacher has to effectively impart knowledge to learners, the majority of whom do not understand English. She stresses that while English may be an important international language and may facilitate interaction at the international level, this importance is not only irrelevant at the classroom level, but also an inefficient way of interacting in a Tanzanian classroom.

In a related study on stakeholders' views on the use of English as Mol, Senkoro's (2005) findings indicate that students learn with ease when Kiswahili is used in class unlike English. Despite this fact, most of the teachers when required to say which language they would prefer as Mol, the majority were for the continued use of English. He is therefore of the view that this can be attributed to a problem of attitude among teachers, the problem which also extends to parents and even students. Due to this attitude, Senkoro submits that there is a general attitudinal fear among students, teachers and parents that using Kiswahili as Mol at post-primary level would imply mastery of English language to be so remote in the education system.

4.5.5 English Language Teaching Support Project

ELTSP which was conceived as a strategy to keep English as Mol, apart from intending to improve the competence of English language teachers and providing books in secondary schools, did not solve the problem of Mol in Tanzanian post-primary schools. There are some weaknesses which can be pointed out from the

ELTSP. First, the project did not cover all the schools in Tanzania. This did affect the project as the problem of English, which the project was up to improve, exists in most, if not all, secondary schools in Tanzania. The facilities provided were not equally used in all the schools. The problems in other schools could not be solved without the schools being involved in the project and getting the same facilities.

Second, the books which were used in the project were imported from Britain despite the promise that they would be published in Tanzania (Byoya 1992: 179). Since the books were written outside, most of them were irrelevant to the Tanzanian context. Lwaitama and Rugemalira (1990: 40) correctly note that the cultural appropriateness of the books could be questioned from the standpoint of the official socialist ideology which was in place in Tanzania in those days. This was true as some books which were initially produced for countries whose ideology was capitalist, were dumped in the schools for the project's use.

Third, teachers who were offered scholarships as part of the project mission to improve their competence did very little (if any) in sharing the knowledge gained with their fellow teachers upon going back to their schools. There were no intra-school and inter-school meetings where the teachers could share their experiences and the strategies of improving English language teaching. This made everything collapse, as the sustainability of the project after the donor's departure was not well envisioned.

Due to these weaknesses, the problems of English language as Mol have continued to exist, and according to studies in Tanzania (Roy-Campbell and Qorro, 1997; UDSM, 1999) the language crisis in Tanzanian secondary schools and other higher learning institutions is more severe than before ELTSP.

4.5.6 Sociolinguistic Environment

As stated in the introduction, Kiswahili dominates most of the day-to-day activities in Tanzania. The pupils/students learning English only use it in class but when at home they use the home languages, Kiswahili or ECL(s). Since most of them lack time and space to practise the language, they fail to learn English, the language of education in post-primary education. Roy-Campbell (2001) accentuates that lack of instrumental motivation to learn English, despite the fact that it is Mol, arises from the sociolinguistic environment which has eminently de-emphasised the importance of English in the society. She underscores that with the rise of Kiswahili as a national language and its institutionalisation as an official language and medium of instruction in primary schools with the anticipation of Kiswahili becoming Mol at all levels of education, English does not seem to be a necessary language for the majority of Tanzanians.

In most of the secondary schools and higher learning institutions, where English is Mol, one rarely hears students speaking English outside the classroom except when communicating with non-Tanzanians who do not understand Kiswahili. Rubanza (1996: 85) reports that at the University of Dar es Salaam students use Kiswahili when in their out of class group discussions, though they have to write the papers in English, the official language of academics at the university level. He stresses that most of the time they speak Kiswahili to themselves outside their lecture rooms. Experience is the same at St Augustine University of Tanzania (SAUT) where English is only heard in classrooms and worse still some students request to ask questions or make comments in Kiswahili in the classroom interaction.

The sociolinguistic environment for secondary students is even worse particularly in day-schools. The emphasis to speak English within the school premises is sometimes not realised as students speak Kiswahili most of the time. One would of course expect this to happen to multilinguals, especially when they have a

language or languages they are familiar with at their disposal. Similarly, when they get home, they speak either ECLs or Kiswahili, as these are the languages of the home in Tanzania. Some students come from a family background where nobody else in the family and in the neighbourhood can speak English and that makes exposure to English difficult. This, to a great extent, limits the students to have proficiency in the language and eventually affect the learning process considering that it is English all the subjects are taught except Kiswahili.

4.6 Research Gaps

The studies conducted in Tanzania, as explained in this chapter, have not focused on why bilingualism and biliteracy in education has failed against the envisaged plans of the founding ideals of the state to create an environment for a bilingual Tanzanian citizen. The study of this kind is important to shed light on language-in-education policy implementation especially under the circumstances that subtractive bilingualism is preferred in Tanzanian post-primary education in favour of English, the language learners and teachers alike lack proficiency eminently. This study carried out a sociolinguistic analysis to determine why strong bilingual education as advocated first by Baker (1993) and later modified by García (1997) has not been achieved in Tanzania, a country whose people form a wide variety of ethnolinguistic groups.

In this analysis, the challenges regarding implementation of strong bilingual education policy were identified. Among the challenges are: the inadequate language-in-education policy design, the inadequate comprehension of the concept of bilingual education in connection with subtractive and additive bilingualism and poor implementation of language-in-education policy in the Tanzanian education sector. As far as I am concerned, there has not been any study in Tanzania concentrating on such challenges. Accordingly, a model for implementing strong bilingualism has been proposed for the purpose of promoting bilingualism and

biliteracy in Tanzanian education, where proficiency in both Kiswahili and English can be cultivated.

4.7 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to give an overview of the language-in-education policy in Tanzania at different planning eras, pre-colonialism, during colonialism and post-independence. Additionally, the review of studies conducted in Tanzania with regard to language-in-education policy was presented followed by the researcher's reflections. The review of studies was meant to identify research gaps which this study could embark on. The discussion has based on language usage in general along the eras above but also more importantly, the emphasis has been based on how German/English, Kiswahili and ECLs have been considered in the education sector and what has been the repercussion.

It has been evident that in all the eras, less attention has been placed on ECLs while colonial languages, in this case German or English, were considered languages of power and prestige in the society during colonialism. It is worthy pointing out here that the German language was not used as a language of education basing on the feelings the Germans had that Tanzanians could not learn to speak German sufficiently well. English was used as Mol in the last three years of primary education and at post-primary level. From that time, English has continued to enjoy high status in the society as people perceive it to be synonymous with education and any effort to use the African language, in this case Kiswahili, in education is seen as undermining English and hence education.

Additionally, it has been indicated in this chapter that Kiswahili, a Bantu language spoken by about 90% of the population in Tanzania, has received special attention from the government since independency. In 1967 Kiswahili was declared a national and official language and the government discouraged the use of English unnecessarily. In the same year Kiswahili was made the sole language of primary

education. It was envisaged that Kiswahili would gradually be a language of education at all levels of education basing on research findings that English has ceased to be a viable Mol in secondary schools and higher education. Despite all the efforts by different institutions, such as IKR and BAKITA, to venture in Kiswahili terminological modernisation and preparing teaching and learning materials ranging from arts to science subjects, the switch over to Kiswahili, as language of education at post-primary level has remained a paradox. Policy-makers, teachers and other relevant education stakeholders have misconception of what the concept of bilingual education really means. They have as such barred the use of Kiswahili in the school premises while at the same time claiming that Tanzanian education is bilingual. This inadequate comprehension of bilingual education has crippled the language policy, thus undermining promotion of bilingualism and biliteracy in education.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the presentation and discussion of the data collected from the Tanzanian four primary and four secondary schools that were taken as case study. To maintain confidentiality of the respondents who would not want to be associated with the information they shared with the researcher, the schools are labelled using acronyms. Primary schools are labelled PA – PD while secondary schools are labelled SA – SD. This means A – D represents school 1 – 4 and P stands for *Primary* while S stands for *Secondary*. Additionally, the information presented and discussed in this chapter was gathered from parents, members of the selected secondary school boards and officials from HakiElimu NGO, Tanzania Institute of Education (henceforth TIE) and the Ministry of Education.¹⁴ Data collection was guided by the study hypotheses, namely the problem of education in Tanzania is related to inadequate language-in-education policy design, there is inadequate comprehension of the concept of bilingual education with regard to additive and subtractive types of bilingual education and there is poor implementation of the language-in-education policy in Tanzanian education system. Furthermore, sociolinguistic principles developed by García (1997) and theories of bilingual education by Cummins (1978 & 1980) guided the collection of data from the field. The presentation and discussion would, therefore, take cognisance of the above.

5.2 Data Presentation

The data in this chapter are presented according the research methods which were applied in the field, namely documentary review, interviews, observations, and

¹⁴ The Ministry of Education keeps getting different names depending on the discretion of the President. To be consistent, this study uses Ministry of Education regardless of the exact name at different times.

focus group discussions. The discussion of the data is guided by sociolinguistic principles and theories of bilingual education (see sections 2.7 & 2.8).

5.2.1 Data from Documentary Reviews

Through the documentary review method, the following official documents were scrutinised: *Education and Training Policy* of 1995, *Sera ya Utamaduni* (Cultural Policy) of 1997, *Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania (BEST): Regional Data* (2007), education circulars 2001 – 2005 (2006), syllabi for English, Kiswahili, Geography and Biology (2005), staff meeting files (1995 - 2008), daily report logbooks (2005 - 2009), and circular/correspondence files (1999 - 2008). These documents are divided into two: Documents generated by the government and those generated by the school. Reviewing these documents was meant to establish information on overt language-in-education policy, planning and implementation in Tanzania.

5.2.1.1 Documents Generated by the Government

The following documents (see sections 5.2.1.1.1 – 5.2.1.1.5 below) generated by the United Republic of Tanzania (URT) were reviewed to analyse the corpus of language-in-education policy.

5.2.1.1.1 Education and Training Policy

The *Education and Training Policy* document which was released in 1995 by the Ministry of Education discusses general issues regarding education and training in Tanzania. The need for the policy was based on the fact that past educational plans and programmes were only guided by short and long term development plans. Due to that Tanzania was not consistent on its decisions as far as education is concerned. This document was scrutinised to get the official language-in-education policy and the objectives of education in Tanzania.

As indicated above, the document is not solely on language policy but on general issues on education and training. It is only in chapter five, formal education and training, where language policy is explained focusing more on the medium of instruction to be used at different levels of education.

The issue of language is presented in this document as a medium of instruction, where the need for the development of communication skills of the learners is emphasised at all levels. It is therefore envisaged that the language commonly used in Tanzania, Kiswahili, has to be used in education. Language-in-education policy as stipulated in this document stresses the use of one language at a time as a medium of instruction in pre-primary, primary, secondary and teacher training institutions. With regard to the medium of instruction in pre-primary and primary schools, the document stresses:

5.2.3 The medium of instruction in pre-primary schools shall be Kiswahili, and English shall be a compulsory subject (United Republic of Tanzania – URT, 1995: 35).

5.3.7 The medium of instruction in primary schools shall be Kiswahili, and English shall be a compulsory subject (ibid, 39).

It is emphasised in this document that English is to be taught to pupils from their first year of primary education with anticipation that at the end of the seven years of primary education, pupils will have acquired and developed mastery of English language proficiency demanded at secondary, post secondary levels and the world of work.

For secondary schools' medium of instruction the document stipulates:

5.4.9 The medium of instruction for secondary education shall continue to be English, except for teaching of approved languages, and Kiswahili shall be a compulsory subject up to ordinary level (henceforth O'Level) (ibid, 45).

The rationale given in the document why English is to be used as the medium of instruction at post-primary education is that most instructional media and pedagogical materials are written in the English language and it is assumed that the situation is likely to remain so for a long time in the foreseeable future.

For teacher education's medium of instruction the document stipulates:

5.5.8 The medium of instruction for teacher education at certificate level shall be Kiswahili, and English shall be a compulsory subject while for diploma and degree level teacher education and training, English shall be used, except for foreign language teaching, which will be in the relevant language itself and Kiswahili shall be a compulsory subject (ibid, 49).

The document takes cognisance of the need for students to excel in communication skills and for that matter the medium of instruction in the teacher education institutions depends on which level a teacher trainee is prepared to teach.

The document also indicated objectives of education in primary and secondary education. Table 5.1 indicates objectives in primary education. General objectives of education and objectives of secondary education in Tanzania are summarised in section 5.2.1.1.5 (see Tables 5.3 & 5.4).

Table 5.1: Objectives of Primary Education

i)	To enable every child to understand and appreciate his or her human person, to acquire, value, respect and enrich our common cultural background and moral values, social customs and traditions as well as national unity, identity, ethic and pride.
ii)	To provide opportunity and enable every child to acquire, appreciate and effectively use Kiswahili and to respect the language as a symbol of national unity, identity and pride.
iii)	To enable every child to understand the fundamentals of the National Constitution as well as the enshrined human and civic rights, obligations and responsibilities of every citizen.
iv)	To enable every child to acquire basic learning tools of literacy, communication, numeracy and problem solving as well as basic learning content of integrated relevant knowledge, skills and attitudes needed for survival and development to full capacity.
v)	To provide the child with foundations of self-initiative, self-advancement and self-confidence.
vi)	To prepare the child for the second level of education (i.e secondary, vocational, technical and continuing education).
vii)	To prepare the child to enter the world of work.

Source: URT (1995: 5)

It is therefore clear from the *Education and Training Policy* document that the government stresses on the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in pre-primary and primary education. When students join secondary education they have to switch to English, a foreign language to both the students and teachers. This implies that the envisaged objective to make Tanzanian education bilingual remains a far-fetched ideal as the trend in the education system is subtractive in nature where Kiswahili and English are differently treated.

5.2.1.1.2 The Cultural Policy

The government through the Ministry of Education issued the document basically on cultural issues in Tanzania referred to as *Sera ya Utamaduni* (henceforth Cultural Policy) – URT 1997. The document was inaugurated on the 23rd August 1997. Initially the policy was written in Kiswahili as the name above suggests, making it accessible to most Tanzanians. However, on realising that the implementation of the policy depends on the support of various stakeholders who may not understand Kiswahili, the policy statements contained in the Kiswahili

version were translated into English. This entails that bilingualism was not the government's objective.

The language issue is presented in chapter three in this document. As indicated in this document, languages in Tanzania have been categorised into three groups, namely ethnic languages, which are more than 150, the national language (Kiswahili) and foreign languages.

Kiswahili is described in this document as a language spoken and understood by the majority in the whole country. It is stated in the document that in spite of various government pronouncements and directives, Kiswahili does not have a legal status as an official language. It is pointed out that for Kiswahili not to have a legal status as official language has led to various problems in communication in the government. It is therefore stipulated:

3.1.1 Kiswahili shall be pronounced the national language and this pronouncement shall be incorporated in the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (URT, 1997: 16).

3.1.4 The National Kiswahili Council and other institutions responsible for the promotion of Kiswahili shall be strengthened and adequately resourced in order to enable them to discharge their functions (ibid, 17).

3.1.5 Ethnic languages shall continue to be used as resources for the development of Kiswahili (ibid, 17).

With regard to ethnic languages, the document recognises them as the treasure of the nation historically, technologically and culturally. They are therefore seen as the major foundation for the development of Kiswahili. It is therefore stated:

- 3.2.1 Our people shall continue to use and be proud of their ethnic languages (ibid, 17).
- 3.2.2 Communities, private and public organisations shall be encouraged to research, write, preserve and translate ethnic languages into their languages (ibid, 17).
- 3.2.3 The writing of ethnic language dictionaries and grammar books shall be encouraged (ibid, 18).
- 3.2.4 Public and private organisations shall be encouraged to publish and disseminate ethnic language materials (ibid, 18).

As for foreign languages, the document is aware of their importance in communicating with people outside Tanzania in connection with commercial activities. It is stressed that even if Kiswahili becomes the language of education, Tanzania still needs to use foreign languages for various purposes. It is insisted that languages like English and French should be encouraged in the school system. It is therefore stated:

- 3.3.1 English shall be a compulsory subject in pre-primary, primary and secondary education levels and shall be encouraged in higher education (ibid, 18).
- 3.3.2 The teaching of other foreign languages such as French, Portuguese and Russian shall be encouraged (ibid, 18).

The *Cultural Policy* document further stresses on the medium of instruction to be used at all levels of education in Tanzania. It is asserted that the use of English at post-primary education levels has tremendously affected education in general and

Kiswahili in particular in the country. The document takes into account of the fact that few people can understand, speak and write in foreign languages. It is therefore stressed that continuing to use English as a sole language of instruction at post-primary level is denying the opportunity for many people in the country to benefit from science and technology in the 21st century. It is therefore stated:

3.4.1 A special programme to enable the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in education and training at all levels shall be designed and implemented (ibid, 19).

3.4.2 Kiswahili shall be a compulsory subject in pre-primary, primary and secondary education and shall be encouraged in higher education. In addition the teaching of Kiswahili shall be strengthened (ibid, 20).

Although it is more than ten years to date since the *Cultural Policy* document was released, most of the issues have not been implemented. For example, Kiswahili is not a language of instruction at all levels of education and the pronouncement that Kiswahili is a national language is not incorporated in the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania. In a follow-up question, the ministry officials were reluctant to comment on this anomaly claiming that cultural issues are currently housed under a different ministry (currently the Ministry of Information, Culture, and Sports).¹⁵

5.2.1.1.3 Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania: National Data

Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania (BEST): National Data (2007) is the document which gives educational information in the country. The document was scrutinised to get the enrolment of students from pre-primary to secondary education level and the students/teacher ratio. This was meant to check whether

¹⁵ The cultural issues were removed from the Ministry of Education when the fourth President of the United Republic of Tanzania announced his new cabinet in December 2005.

the two can pose a significant challenge in implementing the language-in-education policy in connection with interaction in large classes.

This document contains education data at national level from 2003 – 2007. The document was meant to facilitate better education policy making, planning, research and monitoring of primary and secondary education. It has information on students' enrolment, teachers' information, examination results, school inspection and vocational training.

Table 5.2 indicates the teacher/students ratio in secondary schools both in government and non-government schools in Tanzania.

Table 5.2: Teacher/Students ratio 1998 - 2007 in Secondary Schools

Teacher/ Students ratio	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Government	1:20	1:19	1:19	1:21	1:20	1:20	1:23	1:26	1:31	1:38
Non-government	1:19	1:19	1:20	1:20	1:20	1:22	1:23	1:16	1:25	1:25

Source: The United Republic of Tanzania (2007:54)

Table 5.2 above indicates that since the number of students has been increasing significantly without the increase of teachers concurrently, the teacher/students ratio is higher in secondary schools. The main cause for this increase, according to a cross-checking question on 26th January 2009 to Ministry of Educational officials, is the implementation of Universal Primary Education (UPE) through the Primary Education Development Plan (popularly known as MMEM), where almost all children at the school-going age are enrolled in primary schools.

The document, therefore, facilitates better education policy making and helps in research and monitoring of primary and secondary developmental plans implemented in such schools.

5.2.1.1.4 Education Circulars for 2001-2005

Education circulars are key directives given to various education stakeholders by the Chief Education Officer on behalf of the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education. When a circular is issued, it is expected that some office bearers like the Regional Administrative Secretaries, Regional Education Officers, District Education Officers, Principals of teachers' colleges and heads of schools will in one way or another be responsible for the implementation of the directives in the circular.

The researcher got the booklet containing all circulars issued from 2001 – 2005 entitled *Nyaraka za Elimu za Mwaka 2001-2005* (Education Circulars for 2001-2005) released in 2006. Since the focus of this study was on language policy, four circulars were identified as directly or indirectly connected to language-in-education policy. The first one was the education circular no. 9 of 2004, "Subject Changes in Secondary Schools" (Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania¹⁶ – henceforth JMT, 2006: 32-33), which gave directives on changes on subjects to be studied in secondary schools. In this circular it is stated that there would be only three periods¹⁷ in a week for Kiswahili in all the first four years of secondary education. However, English would have seven periods from the first two years and the number would be reduced to six in the third and fourth years.

This implies that there is no balance between Kiswahili and English and this concurs with views from various education stakeholders on the use of Kiswahili as a language of education (see Table 5.5) that children do not need to study

¹⁶ Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania is the Swahili name for United Republic of Tanzania.

¹⁷ Each period in primary and secondary schools lasts for 40 minutes.

Kiswahili in school because it is everywhere for them to pick but need to invest heavily on the English language which they cannot get outside the school.

Education circular no. 1 of 2003, “the Establishment of Radio Programme through Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam” (JMT, 2006: 47-48), is about the intention of the Ministry of Education to have radio programmes broadcast through the national radio station, Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD) which currently falls under the Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC). One of the subjects to be included in the programme is English. The radio programmes are intended to focus on primary education and the Ministry of Education would supply radios to all primary schools in Tanzania mainland. English radio programmes would be aired every Monday morning from 8:30 – 8:55 and the repeat would be on Wednesdays the same time. The programme would give primary school pupils the opportunity to learn English as a foreign language as it is stated in the Education and Training Policy document (see section 5.2.1.1).

Education circular no. 2 of 2003, “Examining English and Kiswahili Separately in National Examination for Examination Conducted on the Fourth and Seventh Year” (JMT, 2006: 49-50) is about the decision by the Ministry of Education to have English and Kiswahili subjects examined differently in the national examinations conducted in the fourth and seventh years of primary education with effect from 2003. Before then English and Kiswahili used to be examined under one subject referred to as *Language*. According to this circular, the decision is to have those subjects examined fully with regard to the contents covered. Currently four subjects, Maarifa ya Jamii (Social science studies), Hisabati (Mathematics), Kiswahili and English, are examined. The first two subjects are scored under 50 each while Kiswahili and English take 25 marks each making a total of 150 marks.

The last education circular which the researcher found of interest is no. 4 of 2003, “the Class Size in Primary Schools” (JMT, 2006: 53-54) giving a directive on the

number of pupils permissible in primary school classes. According to this particular circular, the size was being reduced from 45 to 40 pupils in a class. Since nothing was said for secondary and teacher education levels, what is stated in circular no. 16 of 2002, “the Size of the School and Class in Accordance with the Number of Students” (2006: 97-102) stands for those levels. In that circular the class size is 40, 30, 30 and 25 for O’Level, A’Level, Grade A and Diploma students respectively.

However, as it is revealed in class observations conducted in primary and secondary schools in relation to challenges on the implementation of the language-in-education policy (see section 5.2.2.1), the so-called standard class size remains on papers without implementation. Students are overcrowded in classes to the extent that teachers find it difficult to manage them.

5.2.1.1.5 Subject Syllabi

A syllabus is an outline and summary of the topics to be covered in a course. In most cases syllabi are used to ensure consistency between schools and that all teachers know what must be taught. Examinations are normally set based on the information included in the syllabus.

English, Kiswahili, Geography, and Biology syllabi were randomly selected for the purpose of establishing the general objectives of education in Tanzania, objectives of secondary education, how language across curriculum is reflective in the syllabi and how bilingualism and biliteracy is captured.

The objectives of education, which give the rationale for the suggested model for strong bilingual education, have been included in all the syllabi above and are summarised in Table 5.3 below:

Table 5.3: Objectives of Education in Tanzania

i)	To guide and promote the development and improvement of the personalities of the citizens of Tanzania, their human resources and effective utilisation of those resources in bringing about individual development.
ii)	To promote the acquisition and appreciation of the culture, customs and traditions of the people of Tanzania.
iii)	To promote the acquisition and appropriate use of literacy, social, scientific, vocational, technological, professional and other forms of knowledge, skills and attitudes for the development and improvement of the condition of man and society.
iv)	To develop and promote self-confidence and an enquiring mind, an understanding and respect for human dignity and human rights and readiness to work hard for self advancement and national development.
v)	To promote and expand the scope of acquisition, improve and upgrading of mental, practical, productive and other skills needed to meet the changing needs of industry and economy.
vi)	To enable every citizen to understand and uphold the fundamentals of the National Constitution as well as the enshrined human and civic rights, obligations and responsibilities.
vii)	To promote love for work, self and wage employment and improved performance in the production and service sectors.

Source: URT (2005: IV)

The syllabi also indicate objectives for secondary education in Tanzania, which are summarised in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Objectives of Secondary Education

i)	Consolidate and broaden the students' scope of basic ideas, knowledge, skills and attitudes acquired and developed at primary education level.
ii)	Enhance students' development and appreciation of national unity, identity and ethic, personal integrity, respect for human rights, cultural and moral values, customs, traditions and civic responsibilities and obligations.
iii)	Promote students' linguistic ability and effective use of communication skills in Kiswahili and English.
iv)	Prepare the students for opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge, skills, attitudes and understanding in prescribed or selected field of study.
v)	Prepare the students for tertiary and higher education, vocational, technical and professional training.
vi)	Inculcate in the students a sense and ability for the self-study, self-confidence and self-advancement in new frontiers of science and technology, academic and occupational knowledge and skills.
vii)	Prepare students to become responsible members of the society.

Source: URT (2005: IV)

Through the selected syllabi it was found out that bilingual education is not given prominence when designing the syllabi. Since the syllabus is the guide to the teachers in primary and secondary schools, for bilingualism not to be captured leaves a loophole for the teachers not to consider bilingual education in their teaching. The researcher also noted that LAC is not a priority in the syllabi perused. Language issues are solely left in Kiswahili and English syllabi. In that case the linguistic ability and effective use of communication skills in both Kiswahili and English envisaged in the objectives of secondary education may not be achieved.

5.2.1.2 Documents Generated by the Schools

The following documents (see sections 5.2.1.2.1 – 5.2.1.2.3) generated by the school authorities were perused in November 2008 to January 2009 in the primary and secondary schools. The purpose was to establish the school language policy in connection with the language used to document the staff meeting minutes, to write the daily report and the language used in correspondence with the Ministry of Education or Local Government.

5.2.1.2.1 Staff Meeting Files (1995 - 2008)

School language policy can be revealed in the language which is used to document the staff meeting minutes. The researcher wanted to establish whether bilingual education is implemented in the schools which formed the case study. In this case the claim that Tanzanian education is bilingual, that is, using Kiswahili and English as languages of education, could be revealed on the languages used to document the minutes. The researcher reviewed files for 1995 to 2008 for academic staff meeting in primary and secondary schools. According to the files perused, normal meetings were held once a month and there were times extraordinary meetings were held as well depending on the matter in question. Responding to a follow-up question on the time staff meetings are normally held, all heads of schools at PA – D and SA –D said they normally make use of the

morning break at 10H30 when students are not in class. However, they added that in case there is any matter pressing they can hold a meeting at any time.

In all four primary schools, PA, PB, PC and PD, the staff-meeting minutes were written in Kiswahili only. In secondary schools the case was different because in one school, SA, prior to 1998, English was the only language used to document the minutes but thereafter they changed the language to Kiswahili. The rest of the secondary schools, SB, SC and SD, have been using only English to document their minutes.

In order to cross-check why English is no longer used to document minutes at SA secondary school, the researcher raised a question during interviews with teachers and the head of the school. Two teachers pointed out that there was a circular from the Ministry of Education directing the school heads to conduct the meeting and write minutes in Kiswahili, a national language. Other teachers were not aware of the circular in question but were of the opinion that it was the decision of the school head. When those who said there was a circular from the Ministry of Education regarding the language to be used were pressed further as to whether they saw and read the circular they admitted not to have seen it but heard from unreliable sources in the school. However, the head of the school confirmed that there was no circular regarding that but it was because before 1998 the school used to get foreign teachers from UK and USA who did not understand Kiswahili and that is why English featured in staff meeting minutes. Now that the foreigners are no longer in that school, it was considered prudent to use Kiswahili, the language every member of academic staff was comfortable with. The researcher further cross-checked in the circular files to see if there was such a circular as claimed by the two teachers but it was not there.

In the other three secondary schools, SB, SC and SD, the only language used to document the minutes was English. Asked why that was the case, teachers and

heads of schools (see Table 3.2) maintained that English, according to the *Education and Training Policy* (1995) document, is the medium of instruction and the only language of communication in secondary schools and that is why they have no option but to use it.

The review of the staff meeting files unveiled that all the schools, PA – D and SA – D, do not consider the use of both Kiswahili and English in documenting their minutes. This can on one hand be attributed to the fact that schools rely solely on what is included in the *Education and Training Policy* (1995: 35, 39 & 45) with regard to the medium of instruction in primary and secondary education. On the other hand, the schools do not have their own language policies which promote bilingualism in connection with which language has to be used, why and when it should be used.

5.2.1.2.2 Daily Report Logbooks (2005 – 2009)

The ultimate purpose of any report is to provide the foundation for decisions to be made and action taken. The length of the report depends on the seriousness of the matter, as some reports might be short but others detailed.

In primary and secondary schools it is the responsibility of the teacher on duty to write and submit the daily report to the head of the school. It was revealed that the format differs depending on whether the school is a boarding or day school, meals are provided in school or not, and different activities a particular school has in a day. All the same, the reports perusal conducted from November 2008 to January 2009 at PA - D and SA - D had the following in common: students' attendance, cleanliness activities in the morning, special announcements, teaching, and extra curriculum activities.

In the present study, the researcher was interested in the language used to write the daily report of the schools. This was to establish whether bilingualism features

in such schools through the daily report logbooks or if it the school objective to promote bilingualism in the daily reports' writing. In all the four primary schools, PA, PB, PC and PD, the language used was Kiswahili only. It was as well discovered that even the comments made by the heads of the above schools to whom such logbooks are submitted daily are in Kiswahili.

However, English was the only language which was used in all the four secondary schools, SA, SB, SC and SD. As it was in primary schools, the comments from the heads of schools also were in the language used to write the report, in this case English.

Enquiring why that is the case in a cross-checking question, all eight heads of schools at PA – D and SA - D said Kiswahili and English are official languages in primary and secondary schools respectively.

As it was revealed above (see section 5.2.1.1) the language used to write the daily reports by teachers on duty is characteristically monolingual. The use of two languages, Kiswahili and English, in writing the daily report was not encountered in any of the eight primary and secondary schools. This implies that bilingualism is not the schools' objective they want to eventually achieve.

5.2.1.2.3 Circular/Correspondence Files (1999 - 2008)

The implementation of the language-in-education policy can further be guided by directives from the Ministry of Education or the main institutions that fall under it. According to the administrative structure in Tanzania, primary schools fall under the local government while secondary schools are directly under the Ministry of Education. There is always correspondence between the school and the ministry or local governments.

The researcher perused the circular/correspondence files of 1999 to 2008 in all the four primary schools, PA, PB, PC and PD and the four secondary schools, SA, SB, SC and SD from November 2008 to January 2009. This was to establish if the Ministry of Education or the local governments constantly give directives on the implementation of the language-in-education policy and the language(s) which is/are used in such correspondence.

It was discovered that no single circular was given in connection with how the language policy is to be implemented in and outside the classroom, the language to be used in documenting the staff-meeting minutes, the language to be used in correspondence between the Ministry of Education or local governments with schools, the language to be used in the school motto, mission and vision and in linguistic landscape within the school premises.

Moreover, the researcher went through different correspondence files to establish the language(s) used in correspondence between the schools and the Ministry of Education or local governments. The aim was to see if bilingualism is maintained in the schools through correspondence. It was noted that all the four primary and four secondary schools, PA – D and SA – D, used only Kiswahili as a language of communication. All letters sent to or received from the Ministry of Education or local governments were written in Kiswahili. Asked in a cross-checking question whether they noted the contradiction emanating from the *Education and Training Policy* (1995) document, heads of the eight schools admitted to have seen it but were of the view that Kiswahili was the national and official language in Tanzania and for it to be used in correspondence was acceptable.

The circular/correspondence files perused point out one aspect that Kiswahili is the dominant if not the only language in school correspondence with the Ministry of Education and local governments. Equally important is the fact that the Ministry of Education does not assist the school administration in the whole issue of language

implementation. Apparently the Ministry of Education has left everything in the hands of individual heads of schools to decide how to implement the policy, which to a large extent leaves a lot to be desired in language-in-education policy implementation.

5.2.2 Data from Interviews

The researcher conducted interviews from 3rd November 2008 to 23rd January 2009 at PA, PB, PC, and PD primary schools and SA, SB, SC and SD secondary schools. Respondents in these schools included teachers and heads of schools. Additionally, in the above period, the researcher had interviews with members of the secondary school boards and parents. Interviews were as well held on 26th – 28th January 2009 with officials from HakiElimu NGO, the Tanzania Institute of Education and the Ministry of Education (see section 3.6) respectively. The information on interviews gathered views from the respondents regarding the concept of bilingual education as well as their understanding of current language-in-education policy and implementation in the schools. The questions focussed on the following key issues:

- i) The criteria used by policy makers in designing the language policy.
- ii) The views on the official language policy that stresses monolingual instruction as opposed to the founding ideal of the state to promote bilingual education in Tanzania.
- iii) The views in connection with Kiswahili being one of the languages of education.
- iv) The school language policy in promoting bilingualism.
- v) How LAC is implemented in the classrooms.
- vi) Time allocation for the teaching of English in primary schools.
- vii) Challenges in implementing the language-in-education policy in schools.
- viii) Punishment meted out to students who speak Kiswahili in the school premises and how it affects promotion of bilingual education.

- ix) Recommendations for the improving the language-in-education policy in Tanzania.

5.2.2.1 Criteria for Language Policy Formulation

Responding to the question on the way a language policy is formulated, on 28th January 2009 ministry officials (see Table 3.1) at the Ministry of Education headquarters located in the city of Dar es Salaam gave what they considered the ground work before a language policy is designed. First, the Ministry of Education forms a task force that includes language practitioners, educators and politicians who are charged with the task of collecting education stakeholders' views in connection with the language policy. Such views are then analysed and incorporated in the language policy. They gave an example of the Presidential Commission of Education which submitted its report in 1982 on educational issues in general and language in particular.

Secondly, they added that institutions, agencies and departments under the Ministry of Education such as Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE), National Examination Council of Tanzania (NECTA), The Tanzania Library Services Board (TLSB), The Institute of Adult Education (IAE), Teachers Service Department (TSD), Agency for Development Education Management (ADEM) and School Inspectorate Department do on regular basis submit general reports, language issues included, on which recommendations for improving education are made. From these reports, policy makers can design and improve language policy.

Thirdly, they submitted that the trend of parents and/or guardians' interests in taking their children to specific schools like English Medium or International schools, informs the ministry of what the society wants. Therefore, when designing or improving the existing language policy, the interests of such education stakeholders are taken into account.

The other criterion mentioned in the interview session on 26th January 2009 in relation to language policy design is to rely on research findings from academics and educators. These are research projects which are or are not funded by the government but their findings are submitted to the Ministry of Education for implementation. They mentioned such institutions as the University of Dar es Salaam, Institute of Kiswahili Research and BAKITA.¹⁸

5.2.2.2 Official Language Policy

Other respondents who were involved in interviews (see table 3.1) also gave their views on the official language policy that capitalises on monolingual instruction as opposed to the founding ideals of the state to promote bilingualism and biliteracy in education through Kiswahili and English. Table 5.5 summarises the respondents' views.

Table 5.5: Respondents' views on the official language policy

For Bilingual Instruction:	
i)	It is a good idea to promote bilingualism in Tanzanian education where Kiswahili, English and some vernacular languages can be used in education unlike what is happening now where English is the sole language at post-primary level of education.
ii)	The more the languages a person can speak in this globalised world the better. To cling to English and forget other languages is a dangerous linguistic mistake.
iii)	People in the world use more than one language in education setting and there is no hitches reported.
iv)	Tanzania needs to be proud of its languages and use them in education at least at the lowest levels.
For Monolingual Instruction:	
i)	Students need to put much effort on the language they do not understand and which is very prominent in the world.
ii)	Using two languages, English and Kiswahili, will kill English automatically because Kiswahili will overshadow English.
iii)	Since there is no clear programme to foresee bilingual education, monolingual instruction is the only option.
iv)	In order for the students to learn a foreign language, that language has to be the one heard in classes and the school premises.

¹⁸ BAKITA is the Kiswahili Council of Tanzania responsible for the development of Kiswahili in and outside Tanzania.

- | | |
|-----|---|
| v) | Bilingualism may bring confusion instead of helping the students. |
| vi) | It is good to be consistent in one language for the betterment of the students cognitively. |

Generally, the views in Table 5.5 seem to suggest that the education stakeholders are divided as there are those who would like to make use of African languages such as Kiswahili and other vernacular languages. They see no harm in using more than one language in education. On the other hand, there are those who would like to maintain the status quo by using one language in education as the current language-in-education policy stipulates (see section 5.2.1.1.1). They equate the use of two languages to confusion to the learners hence lack of consistence. This takes place within the framework of weak bilingual education.

5.2.2.3 School Language Policy

In the interview sessions held from 3rd November 2008 to 23rd January 2009 the researcher was also interested to get respondents' (see Table 3.1) views in connection with the school language policy in promoting bilingualism. Additionally, as indicated in the data from documentary review and observational methods (see sections 5.2.1 & 5.2.3), follow-up questions were asked during the interviews to cross-check what was observed in class, linguistic landscape and what was reviewed in the official files. Respondents (see Table 3.1) were required to explain what was the school language policy in documenting the staff meeting minutes, writing the daily reports, designing the signboards for linguistic landscape and making school announcements.

Teachers, heads of schools and members of the secondary school boards (see Table 3.1) admitted that they did not have an official language as far as the above activities are concerned but they relied on the official policy as stipulated in the *Education and Training Policy* (1995). In this policy (see section 5.2.1.1.1) it is stated categorically that the medium of instruction in primary and secondary schools is Kiswahili and English respectively. These respondents said that the

language of instruction is like the official language in the school business. Therefore, they said, the language used in documenting the staff meeting minutes, writing the daily report, designing the signboards for linguistic landscape and making school announcements is similar to the official medium of instruction at a particular educational level.

However, in one of the secondary schools (SA), the researcher noted that previously the minutes were written in English but the trend has changed to Kiswahili from 1998. Initially, two out of four teachers interviewed in that school on 6th and 7th November 2008 claimed that there was a circular from the Ministry of Education in that regard but the school head on 14th November 2008 refuted that claim saying it was not a matter of the circular but was based on the fact that English was by then used because there were foreign teachers in that school who did not understand Kiswahili. It was therefore taken by the researcher as one of the indicators that teachers are unaware of the language policy or the directives governing the language policy.

5.2.2.4 The Use of Kiswahili as Mol

Responding on Kiswahili, a language most of the learners and teachers command, being one of the languages of education in Tanzania alongside English, teachers and heads of schools, parents, board members and NGO official (see Table 3.1) in the interview sessions held from 3rd November 2008 to 28th January 2009 had varied views. Their views are summarised in Table 5.6 below.

Table 5.6: Respondents' views on the language of education

<p>For English:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) English is a unifying language of different people from different linguistic backdrop. So if we use Kiswahili as one of the languages of education, we shall fail to compete in the global market and our employment opportunities will be taken by foreigners. ii) Students do not know Kiswahili for them to use it as a language of instruction. iii) Many developed countries use English, so if we do not use it our country

will not develop.

- iv) Science subjects like Chemistry, Physics and Biology cannot be taught in Kiswahili.
- v) Our former local chiefs signed bogus treaties because they did not understand English, so to reject English and embrace Kiswahili is to invite colonialism again.
- vi) Education given in Kiswahili will not have any value worldwide.
- vii) Most companies advertising jobs have English as a major requirement for the jobs.
- viii) Using Kiswahili will result into English being given less time and hence less fluency for the speakers.
- ix) There is much Kiswahili everywhere for students to pick but deliberate efforts have to be taken to learn English.
- x) Using Kiswahili as another language of instruction in secondary schools is a sign of despair that our children cannot learn English.
- xi) If Kiswahili is entertained that will be the end of Tanzania as we shall not be able to compete in the global market because of language barrier.
- xii) The poor are the ones who will be affected as the well-to-do families will take their children to English medium schools within and outside the country.
- xiii) Though the students will understand what they are taught, their knowledge will be locally confined.
- xiv) Currently it is hard to hear English spoken in Tanzanian families and outside the classroom; making Kiswahili one of the languages of instruction will deny the opportunity for our children to learn English.

For Kiswahili:

- i) Kiswahili is the language understood by both teachers and students so we better use it for the sake of our learners.
- ii) Students learn better in a language they understand, most Tanzanian learner are conversant in Kiswahili.
- iii) Let students learn in a language they know for them to be able to perform and deliver sufficiently.
- iv) Since Kiswahili is well developed and is currently an international language, it should be used in education.

Any of the Two:

- i) Having two languages (Kiswahili and English) will continue to fuel the language problem, so the solution is to stick to one language and put all our efforts to develop it.
- ii) Dual language programme will make us lose direction; we better stick to either English or Kiswahili.
- iii) Entertaining many languages in education will cause disunity in the society, so Kiswahili or English should be used.

Views from respondents interviewed as indicated in Table 5.6 above indicate that education stakeholders are divided into three. There are those who are in favour of the use of English as a language of instruction due to international qualities attributed to it. They are emphatic that if Tanzania does not use English as MoI there will be irreversible consequences economically. The second category is in favour of Kiswahili on the point that students learn better if they learn in a language they understand. They submit that since Kiswahili has received technical support in terms of corpus planning, it is high time we used it in education. The last category is undecided on a particular language provided Kiswahili or English is used in education but not both. They are of the view that resources should be directed on one language for its development and restrain from using more than one language as that might fuel disunity in the society.

5.2.2.5 The Language across Curriculum

The language across curriculum (LAC) was one of the key issues of interest to the researcher. The researcher wanted to know whether school teachers as a team work towards improving language skills of their students without leaving the burden to language teachers. Additionally, the researcher wanted to get views from officials in the Ministry of Education and TIE in connection with the designing of instructional materials and syllabi.

In the interview sessions from 3rd November 2008 to 23rd January 2009 with teachers and heads of all the eight schools and then on 27th and 28th January 2009 with TIE and Ministry of Education officials respectively, it was discovered that teachers focus on subject content and never bother with the language issue when teaching or marking students' assignments. They stressed that every teacher is trained according to his/her specialisation and interfering other people's specialities was regarded as unprofessional.

Regarding the instructional materials being designed in such a way that LAC could feature, officials from TIE and the Ministry of Education (see Table 3.1) were of the view that the official language policy is silent on the same. They stressed that such changes need a lot of careful thinking backed with research findings. Thereafter they can be incorporated in the language policy for them to implement through instructional materials. They therefore stressed that as for now, there was nothing they could do.

It is therefore clear from the above findings that LAC is not the concept the policy makers think it can assist in developing learners' language skills. Since teachers rely on the directives from the Ministry of Education or its departments, LAC inception in the education system is not feasible in the foreseeable future.

5.2.2.6 English in Primary Schools

Teachers and heads of schools in the four primary schools (see Table 3.1) also were required to comment on time allocation for English language teaching in primary school in the interviews held from 3rd November 2008 to 23rd January 2009. According to the education circular no. 2 of 2005 "The New Structure for Subjects in Primary Schools" (JMT, 2006: 2), there are seven English periods (see footnote no. 17) in a week in all the seven years of primary school education. The majority of teachers who were involved in the interview from primary schools, PA, PB, PC and PD, (see Table 3.1) showed their concern on this matter saying pupils cannot master the language within forty minutes a day, the time allocated for English. They said, with their experience in teaching in primary schools for a long time, pupils do not have any motive to learn English and even in the forty minutes allocated, Kiswahili dominates. Asked why they do not practise the language outside the classroom, teachers and heads in primary schools said the school system does not have a language policy that can force pupils speak English outside the class. They said this is because Kiswahili is the sole language of instruction in primary schools and indeed a language of communication.

The teachers and heads of schools' views seem to indicate that if both English and Kiswahili are to succeed then there is a need to put more emphasis on the use of English in and outside the classroom for the learners to get ample time to practise the language. These views suggest that we should not expect that students can learn and use English as one of the languages of education in such sociolinguistic circumstances in primary schools under the current language policy (see section 5.2.1.1.1).

5.2.2.7 Challenges in Language Policy Implementation

Moreover, the researcher wanted to get the challenges teachers, parents and students get in implementing the language-in-education policy at grass roots level. The majority of respondents (see Table 3.1) said that the major challenge in connection with language policy is lack of clear guidelines from the Ministry of Education and its institutions or departments for implementing the policy. They stressed that sometimes they are forced to apply common sense that since the medium of instruction is English or Kiswahili, so the language to be used in all activities should relate to that. They further unveiled the contradiction they get regarding the language the Ministry of Education uses in correspondence. They expected that since the medium of instruction is English in secondary schools, then any letter from the Ministry of Education would be written in English, something which is not the case as all letters from the Ministry of Education are written in Kiswahili (see section 5.2.1.2.3).

The other challenge mentioned by heads of schools, parents and members of the secondary school boards (see Table 3.1) was the fact that teachers in primary and secondary schools are the victims of the system, in that they are not competent enough in the English language. That makes it difficult for implementing the official language policy that requires all the subjects except Kiswahili to be taught in English.

Respondents (see Table 3.1) further pointed out large classes the teachers have to teach as another serious challenge in implementation of the language policy in Tanzania. They said the students/teacher ratio is too high (see Table 5.2) to the extent that interaction which helps students learn the language of education is difficult to implement. They stressed that students cannot have meaningful group discussions, dramatisation, simulation and presentations which a teacher can supervise. What they do, according to teachers interviewed in primary and secondary schools is to devote to lecture method which makes the teacher a main speaker and students passive hearers.

The findings in connection with challenges in implementation of language-in-education policy in schools suggest that there is inadequacy in the language implementation. The education stakeholders are not sure of what to do and because of large classes the teachers have to handle; the problem of implementation becomes compounded.

5.2.2.8 Discouragement of Kiswahili in Secondary Schools

The other key issue which was discussed in the interviews conducted from 3rd November 2008 to 23rd January 2009 was on the punishment meted out to students who speak Kiswahili in the school premises in secondary schools. As indicated in the linguistic landscape in the schools (see section 5.2.3.2), “Speak English” signboards are scattered all over the secondary schools involved in this study. Students are expected to speak English all the time except when they are in the Kiswahili class. Teachers and heads of schools (see Table 3.1) had various views regarding the tendency of punishing students speaking Kiswahili.

First, all teachers and heads of schools as indicated in Table 3.1 were of the view that the aim of punishing students is not bad as it endeavours to help them improve their language skills. They claimed that if the students are allowed to speak Kiswahili, they will get problems in the examinations which they have to write in

English, as per the current language policy (see section 5.2.1.1.1). They therefore said punishment helps students to understand what they are taught, understand instruction given in examinations and to be able to write something intelligible in their essays.

Secondly, they said that punishment is meted out in realisation that Kiswahili is well understood by students but they need to take much of their time and effort in a foreign language, English. They stressed that they can speak Kiswahili at home and in the streets where English is never heard according to the sociolinguistic environment in Tanzania.

Thirdly, punishment was not seen as a hindrance to learning as they unveiled that it is like a tradition in Tanzania for learners to be punished to get them to learn what the teacher wants them to. They said if students are left to do what they want, it is obvious that English will remain a barrier to learning. They insisted that what is needed is carefulness in administering the punishment to ensure there are no physical injuries.

Fourthly, all teachers and heads of schools maintained that experience has shown that the students who excel academically in many schools in Tanzania, the reason behind is the fact that punishment was meted out to their students to speak a language of education, English. They added that the fear students have due to punishment administered to them when they are caught speaking Kiswahili helps them and eventually when they are successful academically that is when they are thankful to what their teachers did.

However, respondents were of the opinion that students do not need to only get corporal punishment for them to speak English. Instead, they said that counselling sessions to students by explaining the need for them to learn and speak English could work miracles.

Additionally, respondents disclosed that Tanzania has a law governing punishment in schools. They therefore stressed that corporal punishment is forbidden and suggested that all schools have to adhere to that law. They said the law stipulates clearly how punishments have to be administered and who is to do it. Positive punishment for the benefit of the students such as writing long essays, taking part in preparation of the school newsletter, more homework and class cleanliness could be the best option.

Generally, the information gathered from teachers and students in secondary schools reveals that students get punished when they speak Kiswahili. This is a contradiction from what the Ministry of Education officials say in connection with promotion of bilingual education in Tanzania.

5.2.2.9 Suggestions for Language Policy Improvement

The last key issue which was of interest to the researcher was on recommendations of improving the language-in-education policy in Tanzania. Respondents (see Table 3.1) made the following suggestions as summarised in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: Recommendations for Improving the Language Policy

Resources and Investment:	
i)	There must be good preparation of qualified teachers, teaching materials and the learning environment before a language policy is approved.
ii)	There must be emphasis on the improving of English language because Tanzania is lagging behind in East African countries.
iii)	There must be a language policy department in the Ministry of education manned with experts in language planning and policy.
iv)	The private sector should also be encouraged to invest in foreign language teaching programmes for people to learn foreign languages instead of relying heavily on the government.
Research and Task Force:	
i)	To have a close look at what researchers say based on research findings.
ii)	Revisit the recommendations regarding the medium of instruction at post-primary level put forward by the Presidential Commission of Education (1982).
iii)	Politics not to interfere knowledge base in decision making on the language-in-

education policy.

Evaluation and Priorities:

- i) The language policy should periodically be evaluated and updated for the betterment of the learners.
- ii) Economic independence first then think of autonomy in language policies later.

The respondents' views in Table 5.7 suggest that the language-in-education policy need review based on the research findings for the sake of learners and the realisation of the objectives of education in Tanzania. They also indicate that there is a need to make a thorough evaluation to find out if the set objectives can be achieved through the language policy in question. This would largely depend on priorities of the state in relation to the economic situation prevailing. Additionally, there is a need to improve human and material resources by strategic investment in the education sector for qualified teachers with sufficient teaching and learning materials.

5.2.3 Data from Observational Method

The observations were conducted in November 2008 by observing on-going classes as well as surveying the linguistic landscape within the school premises with the purpose of establishing whether bilingual education is implemented in the schools. For class observation (see Appendix 13), the researcher observed English, Kiswahili, Geography, Biology and Chemistry at SA, SB, SC and SD secondary schools for second and fourth year students. Class observation was also carried out at PA, PB, PC and PD primary schools, where English, Geography and History subjects were targeted. Each subject above was observed three times on different days for the fifth and seventh year pupils in primary school. For each class observation lasted for 40 minutes (see footnote no. 17). As for linguistic landscape, the intention of the researcher was to establish if the designing of signboards within the schools above was bilingual and whether it was the schools' objective to design bilingual signboards.

5.2.3.1 Class Observations

Class observations were guided by principles of bilingual education (see section 2.8) where attention was paid to the following questions:

- i) How is teaching in the classes observed consider bilingual education?
- ii) To what extent is the teacher - students/students – students' interaction maintained when only English is used in the classes observed?
- iii) Do the teaching materials the teachers use in class to facilitate the teaching and learning process take into cognisance of bilingual education?
- iv) Does the class size affect the implementation of the language-in-education policy?
- v) Do teachers and students understand the founding ideals of the state to promote bilingualism and biliteracy in education?
- vi) How does the Ministry of Education assist the classroom teacher to effectively implement the language-in-education policy?
- vii) Are the teachers qualified enough to implement bilingual education programme in the schools as a requirement of the principles of bilingual education?
- viii) How is the language across curriculum (LAC) implemented in the classes observed?
- ix) Does the classroom sociolinguistic environment adhere to promoting bilingual education?

Class observations were conducted for 26 days (see Appendix 13) in primary and secondary school from 3rd November 2008 to 23rd January 2009.

The researcher noted that in all the classes observed in secondary schools where English was Mol and the English subject in primary schools there was little interaction among the students themselves and even the teacher-students

interaction was very minimal in all the schools. Despite the constant encouragement from teachers to speak, students remained silent because English seemed to be a barrier in secondary schools. The teachers would devote to “safe talk” by simply saying OK and continued with something else. Three cases, two from primary schools and one from secondary schools in connection with this scenario were noted.

Case 1:

(This occurred on 4th November 2008 at PA primary school for fifth year pupils during the English class that began at 09H20)

Teacher: Who is the head of the family at home?

Pupils: *(Silence)*

Teacher: Tell me, you have families at home. Who is the head of the family?

Pupils: *(Silence)*

Teacher: OK. Nitajie watu wanaounda familia *(Tell me the people constituting a family)*.

Pupils: *(in chorus answer)* Baba, mama na watoto *(Father, mother and children)*.

The teacher decided to switch to Kiswahili, a language pupils understand well, after realising that they could not answer his question in English. However, due to what the researcher interpreted as “safe talk” the teacher did not stick to his former question of who the head of the family is but instead asked another question for the pupils to mention the people constituting a family not the head of the family.

Case 2:

(This occurred on 18th November 2008 at PB primary school for seventh year pupils during the English class that began at 09H20)

Teacher: Mention two proper nouns you know.
Pupils: *(Put up their hands)*
Teacher: *(Appoints one pupil to answer)*
Pupil X: Desk
Teacher: Is that right?
Pupils: *(In chorus answer)* Yes
Teacher: What is a proper noun?
Pupils: *(Put up their hands)*
Teacher: *(Appoints a pupil to answer)*
Pupil Y: A proper noun is a name of a person or thing.
Teacher: I want you to read your notes and be able to tell me different types of nouns with examples.

The teacher again in this case turned to “safe talk” by asking the students to read about what was taught previously. This indicates one thing that the pupils are not competent in the English language.

Case 3:

(This occurred on 14th November 2008 at SA secondary school for second year students during History class that began at 12H30)

Teacher: Mention the western empires before colonialism.
Students: *(Put up their hands)*
Teacher: *(Appoints one student to answer)*
Student N: Mali, Songhai
Teacher: *(Interrupts)* Mention only one.
Student N: *(Sits down)*
Teacher: OK, what were the causes for the rise of Songhai Empire?
Students: *(Put down their hands)*

Teacher: Mnajua empire bila kujua sababu za ku-rise na ku-fall? (*You know the empires but not the causes for their rise and fall?*).

Students: (*Remain quiet*)

Teacher: OK

Thereafter the teacher continued with what seemed like a revision to causes for the rise and fall of Mali and Songhai Empires. He did not give time for students to discuss the question in groups and see if they could come out with the answers he expected. Devoting to answering the question which was meant for students was seen as “safe talk” on the side of the teacher.

Additionally, the large size of the classes, unlike what is suggested in education circular no. 4 of 2003 “the Class Size in Primary Schools” (JMT, 2006: 53-54) (see section 5.2.1.1.4), poses a serious challenge in connection with students/students interaction. Students in all four primary and four secondary schools were overcrowded and for that matter the teachers found it difficult to encourage group work which would have encouraged maximum interaction among them. The problem became more compounded in language classes where language practice was virtually impossible. In cross-checking question to one of the teachers at SC secondary school who was teaching English on 16th January 2009 as to how he copes with such large classes, he admitted that the students were disadvantaged and underscored that opportunities to learn English language were limited.

It was noted further in the class observations carried out from 3rd November 2008 to 23rd January 2009 that the majority of teachers are not qualified bilinguals for them to implement bilingual education in which Kiswahili and English languages are targeted. Some grammatical mistakes were noted in different subjects as indicated below:

Biology:

- i) *¹⁹*Where are?* (This was used to constantly ask students who came late in class, meaning: *Where are you from?*)
[This was noted on 3rd November 2008 for the third year students at SA secondary school]
- ii) **Are you remembering?* (This was used to ask students if they recalled a point a teacher was referring to).
[This was noted on 3rd November 2008 for the third year students at SA secondary school]
- iii) **The dental formulae are not the same at all animals.*
[This was noted on 7th January 2009 for second year students at SD secondary school]
- iv) **Ever you have seen a plant without flowers but fruit bearing?*
[This was noted on 7th January 2009 for second year students at SD secondary school]
- v) Digestion **can understood as ...*
[This was noted on 15th January 2009 for second year students at SB secondary school]

Chemistry:

- i) Most of them **they* are ...
[This was noted on 13th November 2008 for second year students at SB secondary school]
- ii) Gold is superior **than* copper
[This was noted on 17th November 2008 for the third year students at SB secondary school]

Geography:

- i) Let's **we* have more suggestions.

¹⁹ * Asterisk indicates ungrammatical word or sentence in this study

[This was noted 16th Jan 2009 for fourth year students at SC secondary school]

- ii) *Difference methods are used to measure the distance.

[This was noted 16th Jan 2009 for fourth year students at SC secondary school]

History:

- i) Colonialism *come to Africa as good people.

[This was noted on 19th January 2009 for second year students at SC secondary school]

- ii) *Africa chiefs accept colonialism because of corruption.

[This was noted on 19th January 2009 for second year students at SC secondary school]

- iii) They did not *brought anything...

[This was noted on 19th January 2009 for second year students at SC secondary school]

Similarly, when observing the English class for the fifth year pupils at PD primary school on 15th January 2009, a teacher tried to correct a pupil who in fact had made a correct sentence.

Pupil: Jacqueline is one of Catherine's daughters.

Teacher: Don't say *daughters* because Catherine is one person. So say:
**Jacqueline is one of Catherine's daughter.*

The teacher wrote the above ungrammatical sentence on the chalkboard and pupils were made to read it collectively in class. The pupils did not seem to notice the mistake, thus confirming the misconception widely held by learners that the teacher knows everything.

From ungrammatical mistakes above, it is clear that teachers who are expected to be language models for their learners are not competent in a language of education. This poses a challenge in the implementation of the current official policy that requires the use of English as a sole language of instruction at post-primary level of education. The principle of bilingual education that requires teachers to be bilingual to be able to implement it is technically challenged.

It was further observed that science teachers struggled to explain subject contents in English. For example, when observing the Biology class on 19th November 2009 for third year students at SB secondary school, the teacher used real objects available in the school environment for his subject as teaching aids, but lacked language skills to present the subject content effectively. He did not have a variety of activities to assist the students use the language of instruction, where language across curriculum (LAC) could have been emphasised. Instead chorus answers were entertained and since the class was large, it was difficult to tell whether students had acquired language skills, especially reading and listening skills which could be evaluated through proper pronunciation.

Similarly, science teachers seemed to be the main speakers in class while students were passive listeners. In two incidents during class observations in Biology and Chemistry on 9th and 16th January 2009 at SD and SC secondary schools respectively, it was noted that due to what the researcher termed as boredom, students opted to be writing notes of a different subject (Geography and History) and therefore did not pay attention to what was being explained in class. This was a result of “teacher talk” (henceforth TT) which was of course against the tradition where teacher trainees are taught not to talk too much in class.

Teacher trainees are instead encouraged to use the student-centred mode for students to interact. However, when teachers talk, they should engage the attention of the class, present them with comprehensible input and also allow them

to interrupt, comment and ask for clarification. That would be a good teaching that consists of talking interactively with the class or individual students as students not only learn through comprehensible input but also their own output. This was not characteristic of the classes observed.

It was observed further that English (see Appendix 13), which is taught as a compulsory subject in primary schools, receives less attention. It was noted in all the four primary schools that teachers use Kiswahili to teach English subject as almost 90% of the language used in the so-called 'English classes' was Kiswahili in all the classes observed. Although this was a violation of the language-in-education policy as stipulated in the *Education and Training Policy* (1995: 39) document, the teachers seemed to forge ahead. This tendency denies pupils the opportunity to practise a foreign language to be learnt in addition to Kiswahili which can lead to bilingualism and biliteracy in education.

It was further observed with concern that English language teachers in primary schools encouraged chorus answers and seemed to be satisfied even when it was obvious that the majority of pupils did not understand. In one of the English classes observed at PC primary school on 18th November 2008, the situation was like this:

Teacher: Are we together?

Pupils: Yes

Teacher: Now construct a sentence from this family tree (showing a family tree drawn on the chalkboard).

Pupils: (*Silence*)

Teacher: Nataka mtunge sentensi kuhusu familia hii (*I want you to construct a sentence from this family tree*).

Pupils: (*Few put their hands up as an indication that they were ready to answer the teacher's question*).

This tendency for the students and teachers to use Kiswahili most of the time during English classes jeopardises the chances for the pupils to learn the language. For all the time the researcher was in the field for class observations (see Appendix 13), pupils in the four primary schools were not heard speaking English outside the classrooms and no teachers were heard encouraging them to. Responding to a cross-checking question on 12th – 19th January 2009 demanding to know the school policy on English use outside the classrooms and the language of the day, heads of PA, PB, PC and PD primary schools said English was not an official language in primary schools for the pupils to be encouraged to use it. They added that it was considered something impossible to ask students to speak English at that level, where even teachers find it difficult.

Furthermore, through class observations particularly in secondary schools (see Appendix 13) it was noted with concern that English is a barrier to a considerable number of students in secondary schools. This is the case despite the fact that it is a language given high esteem by students, teachers and parents in Tanzania. For example, in one of the Chemistry classes observed on 13th November 2009 at SB a teacher wrote a statement on the chalkboard and asked the students to tell whether it was a true or false statement. The statement was:

Boiling is a process of changing from liquid to solid.

To the researcher's surprise most of the students in that class failed to tell that the sentence was obviously false. Although the teacher tried to explain to them what boiling is, their answers seemed to be based on guesswork, because even those who said the answer was false changed their mind when the teacher asked a confirmatory question, "Are you sure?" to them.

As it is explained in the data from interviews (see section 5.2.2), lack of directives from the Ministry of Education on how effectively and efficiently a language-in-

education policy has to be implemented in the schools, it was noted in the class observations (see Appendix 13) that most teachers and students do not know the founding ideals of the state to promote bilingual education through the educational setting at the classroom level.

Regarding the sociolinguistic environment inside the classrooms to favour bilingualism, the researcher discovered during class observations (see Appendix 13) that what is written on class notice boards is in Kiswahili and English in PA, PB, PC and PD primary schools and SA, SB, SC and SD secondary schools respectively. Students use the notice boards to pin their essays and notices which seem to correspond with the language of instruction in a particular level of education (see section 5.2.1.1.1).

The findings of these observations seem to be indicating that monolingual instruction in primary and secondary schools dominates. Above all, teachers who are one of the main implementers of the language-in-education policy are not conversant with the founding ideals of the state to produce learners who are bilingual and biliterate in education both in Kiswahili and English.

5.2.3.2 Linguistic Landscape Observations

The linguistic landscape observations were conducted at PA, PB, PC and PD primary schools and SA, SB, SC and SD secondary schools between 3rd November 2008 to 23rd January 2009. The researcher was interested in observing the linguistic landscape in the above eight schools to establish whether the designing of signboards within the school premises adhered to bilingual education criteria and whether it was the schools' objective to design bilingual signboards as a way of implementing bilingual education within the school premises.

In this linguistic landscape observation, the researcher was guided by the hypothesis that there is poor comprehension of the concept of bilingual education,

where having some signboards written in English and others in Kiswahili is enough for them to claim there is bilingualism. However, in the present study, in order for bilingualism to be reflective, the two languages, Kiswahili and English have to be used on the same signboard.

Linguistic landscape observation focussed on the language used to name classrooms, offices, laboratories and other school buildings like stores, kitchens and recreational centres. The focus was also on the language used on the school signboards within or outside the schools. Table 5.8 indicates the signboards observed in relation to the language used.

Table 5.8: Linguistic Landscape Observation

TYPE OF SCHOOL	SCHOOL	SIGNBOARDS OBSERVED				
		ENG	%	KISW	%	TOTAL
Primary	PA	0	0	9	100	9
	PB	0	0	10	100	10
	PC	0	0	8	100	8
	PD	0	0	8	100	8
Secondary	SA	12	75	4	25	16
	SB	14	87.5	2	12.5	16
	SC	18	81.8	4	18.1	22
	SD	16	80	4	20	20

Key: Eng = English, Kisw = Kiswahili

It was noted that in primary schools as indicated in Table 5.8 above, all 35 (100%) signboards were written in Kiswahili while in secondary schools about 81% were written in English, 19% in Kiswahili and none at all was bilingual. It was noted that signboards in Kiswahili were mostly in the heads of secondary schools offices. The justification given by heads of schools at SA, SB, SC and SD secondary schools in connection with a cross-checking question on the signboards on their offices was that they preferred Kiswahili because such offices were meant for the public, the people conversant in English and those not, and because Kiswahili is a national and official language spoken by the majority in Tanzania.

Asked another cross-checking question to whether there is any clause in the policy or whether there is any directive from the Ministry of Education regarding the language that has to be used in signboards within the school premises, teachers and heads of schools at all the eight schools from 3rd November 2008 to 23rd January 2009 contended that it is normally the common sense of the school administration or a teacher responsible to designing the signboard in question. This can be the area teacher,²⁰ sports teacher, agricultural teacher, academic master and the like. They added that emphasis in secondary schools is to have the school motto, mission and vision written in English, so even the signboards are to be in English language as it is considered the primary language of communication in secondary schools.

The findings from linguistic observations and responses for cross-checking questions give the impression that bilingualism is not the schools' objective when signboards in the schools are designed. This can be attributed partly to lack of understanding of the criteria for bilingual education and lack of guidelines from the Ministry of Education on the implementation of language-in-education policy in the schools.

5.2.4 Data from Focus Group Discussions

The focus group discussion method was administered to pupils, students and teachers in primary and secondary schools (see Table 3.2) from 3rd - 21st November 2008. The focus group discussions concentrated on policy implementation challenges in the classroom. The method also provided for cross-checking of information gathered from documentary review and observational methods. The method was as well used to get wider perspective from the group members who could make arguments based on what other fellow group members had said.

²⁰ The area teacher in secondary schools is a teacher responsible to supervise cleanliness of particular area in the school.

The discussion was guided by the following key issues:

- i) Information on views and perceptions of the respondents regarding the concept of bilingual education.
- ii) The challenges that education stakeholders face in implementing the language-in-education policy.
- iii) The kind of the language model as a way forward that can promote Kiswahili and English in education unlike misconceptions held by most parents that their children's success is evaluated through the way they can speak English upon their graduation.
- iv) Respondents' views on the proposal to make Kiswahili a language of education alongside English with a view of promoting additive bilingual education.
- v) The discouragement of Kiswahili in secondary schools contrary to the current language-in-education policy and the consequences to the achievement of the founding ideals of the state to promote bilingualism and biliteracy through Kiswahili and English.

5.2.4.1 The Concept of Bilingual Education

One of the hypotheses of the present study is that there is inadequate comprehension of the concept of bilingual education in connection with additive and subtractive types of bilingual education (see section 1.3). The researcher wanted to get the views and perceptions of the respondents in connection with the bilingual education concept. Primary school teachers and pupils involved in focus group discussions (see Table 3.2) were of the view that since Kiswahili is a language of instruction and English a compulsory subject in primary schools, then it is taken for granted that we have bilingual education. The same stance was held by students and teachers in secondary school (see Table 3.2) claiming that English is the medium of instruction and Kiswahili a compulsory subject, therefore all

languages are in the educational setting. However, they added that the Ministry of Education needs to do something to strike a balance between the two languages.

It can therefore be deduced from the above that the concept of bilingual education is vaguely understood among the teachers and learners. It is clear that Kiswahili and English do not get the same emphasis be it in primary or secondary schools. Lack of clear guidelines on how the two languages should be used in the schools makes the situation compounded.

5.2.4.2 Language Policy Implementation Challenges

Teachers and students as well discussed the challenges in implementing the language-in-education policy. All the respondents, as indicated in Table 3.2, confirmed the same challenges which were established during the interview sessions (see section 5.2.2.7). In a nutshell they emphasised lack of guidelines from the Ministry of Education and its institutions or departments on the policy implementation, teachers being the victims of the system in relation to proficiency in language of education and large classes resulting from high students/teacher ration.

In addition, as it was during colonial era, they said people's attitudes towards English in the society, was mentioned as another challenge in implementing the language policy. They stressed that parents, students and teachers view English as a language of power and those who teach Kiswahili are ridiculed in the school and the society at large. They contended that unless the people's attitudes change, the implementation of the language-in-education policy geared towards promoting bilingualism and biliteracy in the schools will remain a paradox.

This indicates that there are challenges within the education system which hinder the implementation of the language policy. In addition the attitudes people have

towards the use of English as a language of education makes it difficult for the promotion of Kiswahili in the educational settings.

5.2.4.3 Language Model

With regard to the language model that would ensure the retention of Kiswahili alongside English as languages of education, the group members (see Table 3.2) revealed that mass education needs to be taken as a priority. They stressed that no matter how good a model may be, if people do not know its advantages they are likely to cling to their uninformed beliefs that English only is the best language of education. They proposed that a language model could be piloted in a few selected schools for people to see that it really works.

In connection with English speaking being used as a yardstick by most education stakeholders to signify success in education, the group members underscored that colonial mentality still lingers into people's mind. They said since people were made to believe that everything from the colonial masters was good including their language, they have tended to despise their own languages and embrace foreign languages. They, however, admitted that the students would benefit from learning in a language they understand.

Therefore, the views from group members suggest that the success of the language model would largely depend on how the mass education is disseminated for the people to see the possibility for their children to be successful academically and be able to function locally and in the global market.

5.2.4.4 Kiswahili as a Language of Education

Another key issue which engaged the respondents (see Table 3.2) in focus group discussions was the proposal to have Kiswahili as a language of education alongside English with the intention to promote additive bilingual education. Respondents confirmed what was established in the interview (see Table 5.6). The

views in Table 5.6 are divided into three categories. There are views in favour of English because it is a language of science and technology and it is well developed. Respondents in this category disputed the use of Kiswahili in Education with the reasons that it is a language not well developed and it does not feature in the international arena. However, the second category of views is in favour of Kiswahili for the point that students learn better in a language they understand. The third category includes views in favour of either Kiswahili or English but not both for fear of confusion likely to affect the learners when using the two languages.

Findings above suggest that people are in favour of monolingualism and prefer that an “imported” language dominate in the education settings. They do not see that both Kiswahili and English can be used in education for the purpose of promoting bilingualism and biliteracy in education.

5.2.4.5 Discouragement of Kiswahili

Lastly, the focus group discussions concentrated on the discouragement of the use of Kiswahili particularly in secondary schools despite its recognition in the current language policy (see sections 5.2.1.1.1 & 5.2.1.1.2). The discussion focused on the punishment meted out to students caught speaking Kiswahili and its implications in promoting bilingual education. For the punishment of Kiswahili speakers, group members gave the same views as in the interviews (see section 5.2.2.8). Regarding the implications to bilingual education, the majority of group members admitted that the punishment would compromise the envisaged bilingual education but stressed that under the language circumstances prevailing in Tanzania, encouraging students to speak Kiswahili is tantamount to killing English irretrievably.

To sum up, the data presented above aimed at presenting the stakeholders views on the challenges of the current language-in-education policy implementation in Tanzania. Focus group discussion provided for cross-checking information

gathered through various government and school generated documents and observations.

Through research methods, documentary reviews of various official documents, interviews with relevant education stakeholders and role players in the language policy implementation, observations and focus group discussions, the researcher managed to get the insight of the overt language policy, planning and implementation. Furthermore, information on views and perceptions of the education stakeholders regarding the concept of bilingual education as well as their understanding of the current policy and implementation was captured. The challenges on board in connection with language policy implementation were pointed out as presented in the preceding sections. The interpretation of the presented data forms part of the next subsections.

5.3 Discussion

The discussion focuses on the current language-in-education policy implementation against the background of the principles of bilingual education developed by García (1997) as well as the Developmental Interdependency Hypothesis (DIH) and Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) theories of bilingual education by Cummins (1978 & 1980). The aim of data presented is to establish whether the envisaged ideals of the state to promote Kiswahili and English as languages of education could be achieved through the current subtractive model of bilingual education.

According to García (1997: 416-420) there are basic criteria for the success of bilingual education. These are support for low-status languages in the educational setting for their development and maintenance, the use of two languages in instruction, bilingual administration and staff, highly qualified teachers of one language or the other who are bilingual, active bilingual participation and support. Other criteria are educational context which is bilingual, an educational language

policy intended to make students bilingual and biliterate, educational strategies that support bilingualism and biliteracy, highly varied teaching materials and fair and authentic assessment. The criteria were evaluated in this study to see if the envisaged bilingual education is at all implemented in the schools with parental participation and support.

5.3.1 Monolingual and Bilingual Instruction

The exclusive use of one language in education leads to monolingualism while the use of two languages in instruction may lead to bilingualism and biliteracy. Language-in-education policy in Tanzania as stipulated in the *Education and Training policy* (1995) official document (see section 5.2.1.1.1) stresses on one language at a time as a medium of instruction in pre-primary, primary and secondary education. Kiswahili is emphasised in pre-primary and primary schools while English is the sole language of instruction in secondary schools. This contradicts what Torres-Guzmán (2007: 50) recommends regarding enrichment programmes which are synonymous to dual language programmes. She stresses that the ideology of dual language programmes is to have another language added to the one the children already have and that children's academic growth in both languages should be encouraged.

The envisaged goal to have bilingual and biliterate citizen can be difficult to achieve in the educational settings if only Kiswahili or English is allowed to dominate as a sole language of instruction in primary and secondary education respectively. This effectively leads to monolingual instruction which cannot bring about bilingualism and biliteracy in education.

According to the societal diglossic relationship between English and Kiswahili in Tanzania, English is categorised as High (H) variety while Kiswahili as Low (L) variety (Rubagumya, 1991: 69). For Kiswahili to get H status, it needs support in the educational settings where it is to be one of the languages of education at post-

primary education level. However, views from interviews with education stakeholders (see sections 5.2.2.4 & 5.2.2.8) vividly suggest that English, a minority language in Tanzania carries a symbolic power and it is protected from Kiswahili in the education settings for fear of losing the language of wider communication. As indicated in Tables 5.6 and 5.7 (see section 5.2.2) education stakeholders favour monolingual instruction as the only way students can learn and use English for educational purposes. They are of the view that using two languages, in this case Kiswahili and English, would bring confusion on the part of learners. This line of thinking concurs with what is implied in Separate Underlying Proficiency (SUP), a theory of bilingual education where two languages apparently work against each other. However, as Baker (2006: 168) argues, research has suggested that it is wrong to assume the brain as having a limited amount of room for language skills to make monolingual instruction preferable to bilingual instruction.

Failure to stick to the language required to teach a particular subject denies the learners the opportunity to practise the language. As indicated in the class observation data (see section 5.2.3.1) teachers in primary schools use Kiswahili most of the time to teach English. This makes it difficult for the pupils to learn and use English in addition to Kiswahili hence a setback in promoting bilingualism and biliteracy in education as envisaged by the founding ideals of the state. Since pupils cannot have the opportunity to learn English in schools, the possibility for them to acquire it at home is negligible. In a study conducted by Rubagumya (2003) it was discovered that Kiswahili dominates in most families in Tanzania. He emphasises that the parents who claimed in that study to be using English with their children at home were not proficient in English themselves. This shows how difficult it is for pupils to learn English if the school environment is not conducive enough.

The bilingual instruction principle takes three elements into account, namely the use of two languages in instruction by differentiating their roles in the society, compartmentalisation of two languages throughout the school curriculum and the students' mother tongue to have a place in the school curriculum (García, 1997: 416-417). One of the study hypotheses that there is poor comprehension of the concept of bilingual education with regard to additive and subtractive types of bilingual education (see section 1.3) manifested itself through the interviews with education stakeholders. It is assumed that if English or Kiswahili is taught as a compulsory subject in primary or secondary education respectively, then bilingual education is reflective. However, according to García (1997: 405) bilingual education is taken to mean the use of two languages in instruction. The Ministry of Education officials (see sections 5.2.2.5 & 5.2.2.8), who were supposed to guide the implementation of language-in-education policy, also seemed to fall into this trap. They were emphatic that since there is both Kiswahili and English in the curriculum, then Tanzanian education is bilingual. However, Kiswahili is neglected and gets less attention in secondary schools at the expense of English. This reflects a poor understanding of bilingual education.

As indicated in the data presented in this chapter (see sections 5.2.1 – 5.2.4) a subtractive system of bilingual education is apparent in primary and secondary schools in Tanzania. Pupils' mother tongues are not accepted in primary schools and likewise Kiswahili receives strong opposition in secondary schools. Native language loss is always associated with lower levels of second language attainment, scholastic underachievement and psychosocial disorders. In view of this, Lindholm-Leary (2001: 62) submits that successful language development programmes seem not only to prevent the negative consequences of subtractive bilingualism, but also to effectively promote the beneficial aspects of additive bilingualism.

The punishment meted out to students who speak Kiswahili in secondary schools (see section 5.2.2.8 & 5.2.4.5) is a clear manifestation that bilingualism is seen as a problem and every effort is made to ensure Kiswahili does not become a language of instruction (see Table 5.6). Kiswahili in this case is seen as interfering the learning of English, a language viewed with high prestige in the society. Contrary to what research findings in theories of bilingual education point out that an individual can learn and use two or more languages in education without cognitive problems, parents, teachers and students maintain that English-only policy is the best alternative to master and use English in education (see sections 5.2.2.2 & 5.2.2.4). Rubanza (1996: 82) submits that the government fears overt attention of home languages as they are likely to encourage ethnic loyalty which can lead to impeding development of the current broader and stronger national unity. However, as Rubagumya (1991: 78) points out, when those in power consider bilingualism undesirable, only one language, the H language, will be developed and others neglected. The current language policy in Tanzania, as far as bilingual education is concerned, calls for transitional language programme where, Kiswahili is used in pre-primary and primary schools but gradually eliminated at the post-primary level of education. This encourages subtractive instead of additive bilingual education which could have promoted proficiency in two languages, Kiswahili and English.

Although Tanzania observes the condition of bilingual education by having English, a second/foreign language, as a medium of instruction and at the same time taught as a compulsory subject in its own right at O'Level, Kiswahili is only taught as a compulsory subject and not used as a medium of instruction in secondary schools. This, by all means, cannot promote bilingualism and biliteracy in the education system as envisaged by the founding ideals of the state.

5.3.2 Bilingual Education in Schools

Additive bilingual education is a situation where students come to school speaking their mother tongue(s) and a second language is added. In order for additive bilingual education to be achieved in the school system, different role players need to actively commit themselves to bilingualism and biliteracy. In this section, the analysis based on the data presented is made indicating whether criteria necessary for the development of bilingualism and biliteracy in educational settings are available in Tanzania through the selected schools in the case study.

5.3.2.1 Bilingual Administration and Staff

As García (1997: 418) correctly puts it, in the school context administrators, teachers, paraprofessionals and clerical and custodial staff must be bilingual or willing to work towards becoming bilingual for school achievement of bilingualism and biliteracy. Data presented indicate that one of the principles of bilingual education as developed by García (1997: 418) that requires all staff members in the school to be bilingual is a far-fetched objective (see section 5.2.3.1). In secondary schools it is only teachers who are expected to speak both English and Kiswahili. They have Kiswahili because it is a language used in day-to-day activities in the society and above all the official and national language. They have English because it is the language which was used as a medium of instruction at post-primary level in their training. Nevertheless, proficiency in English has continued to be a common problem for the majority of teachers (see section 5.2.3.1).

In primary schools, where the members of staff available are only teachers, the only language in almost all school business, except in teaching English as a compulsory subject, is Kiswahili. Data from interviews with heads of primary schools (see sections 5.2.1.1.1 & 5.2.2.6) indicate that there is no much emphasis on one's proficiency in English before employment because the language of

instruction is Kiswahili and teacher training colleges for primary schools teachers use Kiswahili as a medium of instruction.

Members of staff in secondary schools who are not teachers do not have English as one of the job requirements. Nobody bothers, as data from interviews with heads of schools point out, to ask them during the job interviews about their bilingual status. Most of them are categorised as support staff and only completed primary education that takes seven years, the level at which Kiswahili continues to be a language of instruction to date. Additionally, despite the signboards around secondary schools as indicated in the linguistic landscape observations (see section 5.2.3.2) that students and staff have to speak English, it is only teachers and students who are targeted.

Therefore, the bilingual principle requiring staff members to be bilingual or working towards becoming bilingual is not taken into account in the school setting.

5.3.2.2 Qualified Bilingual Teachers

Another sociolinguistic bilingual education principle developed by García (1997: 418) requires that teachers must be qualified bilinguals in the schools. They are expected to have native or high levels of linguistic competence in the language in which they teach or the language they teach. For example, if they teach Chemistry or Geography and the language of instruction is English they must be competent in English. Likewise, if they teach English or French as a compulsory subject then they must be proficient in English and/or French. However, our data in this study indicate that teachers are not exemplary to their students when it comes to mastery of English as a language of instruction. Through class observations, it was discovered that teachers make grammatical errors and they go to the extent of correcting what is already grammatical (see section 5.2.3.1). To avoid embarrassment, teachers opt for “safe talk” in class by not pointing out learners’ mispronunciation and grammatical errors. Lindholm-Leary (2001: 64) questions the

possibility for teachers to promote a high level of bilingual proficiency if they themselves do not possess high levels of proficiency as part of their instructional interaction. Teachers do not have proficiency in both Kiswahili and English, so they cannot be expected to promote what they are lacking.

Similarly, as indicated in Table 5.2, the teacher/students ratio is alarming to the extent that interaction among the learners and teachers becomes impossible. There are no qualified bilingual teachers but even those available are not enough compared to the number of students.

Therefore, it was concluded that the principle for teachers to be qualified bilinguals and manage to carry out their day-to-day activities in school using two languages is not feasible. Most teachers are only proficient in Kiswahili and seem comfortable to use it in their professional activities, but when it comes to English, they face serious problems.

5.3.2.3 Parental Participation and Support

García's (1997) sociolinguistic principles of bilingual education, which are the point of departure of the present study, require that there must be active parental participation and support in order for bilingualism and biliteracy in education to be promoted. Parents, being the core education stakeholders, must actively involve themselves in the choice of bilingual education for their children. They need to be well informed and committed to bilingualism and at the same time be active participants in their children's education. Similarly, Lindholm-Leary (2001: 76) considers parental involvement and collaboration with the school as an important factor in dual language programme. She underscores that parental involvement develops a sense of efficacy that communicates itself to learners.

According to the data in this study (see section 5.2.2) parents prefer their children to be taught in English only and strongly oppose the proposal to have Kiswahili

being one of the languages of education. The argument they put forward is that bilingual education would cripple the efforts of their children to learn English. They inwardly seem to concur with Rugemalira (2005: 72) in connection with the position of Kiswahili:

While a few EMS²¹ parents (*in Tanzania*) may be regarded as subscribing to a subtractive model of bilingualism, in general most parents want their children to master English, in addition to Kiswahili. They may appear to give no priority to Kiswahili because they assume that this language (Kiswahili) is 'everywhere around the children' and can be picked up 'free of charge'. They see English is rarely encountered in normal daily life and therefore argue that conscious planning and investment is required in order to master it. They also believe that extra investment in English is needed because this is the language of economic and social advancement.

This suggests that the parental support needed for the promotion of bilingualism and biliteracy in education is lacking among these education stakeholders. They consider the use of Kiswahili and English as likely to confuse their children. In this regard, parents seem to be holding a misconceived perception of how bilingual education works in the mind of a learner. Theoretically, they think in terms of the Separate Underlying Proficiency (SUP) as developed first by Cummins (1978). In this theory, people have a feeling that two languages operate separately and they do not support each other. However, this theory does not hold water in connection with bilingual education as it fails to comply with the common fact where bilingual people constitute the majority of the world's speakers. Bilinguals live in their context without any detrimental effects from their multilingualism. Experience has rather indicated that students can learn two or more languages without obvious effects in the acquisition of the other language. What is practically true is that skills and knowledge acquired from one language can have a link in acquisition of another language.

²¹ EMS is an acronym for English Medium School

5.3.2.4 Bilingual Education Context

For bilingual education to be a success, the entire school must be designed in a way that can promote bilingualism and refrain from promoting monolingualism. According to one of the principles of bilingual education (García, 1997: 419), a bilingual context in the school must be encouraged, where two languages have life of their own around the school campus beyond the classrooms.

According to the data gathered from the official documents, files and observations made (see sections 5.2.1.4, 5.2.1.5, 5.2.1.7, 5.2.2.1 & 5.2.2.2) bilingualism is not a desirable objective in the schools. Code-switching in English classes was noted as a common practice in all the primary schools in the case study, which was a violation of the language policy. This is likely to cripple the efforts in place for the pupils to prepare themselves for the language of instruction in their next level of education.

In secondary schools, where all subjects except Kiswahili are taught in English, code-switching seemed to be rampant. Inasmuch as code-switching helps the learners to understand what they are taught; it also poses great challenges to the learners. It is understood that a teacher may code-switch to the native language or a language understood by learners in order to clarify meaning for learners' efficient comprehension. However, such code-switching of repeating the instruction in the native language can lead to some undesirable behaviour among students. For example, a learner who is sure that the instruction in a language difficult to him/her will be followed by a native language translation may lose interest in listening to the former instruction and this in turn limitedly exposes the learners to the target language discourse. This tallies with what Rugemalira (2005: 77) says that when code-switching amounts to translation of what is said in class using a target language, learners tend to tune out and wait for the translation in the first language.

Torres-Guzmán (2007: 53) is convinced that avoidance of simultaneous translation is another way in which dual language policy is to be maintained. She highlights that teachers are encouraged to trust the long-term language-learning process and therefore focus on the target language in a particular subject. This, according to Torres-Guzmán, helps the learners to pay attention to what is presented in the target language. As such the learners get used to the target language and develop language skills in that language. Additionally, focusing on the target language reduces the burden to the teacher as it is tiring to teach everything twice.

However, it was discovered that linguistic landscape within the school premises does not adhere to the requirements of bilingualism which dictates that each and every signboard should use more than one language. Monolingualism seemed to be preferred to bilingualism as all signboards in four primary schools were written in Kiswahili while in secondary schools; almost 81% were in English and the rest in Kiswahili (see Table 5.8). It was therefore established that monolingualism in linguistic landscape design dominated in all schools which were included in the case study. For some few signboards (19%) which were written in Kiswahili around the secondary school premises, bilingual promotion was not the schools' objective but only that Kiswahili was a language which could be understood by most people visiting the school offices.

5.3.2.5 Educational Language Policy

As a principle of bilingual education, for bilingualism and biliteracy to be achieved there needs to be an educational language policy that aims at making students bilingual and biliterate (García, 1997: 419). It is further submitted that the students' home language should play a role in the school curriculum, that is, be used as a medium of instruction and at the same time taught as a subject. García stresses that the students' second language (L2) should initially be taught in linguistically homogeneous groups using the students' home language to make the subject matter or contents comprehensible. As time goes, L2 is increasingly used as the

medium of instruction in context embedded activities and progressively in more context-reduced activities.

In this principle of bilingual education, a requirement is that educational language policy has to acknowledge the interdependency that exists between the two languages. This stresses one thing that Developmental Interdependency Hypothesis (DIH) and Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) theories of bilingual education (see section 2.7.2 & 2.7.3) have to be taken seriously.

However, data presented in the present study prove that the Tanzanian language policy does not favour bilingualism and biliteracy in education (see section 5.2.1.1.1). Subtractive type of bilingual education features most in the educational settings, where Kiswahili, a language used and understood by 95% of the Tanzanian population is not given space as a language of education in secondary schools. The students who speak Kiswahili get punished severely in secondary schools (see sections 5.2.2.8 & 5.2.4.5). Though the school administration claims to be doing this in the name of helping the students to master a foreign language, the tendency has detrimental effects on the endeavour to promote bilingualism and biliteracy in education. What is more interesting is that parents and students find this practice (punishment) as part and parcel of the teaching process. They fail to realise that punishment indirectly creates an image in the learners' mind that Kiswahili cannot be a language of education and that they should not be dependent on it for them to excel in education.

Education stakeholders in the Ministry of Education institutions were of the view that bilingualism cannot be a priority while the country is still economically and culturally dependent (see Table 5.7). They indirectly propose that a sound language policy which can take care of the languages we have in Tanzania should wait until the country is economically stable. They believe that once serious measures to safeguard the economy and nation from foreign domination have

been introduced, the language policy will follow suit automatically. This means that efforts to change the language policy for the sake of the learners are impossible especially when we have a lot to think of for our economy which is still unstable and dependent. However, studies (Qorro, 2005; Brock-Utne, 2005; Mpemba, 2007) have indicated that planning for the better language policy can go hand in hand with economic development plans. There is no need of closing all other avenues on language planning simply because we are busy with developmental plans at hand, as if language policy is not part of the national plans.

Since the *Education and Training Policy* (1995) document does not give details to guide language policy implementation, it was expected that the Ministry of Education would give directives to heads of schools, teachers' colleges and school inspectors to facilitate the implementation. The document is silent on various key issues of implementation and leaves a lot to be desired if there are no supplementary guidelines and directives (see sections 5.2.1.2.1, 5.2.1.2.2, 5.2.2.3 & 5.2.2.7). For that matter the school administration is left at a cross-roads and they have to make their own decisions based on common sense and experience.

As a follow-up question to interview respondents (see Table 3.1) from 3rd November 2008 to 23rd January 2009 on whether their views were considered in the language policy design, it was established that the stakeholders were not consulted. It was unveiled that political leaders have much influence when government policies are being designed (see section 5.2.2.1). In designing a language-in-education policy, policy makers ought to consider the views from stakeholders who are likely to be affected in one way or another by the policy.

Similarly, one of the objectives of education in secondary schools (see Table 5.4) is to promote students' linguistic ability and effective use of communication skills in Kiswahili and English. This objective is geared towards promotion of additive bilingualism in Tanzanian education settings. However, it was discovered in the

present study that subtractive mode of bilingual education is preferred in the educational system and Kiswahili and English do not have the same status in the society (see Table 5.6).

Another document, the *Cultural Policy* of 1997 touches lightly on issues of language in education (see section 5.2.1.1.2). The language issues were raised in this document largely because language is part of the culture. This document, however, poses more contradictions with regard to what obtains in the *Education and Training Policy* of 1995. It is stated, for example, that English shall be a compulsory subject and special programme to make Kiswahili a medium of instruction at all levels of education shall be designed and implemented. This is the opposite of what the *Education and Training Policy* (1995) document states that English shall continue to be a language of instruction. According to Galabawa and Lwaitama (2005: 12) the then Minister for Education was reportedly saying that what was included in the *Cultural Policy*, with regard to Kiswahili being a language of instruction at all levels of education, was a mere declaration of intent and the ministry was not legally bound to implement it. This concurs with what Bamgbose's (1991: 104) remarks that where there is lack of political will to implement policies, one is likely to see policies without implementation.

The policy and planning section supposedly to be responsible for policies in the ministry seem not to be aware on the mentorship of the language-in-education policy. All the issues related to which language should be used in the documentation of staff meeting minutes, daily report writing, linguistic landscape in the school premises and the correspondence in general are not dealt with in that section within the ministry. Instead, each school administration is apparently left on its own to decide on the above (see sections 5.2.1.2.1, 5.2.1.2.2, 5.2.2.3 & 5.2.2.7).

Another major challenge on the language-in-education policy is the fact that bilingualism is not an issue which gets support from other government sectors

apart from education. The language policy needs to be a cross-cutting issue in all the government institutions. Most government businesses are run in Kiswahili and everybody in the office uses Kiswahili as an official language. However, when one goes to secondary schools the position of Kiswahili changes and as students put it in the focus group discussions; whoever speaks it is regarded as a person who has committed a mortal sin (see sections 5.2.2.8 & 5.2.4.5). In this situation bilingualism cannot be successful if the government, through the Ministry of Education, does not take deliberate measures to harness the situation.

Based on the data in the present study one realises that the current policy documents (see sections 5.2.1.1.1 & 5.2.1.1.2) are not in accordance with criteria for bilingual education and therefore the language policy itself is not based on principles of bilingual education as developed by García (1997). For that matter implementation of such a policy in our schools becomes problematic.

5.3.2.6 Educational Strategies

Another principle of bilingual education demands that there must be in the educational system strong inclusive educational strategies which are in favour of bilingualism and biliteracy. As García (1997: 419) convincingly argues, an enquiry-based approach has to take two languages on board as instruments for knowledge. She recommends that a student centred and interactive pedagogy that includes the use of cooperative learning, whole language strategies and the writing process should be followed.

Through the syllabi perused (see section 5.2.1.1.5) it was discovered that the issue of LAC is not considered when the syllabi are designed except in English and Kiswahili, where elements of language are fully covered.

Similarly, it was discovered through the focus group discussion that teachers of other subjects do not give attention to the issue of teaching language elements as

it is considered as none of their business (see section 5.2.2.5). It was noted in the class observations that even if students mispronounce or misspell the words or write ungrammatical sentences in their essays, teachers do not show any concern expecting that language teachers are supposed to take care of that.

Since there is no cooperation advocated across all subjects through LAC, the language learning is difficult for the students. The tendency for some teachers to see language learning as none of their business makes language learning in general and bilingual education in particular a far-fetched phenomenon in Tanzanian education setting (see section 5.2.2.5). Policy makers and syllabi designers have for a long time ignored this important element which, for a large extent, indicates a major weakness in the language-in-education policy.

The weakness in language-in-education policy regarding LAC goes back to the kind of training the teachers have in teachers' colleges and even universities. The curriculum is silent on LAC and teacher trainees come out of the training institutions with the view that they are to focus on their area of specialisation (see section 5.2.2.5). For that matter language elements are solely left to the language teachers. Due to rampant challenges in most schools in Tanzania ranging from large classes to inadequate teaching and learning resources (see section 5.2.2.7), it becomes difficult for the language teachers on their own to realise the students' dreams on language proficiency. LAC as a concept acknowledges the fact that language education in schools does not only take place in specific language subjects such as English, French or Kiswahili but also in each and every subject and activity in the school, that is, across the whole curriculum.

5.3.2.7 Teaching Materials

Highly varied teaching materials signify another principle of bilingual education. The teaching materials used in classroom must reflect language as used in different context including a bilingual one (García, 1997: 420).

In the present study it was discovered that teaching materials do not reflect bilingualism but rather monolingualism (see section 5.2.3.1) contrary to the demand of the principles of bilingual education. Teachers in the interviews and focus group discussions (see section 5.2.2 & 5.2.4) were at a loss to be told that bilingualism has to be considered when designing their teaching materials.

Since the language policy spells out that Kiswahili and English are languages of education in primary and secondary schools respectively (see section 5.2.1.1.1), teachers seem not to have a choice but to comply. Using two languages in preparing the teaching materials is regarded as tantamount to confusion to the students. To them monolingualism was the best alternative. However, this would not promote bilingualism but monolingualism to the learners unlike the founding ideals of the state to have bilingual learners in Tanzania.

The kind of thinking that bilingualism may confuse the learners reflects poor understanding of how bilingualism works as explained in the theories of bilingual education. Apparently teachers and students alike take bilingualism as a serious threat to the teaching and learning process as it may affect learners cognitively. They do not see it as an opportunity for the two languages to develop and enrich each other in the educational settings. They undermine the theories of bilingual education, namely the Common Underlying Proficiency and Developmental Interdependency Hypothesis, which generally take bilingual education as a resource.

5.3.2.8 Fair and Authentic Assessment

A principle regarding fair and authentic assessment of learners is basically against the assessment that compares native speakers to second language speakers. It is emphasised that the assessment should be criterion-referenced or performance based. Criterion-referenced assessment is an assessment where an individual's

performance is compared to a specific learning objective or performance and not the performance of other students. It tells how well students are performing on specific goals or standards rather than how their performance compares to a norm group of students nationally or locally. On the other hand, performance based is the assessment that represents a set of strategies for the application of knowledge, skills and work habits through the performance of tasks that are meaningful and engaging to students (Hibbard et al. 1996: 5). This type of assessment provides teachers with information about how a child understands and applies knowledge.

García (1997: 420) suggests that for fair assessment the language of instruction or choice should be used in assessment. It was established that examinations and tests in primary and secondary schools are administered to students according to the official language of instruction as stipulated in the *Education and Training Policy* (1995). However, language practice where code-switching is rampant especially in secondary schools and English classes in primary schools put learners at a disadvantage. This is because the language students are used to hear from their teachers in classrooms is not used by examination organs to assess the students.

5.3.3 Interpretation

Looking at the data in this study, it is clear that there is no link between the state ideals to promote bilingual education and what is stipulated in the *Education and Training Policy* of 1995 (see section 5.2.1.1.1). The policy does not give details on how implementation is to be carried out. The language policy is supposed to be prepared in such a way that the people responsible for implementing it would understand what their role is. There needs to be mentorship course of action from the Ministry of Education, where directives are provided periodically to guide the school administrators and other education stakeholders in implementing the policy. There should not be loopholes for the school administration to take decision based on their own intuitions or what they consider appropriate. This cannot work in an

education system which is centralised like that of Tanzania. Experience has shown that, left on their own, there is likely to be discrepancies in the way the language policy is implemented across the country. The language policy as stipulated in the *Education and Training Policy* (1995) is not self explanatory and therefore members of the school boards, heads of schools, teachers and the inspectorate department would need reliable information from a special section in the Ministry of Education on some aspects which are not included in the language-in-education policy. This is a clear indication of problematic language-in-education policy design and its implementation.

Additionally, the research findings from renowned academics and educators in educational institutions have been ignored. Two important projects at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, Languages of Tanzania (LOT) and Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa (LOITASA) were pointed out as examples whose findings are not taken seriously by the government. LOT seeks to produce a language atlas showing the geographical locations of the Tanzanian languages, the numbers of speakers for each language and the genetic classification of the languages. The other objective of the project is to produce a series of descriptive studies for grammar and vocabulary of each of the languages spoken in Tanzania, of course excluding Kiswahili which is already well-documented. LOITASA is another project which is equally important as far as language-in-education policy in Tanzania is concerned. The project is concerned with a description and analysis of the current language policies and experimental design which deal with language of instruction in Tanzania and South Africa. However, the findings of such big projects may not shed light as they are likely to be left on shelves.

Moreover, there is problem with conceptualisation of bilingual education. It is believed by education stakeholders and policy makers that the teaching of English and Kiswahili as compulsory subjects in primary and secondary schools respectively is enough to constitute bilingual education. However, in order to have

bilingual education proper there is a need for both Kiswahili and English to be used as languages of instruction.

It can also be seen that because there is no support from the parents in connection with bilingual education implementation, promotion of the same is a hard objective to achieve in Tanzania. Parents maintain their misconception that in order for their children to learn a foreign language the same language should be used as a sole language of instruction in the educational settings. For them, to introduce two languages in education is tantamount to confusion on the part of their children. Mass education on how bilingualism works is what is ahead of the Ministry of Education officials, researchers and educators.

The language policy is also faced with problem of lack of commitment from policy makers and politicians. For example, good recommendations based on research findings were made by the Presidential Commission of Education in 1982 but due to lack of political commitment, they were left unattended (see section 4.3.3.4). One among other recommendations was to gradually make Kiswahili a language of education at all levels of education in Tanzania. Comments made by the then president of the United Republic of Tanzania, Julius K. Nyerere (see section 4.5.2) turned down the initiative to have Kiswahili a language of instruction at all levels of education to date. Additionally, the then Minister for Education when approached for his comments for the implementation of the language policy issues as stipulated in the *Cultural Policy* (1997) he emphatically discarded the pronouncement by the government in that particular document as mere declaration of intent but not bound by law to implement (see section 4.5.2). This is a clear indication that there is no commitment on the part of policy makers who are actually supposed to be advocates of the implementation of the ideals of the state to have Tanzanian learners bilingual in Kiswahili and English through the education settings.

Infrastructure in the education sector is equally important for the smooth implementation of the language policy. Students and teachers alike should be in an environment conducive enough for learning. This includes classrooms, language laboratories, offices, dormitories and learning centres within the schools. It has been established that classes are overcrowded to an extent that meaningful interaction in such classes is impossible. That way, students cannot get sufficient activities in the class for them to learn the language of instruction.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter was devoted to the presentation of data collected from Tanzania in connection with the evaluative analysis of the language-in-education policy implementation. The discussion of data was as well incorporated in this chapter for interpretation purposes.

The data were presented in accordance with the research methods for data collection. The discussion was organised around the principles of bilingual education as suggested by García (1997). The principles together with theories of bilingual education as put forward by Cummins (1978 & 1981) played a significant role in the discussion and interpretation of the data.

Furthermore, the study hypotheses contributed to shedding light in the presentation and discussion of the data. This is because the hypotheses unveiled the core aspects of the sociolinguistic analysis namely, policy design, misconception of the concept of bilingual education and the implementation of the language-in-education policy in Tanzania.

Generally the study has confirmed through the study hypotheses, principles and theories of bilingual education that poor language-in-education policy design, inadequate conception of the concept of bilingual education and poor implementation of the policy are the key issues generating problems in language

planning and policy in Tanzania. Due to this, the envisaged goal to have a bilingual and biliterate Tanzanian learner in both Kiswahili and English through the educational setting can hardly be achieved.

It was noted that the language policy as incorporated in the *Education and Training Policy* (1995) leaves much to be desired as far as implementation of the language-in-education policy is concerned. In schools where this policy is to be implemented for the betterment of the learners, there is more confusion than understanding among the teachers and heads of schools in general. Apparently the heads of the schools have been left on their own without clear guidelines from the Ministry of Education to decide on how to implement policy issues in their schools. As such the envisaged bilingual education has been hard to achieve much less implement.

CHAPTER SIX

OVERVIEW, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the general overview, overall conclusion and recommendations of the study on the implementation of the language-in-education policy in Tanzania. The 50-50 Dual Language Model for the implementation of strong bilingual education in Tanzania has been suggested in this chapter based on the data from this study, the objectives of education in Tanzania and principles of bilingual education. Its criteria and how it is to be implemented in the schools forms part of the recommendations.

6.2 Overview

The study aimed at presenting a sociolinguistic analysis of the current language-in-education policy in Tanzania. The data presentation was guided by the principles of bilingual education for the purpose of establishing the existence or non-existence of bilingual education in the education sector as was envisaged by the founding ideals of the state. This required the scrutiny of various government and school generated documents, class and linguistic landscape observation, focus group discussions and interviews.

The critical overview of the policy development focused on the pre-colonial era to the present day. The overview was based on the pre-colonialism, during colonialism and post-independence eras. It was during the pre-colonial era where each ethnic group used its own language for communication. However, due to mutual intelligibility obtaining in most ethnic languages in Tanzania, it was possible for people from different ethnic groups to communicate. In this era, language planning was not taken as a serious issue as communication beyond one ethnic group was limited and the use of more than one language within a linguistic group was not desirable.

During the colonial era, Tanzania was under the German and British rule, where German, English, Kiswahili and ethnic community languages were given different functions. The German language did not get much prominence as the Germans believed Tanzanians could not learn and speak it well. Instead the Germans emphasised on the use of Kiswahili in their administration unless the communication involved the Germans. Ethnic languages were mostly preferred by missionaries in their schools and spreading the gospel. However, when the British took over from the Germans in 1918, English was used as the language of government business and created job opportunities for those who could speak it. It was also the language of education at different levels. The historical prestigious perception people had during that time about English is what still lingers in the minds of most education stakeholders to date.

The overview also focused on various pronouncements made by the government after independence in connection with promotion of Kiswahili. The pronouncements included the adoption of Kiswahili as a national and official language, a sole language of instruction in primary schools and a compulsory subject in secondary schools. The government also insisted on the use of Kiswahili in government business through the directive from the Prime Minister's office. Due to this Kiswahili was to be used in all the correspondence except the one involving foreign countries.

The studies conducted in Tanzania were further discussed with regard to challenges facing the education sector as far as the use of English as a sole language of instruction in post-primary education is concerned. It was pointed out in such studies that students find it difficult to cope with instructions carried out in English and indicated the consequences related to the current language-in-education policy.

Theoretical considerations related to bilingualism and bilingual education programmes were also discussed in this study. Three theories as put forward by Cummins (1978 & 1980) were discussed indicating how bilingualism operates. These are Separate Underlying Proficiency, Common Underlying Proficiency and Developmental Interdependency Hypothesis. The typology of bilingual education developed first by Baker (1993) and adopted by García (1997) was also reviewed. This typology was preferred in this study as it gives a detailed distinction between a monolingual form and weak form of bilingual education.

The study further analysed the corpus of the language-in-education policy documents as created by the government and the schools. This was meant to get information on overt language planning and implementation. The documents analysed were the *Educational and Training Policy* (1995), *The Cultural Policy* (1997), *Basic Education Statistics: Regional Data* (2007), *Education Circulars 2001-2005* (2006), Syllabi for English, Kiswahili, Geography and Biology (2005), Staff meeting files, daily reports logbooks and correspondence files. These documents indicate the language of instruction from pre-primary to secondary schools and the language of communication in the schools. Kiswahili is used in pre-primary and primary schools while English is used in secondary schools. Similarly, English and Kiswahili are taught as compulsory subjects in primary and secondary schools respectively.

It was as well pointed out that bilingualism and biliteracy in education as envisioned by the founding ideals of the state are hardly practised in the education system. Instead the only language used as Mol at each level is equally used as the language of communication in all the school business. For example, Kiswahili is used in pre-primary and primary school and English in secondary schools. It was noted also that students in secondary schools are punished when caught speaking Kiswahili, an official and national language of Tanzania.

The government documents on language of education vividly indicate that monolingual instruction is practised. Therefore, the language policy supposed to promote bilingualism and biliteracy as envisioned before was not designed according to the criteria of bilingual education as developed by García (1997).

Furthermore, through *The Cultural Policy* (1997) the government made a strong pronouncement about the intention to make Kiswahili a language of instruction at all levels of education. However, the intention has turned out to be a myth as the Ministry of Education is legally not bound to implement the intent.

The schools do not have language policies geared towards promoting bilingualism through their day-to-day activities. Instead, the official medium of instruction at a particular educational level is strictly followed as a language of communication. In that case, as indicated before, monolingualism prevails in primary and secondary schools. The minutes for staff meetings and the daily reports are written in Kiswahili and English in primary and secondary schools respectively. The correspondence between the schools and/or the local governments is carried out in Kiswahili only regardless of the language of instruction stipulated in the language policy documents.

The stakeholders' views about the language-in-education policy indicate that they prefer the use of only English and to them bilingualism is synonymous with confusion. They believe that if Kiswahili and English are used simultaneously as languages of education, their children will get confused. That is why they prefer one language to be used in education for fear of unfounded belief of how bilingualism operates.

Time allocated to teaching English in primary schools was also discussed and noted that it is insufficient. The government anticipation that at the end of the seven years of primary schooling, pupils will have acquired and developed mastery of

English language proficiency is a far-fetched objective. Therefore, with the current subtractive model of bilingual education, the students are likely to persistently suffer the language consequences when they join the secondary education.

Additionally, challenges facing the language policy implementation in Tanzania were pointed out in this study. These are non-availability of constant policy implementation guidelines from the Ministry of Education, poor proficiency of the English language by teachers, large classes, inadequate comprehension of the concept of bilingual education by the education stakeholders and poor infrastructure in the schools.

It was as well noted that apart from the fact that Kiswahili is mentioned in the *Education and Training Policy* (1995) as a compulsory subject in secondary schools and therefore an official language in the education system, students caught speaking it are severely punished. This creates a negative image on the part of students as they eventually regard Kiswahili as a language of low status and therefore not fit to be a language of education. It also shows that it is a language to be avoided as much as possible if one wants to be successful in education. However, this is a contradiction to what obtains in Tanzania as Kiswahili is a language the students and teachers master very well and a national and official language, which almost everyone in the society can speak and use in everyday life in Tanzania.

The study also indicates that teaching through English only in secondary schools has brought serious consequences in education. This is because the study shows that students together with their teachers do not understand the language. A lot of code-switching was apparent in primary and secondary schools. Poor proficiency of the language of education minimises the meaningful interaction in the class, where it is envisioned that students can get the opportunity to learn the target language.

The study further signifies that linguistic landscape is monolingual in all the eight schools in the case study. The signboards in the schools largely depend on the language of instruction as stipulated in the *Education and Training Policy* (1995). That is, in primary schools Kiswahili is the only language used while in secondary schools English dominates by almost 80%. This does not concur with the criteria for bilingual education and the objective of the founding ideals of the state.

The misconception held by the education stakeholders of what bilingual education is was also noted in this study. It was established that bilingual education is assumed to exist in the education system if Kiswahili or English is used as a medium of instruction and English or Kiswahili taught as a compulsory subject in primary and secondary schools respectively. However, this line of thinking contradicts the principles of bilingual education as developed by García (1997).

Due to trivial understanding of how bilingualism operates, stakeholders have insisted on the use of English only as a language of instruction at post-primary level. They prefer English because it is an international and developed language unlike the status accorded to Kiswahili and other Tanzanian home languages. However, colonial mentality which still lingers into many people's mind that the master's language is better seems to be behind this kind of thinking. Surprisingly, education stakeholders do support the punishment students get in secondary schools when they speak Kiswahili.

6.3 Overall Conclusion

There are key conclusions which can be made in this particular study regarding the language policy implementation in Tanzania. The conclusions are based on the study hypotheses (see section 1.3) and the principles of bilingual education (see section 2.8). First of all, the findings of the present study establish that the language policy design is not based on principles of bilingual education as developed in the literature. Due to this, monolingualism features most in the

language policy documents. Kiswahili and English are languages of instruction in primary and secondary schools respectively and there are no elements of bilingual instruction in the schools.

Secondly, the concept of bilingual education is not well conceived among the students, teachers, parents, policy makers and other stakeholders. In order for bilingual education to have its way in the education system the two languages must be used in instruction. However, this study established that Kiswahili is solely used as a language of instruction in pre-primary and primary schools and English is taught as a mere subject. The opposite is true in secondary schools, where English is the only medium of instruction and Kiswahili a compulsory subject. Therefore, the two languages are not used simultaneously as media of instruction at any level of education to warrant the existence of bilingual education in the education set-up.

Thirdly, since the design of the language policy is not based on the principles of bilingual education; its implementation, therefore, cannot be geared towards bilingualism and biliteracy in education. There is discrepancy of between the founding ideals of the state and what is contained in the language-in-education policy and the actual practice in the schools.

Fourthly, the implementation of the language-in-education policy is faced with various challenges. The challenges include a lack of implementation guidelines from the Ministry of Education, inadequate interpretation of the language policy by education stakeholders, poor infrastructure, and lack of skilled human resources to promote bilingual education in schools.

Furthermore, there is lack of serious commitment from the policy makers to take on board the research findings and views from task forces formed in connection with language-in-education policy development in Tanzania. This makes the realisation

of the founding ideals of the state for bilingualism and biliteracy a far-fetched objective.

Moreover, due to lack of mass education with regard to how bilingualism operates, there has always been constant resistance from education stakeholders to have Kiswahili as a medium of instruction alongside English. There is an established misconception among education stakeholders that the use of two or more languages in education can lead to confusion on the part of the learners. This point is informed by the Separate Underlying Proficiency theory which was developed by Cummins (1998). This theory entails that two languages work separately in the human brain and do not support each other. However, Common Underlying Proficiency and Independent Developmental Hypothesis theories which generally indicate the relationship of two languages and how a learner can benefit from the two languages, is what bilingual education is supposed to be based on.

It has therefore been established that the current subtractive model of bilingual education cannot be relied upon to promote strong bilingual education in Tanzania. It is argued in the next section for an alternative model that will see to it that Kiswahili and English get the same weight through the educational settings in order to promote additive bilingual education.

6.4 Recommendations

One of the objectives of this study is to develop a model for implementing strong bilingual education in Tanzania as was envisaged by the founding ideals of the state. Additive bilingualism, one of the strong forms of strong bilingualism, cannot be achieved while the language, Kiswahili, the majority of students and teachers both in primary and secondary schools master is eventually eliminated in the education system and only English, a second and foreign language is favoured as a medium of instruction in post-primary education.

There is therefore a need for deliberate efforts and resources to be taken on board to have a model that can shed light on the promotion of strong bilingualism and biliteracy in Tanzanian education. The model to cater for the implementation of the language programme needs a strong language policy based on research findings. The policy has to state categorically the intention to promote additive bilingual education and systematically show how that intention can be achievable.

Constant directives on the implementation of the language policy through the heads of schools, district and regional education officers and the school inspectorate department should be furnished by the Ministry of Education. There should not be a loophole for some teachers or heads of schools to make decisions favouring their own interests, as this cannot work in a centralised curriculum. The policy should not be confined only to the language of instruction but the linguistic context in the school in general.

More importantly, before a policy to implement the language model proposed in this study is operational, mass education on what bilingual education is and its advantages to the learners should be provided through the media, seminars, rallies, fliers and other means deemed necessary by the Ministry of Education. It should be made clear that bilingual education is not meant to harm the learners cognitively but to help them maintain a native language, Kiswahili and a foreign language, English. Equally important, when the community and administrative attitudes towards bilingualism in education are negative, the suggested model can be hard to implement. It is incomprehensible to develop a programme because it is considered needed without involving the stakeholders and policy makers, as this may lead to a language programme to receive meagre budget, untrained and inexperienced teachers which in turn make expectation for success limited.

In a nutshell, the researcher adopts the suggestion from Lindholm-Leary (2001: 43) who succinctly says:

... successful language education programmes require: effective and supportive administrative leadership, a positive school climate that promotes achievement and positive performance for all students, well trained teachers with high expectations for achievement of all students, faculty cohesion and programme planning and an appropriate well-paced and challenging instructional emphasis that comprises higher-order skills and assures that low achievers master academic skills.

It is anticipated that with the cooperation from students, teachers, parents, NGOs, policy makers and officials at the ministerial level and other relevant education stakeholders, the model proposed below will contribute to the existing knowledge on bilingualism and biliteracy in education in Tanzania. The model requires quality educational materials in both languages and appropriate staff training for an enrichment programme to develop high levels of students' competence in two languages.

6.4.1 The 50-50 Dual Language Model

The model which is proposed in this study for the purpose of promoting bilingualism and biliteracy is the *50-50 Dual Language Model* (see figure 6.1), where both Kiswahili and English are to be used as languages of education in primary and secondary education. The Model is closely related in function with the *50:50 Content Model* developed by Gómez and Gómez (2000) which, according to Gómez et al (2005: 158), has been effective in promoting academic achievement of students at over 45 campuses in Texas and Washington states. It is anticipated that the model will cater for the objectives of education in primary schools, secondary schools and general objectives of education in Tanzania (see Table 5.1, 5.3 & 5.4). Briefly, the objectives of primary education stress the need for the learners to acquire basic learning tools of literacy, communication, numeracy and problem solving. Additionally, they require the learners to acquire, appreciate and effectively use Kiswahili and to respect the language as a symbol of national unit, identity and pride. As for the objectives of the secondary schools, the stress is on the need to promote students' linguistic ability and effective use of communication skills in Kiswahili and English, and prepare them for acquisition of knowledge, skills

and attitudes and understanding in selected fields of study. General objectives of education, among other things, underscore the need to promote the acquisition and appropriate use of literacy, social, scientific, vocational, technological, professional and other forms of knowledge, skills and attitudes for the development and improvement of the condition of man and society. In order to realise the above objectives, the learners and the society at large need the linguistic capability, of which the proposed model envisages to make a significant contribution.

Baker (2006: 229) asserts that the use of two languages in the classrooms aims at producing balanced bilinguals with 50% - 50% ability in two languages. He maintains further that one language should not override the other for fear of putting bilingualism and biliteracy at risk. The language as a resource orientation as proposed by Ruíz (1984) is adopted in this model, where Kiswahili is viewed as resource to be used in education in addition to English. In the proposed model, students receive half of their instruction in Kiswahili, the language of the majority students and the other half in the target language, English. As it is explained below, students are to learn to read and write in their primary language, Kiswahili and then add on the target language, English. Ruíz is convinced that language as resource orientation serves as a direct impact on enhancing the language status of subordinate languages and can as well ease the tensions between majority and minority communities.

Unlike what transpires in other countries, especially the United States of America (USA), where there are two groups of students, language minority and majority students, in Tanzania there is a homogeneous group of students who speak Kiswahili as their first or second language. In this case there are no students who claim to be native speakers of the target language, English. Therefore, almost all students are expected to have the same difficulties in learning the target language and the emphasis is to be placed on promoting additive bilingualism through the

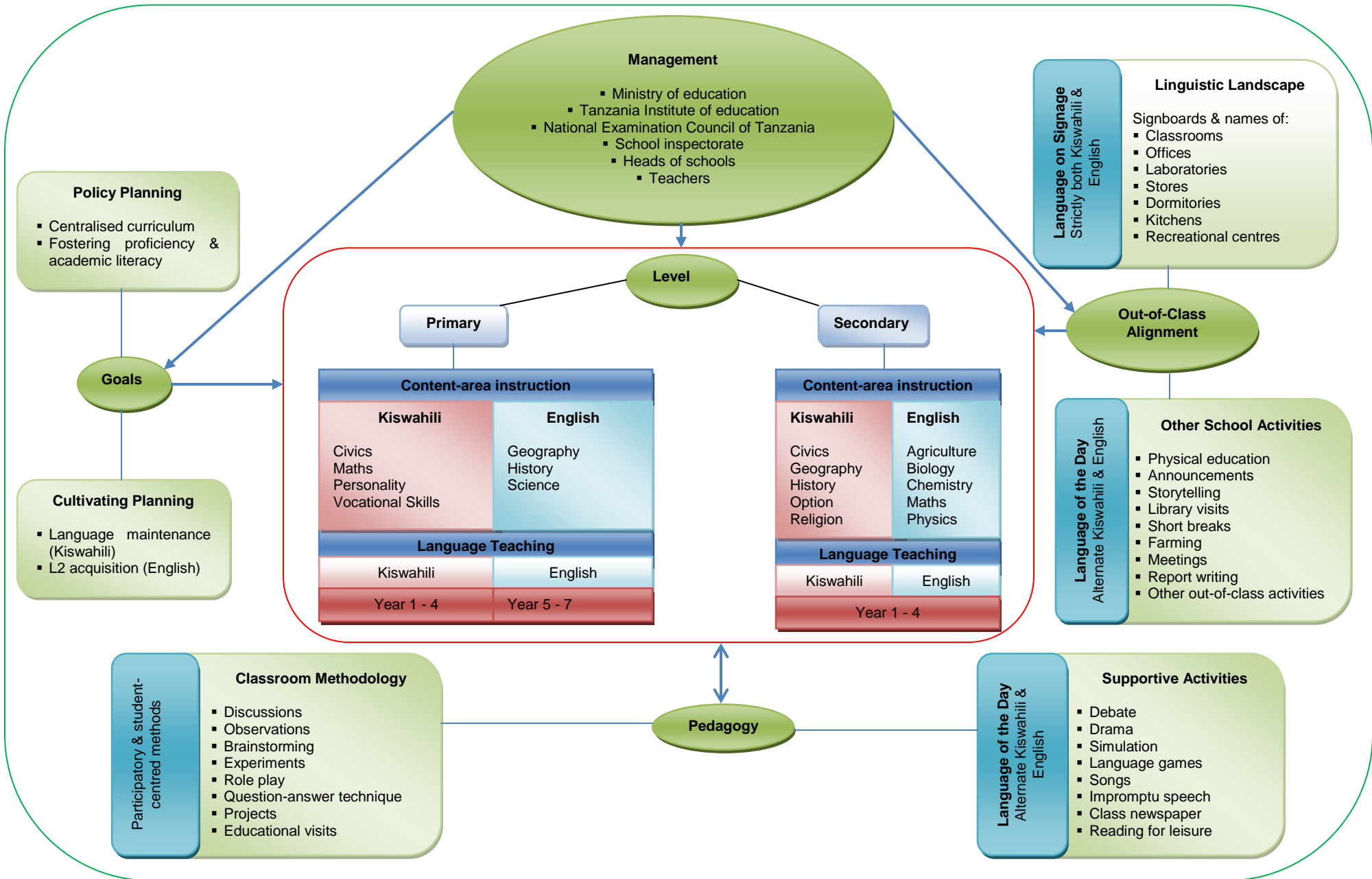
proposed model. This tallies with what Gómez et al (2005: 147) refer to as one-way programme where only one language group learns through two languages.

Unlike other language programmes of strong bilingual education explained above (see section 2.9.3), which favour political and cultural interests of the group, maintain children heritage language, history and culture and sometimes two languages are all majority languages, the 50-50 Dual Language Model intends to cater for a homogeneous group with Kiswahili as their main language and English as a second or foreign language. The goals of this model are for all students to become bilingual and biliterate and equally important to be successful academically through both languages, English and Kiswahili. This is in accordance with what different scholars have pointed out that bilingualism, biliteracy and academic achievement are goals of dual language programme for all the learners regardless of their background (Torres-Guzmán 2007: 56; Gómez et al, 2005: 147). Eventually all the learners are expected to be proficient in two languages for communication and learning.

Through the proposed model, students in primary and secondary schools are expected to learn both English and Kiswahili for academic purposes through academic content instruction which use both languages. As such Kiswahili which has low (L) status compared to English with high (H) status in a diglossic situation in Tanzania is expected to gain prestige through the educational settings.

In this study the definition of mother tongue according to the criteria put forward by Skutnabb-Kangas (1995: 44) is adopted and as such Kiswahili is used as the home language for the majority of learners both in primary and secondary schools. The definition of mother tongue according to function is applicable to Tanzanian learners in primary and secondary schools because as it was evident in the fieldwork for this study in the schools which were used as case study, almost 98% of the students could speak Kiswahili.

Figure 6.1: The 50-50 Dual Language Model for Language-in-Education in Tanzania



6.4.1.1 Overview of the 50-50 Dual Language Model

The 50-50 Dual Language Model is both comprehensive and detailed, covering various variables and activities that take into account the academic and linguistic development of learners who need to maintain their first language, Kiswahili and at the same time adding a second language, English. Learners develop literacy in Kiswahili while developing academic proficiency in English language through content-area instruction.

The model has the following variables, level of education, pedagogy, out-of-class alignment, goals and management. The model is managed centrally by the Ministry of Education and its core departments such as the Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE), the National Examination Council of Tanzania (NECTA) and the School inspectorate. In addition, heads of schools and teachers are directly involved in this model. The Ministry of Education is responsible for policy issues informed by this model and training of teachers who are bilingual enough to implement the model. It is also charged with the responsibility of issuing relevant and constant guidelines on how the language-in-education policy can smoothly be implemented. TIE is to design instructional materials such as the syllabus and textbooks based on this model, where bilingualism and biliteracy will be incorporated. NECTA is charged with the duty for authentic assessment using the two languages. It seems to it that the target objectives set in the policy are achieved by the learners, including fluency and communicative competence in both Kiswahili and English. The School Inspectorate, in collaboration with heads of schools and teachers, ensures that the model is implemented at the grassroots level. The out-of-class alignment such as linguistic landscape and other school activities are to be supervised at the school level, where the language of the day is decided and adhered to by the school.

The model is primarily designed to function in primary and ordinary level (henceforth O'Level) secondary schools. For pre-primary schools, it is proposed that Kiswahili continue to be used as the medium of instruction and English a

compulsory subject. This would give pupils the opportunity to learn and master Kiswahili which, in this study, is regarded as their home language and English to be gradually added as they join primary school as their second language.

In primary education, 50-50 Dual Language Model is used in two phases. Phase I is used in the first four years of primary education while phase II is used in the last three years (see Figure 6.1 and 6.2). As indicated in Figure 6.1 some subjects are taught in Kiswahili and others in English at 60-40 level. The decision to have more subjects taught at this level using Kiswahili has been taken on the grounds that, firstly, Kiswahili is a language intelligible to most children and teachers in primary schools. We need, therefore, to use it as a springboard for the learners' academic excellence.

Secondly, there is a need to fully develop pupils' skills in Kiswahili which they need to acquire the second language. This is based on the theory of bilingual education referred to as Common Underlying Proficiency. The theory as put forward by Cummins (19978) demonstrates that the first language has to be fully developed to allow smooth acquisition of the second language.

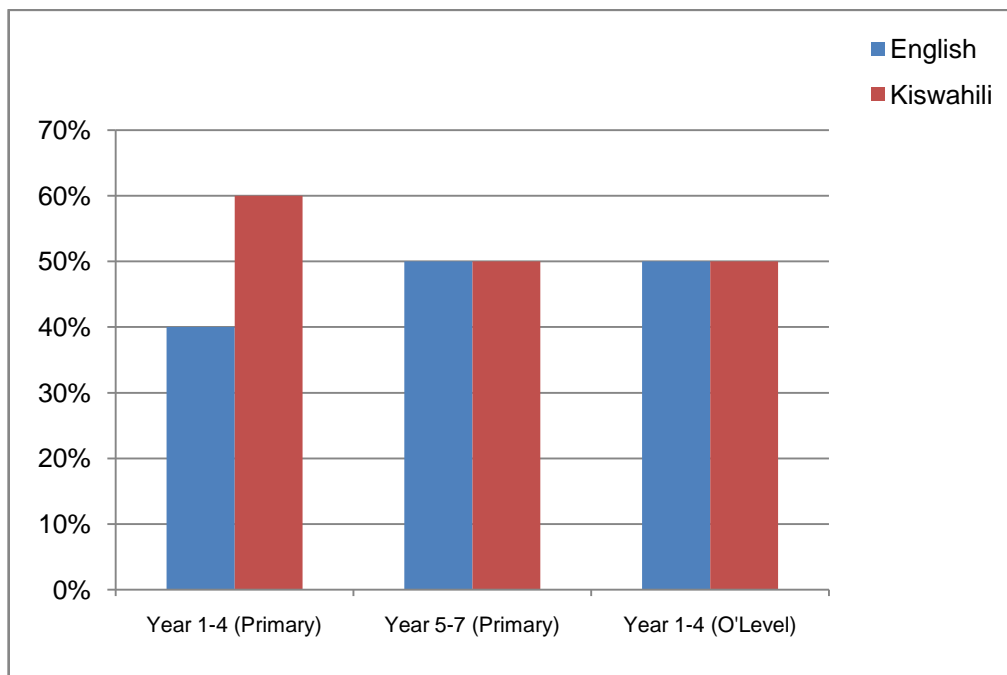
The third reason which is equally important for Kiswahili to slightly dominate at this level is that the last year of this phase falls on the time pupils have to take their national examinations at the end of the fourth year of primary education. It is considered inappropriate to make changes in the language of instruction closer to this period for fear to cripple pupils' preparations for their examination.

In Phase II the model is applied at 50-50 level, where half of the subjects are taught in English and the other half in Kiswahili (see Figure 6.1). The model, where Kiswahili and English are taken as languages of education and communication on equal status, is to be applicable as well in secondary schools. The language command gained in primary schools is expected to be used to help students

understand the subject contents in secondary schools unlike the current practice where students are said to cram without understanding (Mkwizu, 2005: 195, Qorro, 2005: 97). Additionally, language teaching is also a component of this model, where Kiswahili and English are taught as languages (see Figure 6.1).

At advanced level (henceforth A'Level²²) the languages of instruction are solely dependent on subjects of the students' choice at this level. For example, if a student takes a subject which is taught in Kiswahili at O'Level, then it is proposed that the same language be used at A'Level. The distribution of subjects is indicated graphically in figure 6.2 below.

Figure 6.2: Distribution of Kiswahili and English



Another important variable of the 50-50 Dual Language Model is the pedagogy. The content-area instruction and language teaching uses the participatory and

²² A'Level takes two years in the Tanzanian education system which is 2-7-4-2-3/4 for pre-primary, primary, O'Level, A' Level and university education respectively.

student-centred approaches, where the focus is on the students' needs, abilities, interests and learning styles. The teacher here plays only a peripheral role of giving advice and guidance to the learners. The approach includes various teaching techniques such as discussions, observations, brainstorming, experiments, role play, projects and educational visits. The classroom instruction is supplemented by supportive activities, which are drama, debates, simulation, language games, songs, impromptu speech, class newspaper and reading for leisure. These supportive activities, which aim at fostering language proficiency and academic literacy, use the language of the day, where Kiswahili and English alternate.

Out-of-class alignment is another variable in the model, which involves linguistic landscape within the school premises and other school activities. The data in this study indicate that schools do not have language policy regarding activities outside the class. In this model, it is recommended that the language on signboards and names of classrooms, offices, laboratories, stores, dormitories, kitchens and recreational centres should strictly be both Kiswahili and English to promote the school bilingual context. Additionally, school activities such as physical education, announcements, storytelling, library visits, short breaks, meetings, report writing and other out-of-class activities should use the language of the day. The purpose here is to promote bilingualism across the school and develop vocabulary in both languages, hence conversational and academic language development.

Finally, the model takes cognisance of the ultimate goals, which to a large extent informs what goes into the programme. The goals are adopted from Kaplan and Baldauf's (2003) framework for language-in-education planning, focusing on policy planning and cultivation planning. The model is used in a centralised curriculum where proficiency and academic literacy are key objectives. In cultivation planning, the model envisages to help learners maintain their home language, Kiswahili but add to it a second language, English, within the school set-up.

6.4.1.2 The 50-50 Dual Language Model Implementation

The 50-50 dual language model does not call for instruction in each subject in both languages, Kiswahili and English. Instead learners are required to take certain subjects in Kiswahili and other subjects in English (see Figure 6.1). Therefore, the proposed model falls under the philosophy that children can learn subject matter either in their primary or second language effectively provided there are appropriate instructional strategies (Gómez et al, 2005: 153). Additionally, this programme takes into consideration of the bilingual education theory by Cummins (1978)²³ which states that the content learned in one language can be transferred to another language.

In this model instructional approaches are organised to aid both acquisition and learning. Teachers as facilitators in the teaching and learning process develop their lesson to include verbal and nonverbal cues, visual aids and a variety of learning activities. Students can work together in small groups and be given tasks which require conversation for linguistic and social development. The target language is as such taught formally and informally and student-centred approach is aimed at. Materials and discussions are centred first on the interests and experiences of the students and gradually moved to the wider world.

Since Kiswahili and English are to be used as languages of instruction, the school administration, through constant directives from the Ministry of Education, should make sure that both languages have equal status and value and are accorded equal usage in the school business. This is done in various ways: First, the linguistic landscape should be bilingual where both Kiswahili and English have to be used when designing signboards within the school premises and marking the names of offices, classes and other school buildings.

²³ Common Underlying Proficiency

Secondly, the staff meetings have to be conducted either in Kiswahili or English depending on the language of the day provided both languages get equal chance of being used in the meeting. The minutes, however have to be recorded in both languages to maintain the bilingual context in the school business. This will be in accordance with the demands of the principles of bilingual education, where a completely bilingual education context is desirable for promotion of bilingualism and biliteracy.

Thirdly, the syllabi designed by the Tanzania Institute of Education should consider the use of both Kiswahili and English. This way, local and international writers have to be encouraged to publish books and other teaching materials in both languages. To make this successful, teachers' colleges where teachers are trained have to review their curriculum for bilingualism to feature.

Furthermore, language teaching should have a special emphasis with a variety of instructional materials. Refresher courses for teachers who were trained under monolingual curriculum should be conducted locally to familiarise them with the needs and requirements for bilingual teaching in schools. As Lindholm-Leary (2001: 65) correctly argues, teachers will have difficulties in implementing the 50-50 dual language model in the classrooms unless they are constantly exposed to pre-service and in-service training.

The current practice of punishing students because they are caught speaking Kiswahili should be discouraged. This practice subjects students to ridicule and embarrassment and, as Qorro (2005: 116) correctly submits, the behaviour has negative psychological impact on the students as they may take their language to be of lower value and significance.

As it was observed during the fieldwork some school and at times classroom activities are not specifically designed in a particular language. For example,

announcements, physical education, storytelling, library visit, lunch breaks, class meetings, and the like are some of the activities performed in the school premises but there is no language policy about them. For smooth implementation of the 50-50 Dual Language Model, school administration through directives from the Ministry of Education should devise ways of putting in place the language of the day. Therefore, when such activities are performed, the students and staff alike are to adhere to the language of the day. According to Gómez et al (2005: 158) the central purpose of the language of the day is twofold, to promote bilingualism across the school premises in all uses of language and to develop vocabulary in both languages, in this case Kiswahili and English. This way, the language of the day validates both languages and equally important help students to develop both conversational and academic language.

This model, as indicated in Figure 6.1 above, divides languages by subject rather than time. This has been done to avoid the difficulties teachers are likely to face when time alternation is followed. When a teacher introduces a subject say on Monday in Kiswahili and then moves to English the following day, a teacher may be forced to re-teach the same lesson in the second language rather than extending it. Similarly, if the teacher extends the subject in English, the problem will be on location and organisation of resources in two languages that fit together well. Such problems are to be avoided in this 50-50 Dual Language model because each subject is taught dependably in one language. This allows continuity in the subjects taught and avoids unnecessary difficulties on the part of the teachers and learners.

Correspondingly, the instruction in only one language for each subject suggested in this model is the need to maintain consistency of vocabulary and conceptual development of the subject in question in the same language. Teachers are expected to develop not only conceptual but also linguistic connections through the use of one language for each subject area. As far as linguistic development is

concerned, students are expected to promote their language skills in the process of learning the content area.

In conclusion therefore, the 50-50 Dual Language Model for language-in-education in Tanzania is designed to help the policy makers put in place policies geared towards the promotion of bilingualism and biliteracy through the educational set up. However, for the model to have an impact in education there is a need of strong ties among the education stakeholders, namely students, teachers, NGOs, politicians, lawmakers and policy makers at different levels. It is anticipated that the implementation of this model in the schools will assist the learners to develop the knowledge and skills they need to succeed in education.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Interview Guide for Primary School Teachers

1. The language policy in the Tanzanian education system has Kiswahili and English as a language of instruction in primary and secondary schools respectively. How are the pupils in primary schools prepared for smooth transition in secondary education, where the language of instruction is English?
2. What is the level of competency in English language the primary pupils have on completion of STD VII?
3. For your experience in teaching in primary schools, do you think the time allocated to English as a subject sufficient enough to enable the students acquire the language for education purposes?
4. What common challenges teachers face in implementing the language policy in primary schools particularly when it comes to teaching English?
5. In a classroom situation, how do you compare your pupils' understanding and easiness to follow when English/Kiswahili is used?
6. The envisaged ideals of the state were to have learners competent in both English and Kiswahili. How is the school context geared towards achieving that objective?
7. What is the school language policy regarding other activities outside the classroom?
8. What are the problems related to language policy design that teachers face in implementing the policy?
9. Are there guidelines from the Ministry of Education to orient the teachers about the language-in-education policy implementation?

10. If you were involved in language policy formulation in Tanzania, what would be your inputs?

Appendix 2

Interview Guide for Secondary School Teachers

1. The language of instruction in primary schools is Kiswahili throughout the seven years of schooling. What are your views in connection with the students' proficiency when they join secondary school?
2. It takes time for a person to learn and be able to use the language in education. What are the strategies you use in ensuring that students understand the content of your lesson under the current language policy?
3. There have been tendencies in secondary schools to punish students who speak Kiswahili in the school premises. How is this likely to affect the students culturally and psychologically towards their national language and the successful implementation of using Kiswahili and English in education?
4. The founding ideals of the state are to develop a bilingual citizen through the education system. What are your views in connection with the language policy that requires that English be a sole language of post-primary education?
5. Are the teaching and learning materials you use in class geared towards developing bilingual education?
6. What is the school policy in connection with the language of communication outside the classroom?
7. Research has proved that students learn better in a language they understand. What are your views in connection with the proposal that Kiswahili be one of the languages of instruction in all levels of education alongside English?
8. What are your suggestions in connection with promotion of bilingualism and biliteracy in the school system?
9. How is the concept of language across curriculum captured in your teaching and learning in classroom?

10. What are the challenges hindering smooth implementation of language-in-education policy in schools?
11. Does students' assessment take into consideration both Kiswahili and English as languages of education?
12. If you were involved in formulating the language policy in Tanzania, what would be your input, basing on your experience in teaching in secondary school?

Appendix 3

Interview Guide for Parents

1. Parents have the duty to make a choice of bilingual schooling for their children. What is the parents' role with regard to helping the schools develop bilingual education in Tanzania?
2. Most school children in Tanzania go to school with a good knowledge of Kiswahili. Why are some parents resistant to the proposal of having Kiswahili one of the languages of instruction in all levels of education alongside English?
3. School rules forbid students in secondary schools to speak Kiswahili in the school premises. Can Tanzania achieve bilingual education goals as envisaged by the founding ideals of the state under such a sociolinguistic environment?
4. There has been a feeling among many parents that the best way to learn English is to maintain it as a language of instruction in secondary schools. What do you think can be done to improve English but at the same time have Kiswahili as language in instruction?
5. In order for the language policy to work effectively in a given country, there is a need for cooperation in formulation of the policy among the teachers, parents, students and policy makers. What do you think has been a role of parents in Tanzania in connection with language policy design?
6. What language(s) the school administration uses in correspondence with parents about the pupils/students' school progress?
7. Students in secondary schools are punished severely for speaking Kiswahili within the school premises. Do you think this can lead to Kiswahili being despised by the students as not fit for education purposes?
8. If you were involved in a panel for language policy formulation, what would be your suggestions?

Appendix 4

Interview Guide for Members of School Boards

1. Members of the school board are responsible to oversee the day-to-day activities of the school in question. How has the board been viewing the issue of language policy in secondary schools for the purpose of advising the government adequately?
2. In most cases the members of the school board represent the parents in the school management. What has been your reaction in connection with punishment meted out to students speaking Kiswahili in the school premises?
3. Dual language programmes have indicated positive results as far as improvement of education is concerned. What are your views with regard to the proposal that Kiswahili and English should be concurrent languages of instruction in secondary schools?
4. The current language policy in Tanzania, where English is a sole language of instruction, cannot guarantee bilingualism and biliteracy in education in Tanzania. What do you think can be done to ensure the graduates of the Tanzanian education system are both bilingual and biliterate?
5. There has been an outcry from researchers and educators within and outside Tanzania that students should learn in a language they understand. What are your views with regard to a proposal that Kiswahili should be the language of instruction alongside English?
6. Some people have contemplated that bilingualism in education can affect the learners cognitively. What are your views in connection with the promotion of both English and Kiswahili as languages of instruction in Tanzania?
7. What challenges do you normally discuss in the school board in connection with implementation of language-in-education policy?

8. Some of the signboards around the schools insist on the students to speak English within the school premises. Does this cripple the efforts of the state to have Tanzanian learners bilingual and biliterate?

Appendix 5

Interview Guide for Heads of Schools

1. According to the current language policy, the language of instruction in primary and secondary schools is Kiswahili and English respectively. Experience and research indicate that students who join secondary schools in Tanzania have little knowledge of the language of education at this level. As a head of school, what strategies are in place in your school in ensuring that students understand all subjects taught in English?
2. The Ministry of Education and Vocational Training is responsible for formulating and supervising the language policy. Are there specific directives and guidelines you receive from the ministry in connection with supervision and implementation of the language policy in your school?
3. It has been pointed out that some of the teachers violate the language policy directives by using Kiswahili in class when teaching subjects supposed to be taught in English and therefore undermine efforts to strengthen English language in Tanzania. What steps do you take to amicably solve this problem in your school?
4. What is the school language policy in correspondence with parents/guardians and the Ministry of Education?
5. Does the school have any specific language policy on writing the minutes for the staff meetings and the daily report of the school?
6. Corporal punishment has constantly been used in most schools in Tanzania to make students speak English all the time. But research has indicated that instilling fear among students may lead to hatred and despair. How is your school taking care of punishment administration to students caught speaking a language other than English in the school premises?
7. There has been an outcry from researchers and educators within and outside Tanzania that students should learn in a language they understand.

What are your views with regard to a proposal that Kiswahili should be the language of instruction in all levels of education in Tanzania alongside English?

8. Dual language programmes have been successful in education system in elsewhere in the world. What are your views regarding introduction of dual language programmes in the Tanzanian education system, where English and Kiswahili will concurrently be languages of education in post-primary education?
9. What are your suggestions regarding design and smooth implementation of the language policy in schools?

Appendix 6

Interview Guide for Ministry of Education Officials

1. According to the national website (www.tanzania.go.tz/education.html accessed on 4th September 2008), the Tanzania's education is bilingual, requiring children to learn both Kiswahili and English. How does the ministry ensure smooth implementation of this policy in the schools?
2. What criteria does the ministry use to design language-in-education policy?
3. Syllabi are the most relied upon tools by teachers in the schools. How is the concept of language across the curriculum captured in all the syllabi for the purpose of promoting bilingual education in Tanzania?
4. Education stakeholders have a very important role to play as far as language-in-education policy is concerned. How does the ministry ensure that the stakeholders are aware of the policy and are involved in its smooth implementation at different levels?
5. How are the inputs of stakeholders with regard to language-in-education policy taken into consideration during policy design?
6. The language policy in Tanzania has Kiswahili and English as language of instruction in primary and secondary schools respectively. Why is the knowledge of Kiswahili acquired by primary school students for seven years not used as a spring board for students in secondary schools as another language of instruction?
7. What is the ministry's language policy with regard to correspondence with school administration?
8. What is the ministry doing to address the existing conflict in language policy in primary and secondary schools in promoting bilingualism and biliteracy in education?
9. There has been a claim that the teachers in secondary schools where English is a sole language of instruction have poor background of the

language, hence poor models for the students. What has been the efforts taken by the ministry to redress this situation?

10. Additive bilingual education, where students maintain their first language but add to it a second or foreign language in the education system, has been seen an ideal model to promote strong bilingualism and biliteracy in education. Why has Tanzania continued for a long time to cling to a language policy which leads to eventual elimination of the learners' first language in education, hence subtractive bilingual education?
11. Kiswahili is becoming an international language and a language that has all the qualities to be a language of education. What are the realistic plans available in the ministry to make it one of the languages of education at post-primary level?
12. What are your suggestions in connection with improving the language policy in Tanzania for the promotion of bilingualism and biliteracy in education?

Appendix 7

Interview Guide for TIE Officials

1. What is the role of TIE in connection with language-in-education planning in Tanzania?
2. As an institute responsible for curriculum development, how do you consider the concept of language across curriculum when designing subject syllabi?
3. There has been a cry from the education stakeholders with regard to the language of instruction in post-primary education. How has the institute redressed this issue?
4. Research has indicated that a person learns better in a language that s/he understands better. What are your views on the language policy in post-primary education where a foreign language, English, is used as a sole language of instruction?
5. What is the institute doing to address the existing conflict in language policy in primary and secondary schools in promoting bilingualism and biliteracy in education?
6. Additive bilingual education, where students maintain their first language but add to it a second or foreign language in the education system has been seen an ideal model to promote strong bilingualism and biliteracy in education. Why has Tanzania continued for a long time to cling to a language policy which leads to eventual elimination of the learners' first language in education, hence subtractive bilingual education?
7. Kiswahili is becoming an international language and a language that has all the qualities to be a language of education. What is the realistic advice from this institute to make Kiswahili one of the languages of education alongside English at post-primary level for the purpose of achieving the envisaged objective of creating bilingual learners through the education system?

8. What are your suggestions in connection with improving the language policy in Tanzania for the sake of promoting bilingualism and biliteracy in education?

Appendix 8

Interview Guide for NGO Officials

1. As an NGO that believes in education and democracy through critical learning of Tanzanian children, what has been your role regarding language policy in Tanzania?
2. Despite research findings indicating that a child can learn better in a language s/he understands, the Tanzanian government has constantly rejected the proposal to use Kiswahili as one of the languages of education in post-primary education. What are your views in connection with the government objection?
3. Parents and learners have preconceived idea that in order for a person to learn a language, one has to use that language as a medium of instruction. For this reason, English has been preferred to Kiswahili regardless of cognitive repercussion to the Tanzanian learners. How has your NGO been instrumental in educating the public on this matter?
4. According to the national website (www.tanzania.go.tz/education.html accessed on 4th September 2008), the Tanzania's education is bilingual, requiring children to learn both Kiswahili and English. What do you think are the possible challenges hindering achievement of such a policy in Tanzania?
5. The objective that a Tanzanian learner should be bilingual and biliterate upon graduation has been afar-fetched objective in Tanzania because of the language policy currently recognising English as a sole language of instruction in post-primary education. What do you think the government should do to achieve bilingualism and biliteracy in education?

Appendix 9

Focus Group Discussion Guide for Pupils

1. Currently English is a compulsory subject in primary schools but a language of instruction in secondary schools. How are the pupils prepared in primary schools for a smooth language transition?
2. Most of the pupils in primary schools are competent in Kiswahili language. Would you accept the proposal to have Kiswahili as one of the languages of instruction alongside English?
3. According to the school rules, what languages do you speak among yourselves when you are in the school premises?
4. What learning challenges related to language of education do you face as a primary school pupil?
5. What are your suggestions in connection with improvement of language of education?

Appendix 10

Focus Group Discussion Guide for Students

1. English is the language of instruction at post-primary level of education in Tanzania. What are your views on the way the school administration handles students' language problems when they join secondary school?
2. What strategies teachers use to help students with language problems?
3. What personal strategies do you use to make sure that what is taught in English is understood to you and hence become successful in your studies?
4. There is a tendency in secondary schools to punish students caught speaking Kiswahili or any of the other vernacular languages. What is your opinion to this in connection with promotion of bilingualism and biliteracy in education in Tanzania?
5. What are your views on the proposal advocated by some researchers and educators that it is high time Tanzania started to use Kiswahili as one of the languages of education in all levels of education?
6. If you were involved in formulating language policy in Tanzania, what would be your input?

Appendix 11

Focus Group Discussion Guide for Primary School Teachers

1. The founding ideas of the state were to have a bilingual system of education using Kiswahili and English as languages of education. Do you think this objective can be achieved through the current language-in-education policy?
2. The language of instruction in secondary schools in Tanzania, unlike in primary schools, is English. With that in mind, how do you assist the pupils to master the language upon completion of primary education in case they are selected to join secondary education?
3. English in primary schools is allocated seven periods of 40 minutes each in a week. Do you think this time is enough to enable the pupils acquire the language for education purposes?
4. What are the factors hindering smooth implementation of language-in-education policy in Tanzanian schools?
5. Research has demonstrated that learners feel comfortable when a language they know is used as a medium of instruction. What are your views in connection with the proposal that Kiswahili should be one of the languages of instruction in post-primary education?
6. What are your suggestions in connection with promotion of bilingual education in Tanzania as envisaged by the founding ideals of the state?

Appendix 12

Focus Group Discussion Guide for Secondary School Teachers

1. The founding ideas of the state were to have a bilingual system of education using Kiswahili and English as languages of education. Do you think this objective can be achieved through the current language-in-education policy?
2. The language of instruction in primary schools is Kiswahili while it is English in post-primary education. What are your views on the language of instruction in relation to students admitted in secondary schools?
3. Research has indicated that most students in secondary schools are not competent in English language. What strategies do you use to make your students understand the content of your subject and hence implement the language policy?
4. Punishment administered to students caught speaking Kiswahili in the school premises has been described as a setback to promotion of bilingualism and biliterate in education in Tanzania. What are your views considering your experience on “Speak English Campaign” in secondary schools?
5. Research findings indicate that students learn better in a language they understand. What are your views on the proposal that Kiswahili should be one of the languages of instruction in post-primary education in Tanzania?
6. How are the teachers, the most important stakeholders in education, oriented towards implementing bilingual education in Tanzania?
7. How is the concept of language across the curriculum implemented throughout your day-to-day teaching?
8. What do you think can be the appropriate bilingual education model to capture successful bilingual education in Tanzania?

Appendix 13

Class Observational Schedule:

Date	Time	Subjects	School
3 rd Nov 2008	09.00 – 10.30	English & History	PA
	12.00 – 14.30	Biology & History	SA
4 th Nov 2008	09.00 – 10.30	Geography & English	PA
	12.00 – 14.30	Biology & English	SA
5 th Nov 2008	09.00 – 10.30	History & English	PA
	12.00 – 14.30	Chemistry & Geography	SA
6 th Nov 2008	09.00 – 10.30	Kiswahili & English	SA
	12.00 – 14.30	Biology & History	SA
7 th Nov 2008	09.00 – 10.30	History & Geography	PA
	12.00 – 14.30	Chemistry & Kiswahili	SA
10 th Nov 2008	09.00 – 10.30	Geography	PA
	12.00 – 14.30	Geography & English	SA
11 th Nov 2008	09.00 – 10.30	English & History	PB
	12.00 – 14.30	History & Geography	SA
12 th Nov 2008	09.00 – 10.30	English & Geography	PB
	12.00 – 14.30	English & Biology	SB
13 th Nov 2008	09.00 – 10.30	English & History	PB
	12.00 – 14.30	Kiswahili & Chemistry	SB
14 th Nov 2008	09.00 – 10.30	Geography & History	PB
	12.00 – 14.30	Kiswahili & English	SA
17 th Nov 2008	09.00 – 10.30	Geography	PB
	12.00 – 14.30	Chemistry & Kiswahili	SB
18 th Nov 2008	09.00 – 10.30	English & History	PC
	12.00 – 14.30	History Geography	SB
19 th Nov 2008	09.00 – 10.30	Chemistry	SA
	12.00 – 14.30	English & Biology	SB
21 st Nov 2008	09.00 – 10.30	English & Geography	PC
	12.00 – 14.30	History & Chemistry	SB
7 th Jan 2009	09.00 – 10.30	Biology, English & Geography	SD
	12.00 – 14.30	Kiswahili, History & Chemistry	SD
9 th Jan 2009	09.00 – 10.30	English, Chemistry & Geography	SD
	12.00 – 14.30	Kiswahili, Biology & History	SD
12 th Jan 2009	09.00 – 10.30	Geography & English	PC
	12.00 – 14.30	Geography & Kiswahili	SB
13 th Jan 2009	09.00 – 10.30	History & Geography	PC
	12.00 – 14.30	English & Geography	SB
14 th Jan 2009	09.00 – 10.30	History	PC
	12.00 – 14.30	History	SB
15 th Jan 2009	09.00 – 10.30	History & English	PD
	12.00 – 14.30	Biology	SB

Date	Time	Subjects	School
16 th Jan 2009	09.00 – 10.30	History, English & Geography	PD
	12.00 – 14.30	English, Chemistry & Kiswahili	SC
19 th Jan 2009	09.00 – 10.30	Chemistry & Geography	SD
	12.00 – 14.30	Geography, Kiswahili & History	SC
20 th Jan 2009	09.00 – 10.30	English & Geography	PD
	12.00 – 14.30	Biology, Kiswahili & English	SC
21 st Jan 2009	09.00 – 10.30	History & Geography	PD
	12.00 – 14.30	Biology, Chemistry & History	SC
22 nd Jan 2009	09.00 – 10.30	Geography, English & Biology	SC
	12.00 – 14.30	Chemistry, Geography & History	SC
23 rd Jan 2009	09.00 – 10.30	English, Kiswahili & Biology	SD
	12.00 – 14.30	Chemistry, Geography & History	SD

ABSTRACT

The study presents a sociolinguistic analysis of the current language-in-education policy implementation in Tanzania. The current sociolinguistic thinking on bilingual education and language-in-education planning informs this evaluation. The analysis is presented against the background of the sociolinguistic principles of bilingual education as developed by García (1997). The challenges regarding implementation of bilingual education policy have been identified. The study indicates that there is no link between the envisioned ideals of the state to promote bilingual education and what obtains in the *Education and Training Policy* (1995), the document currently relied upon as far as language policy in the Tanzanian educational set-up is concerned.

Chapter 1 provides the background of language-in-education planning and policy in Africa, where the advocacy for the use of African languages is high on the agenda. The obstacles, regarding the use of African languages alongside “imported” languages, are pointed out. The common obstacles range from the perseverance of the elite to maintain the status quo, the problem of language attitudes people have towards foreign languages such as English, French and Portuguese and more importantly lack of understanding of the concept of bilingual education and how it operates.

Chapter 2 discusses bilingual education programmes with the view of monolingual education, weak and strong bilingual education. Sociolinguistic principles of bilingual education and theoretical considerations related to bilingualism also form part of this chapter. The theories explain some myths which people have regarding how the brain works when it comes to having two languages in education. In addition, language planning and policy concepts have been described to avoid the misconception held in some sociolinguistic literature that they are synonyms and aspects of the same activity. Language planning is seen as the activity that leads

to the promulgation of a language policy while language policy is the body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules, procedures and practices intended to achieve the objectives of the policy.

Chapter 3 discusses research methodology. The study is evaluative in nature and uses four research instruments, namely documentary reviews, interviews, observations and focus group discussions. Documentary review was meant to analyse the corpus of language-in-education policy documents created by relevant Tanzanian authorities to provide information on overt language policy and its implementation. The interviews were aimed at capturing information on views and perceptions of the education stakeholders regarding the concept of bilingual education and their understanding of the current policy and implementation. Observational method was specifically for supplementing the information gathered from interviews and facilitated cross-checking information in the policy documents. Similarly, focus group discussions provide further cross-checking and informs the development of the model for strong bilingual education.

Chapter 4 provides a critical overview of language-in-education policy development in Tanzania from pre-colonial times to the present day. Language issues are discussed according to three different eras, namely pre-colonialism, during colonialism and post-independence. In all these eras, different languages, German, English, Kiswahili and ethnic languages were assigned different functions according to the motives the government in power had towards the languages. During colonial regime, German and English were preferable and they were regarded as languages of high status unlike Kiswahili and other ethnic languages. However, immediately after independence in 1961, the independent state put more efforts to promote Kiswahili.

Chapter 5 focuses on data presentation and discussion. Challenges regarding the implementation of strong bilingual education policy in Tanzania are identified. They

evolve around inadequate language-in-education policy design, inadequate comprehension of the concept of bilingual education and poor implementation strategies of the policy.

Chapter 6 outlines the overview, overall conclusions and recommendation, where a viable and relevant model for implementing strong bilingual education in the Tanzanian sociolinguistic environment is proposed to guide the policy-makers tasked with language-in-education planning.

KEY TERMS

Language-in-education policy, language policy, language planning, bilingual education, bilingualism, biliteracy, principles of bilingual education, bilingual education programmes, 50-50 dual language model, medium of instruction.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie bied 'n sosiolinguistiese analise van die huidige implementering van die taal-in-onderwys-beleid in Tanzanië. Die huidige sosiolinguistiese denkrigting oor tweetalige onderwys en taal-in-onderwys-beplanning lig hierdie evaluering toe. Die analise word teen die agtergrond van die sosiolinguistiese beginsels van tweetalige onderwys soos deur García (1997) ontwikkel, aangebied. Die uitdagings rakende die implementering van 'n tweetalige-onderwys-beleid is geïdentifiseer. Die studie dui aan dat daar geen verband bestaan tussen die ideale wat die staat in die vooruitsig stel om tweetalige onderwys te bevorder en dit wat in die *Education and Training Policy* (1995) vervat is nie. Laasgenoemde is die dokument waarop tans in die Tanzaniese onderwyssituasie staatgemaak word wat taalbeleid betref.

Hoofstuk 1 bied die agtergrond van taal-in-onderwys-beplanning en -beleid in Afrika, waar die voorspraak vir die gebruik van Afrikatale hoog op die agenda is. Die struikelblokke rakende die gebruik van Afrikatale naas “ingevoerde” tale word aangedui. Die algemeenste struikelblokke strek van die volharding van die elite om die status quo te handhaaf, die probleem betreffende die houding wat mense jeens vreemde tale soos Engels, Frans en Portugees het en, belangriker, die gebrek aan begrip vir die konsep *tweetalige onderwys* en hoe dit werk.

Hoofstuk 2 bespreek tweetalige onderwysprogramme vanuit die oogpunt van eentalige onderwys, asook swak en sterk tweetalige onderwys. Sosiolinguistiese beginsels van tweetalige onderwys en teoretiese oorwegings verwant aan tweetaligheid maak ook deel van hierdie hoofstuk uit. Die teorieë verduidelik sommige van die mites wat bestaan oor hoe die brein werk wanneer twee tale in onderwys aanwesig is. Verder word taalbeplanning en taalbeleidkonsepte beskryf om die wanopvatting te vermy wat in sommige sosiolinguistiese literatuur bestaan dat hierdie twee aspekte sinoniem is en aspekte van dieselfde aktiwiteit is.

Taalbeplanning word gesien as die aktiwiteit wat lei tot die promulgering van 'n taalbeleid, terwyl taalbeleid die korpus van idees, wette, regulasies, reëls, prosedures en praktyke is wat ten doel het om die doelwitte van die beleid te bereik.

Hoofstuk 3 bespreek die navorsingsmetodologie. Die studie is evaluerend van aard en maak gebruik van vier navorsingsinstrumente, naamlik dokumentêre beskouings, onderhoude, waarnemings en fokusgroepbesprekings. Die doel van die dokumentêre beskouings was om die korpus van taal-in-onderwys-beleidsdokumente te ontleed wat deur die Tanzaniese owerhede geskep is om inligting oor owerse taalbeleid en die implementering daarvan te verskaf. Die onderhoude was daarop gerig om inligting oor standpunte en persepsies van die onderwysbelanghebbers rakende die konsep *tweetalige onderwys* en hulle begrip van die huidige beleid en implementering te bepaal. Die waarnemingsmetode is spesifiek aangewend ter aanvulling van die inligting wat uit onderhoude versamel is en het die kruiskontrolle van inligting in die beleidsdokumente gefasiliteer. Insgelyks bied fokusgroepbesprekings verdere kruiskontrolle en ondersteun dit die ontwikkeling van die model vir sterk tweetalige onderwys.

Hoofstuk 4 bied 'n kritiese oorsig van taal-in-onderwys-beleidsontwikkeling in Tanzanië vanaf voorkoloniale tye tot vandag. Taalkwessies word aan die hand van drie verskillende tydperke bespreek, naamlik prekolonialisme, tydens kolonialisme en postkolonialisme. Gedurende al hierdie tydperke is daar aan verskillende tale, naamlik Duits, Engels, Kiswahili en etniese tale verskillende funksies toegeken volgens die motiewe wat die regering aan bewind gehad het. Tydens die koloniale regime het Duits en Engels voorkeur geniet en is dit as tale van hoë status geag, anders as Kiswahili en die ander etniese tale. Onmiddellik na onafhanklikwording in 1961 het die staat egter meer pogings aangewend om Kiswahili te bevorder.

Hoofstuk 5 fokus op die aanbieding en bespreking van die data. Uitdagings rakende die implementering van sterk tweetalige-onderwys-beleid in Tanzanië word geïdentifiseer. Dit wentel rondom onvoldoende taal-in-onderwys-beleidsontwerp, 'n gebrekkige begrip van die konsep *tweetalige onderwys* en swak implementeringstrategieë van die beleid.

Hoofstuk 6 bied 'n uiteensetting van die oorsig, oorkoepelende gevolgtrekkings en aanbeveling, waar 'n haalbare en relevante model vir die implementering van sterk tweetalige onderwys in die Tanzaniese sosiolinguistiese omgewing voorgestel word om die beleidmakers wat met taal-in-onderwys-beplanning belas is te begelei.