



Attitude of Learners towards English and Kiswahili in Tanzania

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Abstract. Tanzania is a multilingual country like most other African countries with over 120 languages. It is one of the few African countries where indigenous language (Kiswahili) is sole medium of instruction (MoI) throughout primary schools, while English takes over secondary and tertiary education. The importance of these two languages can never be over-emphasised and attitude of learners towards the languages are ambivalent. The study assesses the use of English and Kiswahili in all imaginable communication contexts in the school environment, and extends the assessment to the frequency with which the respondents use English and Kiswahili. This work is part of larger study conducted in Mwanza region, Tanzania. The data for the study were collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data for the study were collected by means of questionnaire, interviews, focus group discussions, and observation. The secondary source includes previously published materials related to English and Kiswahili usage in Tanzania schools. The result of this study reveals that more than 85% of the respondents use English either always or often in the classrooms. However, the figure changes when it comes to the language use outside the classroom; Kiswahili dominates virtually in all contexts because it is the only dominant language in and outside the school environments. The study also reveals that the socio-linguistic factor of Tanzania justifies the fact that Kiswahili is the preferred language for majority in different contexts and the only language by which many people interact with a wide range of people from different ethnic groups. The study proposes the use of the two languages in education on the ground that the two

languages are important to Tanzanian and the use should be simultaneously.

Keywords: Medium of instruction, attitude, Kiswahili, language preference, Tanzania, education.

1. Introduction

Tanzania is an east African country with more than 120 languages including English and Kiswahili (Senkoro, 2005). The two languages are co-official languages in Tanzania. While Kiswahili has the status of national language, English is an important language for interaction with outsiders and it is used in commerce and trade. Tanzania is a case where the state grants prestige status to Kiswahili, and its citizens' full rights to acquire the language. Kiswahili is a medium of instruction (MoI) at the pre-primary and primary levels (United Republic of Tanzania, 1995). It is also taught as one of the subjects at the primary level from Standard I through VII. From Standard III through VII, both Kiswahili and English are allocated six periods of 40 minutes each a week (Tibategeza, 2009). The real boost for Kiswahili came when the Tanzania state embarked on a massive campaign of nation-building in the mid-1960s. This nation-building campaign was an attempt towards establishing socialist hegemony, and Kiswahili was given a crucial role in this. While Kiswahili was defined as the language of African-socialist ideas, English was seen as the language of imperialism, capitalism and oppression (Bamgbose, 2000). Kiswahili plays a major role in the integration of the East African diverse communities. There is an evolving social-cultural matrix unique to East Africa. This culture finds its expression in Kiswahili, which

is a popular lingua franca in the region. This lingua franca enjoys goodwill not just as a communication tool but also as a symbol of regional identity and integration of the East African peoples and cultures. Tanzania is one of the few African countries, along with Somalia and Ethiopia that promotes the use of an indigenous African language as MoI throughout the primary education. However, in secondary schools, English is the sole MoI while Kiswahili is taught as compulsory subject (United Republic of Tanzania, 1995). Kiswahili is spoken by more than 90% of Tanzania population (Roy-Campbell, 1995:24). It is also used as a language of instruction in some teachers' colleges (i.e. Certificate programme - where teachers are trained to teach in primary schools; United Republic of Tanzania, 1995). Kiswahili is the language of the parliament and of the government as well as language in primary courts. In addition, most of the newspapers in Tanzania are published in Kiswahili. The use of the language extends to village meetings in most remote villages. According to Malekela (2006), over 80% of Tanzanians are rural, meaning that Kiswahili to the majority of Tanzanians is a second language. Kiswahili was used by Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) leaders as a weapon to unite the people from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds.

English cannot be claimed to be a mother tongue to any of the Tanzanians as one grows up speaking either Kiswahili or other indigenous languages. Even in homes where both parents are fluent in English, rarely is English used to warrant a claim for it to be a mother tongue to their children. It would be considered arrogance if Tanzanians were to visit a home of other Tanzanians who speak English rather than Kiswahili or any other home languages to their children. However, English is generally associated with prestige, power and better opportunities which are the motivation and driving force for many parents in Tanzania who can afford to send their children to private primary schools where English is a sole MoI. In other words, English provides educational, political and better economic opportunities. According to Tibategeza (2009), English is the language of prestige and power and even people who do not understand English admire those who speak the language. The status of English globally, and the use of English as sole MoI from first year of secondary education are among the reasons why the language has more prestige than any other language in Tanzania.

The issue of language and education is one of the most difficult issues facing a multilingual nation. In Tanzania, like in most other multilingual countries,

there are three classes of languages: the official and dominant language (Kiswahili), the official but minority language (English) and other non-official languages. The positions occupied by these languages constitutionally empower or marginalise their development and wide usage, as well as fuel the attitude towards them. According to Senkoro (2005), English is spoken by less than 5% of Tanzanian population.

In secondary schools, the official language of teaching and learning is English as stipulated in Education and Training Policy of 1995. Kiswahili is a national and official language, a sole language of instruction in primary schools and a compulsory subject in secondary schools. The government of Tanzania 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 (Tibategeza, 2009). Regardless of official status of Kiswahili, students are expected to speak only English, and they are often punished when they use Kiswahili or their native language. This 'English only' policy is to facilitate students' acquisition and mastery the use of English. Nevertheless, proficiency in English has continued to be a common problem for students. Also, some studies (such as Tibategeza, 2009; Qorro, 2005; Rubagumya, 1991; and Rubanza, 1996) have revealed lack of English proficiency on the part of teachers as well. The importance of English and Kiswahili prompts the study of attitude towards the languages which are the two major languages in Tanzania. English is termed major here not in term of number of speakers but its position as a language of education, diplomacy and high court.

1.1 Previous Studies

Based on the problem encountered by learners in post-primary schools with regard to the use of English as MoI, many scholars (such as Brock-Utne, 2005; Qorro, 2008; Tibategeza, 2009; and Vuzo, 2005) have written extensively on MoI in different levels of education in Tanzania. The problem regarding language-in-education planning in Tanzania particularly on the appropriate language(s) of teaching and learning in all levels of education continues to attract scholars to indulge themselves in conducting studies to solve the problem relating to language issues in schools. Some studies (such as Qorro, 2008) have pointed out 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. Also, Tibategeza (2009) has indicated that teachers are not

the model to their students when it comes to mastery of English as a MoI.

Mosha (2014) investigated the factors affecting students' performance in English language subject in Zanzibar Secondary Schools of Tanzania. Data of the study were collected using interviews, classroom observation, questionnaire and documentary review. The results reveal that students' performance was affected by shortage of English language teachers and absence of teaching and learning materials. Also, the study shows that presence of untrained and under-qualified teachers in schools results in these teachers skipping to teach some difficult topics in the syllabus. The study also revealed that students' infrequent use of English language at school and home, large class size, teachers' responsibilities, poor conducive teaching and learning environment in the classrooms, limited home support environment and poverty were contributing factors for students' poor performance in English language.

As part of a research project, Brock-Utne (2006) compares learning through Kiswahili and learning through English in Tanzania. She made two weeks class observations, where she followed two Biology and Geography teachers teaching in Kiswahili and the same teachers teaching in English. The study reveals that the observed teachers while teaching in English used a strategy in the literature called "safe-talk" (Rubagumya, 2003) and finished almost every sentence with, *Are we together? Or Do you understand?* According to Brock-Utne, there is no way the teachers could find out from the chorus answers whether every pupil understood what she tried to teach. Accepting the chorus answer was "safe" both for her as a teacher and for her students as their level of English proficiency were low. The *Yes* from the students was almost the only talk heard during the lesson from the students. The students learn to obey, be quiet, to become indifferent and apathetic. However, *Safe talk* is hardly found in classes taught in Kiswahili. All of the teachers observed were more relaxed when they taught in Kiswahili, they joked and smiled. The students bring their own experiences to the learning process, they challenge the teacher, they are critical and lively, and they pose many questions themselves. However, in the classrooms taught through the medium of English, there appear the secret reading of textbooks and notes to be able to answer the questions from the teacher. This study by Brock-Utne reveals that teaching and learning in English is a big challenge, as the proficiency in the language is poor.

In another study, Malekela (2005) assessed secondary school students' view on the MoI in Tanzania secondary and tertiary institutions. Questionnaire was used to source for the responses of learners from Iringa, Kagera, Manyara and Zanzibar. A total of seven hundred and forty-eight learners were involved from Form I to VI. The results of the study reveal that 78.2% learnt with some difficulty when subjects were taught in English, showing that there are problems in grasping the subject matter for the majority of the students at whatever level (Form I - VI). However, 78.4% stated that they learn with great ease when teachers switch to Kiswahili compared to 17.4% that learn with great ease when the subjects were taught in English. Inasmuch as the students say that they learn better if they are taught in Kiswahili than English, Malekela's study reveals that 92% would prefer to be taught only in English.

The academic performance of learners towards English and Kiswahili in Tanzania primary schools were assessed by Malekela (2006). According to her, there are two major examinations at national level in primary school. The first one is done in Standard IV, which measures the acquisition of basic skills in writing, reading and numeracy. Those who fail in this examination are normally required to repeat the grade. For example, in 2002 and 2003, 70.8% and 88.7% respectively of the pupils who sat for this examination passed (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2004: 33). The examination questions are set in Kiswahili. The second national examination is done in Standard VII. This examination is officially known as the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE). Until 2002, pupils sat for three papers: Mathematics, General Knowledge and Language within a day. The language paper comprised both Kiswahili and English items. As a result, one could not tell in which of the two subjects, students had faced more difficulty than in the other. Since 2003, Standard VII pupils have been sitting for two separate papers in their PSLE, Kiswahili and English. In the analysis, the study compared pupils' performance in the two subjects. According to Malekela, the findings show that pupils perform much better in Kiswahili than in English. For example, an overall of 81.8% of the pupils passed in the Kiswahili paper in 2004, while 33.7% only passed in English.

Qorro (2006) conducted a test to establish the level of English language competence among students who had just made a transit to secondary schools. The study was conducted in selected primary and secondary schools both from urban and rural settings of Tanzania. The test was designed using Form I

English Language Syllabus for Secondary Schools and its format was taken from past test papers. The selected schools were visited to explore the teaching and learning environment generally and that of English language teaching in particular. Research instruments used in selected primary schools were questionnaires for English language teachers and head masters/ headmistresses, a checklist of teaching and learning materials, and unstructured interviews. The study revealed that students' performance in English is very poor. For example, 296 out of 388 scored grade D and below and thus failed the test. However, the students' performance in Kiswahili from the Primary School Leaving Examination shows that students perform very well in Kiswahili. For example, in the English examination, 1.7% scored "A" grade and another 8.8% scored "B" grade, while 47.1% scored "D" grade for Iringa region of Tanzania in the year 2004. In the same year, 20.4% scored "A" grade, 39.7% scored "B" grade in the same examination for Kiswahili subject. The study confirmed the earlier studies from Roy-Campbell & Qorro (1987), and Mwinsheikhe (2002), that in Tanzania, secondary school students perform much better when taught in Kiswahili compared to when taught in English. Her study revealed that most Tanzania secondary school students have extremely low level proficiency as they cannot understand anything in English language but learn everything by heart, which makes quality education to be impossible (Qorro, 2008).

Tibategeza (2009) assessed language-in-education planning in Tanzaniarom pre-colonial times to the present day. The study reveals that education stakeholders are divided into three with regard to language of teaching and learning. They are those who are in favour of: the use of English as sole MoI, Kiswahili as only MoI, and the last category is undecided on a particular language provided Kiswahili or English is used in education but not both. Tibategeza developed a model for implementing strong bilingual education in Tanzania which is 50-50 Dual Language Model where both Kiswahili and English are to be used as languages of education in primary and secondary education.

Mtallo (2019) explores the factors for the choice of English language as a MoI in Tanzanian secondary schools with focus on Dodoma Municipality. The study also assessed the students' perceptions/attitudes on the use of English language as a MoI. The data obtained from the study shows that English language has been chosen as a MoI on the ground that English is recognised as an international language. In the question posed to students on whether English should

be retained as a MoI, 68.4% of the respondents disagree with the statement (that English should not be used as a MoI), While only 5.8% of the respondents are still in favour of English language use. However, 75.8% of the respondents are in favour of the statement that English and Kiswahili should be used concurrently.

With the status of English locally and internationally, there are three principle functions that English serve in Tanzania; it is a language of international communication, a language of commerce, and a language of education (Trappes-Lomax, 1985). However, Kiswahili is widely spoken, a national language and sole MoI in primary school, there is need to assess the contexts of English and Kiswahili usage.

2. Methodology and Area of the Study

Five research instruments were employed in the collection of data for the study. They are: questionnaire, interview (face to face), focus group discussions, observation and review of relevant documents. According to Patton (1990), a combination of different methods provides a cross-data validity checks and therefore reduce errors that can be experienced when one particular method is used.

The population of the study is all secondary school teachers, secondary school learners, head of secondary schools and district education officers, including teacher trainees and their tutors, as well as the school administrators. The sample was drawn randomly from Nyamagana district which is under Mwanza region of Tanzania. The sample was drawn from 15 secondary schools, three teachers' colleges (two private colleges and one government established college) and one university. Secondary schools were grouped into three: public old secondary schools (which are schools established before 1990) and public new secondary schools (established from 1990 to date) and private schools. Five schools were randomly selected from each group.

A total number of 863 people participated in the questionnaire. In each secondary school, ten teachers and 25 students were selected for the questionnaires, while the heads of schools were interviewed. In all, the participants for the questionnaire includes: 150 secondary school teachers, 375 secondary school students, 19 college tutors, 14 university lecturers and 305 teacher trainees (205 college teacher trainees, 100 final year university students (which comprise of 25 students from each department in the Faculty of

Education), as well as twelve lecturers in the Faculty of Education (three lecturers from each of the four identified departments). However, a total of forty-five (45) people were interviewed: fifteen Heads of secondary school, four Heads of departments (from the sampled university), three College Principals, three college tutors, seven university lecturers (those who taught Basic English Language), five college class representatives, four university course representatives, the Dean Faculty of Education, as well as three education officers. Questionnaire and interview were used to find out the frequency of Kiswahili and English language use, and attitude of the respondents towards the languages.

For focus group discussion, a total of nine group interviews were organised, with participants numbering fifty-one college students. Each college had between two to four groups. The first and second groups were first and second year students' class representatives respectively. The third group involved college elected prefects, while the last group was selected members of English club. Each group had between four and eleven participants. The time for each group discussion lasted between forty-five minutes to two and half hours. Group interviews were used to assess the attitude of the teacher trainees towards the use of English language, as well as different contexts where they use English. The method provided an avenue for cross-checking the information earlier gathered from the questionnaire responses and observation as well as documentary reviews.

Observation was used to assess the linguistic landscape within secondary schools and the teacher training colleges and to establish whether the language of instruction is reflected on the signposts. The assessment includes written notices pasted on notice-boards, the language use in the school

4. Languages Use in Different Contexts

On languages use in different contexts, the results of the study are presented in the table below:

Table 1: Languages Use in Different Contexts

Contexts	Swahili	English	K & E	NR
1 with Head of the school	16.5%	45.0%	38.5%	.0%
2 During interaction in the class	28.4%	24.8%	45.9%	.0%
3 During interaction outside the class	67.0%	18.5%	14.5%	.0%
4 with education officials	50.0%	21.7%	28.3%	.0%
5 during extra-curricular activities	36.4%	21.8%	40.0%	1.8%
6 During consultation	15.7%	46.3%	38.0%	.0%
7 with school medical staff	71.3%	12.8%	16.0%	.0%
8 with non-academic staff	88.1%	4.6%	7.3%	.0%
9 With visitors	77.5%	10.0%	12.5%	.0%
10 in making spoken announcements	1.9%	64.5%	33.6%	.0%
11 in making written announcements	3.7%	81.3%	15.0%	.0%

signboards, names of buildings, classes, offices, kitchens, and toilets.

3. Results

On the preferred language as MoI, majority of the learners (55%) prefer the use of English. They gave reasons for their English language preference as indicated below:

- Mastering English will assist one in global market and employment opportunities as language will not be a barrier
- English is a unifying language for people from different linguistic backgrounds
- Most companies advertising jobs have English as a major requirement for the jobs.
- Many developed countries use English
- Thirty-four percent (34%) of the respondents prefer the use of Kiswahili as language of instruction. The reasons for Kiswahili language preference includes:
- Kiswahili is well developed and is currently an international language
- All languages contents can be written in the language
- Kiswahili is the language understood by majority of both learners and teachers
- Students learn better in a language they understand
- Using Kiswahili as language of instruction is a sign of loyalty to the national language.

However, 11% of the respondents prefer the two languages to be used in education. They argue that the two languages (English and Kiswahili) should be used simultaneously. Their major reasons for preference of the use of the two languages are to allow the learners use familiar language in learning and at the same time understand English which is the global language.

12	in giving instructions	10.2%	59.3%	30.6%	.0%
13	During prayers	42.0%	30.0%	28.0%	.0%
14	during school meetings	30.8%	27.1%	42.1%	.0%
15	during disciplinary hearings	40.6%	27.4%	32.1%	.0%
16	during religious gatherings	73.1%	9.6%	17.3%	.0%
17	in asking questions in the class	.9%	83.3%	15.7%	.0%
18	in answering questions in the class	.9%	76.9%	22.2%	.0%

K & E (Kiswahili & English); NR = No Response

The results show that Kiswahili is used more with medical staff (71.3%), in religious context (73.1%), and with non-academic staff (88.1%). However, English language usage is more with students in the class (56.9%), in making spoken and written announcements (64.5% and 81.3% respectively), and during asking and answering questions in the class (83.3% and 76.9% respectively).

Frequency of English Language Usage in Different Contexts

The results gathered for language the respondents use in different contexts are presented in the table 2 below:

Table 2 Frequency of English Usage in Different Contexts

	Frequency of English Use	Always	Often	ST	Rarely	Never	NR
1	With head of schools	21.6%	13.7%	34.3%	20.6%	9.8%	.0%
2	During interaction in class	34.0%	35.0%	21.4%	8.7%	1.0%	.0%
3	During interaction outside the class	15.2%	25.7%	33.3%	22.9%	2.9%	.0%
4	with education officials	21.6%	13.7%	34.3%	20.6%	9.8%	.0%
5	during extra-curricular activities	16.2%	21.9%	25.7%	25.7%	10.5%	.0%
6	During consultations	8.0%	36.5%	50.0%	3.8%	1.7%	.0%
7	with medical staff	8.4%	10.5%	26.3%	23.2%	31.6%	.0%
8	with non-academic staff	4.9%	2.0%	9.8%	35.3%	47.1%	1.0%
9	Interaction with visitors	2.8%	77.0%	17.2%	1.3	1.7%	.0%
10	when making spoken announcements	54.7%	22.6%	17.9%	4.7%	.0%	.0%
11	when making written announcement	60.2%	16.5%	18.4%	4.9%	.0%	.0%
12	when giving instructions to students	50.0%	22.6%	23.6%	2.8%	.9%	.0%
13	During Prayers	59.4%	19.5%	15.6	4.5%	.0%	1.0%
14	During school Meetings	46.3%	23.1%	22.2%	6.5%	1.9%	.0%
15	during disciplinary hearings	19.8%	12.3%	34.9%	17.9%	15.1%	.0%
16	during religious gatherings	9.8%	11.8%	30.4%	24.5%	23.5%	.0%
17	to ask questions in class	63.6%	29.9%	6.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%
18	to answer questions in class	67.0%	30.2%	2.8%	.0%	.0%	.0%

ST= Sometimes; NR: No Response

From the results above, over 60% of the respondents claim that they always use English to ask and answer questions in the classroom, interact in the classroom, and when making written announcements. On the contrary, 35% and 47% claimed that they rarely and never use English with non-academic staff respectively. Also, 24.5% and 23.5% rarely and never use English during religious gatherings respectively.

Following the perception of Kiswahili as a unifying language, one would expect positive attitude towards the language by Tanzanians. However, the results reveal that majority of the respondents prefer the use of English in different contexts, confirming the study by Tibategeza (2009).

Table 3: Frequency of Kiswahili Usage in different Contexts

	Frequency of Kiswahili Use	Always	Often	ST	Rarely	Never	NR
1	with Head of the school	63.1%	11.4%	14.3%	8.4%	2.3%	0.5%
2	During interaction in the class	44.6%	25.0%	19.4%	9.8%	1.2%	.0%
3	During interaction outside class	51.3%	22.7%	13.3%	11.6%	1.1%	.0%
4	with education officials	33.3%	47.1%	16.5%	1.0%	2.1%	.0%
5	during extra-curricular activities	49.0%	36.4%	13.0%	1.0%	.0%	.0%
6	During consultation	14.4%	46.7%	28.3%	7.6%	2.5%	.5%
7	with school medical staff	54.3%	31.2%	13.5%	1.0%	0%	.0%
8	with non-academic staff	67.6%	20.5%	8.3%	3.6%	.0%	.0%
9	Interacting with visitors	25.4%	22.2%	40.8%	7.4%	4.2%	.0%
10	in making spoken announcements	26.5%	58.0%	9.8%	5.7%	.0%	.0%
11	in making written announcements	34.5%	48.0%	14.4%	0.0%	0.0%	.0%

12	in giving instructions	42.6%	30.2%	17.4%	2.5%	6.9%	.0%
13	During prayers	55.2%	22.6%	17.5%	4.7%	.0%	.0%
14	During school meetings	40.8%	28.5%	18.3%	10.9%	1.5%	.0%
15	during disciplinary hearings	18.4%	23.4%	37.5%	19.2%	1.0%	.5%
16	during religious gatherings	50.8%	39.9%	4.6%	2.3%	1.4%	1.0%
17	in asking questions in the class	19.8%	22.7%	42.1%	9.7%	5.2%	.5%
18	in answering questions in the class	18.5%	28.3%	41.6%	7.1%	3.5%	1.0%

ST= Sometimes; NR= No Response

The data presented on Table 3 shows that most of the respondents always or often use Kiswahili in virtually all the available contexts. For example more than 70% of the respondents use Kiswahili either always or often with head of the school, non-academic staff, during prayer and during extra-curricular activities. Also more than 69% of the respondents either always or often use Kiswahili during interactions in and outside the class, with educational officials as well as during school meetings.

Assessing the responses, the study observes contradictory response with regards to the frequency with the use of English and Kiswahili. For example, more that 75% of the respondent use English as well as Kiswahili either always or often in making spoken and written announcement, and also during prayer. One of the respondents during focus group discussion stated that the choice of language by the student depends on the teacher or prefect on duty. According to the students, if the teacher or prefect on duty is the one enforcing the use of English language only, they automatically use only English to avoid being punished.

Focus group discussion was administered to teacher trainees to probe the issues of English language and Kiswahili usage in colleges. During the discussion, one of the students stated that, “Our teachers use Kiswahili in all contexts even when teaching different subjects in the class including the teaching of English language”. All the respondents affirmed the same which was confirmed during the interview. The students emphasised that the teachers do not adhere to the formal MoI (which is English) and no punishment is given to them and it seems normal as students copy them. The study also reveals that teachers sometimes punish the students for doing exactly what they (as teachers) do. One of the respondents stated that, “Parents, students and teachers view English as a language of power and upward advancement, but those who speak English are often ridiculed. To them the use of English is evidence of being proud and not acknowledging Kiswahili which is the national and uniting language”.

Observations were conducted by surveying the linguistic landscape within the premises of the secondary schools and teacher training colleges with the purpose of identifying the language(s) on the sign posts. This reflects the attitude of both the government and the school managers towards the two major languages in education. Out of 258 signposts observed in 15 different secondary schools, one hundred and eighty eight (73%) were written in English while seventy (27%) were in Kiswahili. However, in the three colleges assessed 62% (representing 49) of the signposts were in English while 38% (representing 30) were in Kiswahili. Most of the notices on the school “notice board” (91%) were in English language while the remaining one was in Kiswahili.

On class observation, the study reveals that in all the classes observed in secondary schools where English was MoI there were little or no interaction among the students themselves when “Speak only English” is enforced, teacher-students interactions were very minimal. Despite encouragement from teachers to speak, students remained silent because of their poor mastery of English and lack of confidence to use the language. For example, the lessons observed the teacher often asked, “Do you understand? Or Are you with me? With these kinds of questions, the response was always chorus answer, “Yes”. When a question was directed to individual students, many students did not attempt the questions; the ones that attempted the questions either used one word or few words. However, when the teacher asked questions using Kiswahili, many students raised their hands and the answers given were long. From the observation, one will be quick to conclude that the students were not used to teaching with English only but the presence of the researchers compelled them to use more English as (probably) they are used to.

5. Discussion

The high status of foreign language in African schools in general place African languages to the periphery and the attitude towards African languages in education is often negative which can be seen from the results of the present study. For example, the students perform better in Kiswahili, use the

language in most contexts but prefer English as MoI. The factors that promote the ascendancy of English in different education ordinances that makes teaching of English imperative because of the colonial government's desire to train clerks, messengers, and other auxiliary staff to assist the colonial administration (Tibategeza, 2009). In Tanzania, English has continued to be used as a MoI to keep the legacies of the past administration. The privileges and high status given to English in Tanzania education system make many parents prefer sending their children to private schools where the MoI is only English from pre-school through university. According to Igboanusi (2008: 724), "the association of English with prestige, power and opportunities has been the driving force for the preference of many parents to wish education in that language for their children".

In most African countries, the choice of MoI is often a foreign language, which extends to Tanzania. The choice misses the opportunity to build quality education on familiar language of most of the learners, but relegates African languages to the background because they are seen by learners as having little or no role to play in their upward mobility (Ideh, 2012). For example, only 34% of the respondents prefer the use of Kiswahili as MoI. The attitude towards English language leaves the acquisition of knowledge and building a country on the potential of the minority (who understand this foreign language) rather than on majority of the populace (that understands and speaks Kiswahili). For example, only 5% of Tanzania population speaks English, yet, English is the sole MoI in post-primary education in the country (United Republic of Tanzania, 1995). Not only that, majority of the learners perform better in Kiswahili, yet the attitude towards the choice of Kiswahili as MoI is on the negative side (Malekela (2005).

Education cannot be "quality" without the transfer of knowledge in a language which is accessible to learners. The study reveals that majority of our respondents use English and Kiswahili in varied contexts and some of the contexts overlap; for example the use of English and Kiswahili during prayer, extra-curricular activities and school meetings. However the choice of either English or Kiswahili in varied contexts, majority (55%) our respondents prefer English to be used as MoI. The choice of English in Tanzania as a preferred language of teaching and learning is done on the ground that English language opens economic, political and social doors. With these advantages in mind, Tanzania learners struggle to achieve a minimum level of pass in education which many cannot

because of their lack of proficiency in the MoI. Learners are therefore more focused on acquiring English language, rather than acquiring new knowledge of a specific field. This is because English is seen by many learners as the dominant language of trade, industry, and upward mobility. According to Qorro (2008), the early use of foreign language as the MoI seems to make the learning of English more important than education itself. And this, according to her, has shifted the focus of school policy from how best to offer education to how best to learn/teach the English language. It is however ironic that English language which is spoken by the minority is not only regarded as MoI but the preferred one. Despite this discrepancy, English is seen as an important resource for self-enhancement, social, economic and political empowerment (Igboanusi, 2008); the same also applied in education where the language is for the elites. According to Fabunmi & Salawu (2005:395), "there are numerous advanced economies in the world today where their mother tongues are still thriving; such countries include Japan and China". The negligible use of Kiswahili as well as lack of interest to the study and development of this language as a discipline affects the growth and development of the language and the attitude of both the learners, parents, and the teachers towards the language. Here we can also compare the rise of Afrikaans in South Africa, which today is used in education from pre-primary up to the university. According to Harrell (2005:1), "Attitude is everything", our attitude towards a language determines if the language will develop or not.

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 elites. Bamgbose (2000) points out that there is widespread negative attitude to African languages among Africans themselves of all walks of life. According to Owino (2002), "the African future in using the indigenous languages in education 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.

From the present study, we can propose the use of the two languages (English and Kiswahili) in education on the ground that the two languages are important to the people of Tanzania and the use should be simultaneously as earlier propose by Tibategeza (2010). This is because the use of English according to Brock-Utne (2006) and Mtallo (2015) as a MoI in Tanzania is still an uphill task for the Tanzania learners to achieve learning objectives. For Clegg (2007), it is high time Africans stopped teaching through European languages alone and introduce bilingual education, where learning will take place in two languages throughout schooling. It is obvious from previous study that Tanzania learners understand and perform better in Kiswahili and that is what education is all about (understanding what is taught and performing well in examinations). Clegg (ibid) stresses that an African language in which a learner feels comfortable should be used alongside English or any European language in education. According to him, it is lower than the overall cost of ineffective second language medium education.

One will expect the learners' choice of language as MoI to be the Kiswahili (they understand better), but reverse is the case from the present study. In other words the learners still think that English should be maintained as the MoI in schools. Explaining this discrepancy, 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 (Tibategeza, 2009).

Looking at the language policy in Tanzania, Swilla (2009) points out three key contradictions arising between ideology, language policy and actual implementation of language of instruction. Firstly, while the government statements maintain that Kiswahili is the MoI of primary education, English has been legalised as MoI in private primary schools. The majority of students in English medium schools are Tanzanians. Secondly, the Ministry of Education offers the English version of the primary school syllabus for use in English medium schools.

Government primary schools use a Kiswahili version of the syllabus. Thirdly, 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. This reflects the attitude of government towards the use, growth and development of Kiswahili. 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 in connection with language of instruction in the educational system. According to Swilla (ibid), having legalised private primary schools and the use of English as MoI in such schools, the government was not ready to state openly that English had also become MoI in primary schools. She associates the current language policy and practices as elite closure, a social mobilisation strategy by which people in power establishes and maintains their powers and privileges. Due to various language policy contradictions pointed out in her article, Swilla (2009) proposes that it is high time the government states in its education policies and related documents that both English and Kiswahili are to be languages of education.

In a related study on stakeholders' views on the use of English as MoI, Senkoro's (2005) findings indicate that students learn with ease when Kiswahili is used in class unlike English. Senkoro indicates that, despite this fact, most of the teachers when required to say which language they would prefer as MoI, 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 MoI at post-primary level would imply mastery of English language to be so remote in the education system (Tibategeza, 2009: 168). One can master any language if it is well taught without using it as a MoI. For the purpose of learning, most Tanzanian children stand better chance of learning in a more meaningful way if they were taught in Kiswahili rather than in English as MoI.

6. Conclusion

The varying position occupied by African languages and its foreign counterparts affect the perceptions and attitude towards each of the languages. African languages from pre-colonial to date are often defined

on the basis of numerous taxonomies which are often negative in comparison with their foreign counterparts such as dialect, vernaculars, mother tongues, primitives, unrefined, tribal, and local languages. With negative attitude towards African languages, attempts have been made to replace the former colonial languages in many areas of activities. However, its success is yet to be a reality as only few countries have achieved partial success with regard to promotion of indigenous languages beyond three years of primary education. For example, Kiswahili is the national and official language in Tanzania, and spoken by about 95% of the populace but only used as MoI throughout primary school, then, English takes over. Kiswahili is also spoken in Kenya and Uganda, and Mozambique, Rwanda, Burundi and parts of Somalia, Malawi and Zambia. But, it is sad to note that upon this wide spread and its status, it is yet to be recognised and accepted as MoI in post-primary school in any African countries, especially in Tanzania. This however is evidence that African languages' status and that of their foreign counterpart are not rated equally leading to poor or lack of interest in its study and negative attitude towards its use as MoI.

African languages usage as the MoI for the first few years of schooling was as a result of the 1953 UNESCO policy on mother tongue education (UNESCO, 1953). However, after almost seventy years, mother tongue education in African countries continue to mean only a few years of using indigenous languages as MoI rather than throughout the entire educational system (Roy-Campbell, 2003:88). In some countries where the majority of its populace speak one language (e.g. Tanzania, Somalia, Lesotho, Rwanda and Botswana), one would expect the MoI to be the widely used and understood African languages but that is not the case.

Although foreign languages are beneficial in that they are international and serve as the means of transferring modern science and technology (Hamseso, 1997), they are not the best MoI especially for majority who do not possess proficiency in them. The foreignness of language of instruction has been a major force in making education a culturally alienating process, whereas, language supposed to help in bringing education closer to the people, and thereby motivating learners to invest energy and time in the intrinsic excitement and self-regenerating dynamo of learning (Hamseso, *ibid*). However, what a foreign language does is to marginalise African languages, block accessibility of knowledge and education and making learners fail in acquiring the desired knowledge.

Having assessed the status of English and Kiswahili in Tanzania, including different pronouncements concerning the two languages, the attitude of learners towards the use of English and Kiswahili, the study proposes the use of the two languages in education (simultaneously) on the ground that the two languages are important to the people of Tanzania. In other words, students receive half of their instruction in Kiswahili, and the other half in English. The reason being that the previous studies have shown that learning through English medium only is still an uphill task for the learners to achieve learning objectives; while learning through Kiswahili led to more success rate.

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