



LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION IN TANZANIAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS - ENGLISH OR KISWAHILI?

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Abstract:

The language of instruction in secondary schools in Tanzania has always been a debate due to the complicated multilingual situation in Tanzanian society. This article reviews the educational system of Tanzania and discusses the reasons of using English or Kiswahili as the language of instruction in Tanzanian secondary schools based on literature review and analyzes certain effects caused by the choice of language of instruction.

Keywords: Tanzania, LOI, English, Kiswahili

1. Introduction

When it comes to the language of instruction in Tanzanian secondary schools, no one can deny the fact that the debate between using English or Kiswahili as the language of instruction has been on for several decades. The reason behind this debate is not only about the multilingual situation in Tanzanian society, but also the basic information about Tanzania, namely, the development of the governmental policy in before and post-colonial period, social background and etc. can never be neglected.

Language of instruction (LOI) plays an important role in imparting knowledge to the students in every part of the world, because only with the language that is well mastered by the students can knowledge be fully and totally transferred. This issue has seldom brought hot debate among certain countries where the mother language is adopted as the language of instruction in every phase of the education system, for example, East-Asian countries like China, Japan and western countries including the Great Britain and Germany. However, it is not the same case in certain African countries, such as Tanzania. Various studies have already shown the problems that the language of instruction has brought to not only the students, but also the teachers, and the education quality in the country as a whole. So, why has the language of instruction issue aroused

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such heated concern among the Tanzanian public? Why does the government insist their policy regardless of the disagreements? Is there anything people can do to improve the current situation? These questions set the scene for a closer look into the choice of Kiswahili and English as the language of instruction in Tanzanian secondary schools. After giving an overall introduction about Tanzania, this paper would revisit the education policy of Tanzanian government, then both the scholars' and policy makers' ideas on this issue would be explained. Building on this, previous studies that have been done in this respect would be illustrated. An outlook will then specify some still discussed problems regarding the topic of language of instruction in Tanzanian secondary schools.

2. An Overview about Tanzania

Tanzania, normally known as the United Republic of Tanzania, is one of the Eastern African countries that once was a colonial region under the British government. Therefore, the governance of British has exerted great influence in the Tanzanian society, including the social, educational, governmental and medical levels. With the coastline stretching out for 1,420 km, the Republic of Tanzania covers an area of 954,090 square kilometers. It joined the Commonwealth in the year 1961 and the updated number of population in the year 2013 is 49,253,000ⁱⁱ. With a population of 213,636 in 2012, Dodoma is the capital city. Other big cities include Dar es Salaam, which is the center of commerce and administration, Mwanza, Zanzibar Town, Arusha, Mbeya and etc.

According to the information on Tanzanian governmental website, the United Republic of The name Tanzania is a combination of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Tanzania was formed by these two Sovereign States on 26th April in 1964, The former became a Republic in 1962 and the latter in the January of 1964.

Coasting the Indian Ocean on the East, neighbouring countries of the United Republic of Tanzania include Kenya and Uganda to the north, Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the west, and Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique to the southⁱⁱⁱ.

With regard to the demography, over the period from 1967 to 2010 the population of Tanzania has almost increased four fold. The rate of population growth has varied over this period. The Population has grown from 12,313,469 persons in the first post-Independence Census in 1967 to 43,188,000 as of the estimated population 2010. More than 80% of the population is rural. The Tanzania population consists of 158 ethnic groups. The population also includes people of Arab, Indian, and Pakistani origin, and small European and Chinese communities^{iv}.

ⁱⁱ Source: <http://thecommonwealth.org/our-member-countries/ united-republic-tanzania>

ⁱⁱⁱ Source: <https://www.tanzania.go.tz/home/pages/68>

^{iv} Source: <https://www.tanzania.go.tz/home/pages/220>



Map: The United Republic of Tanzania

As for the language, the official website of Tanzanian website is shown in two languages, namely, Kiswahili and English. Kiswahili is the national language and is regarded as the united language for people between ethnics to communicate. Both Kiswahili and English are the official languages, while the former is the medium of instruction at primary school level, social and political spheres; the latter is the medium at higher educational levels, technology, and higher courts. English serves the purpose of providing Tanzanians with the ability to participate in the global economy and culture. Virtually all of Tanzania's inhabitants speak Bantu languages. Among the 158 ethnic groups, there are Bantu, Nilotic, Khoikhoi and Cushitic speakers^v.

3. Education and Language Policies in Tanzania

As mentioned in the above introduction part, as a multilingual society with more than 150 ethnic groups, compared to some monolingual counties like China and Japan, it is hard for the Tanzanian policy makers to unify a language that can be mastered by everyone to exert its cultural, educational and scientific influence.

In Tanzania, as mentioned above, the national Language, Kiswahili, is spoken by approximately 90% of the population and is the language of instruction of primary education, also the medium of contact in social and political contexts. English, on the other hand, despite its role as the medium of instruction in the post-primary education, is supposed to be spoken by merely 5% of the population (Rubagumya, 1991: 68).

^v Source: <https://www.tanzania.go.tz/home/pages/223>

As a former colonial region of Britain, when it comes to education and language policies from the government, a chronological method must be taken because certain adjustments of the policies due to the change of time and situation must be taken into account.

3.1. Pre-Colonial Period

In a traditional African society, education is *“a process of passing among the tribal members and from one generation to another, the inherited knowledge, skills and values of the tribe”* (Mushi, 2009: 41) in which the young generation learn from their older family member about practical knowledge including with agriculture, social rituals and rules, laws, medicine, techniques, to name just a few. Therefore, more emphasis was laid on practical learning in which the young people can master skills *“related to masonry, clay working, carving, cloth making, building, canoe making and tin smithery”* (Mushi, 2009: 37).

3.2. Colonial Period

However, the above mentioned education approach was interrupted by the colonial invasion because the Western countries aimed more at educating people that could serve the colonial government. As Nyerere pointed in *Education for Self-Reliance* in 1967, (cited in Mushi, 2009: 41):

“The education provided by the colonial government in the two countries which now form Tanzania had a different purpose. It was not designed to prepare young people for the service of their own country; instead, it was motivated by a desire to inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state” (Hinzen & Hundsdorfer, 1979a, p. 18)

Values of individualism and private property, along with the skills of use to the European colonists as a fundamental part of missionary education were brought by the European invaders and the emphasis of education would be development of teachers, evangelists, catechists and priests (Roy-Campbell, 2001). The British colonial administration became actively involved in formal in Africa with the *Memorandum on Education Policy in British Tropical Africa, 1925* (Roy-Campbell, 2001: 37) and the intention was that the education they provided for the Africans should benefit the British colonial state.

During the 1930s, elementary education was prolonged while post primary was shortened because of the declined educational expenditure resulting from the economic depression. A trial of focusing English education to those who work closely with the colonial government was called on a resistance by the Native Authorities and the mass public and they required more instruction in English. Because to them, English was regarded as an approach to higher social status, power and equality (Roy-Campbell 2001).

3.3. Post-Colonial Period

The language and education policy in this period can also be analyzed according to different phases, for example, the early post-independence period and the educational developments in the 1970s.

As education was only provided to very few people during the colonial period, at independence, in 1961, only 15% of the population, were literate. An important leader in the early 1960s, Nyerere, has to be mentioned in this respect. He laid great emphasis on changing the situation in Tanzania when people's needs for new and highly improved infrastructure cannot even be satisfied. He felt that people had to be mobilized and encouraged to fight the beliefs and practices in order to improve their living conditions and he also held the view that learning was necessary to bring about awareness to people, that change was possible and an understanding of how this could be brought about (Mushi, 2009). Nyerere believed that a nation would always remain underdeveloped and even be defeated by other nations if its people have no access knowledge or cannot apply knowledge into practice.

A Three-Year-Plan (1961-1964) was formulated after independence and it laid great importance on education because in this plan, secondary education was high on the agenda to meet the requirements of workforce of higher level. Mushi sees the meaning behind this in this way:

"This meant that in order to provide for quick and efficient Africanization of the new country's administration and economy, the new government was forced to give first priority to the expansion of post-primary education" (Mushi, 2009:98).

Also, a new university college aimed at filling the gap of educated manpower was built in Dar es Salaam and teacher education, too, received more attention because *"also a need arose for the expansion in secondary education that had to be matched by a substantial increase in the number of non-graduate teachers capable of teaching in the lower forms of secondary school. All these called for more and better teachers"* (Mushi, 2009:99).

An important declaration has to be mentioned here: The 'Arusha Declaration' in 1967 which defined the broad and clear national goal of 'Ujamaa' and Self-Reliance, was an important milestone on the road from the colonial education system to a system of national education. According to Mushi, this new policy underscored the inadequacies of the inherited education system and recommended several reforms considered necessary as there had not been any significant change in goals and objectives of education since independence in 1961 (Mushi, 2009).

However, Mushi argues that this policy of Education for Self-reliance *"laid bare the weaknesses of the education system inherited from the colonial past"* (Mushi 2009: 127) because it focused on the need for curricular reform in order to apply theoretical knowledge to the acquisition of practical skills. It also linked the education with the context of social and economic context and the job market. Therefore, certain steps were taken to ensure the provision of education between 1970 and 1980. One of the most significant policies made in 1974 was the expansion of primary and secondary education and integration of

education with work (Mushi 2009: 128). At the time, it is argued that high education should be provided for the needs of high level manpower, thus, the government enlarged secondary education to ensure that when finishing primary school, students can continue with their next phase of education.

4. The Role of English and Kiswahili in Tanzanian Society

Before looking at the secondary education system in Tanzania, it is important for us to have a brief understanding about the roles that English and Kiswahili play in Tanzanian society. Generally, as mentioned in the introduction part, Kiswahili is the national and official language, also, it is the language of instruction in primary education. English, on the other hand, is also an official language and it is set by the policy makers to be the language of instruction in the post-primary educational phase. But when it comes to the job market, Kiswahili takes the leading position for most of the occupations to communicate and complete the working tasks.

As the lingua franca and the tool of everyday communication between different ethnic groups, Kiswahili is increasingly the first language of the young generation, especially in urban areas and among the working class (Roy-Campbell and Qorro, 1997). When in school, Kiswahili is also the most often used language outside classroom. It is the language that builds a bridge between the citizens and the government, the politicians and the public, the Parliament, the courts, the churches with the people and the language used for commerce and economic trade.

English, as an official language in Tanzania, is used by a rather small proportion of population and it is mainly used for international communication fields including politics, trade, commerce, tourism and etc. According to Roy-Campbell and Qorro, these two languages *“have clearly defined roles: Kiswahili for all issues within the country from the village to the national level and English for issues beyond national boundaries, namely international communication”* (Roy-Campbell and Qorro 1997:103). They further argued that it is only reasonable and understandable when knowledge is imparted through Kiswahili due to the 90% Kiswahili-speaking population. Then why does the government still insist on English as the language of instruction in the secondary schools?

In answering to this question, Roy-Campbell and Qorro (1997) quoted the three reasons from Barrett in the book published in 1994. There are in total 3 reasons, namely, inertia, economic development and interests involved groups. In referring to the first reason inertia, Barrett (1994) claims that arguments are still filtering through and it takes time for people to act on them. *“But in the case of Tanzania, the fact that a date was actually set for the change to Kiswahili and the reversed, would imply that inertia is not the problem”* (Roy-Campbell and Qorro, 1997: 120). The second reason refers to the consequences of Tanzania's subordinate position of the world economy. Barrett points out that development is now regarded in the technical terms instead of as a political process, which means that, development is reviewed as dependent on western technology rather than being achievable by the efforts of the people themselves. In this way, English can act

positively in the field of science and technology and therefore, should be laid great emphasis in education.

The third reason that Barrett argues related to the interests involved groups. She points out the two groups can benefit both economically and politically from this policy: the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, made up of a coalition between the nationalist politicians of the independence movement and the university graduated and the Western nations, especially the English speaking ones because in Barrett's eyes, the more English is used, the more Tanzanians will look towards Britain and thus the economic tie gets strengthened.

What is more, Barrett also points out that English as the instruction of education, somehow, does harm to the Tanzanian political situation:

"If Tanzanian students fail in large numbers, it works in Britains interests. Within the present system, many students spend four years in secondary school learning not to think, but copying down notes from the board which they don't understand. It therefore ensures that a large proportion of the population are demoralised and kept quiet. The last thing Western countries want is a generation of articulate Nyereres and Sokoines (Prime Minister of Tanzania from 1980 to 1984) questioning the current world economic order."(Barrett, 1994: 14)

Therefore, based on the discussion I listed above, Kiswahili is supported to be the medium of instruction not only due to the reason that it is spoken by the majority of the population, but also because of the dilemmas that English as the medium of instruction brings to the Tanzanian society. Roy-Campbell and Qorro, in their 1997 published book, first analysed the importance of using Kiswahili as the language on court. They used the study by Kavugha and Bobb in 1970, which was quoted by Rwezaura to show that English was used for 16% of the total court time while the proportion for Kiswahili was 78%. They further point out that English language proficiency sees a continuous drop in schools so that more Kiswahili is expected to use in the courts. By quoting Rewzaura's view *"the most obvious argument for adopting Kiswahili as the language of law in Tanzania is that it has, in practice, become one"*, Roy-Campbell and Qorro hold the opinion that this idea can be employed for using Kiswahili as the language of instruction in secondary schools officially.

By using English as the language of instruction, according to Roy-Campbell and Qorro, the government is seen as not being honest for keeping the objectives of education out of reach because English is an international language that Tanzanian students get little access to in their daily life and the English they learned as a compulsory subject can never be enough for them to fully master the knowledge that is imparted by using English as the language of instruction. Roy-Campbell and Qorro further argue that insisting on English as the language of instruction means ignoring the role Kiswahili plays in Tanzanian society, therefore, the importance of Kiswahili should be reflected in the educational language policy.

5. Tanzanian Secondary Education

Let us now look at what exactly the secondary education in Tanzanian society is. According to the information given on the Tanzanian governmental website, it consists of two phases, the first is a 4-year Ordinary Level Secondary Education (14-17 years), and then a 2-year Advanced Level Secondary Education (18-19 years). Secondary school education, as announced in Education for Self Reliance (Nyerere, 1967), is to prepare the majority of young people for service to Tanzanian society. The strategic priority is the improvement for access, equity and quality of Education^{vi}.

Based on the complex situation of the Tanzanian society mentioned in the introduction part, the development of the society requires citizens with bilingual ability in Kiswahili and English. Therefore, a bilingual education system is needed. As for Tanzania, *“bilingual education was not stated in an official document, but was implied in pronouncements which were made, and which were based purely on political and ministerial directives”* (Tibategeza & Plessis 2012: 184) This, however, has also been illustrated in its national policy of Kiswahili as the national language, official language, LOI of primary education and English as a subject in primary education and the LOI at post-primary education. But the question about whether this policy really works and benefits the students has, like mentioned above, always been on a debate. Therefore, in this section, I will first list the objectives of the secondary education in Tanzania and have a review about how certain scholars look at these educational goals.

The latest version of Education and Training Policy from the Tanzanian official government website was issued in 1995 in English^{vii} and the newest enacted Education and Training Policy can be found on this website is in Kiswahili (2014), therefore, the one enacted in English in the year 1995 is used.

Secondary education refers to post-primary formal education offered to persons who will have successfully completed seven years of primary education and have met the requisite entry requirements.

The aims and objectives of secondary education are:

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

^{vi} Source: <https://www.tanzania.go.tz/home/pages/1222>

^{vii} Source: <https://www.tanzania.go.tz/home/pages/71>

- 5) To prepare students for tertiary and higher education, vocational, technical and professional training;
- 6) To inculcate a sense and ability for self-study, self-confidence and self-advancement in new frontiers of science and technology, academic and occupational knowledge, and skills;
- 7) To prepare the students to join the world of work.

These 7 goals for secondary education share no difference with the one (issued in 1993) listed in the book (published in 1997) by Roy-Campbell and Qorro and they analyzed these seven aims one after another. I will summarize their comments in the following section:

As for the first objective, Roy-Campbell and Qorro argue that it is hard to achieve for the reason that to the majority of secondary school students, the medium and the topics are new for them. Also, the learning situation with English as the language of instruction brings about two problems, first is the poor understanding of the subject due to students' little knowledge of English. Second is that their language level in Kiswahili would be downgraded resulting from the fact that Kiswahili is not allowed to use any more.

With regard to the second object, which, in their opinion is a more problematic one, they hold the idea that teaching in a foreign language might do harm to the enhancement and appreciation of national identity, unity, ethnic, and personal integrity of the students. To solve this problem, Kiswahili should be laid great emphasis. They further argued that "*teaching children in a language which they do not understand is a violation of their human rights.*" (Roy-Campbell and Qorro, 1997: 79). Therefore, the second object cannot be attained by using English as a medium of instruction.

Both the 3rd and 4th objectives are concerned with promoting students' competence and skills in both the linguistic and communication level of Kiswahili. The acquisition of a foreign language is also asked to facilitate. But it turns out that the English knowledge students master cannot ensure them an effective and efficient learning when the language of instruction is English at the secondary schools. Also, English as the medium of instruction in secondary schools brings about three problems: firstly, the students lack the chances in communicating in Kiswahili and thus their communication skill in Kiswahili would be gradually lost; secondly, students cannot perform well in English and thirdly, their English ability cannot be improved. In this way, Roy-Campbell and Qorro point out this the current policy goes against the 3rd and 4th objectives.

Both about providing students with post-secondary education, vocational, technical and professional training, objectives 5 and 6 are also related and are aimed at improved students' ability for self-study, self-confidence and self-advancement in science and technology. But they used two studies, one done by Utne in 1993 and another done by Mbilinyi and Mbughuni argued that students find it hard to actively response to the teachers during lessons taught in English because due to the lack of confidence, students are afraid of making mistakes but could perform much better when the language of instruction becomes Kiswahili. Therefore, they point out that "*It is difficult to engender*

self-confidence and self-advancement in English if students are not comfortable with it" (Roy-Campbell and Qorro 1997: 84).

Objective 7 is related with the job market. In Tanzania, Kiswahili is used as a working language by most occupation, including secondary school leavers-as nurses, rural medical aides, agricultural and veterinary offices, primary cooperative or village managers, secretaries, court clerks, primary school teachers, etc. But the problems come because the language of instruction in secondary school is English, some secondary school leavers would enter the job market without having adequate chances to practice their Kiswahili communication skills. What is more, as the subjects are taught in English, the students with poor English ability cannot understand and absorb the knowledge that is imparted to them. In this way, Roy-Campbell and Qorro argue that English-medium education interferes with, or impedes the preparation of students for the world of work, and therefore goes against objective 7 of secondary education.

Policy should act as the guideline to coordinate and organize different parts of the society to communicate and cooperate for the benefits of citizens and their future development. When it comes to education, the purpose of a policy is *"to ensure access to and equity in education for the majority of the school-going population, and create structures that provide quality education at all levels of the education system. Other structures in the society should facilitate the attainment of educational objectives"* (Roy-Campbell and Qorro, 1997: 71). As in the case of Tanzania, the objectives of educational policy set by the policy makers seem hard to achieve because these structures are not in harmony with each other.

6. Previous Studies

As discussed above, it is quite clear that scholars and researchers have pointed out the problems brought by English as the language of instruction in secondary schools and why they claim that a code-switching or the change into Kiswahili as the language of instruction is necessary. In the following section, some previous studies, along with the data and examples would be briefly reviewed.

The first study I would like to review here is the one conducted by Makewa, Role and Tuguta (2013) using the questionnaires to collect data and the reliability of the research instrument was determined by conducting a pilot study.

They used Selinker's Inter-language theory, which refers to gradual process of learning the second language from the first language or mother tongue, as their theoretical framework. Makewa, Role and Tuguta argue that factors including attitude, anxiety, motivation, classroom environment, and learning resources all affect students' acquisition of English language learning. They further explained why every factor listed above plays an important role in English learning.

In the study, the children were asked to do self-evaluation concerning their level of English proficiency, attitude towards English learning, their anxiety of learning English, and whether they are motivated in learning this language. Moreover, they were asked to evaluate their teachers during classroom activities, classroom environment and learning resources.

As for the results, students' perceived level of proficiency in spoken English was on average. Although the respondents had problems with spoken English and doubt their speaking skills because they suffer from the anxiety of making mistakes, they still hold a positive skill towards English learning. With regard to the classroom environment, a more interactional and conducive environment ought to be built for students' better acquisition. Concerning learning resources, it turns out that the amount of resources schools have is far from English and the notes students take during the class play an important role in their English learning.

Another study that is worth mentioning is the one done by Mwinsheikhe, aiming at investigating students and teachers' proficiency in English and how a science lesson is conducted in Tanzanian secondary schools where the dilemma between English and Kiswahili should be coped with. Different from the method used in the above research, here, multiple methods including participant observation, interviews and a quasi-experiment are used to for data collection.

The linguistic imperialism by Phillipson was used by Mwinsheikhe as the theoretical background. It *"is the phenomenon whereby the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstruction of structural (material properties) and cultural (ideological properties) inequalities between English and other languages"* (Mwinsheikhe, 2009: 225). Students from two secondary schools, located in two regions were chosen to be the sample. It was notable to find that more than half of the interviewees regarded themselves as poor in English.

Mwinsheikhe further noted his observations. He found that most students were unable to express themselves clearly or answer correctly in English-taught lessons and they were not very willing to participate. Only few students could interact in English freely and fluently. Teachers, however, also seemed to not confident and seldom motivated students to ask questions. The general atmosphere was *"learner-unfriendly"* (Mwinsheikhe, 2009: 227). It seems that the lack of qualified English ability is not a secret because the head of one of the schools even said *"English proficiency is average for teachers. They do not know the language enough to use it for teaching?"* (Mwinsheikhe, 2009: 226).

But when in Kiswahili-taught lessons, things become quite differently. The entire learning atmosphere becomes active and lively because the teacher and students all attend the class activities positively, teachers were much more confident in delivering knowledge and the students were willing to raise questions and cooperate with each other.

Mwinsheikhe also found several strategies adopted during the lessons, namely, code-switching, safe talk and negative reinforcement. As for code-switching classes, when Kiswahili was used more, the lessons were similar with the Kiswahili-taught classes and when English was used more, the lessons resembled the English-taught classes. And when the teacher is teaching in English or sometimes code-switching, he would ask questions to check if the students have understood. Typical questions are like *"Are we together?"* or *"Understood?"* (Mwinsheikhe, 2009: 228)

The following bar chart shows students' performances in three mediums of instruction, the first column is the result in Kiswahili, the second English and the third

code-switching. It is obvious to see that when the language of instruction is Kiswahili, students can perform much better than the other two mediums while English seems to have failed in promoting better academic performance among the students. It also helped to examine that greater and better education quality can be achieved when Kiswahili is used as the language of instruction.

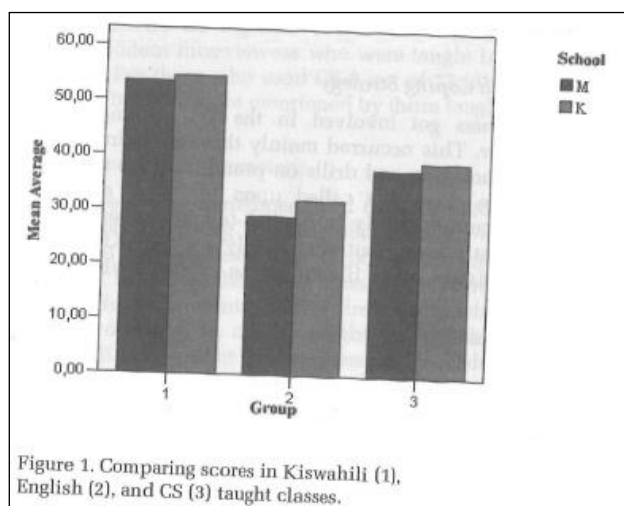


Figure 1: Comparing scores in Kiswahili (1), English (2), and CS (3) taught classes (Extracted from: Mwinsheikhe, 2009: 230)

Therefore, it is quite clear that when English is the language of instruction in secondary school, students' perceived level of English proficiency is poor not only because that they have laid a solid foundation of English language during the primary education period, but also because the teachers cannot give the students the correct guidance and proper instruction when teaching in English. To illustrate this, I would quote an example in an article by Qorro, which is originally the result of the study done by Rubagumya.

T: When you go home put some water in a jar, leave it direct on sun rays and observe the decrease of the amount of water. Have you understood?

SS: (silence)

T: Nasema, chukua chombo, uweke maji na kiache kwenye jua, maji yatakuwaje? (I say take a container with water and leave it in the sun, what will happen to the water?)

SS: Yatapungua (It will decrease)

T: Kwa nini? (Why?)

SS: Yatafyonzwa na mionzi ya jua (It will be evaporated by the sun's rays).

(Rubagumya et al, 1999, p.17) (Qorro, 2009: 67)

In this example, T refers to teacher and SS refers to students. It shows that the teacher's instruction is unclear when it is given in English. It is difficult to tell whether it is the teacher's instruction or the students' lack of understanding that results in their silence.

Another example I would like to quote also comes from the article written by Qorro, where she showed the readers the result of a study done by Mlama & Matteru (1979).

T: What do you stand when we say animals of the forest?

T: What the meaning of decided?

P: Decided means to ask others.

T: Who can use in a good sentence a word decided?

P: Our teacher decided all children come in the morning in school?

T: Good. What the meaning of a well?

P: A place which water are not walking.

T: The word clapped (pronounced /krap/). It is the past tense of which word?

T: Understood class?

T: Quiet please (pronounced /kwait pliis/)

T: Clapped is the past tense of clap (pronounced /krap/)

(Mlama & Matteru, 1978. p. 19) (Qorro 2009: 66)

From the above two examples, conclusion is not hard to reach that the teacher himself is not proficient enough in English, no matter the grammar, or the pronunciation. Thus, he uses incorrect English to guide students and does not correct the student when the student is making mistakes. The reason might be that he is unaware of the errors, or he does not know how to correct the student in the most properest way. In this way, if the students receive 'incorrect' instructions in English and answer the questions in English without realizing that mistakes are made, it is hard for them to fully understand and master the knowledge taught at secondary schools and thus it is likely for them to be not qualified enough in the job market and become even more silent when facing a political situation where voice can only be heard in English. Qorro points out that the example is not to blame the teachers, but to illustrate that teachers are not the reason of the problem but "*they have become victims of a bad language policy*" (Qorro, 2009: 67).

7. Conclusion

After the discussion in the above section, it is clear that English and Kiswahili stand on contradictory positions when it comes to the language of instruction in Tanzanian secondary schools. It is also quite understandable that why people hold the opposite view that English as the language of instruction in secondary school. Although the problem is rather serious, it does not mean that it cannot be solved when certain measures are taken. Firstly, teachers' ability in English must be improved and enhanced. As shown in the examples from the field study, in certain cases, teachers cannot even express themselves clearly or give the students clear instruction in correct English. So, it should be high on the agenda that professional training specially designed for the secondary schools teachers should be set so as to improve the overall English skills. Secondly, when regulating policies, policy makers should look at the real needs of the mass public instead

of setting a policy from their own view. It is undeniable that from every aspect, English plays an important role in an international society to promote political communicate, commercial trade, academic exchange and etc. But the importance of Kiswahili should never be neglected especially in the globalization because it is the language that inherits the value of Tanzanian culture. Malekela argues that textbooks in Kiswahili should be written for both students and teachers (Malekela, 2003). Roy-Campbell and Qorro argue that people usually refer to the process of assimilating from other nations when it comes to draw from the experiences from other countries. They point out that “*if education is seen as a vital vehicle in bringing about national development, then the medium of education should facilitate that education*” (Roy-Campbell and Qorro, 2001: 126). They also argue that certain measures including returning to English as the medium of instruction in primary schools, strengthening English language teaching in primary and secondary schools under the present system, formalizing bilingualism in secondary schools, or changing the medium of instruction from English to Kiswahili in secondary schools ought to be taken to cope with the current situation. Of course, Rome is not built in one day, the current problems cannot be solved within a short time, but things can be improved with the support from every aspect of the Tanzanian society.

Conflict of Interest Statement

I declare that I do not have any commercial or associative interest that represents a conflict of interest in connection with the work submitted.

About the Author

The author finishes her Master’s degree at the University of Bayreuth, Germany and now works as a lecturer at a college in China. Her main research interests include second language acquisition, foreign language education, pragmatics.

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