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The Gravity of English in East Africa : A Picture of Globalization

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The Gravity of English in East Africa: A Picture of Globalization

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This thesis is dedicated to my family, especially my parents, whose courage led us on many adventures that have shaped my life in countless ways. I will be forever grateful. This thesis is also dedicated to the many dear friends of various backgrounds that we have had the privilege of knowing along the way.

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Abstract

The purpose of this research project was to investigate the role of English, the former colonizer's language, in East Africa (i.e. Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda). The central inquiry was the extent to which English is considered by East Africans to be an indispensable language. Language policy – in government, but especially in education – is analyzed in light of this inquiry. The dissonant factors behind pro-English language policy that were discovered during research (i.e. the ways in which such policy is incongruent with the linguistic realities of a majority of the East African population) are discussed throughout the thesis. The presence of Kiswahili as a local *lingua franca* that is more widespread, though still in competition with English, is used as a point of reference on the tension between an actual need and an idealistic desire for English. The decision by Tanzania in 2015 to make Kiswahili the sole language of instruction in all levels of education is analyzed in contrast with the indispensability that English exhibits in education policy in neighboring Kenya and Uganda. The chances of English becoming an indigenized language in East Africa are discussed, given the growing influence of globalization and the internet. Bilingualism and an almost unanimously positive view of English are major factors behind language shift towards English and away from local languages (i.e. Kiswahili, but especially tribal languages). A three-week field study was conducted in Kenya and Tanzania, with a central objective thereof being the administration of a survey on language use and opinion. Results to this survey are discussed in light of the whole body of research. Authors' proposals are presented and a personal proposal is made for future language policy in East Africa that would better empower the average citizen for success in society, whatever his socioeconomic status.

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Introduction

“Ignorance is bliss”. There is a reason that this saying exists. But *is* ignorance bliss? It *is* sometimes more comfortable than full disclosure. Yet, when it comes to our world, all it takes is a little digging – a little critical thinking – and one can quickly uncover many traces of disturbing histories that litter the enormous past of our vast planet. Taking things for granted is possibly the easiest and most common path of ignorance. It may be easy to take for granted the way things are today and may be for one’s entire lifetime – such as the established presence of people of English-speaking descent in northern North America, Australia and New Zealand, or the presence of the French and Arabic languages on multiple continents. Victors write the history books, and it is no surprise that both the beautiful and the tragic stories of the less fortunate are seemingly forever lost.

Yet, for those who dare to undertake the endless journey towards truth and greater understanding, the story is far from complete. It is in this vein that this research project has been undertaken. What happened linguistically in East Africa for things to be the way they are today? What are the resounding murmurs of the nameless, faceless, marginalized multitudes? The established presence of a non-European lingua franca¹, Kiswahili², against the backdrop of post-colonial “Anglophone”³ East Africa is a linguistic curiosity worthy of study. Even in 1961, at the dawn of East African independence⁴, the language situation in East Africa was already being described as being “of outstanding importance” (Wingard 296).

The central inquiry of this thesis can be summed up as follows. **To what extent and why has English been considered by East Africans, despite many dissonant factors, to be indispensable?** To this end, several sub-questions arise. Why would an independent people keep the language of their colonizers? Isn’t Kiswahili an extremely practical lingua franca, and a rather unique case in Africa? Is it possible for English to become indigenized⁵ in East Africa, and if so, to what extent is this happening?

In order to undertake such a study, several clarifications are first necessary. The meaning of the word “indispensable”, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, is “too

¹ The Oxford English Dictionary defines “lingua franca” as “a shared language of communication used between people whose main languages are different”.

² The typical Anglophone name for the language is Swahili. Out of respect, its Swahili name will be used in this thesis.

³ Anglophone, meaning English-speaking, is put in parentheses here, because whether or not former British colonies could or should be considered as English-speaking to this day may be a subject of debate. The same could be true for “Francophone” Africa.

⁴ Dates of independence: Tanganyika (TZ)- Dec. 9th, 1961; Uganda- Oct. 9th, 1962; Zanzibar (TZ)- Dec. 10th, 1963; Kenya- Dec. 12th, 1963

⁵ Indigenous: “belonging to a particular place rather than coming to it from somewhere else” (Oxford Dictionary).

important to be without”. Sociolinguist W.H. Whiteley might have been hinting at such a term in 1956, when he stated that “few could foresee the extent to which Africans would feel that the acquisition of English was *the key* to wealth and power” (343; italics added). It is certainly not unreasonable to make the observation that many East Africans view the English language as “too important to be without” – as indispensable. Such a viewpoint will be discussed throughout this thesis.

A second necessary clarification is what is meant by “English” and “the English language”. Such terms, for the sake of this research project, allude primarily to what is considered in the 21st century as “international English” – English as a lingua franca⁶. It is important to note that this is not necessarily the English that is the first and, for many, the only language used by “native speakers”⁷ in such places as the United Kingdom, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United States, and elsewhere. The proficiency level of East Africans in English, as well as the characteristics of the English they use – its resemblance to and divergence from British English – will be discussed, but only briefly. What matters most for this research project is the interplay between English, Kiswahili and tribal languages⁸.

A third necessary clarification is the term “East Africa”. The term “East Africa” would probably be considered by most to allude to the East African Community, which today (2018) contains six country members: Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda. However, for 82 years – from its creation in 1927 until 2009 – the East African Community was comprised of only three countries: Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. For the purposes of this research project, the term “East Africa” (EA) will give reference to these three countries (Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda), which share enough cultural similarities to be considered as a region. It should be noted that the amount of scholarly publications on the linguistic situation in Uganda is greatly inferior to that of Kenya and Tanzania. This is most unfortunate and is in no way a desired bias to this research project.

Chapter 1 gives a brief background on colonization in East Africa, focusing primarily on matters of language. This was deemed necessary to situate the reader in the proper context for the discussion that follows on the modern-day role of English, a colonizer’s language, in former colonies. Chapter 2 discusses language policy (in both government and education)

⁶ In this thesis, once terms have been defined, they will not be redefined in the footnotes, but can be referenced in the glossary (see Appendix A, p. 111).

⁷ The term “native speaker” can be problematic – a complex and subjective topic that will not be covered in this thesis. The term finds its clearest definition in monolingual contexts (e.g. where a certain language is the only language proficiently known and used), which could not be farther from the case of multilingual East Africa.

⁸ “Tribal languages”, in the context of East Africa, is a term that is interchangeable with “vernaculars” (a term predominantly used during the colonial era), and in most cases, “mother tongues”.

following independence, which is necessary in order to understand the current linguistic situation in East Africa, as many of these policies have not changed much if at all since independence. Chapter 3 presents some of the linguistic realities facing East Africans in their quest for national development. Chapter 4 examines the ways in which Kiswahili is an anomaly, especially being in competition with English as a lingua franca. In Chapter 5, the indigenization potential of English in East Africa is discussed. Chapter 6 contains observations and reflections from a three-week field study in Kenya and Tanzania, and Chapter 7 concludes the thesis with a discussion of and suggestions for future language policy in East Africa.

Chapter 1: Background on European Colonization in East Africa

A study of the role that English plays in East Africa would be incomplete without first presenting a basic history of European colonization in the region. The global conquest of European colonization, which lasted roughly from the 1880s to the 1960s, came in the wake of the abolition of the slave trade in the 19th century and was also a product of the Industrial Revolution and capitalist expansion (Iweriebor). The European conquest of Africa was far from haphazard. Best known as the Berlin Conference, this gathering of European Powers from 1884 to 1885, initiated by German chancellor Otto von Bismarck, set the stage for the large scale and coordinated “partition, invasion and colonization” of Africa by power-hungry European empires (Iweriebor). The primary need for such a conference was to prevent inter-imperial war. But more practically, the conference set the rules of fair play – “to guide the conduct of the



Figure 1: Otto von Bismarck and the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885.

Source: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-41817290>

European inter-imperialist competition in Africa” (Iweriebor). Though coordinated, these conquests were morally compromised from the start; the European powers not only produced their “Berlin Act” without soliciting any African input, but also tricked the leaders of the countless African societies they were to subject into signing “so-called treaties of protection” (Iweriebor). The trickery was major, as Iweriebor explains: “For Europeans, these treaties meant that Africans had signed away their sovereignties to European powers; but for Africans, the treaties were merely diplomatic and commercial friendship treaties”. Thus, before the turn

of the 20th century, European nations had partitioned nearly the entire African continent (see Figure 2⁹).

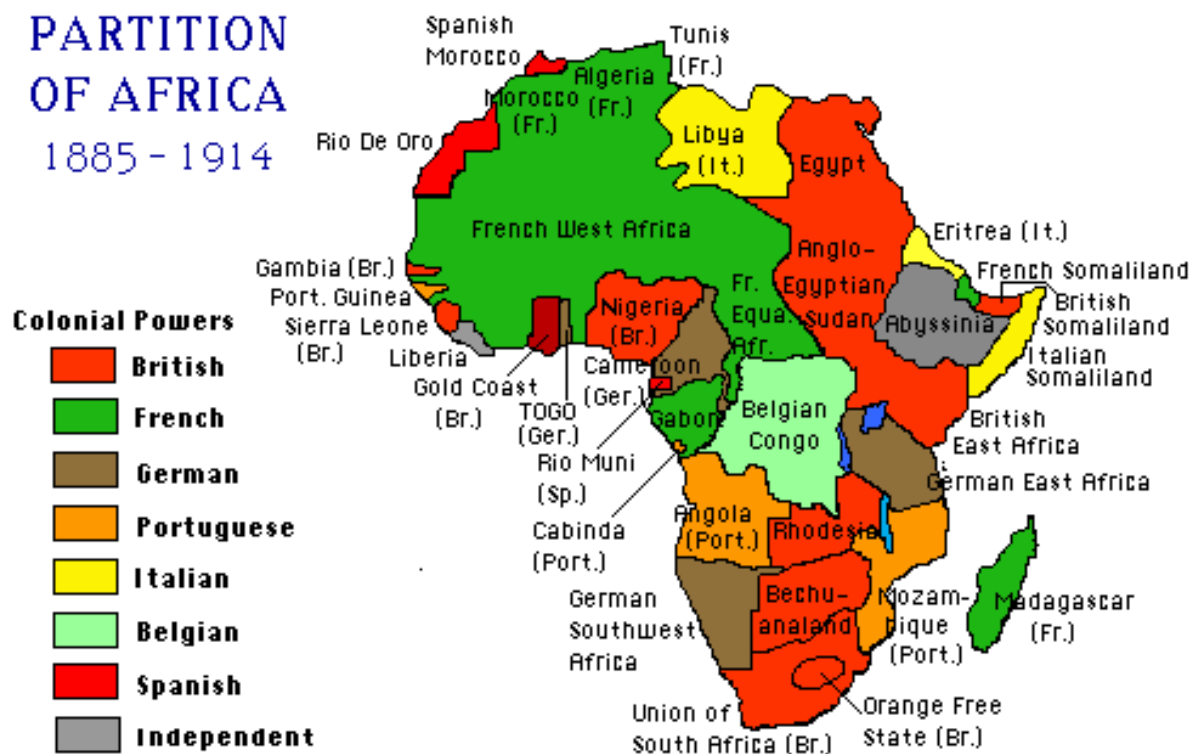


Figure 2: The Partition of Africa by European powers following the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885.
 Source: http://www.africafederation.net/Partition_Africa_1885.jpg

1.1 The Language Problem in East African Colonization

The onset of European colonization in Africa introduced many problems to the continent. Yet, one that might be taken for granted was the creation of new African nations without much of any respect to ethnicity (i.e. tribal lines). Colonizers mixed and matched languages, kingdoms and cultures, creating “new African societies [...] founded on different ideological and social premises” (Iweriebor). The result was destabilizing and debilitating, making the colonized peoples dependent upon those who were creating these “new African societies” (Iweriebor). Though the linguistic phenomenon of lingua francas was by no means

⁹ Tanzania is labeled in Figure 2 as “German East Africa”, which also included Rwanda and Burundi. Kenya and Uganda were part of what is labeled as “British East Africa”, which on the map is attached to “Anglo-Egyptian Sudan”. It may be interesting to note that Ethiopia and Liberia were the two African countries that were never officially colonies, though Ethiopia was under Italian “oversight” from 1936 to 1941 (Iweriebor). Unclear in the map is the differentiation between Spanish and British colonies, which seem to all be marked in red. The only Spanish colonies were “Spanish Morocco”, “Rio de Oro” (modern day Western Sahara) and “Rio Muni” (modern day Equatorial Guinea).

an invention of European colonization, the demand for a common language was undoubtedly spiked by this fabrication of African nations according to geography and not ethnicity.

Uganda is a fine example of multilingualism and tribalism that is innately opposed to such colonial nation building. Even as the British colonial administration was “preparing Uganda for independence” in the 1950s, it ran up against “a formidable obstacle” (Ingalls): the kingdom of Buganda, a major tribal group whose language, Luganda, is the most widespread tribal language used in Uganda today. In fact, the Baganda were so opposed to nationhood (that is, becoming fellow citizens with other tribal groups whom they “regarded as inferior”), that it took the exile of their king for them to acquiesce. Yet in 1959, several years after their king was restored, the Baganda once again revived their opposition (Ingalls). Indeed, the Baganda, like most African tribes, would have preferred to remain their own kingdom, with their own ruler, *their own language*, and their own culture. It was the colonizers who gave them no choice but nationhood, and with it, *the need for a lingua franca*. In 1937, a Ugandan scholar wrote of the problematic need for a lingua franca in his country: “Faced with [the] dilemma [of each tribe needing educational materials in its own language], both the [British] Missions and Government began to consider the wisdom of having one language that would serve most, if not all, of the tribes in the Protectorate. The Africans wanted to keep their own vernaculars” (Mukasa 83). Indeed, in Uganda as in most other African nations, it was very rare for a tribe to consent to speaking the ethnic language of another, at least as an official, national lingua franca. Nevertheless, the need for a common language for the colonial administration was evident.

Because choosing a lingua franca from among the many tribal languages proved to be politically precarious in East Africa, there emerged what Professor Birgit Brock-Utne calls “the myth of many African languages”, which was accompanied by the narrative of “Africa as the dark and backward continent” (176). The resulting colonial ideology was the supposed need for the colonizers to civilize *excessively multilingual* societies. As a 1959 journal article put it, “the contest [for a lingua franca] in most cases is between a world language on one hand, and a jostling horde of local vernaculars on the other” (MacKenzie 216); the same author wrote that,

in allusion to the ethnic dispersal at the Tower of Babel in Genesis 11¹⁰ by the confusing of their languages, “a particularly thorough job seems to have been done in Africa”¹¹ (216).

Apart from ethnic tensions and the sheer number of tribal languages, a key argument used to discredit the viability of giving official lingua franca status to East African tribal languages during colonial times was the lack of literature in these languages. As a 1968 journal article noted, “in Kenya [...], as in virtually all sub-Saharan African states, the provision of adequate vernacular literature even for the initial stages of education has been a difficult problem” (Gorman 214). Yet, it is no surprise that there were very few printed materials in tribal languages, given that this was an area invested in almost exclusively by missionaries for much of the colonial era (214). The British government’s lack of investment in tribal language literature was indeed evidence that they did not consider them a suitable solution for the need for a lingua franca in their East African colonies.

1.2 The Use of Kiswahili during East African Colonization

Though many similarities exist between the countries in East Africa, and Kiswahili is one of the primary unifying factors, the language has a unique history and different role in each country in East Africa (Mazrui & Mazrui 275); the same can be said for English. Of the three countries, it could be argued that Tanzania has had the most diverse history of colonization: from significant subjection to the Arab slave trade (particularly in Zanzibar¹²), to a quarter century of German colonization (starting in 1885), and finally being “inherited” by the British after WWI. Each colonizing power had a different interaction with the Kiswahili language, which today is considered to be most firmly established in Tanzania. According to Mazrui &

¹⁰ The following is an excerpt from the Biblical account of the Tower of Babel: “*Now the whole world had one language and a common speech. As people moved eastward, they found a plain in Shinar and settled there. [...] Then they said, ‘Come, let us build ourselves a city, with a tower that reaches to the heavens, so that we may make a name for ourselves; otherwise we will be scattered over the face of the whole earth.’ But the Lord came down to see the city and the tower the people were building. The Lord said, ‘If as one people speaking the same language they have begun to do this, then nothing they plan to do will be impossible for them. Come, let us go down and confuse their language so they will not understand each other.’ So the Lord scattered them from there over all the earth, and they stopped building the city.*” Genesis 11:1-8, New International Version (2011).

¹¹ Brock-Utne, however, offers her rebuttal to such an argument. She alludes to recent research (from the early 2000s), which found that “about 85% of Africans speak no more than 12-15 core languages” [i.e. language families], which she notes is fewer than even the number of languages present in the comparatively small continent of Europe (176). Also, Uganda’s White Paper policy for education, released in 1992 and still technically in effect today, finds an echo with such a view on the modest number of tribal language families. The policy prescribes the use of 9 local languages (“larger generalized language groups that could serve as regional languages”), estimated to cover 80-90% of the Ugandan population, a country considered to be especially multilingual (Nakayiza 44).

¹² For an explanation of Zanzibar, Tanganyika and the creation of Tanzania, see glossary, p. 111.

Mazrui, “Kiswahili was an African language which captured the allegiance of its Arab conquerors”, in contrast to the linguistically domineering British (283). However, Roehl (1930) asserts that the Arab colonizers’ interest in Kiswahili was not sentimental and went no further than pragmatic utility (196). As for the Germans, Whiteley in 1956 described them as being quite pro-Kiswahili in their East African colony (i.e. Tanganyika)¹³, researching the language and investing in the local provision of education materials in Kiswahili; they “made it clear that Swahili was to be established throughout the territory” (344). Not surprisingly, by the time the British “inherited” Tanganyika at the end of WWI, Kiswahili was “firmly established” as the lingua franca of society and the school system, though a second language to many (348). Yet, Roehl (1930) wrote of the language’s utility not only for the Germans in Tanganyika, but also for the British, Portuguese and Belgians in the region at large (195). Indeed, Kiswahili became “an instrument of nation-building, colonial state-formation, and vertical mediation between the government and the wider society” in the East African colonies (Mazrui & Mazrui 277).

Following WWI, the role of Kiswahili as a useful lingua franca for the various colonizing powers in East Africa kept growing, and the need for standardization became a priority. A conference was held in Tanganyika by the Governor in 1925, followed by an Inter-Territorial Conference in Mombasa (Kenya) in 1928, and the creation of the Inter-Territorial Language Committee in 1930, whose central aim was to promote “the standardization and development of the Swahili language” in Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar (Whiteley 345). *Kiunguja*, the dialect of the Unguja island of Zanzibar, was chosen over the *Kimvita* dialect of Mombasa (Mazrui 2014: 5). Whiteley highlighted the historical importance of these efforts, asserting that “it is clear that at that time all the Territories were officially agreed on the significance and position of Swahili as a means of educational instruction” (345).

However, despite these coordinated efforts for standardization, Kiswahili in Uganda would never be as established or indigenized as it was in coastal Kenya and Tanzania. In 1928, Kiswahili was made the official language of the Ugandan protectorate, primarily for educational and administrative ends (Nakayiza 199). However, it was soon legally replaced by Luganda after pushback by local administrators, religious leaders, and the powerful kingdom of Buganda (whose language is Luganda); Kiswahili continued to be used unofficially in trade as well as in urban areas (120). In 1937, Mukasa wrote that “it would seem that Swahili could solve the language issue in Uganda, but the people and especially the Baganda and the Banyoro prefer English to Swahili as the medium of instruction in the schools above the Primary standard”

¹³ Again, see glossary, p. 111.

(84). According to Mukasa, the government's proposition was to let these two (powerful) tribes use their own languages in primary and secondary education, otherwise "advising" the rest of the country towards a curriculum with Kiswahili as a (foreign language) subject in primary school and then as the language of instruction in secondary school, though conclusive evidence of this policy being implemented was not found. The effect of the Inter-Territorial Committee in Uganda could thus be considered to have been more symbolic than official.

As Kiswahili grew in importance as a standardized lingua franca, mainly in Kenya and Tanzania, there were signs that the primary linguistic intent of the British was not necessarily to promote Kiswahili. According to Gorman (1968), "it was the official policy of the Government [in the 1940s], in so far as it was stated, that English should ultimately become the lingua franca of Kenya, [...and] that Swahili should be developed 'as a subordinate lingua franca'" (215). This paradigm was to have effect on the school curriculum, and ultimately led to the displacement of Kiswahili as the language of instruction at the primary school level in Kenya, which in turn solidified the use of English as the language of instruction in secondary school. Echoes of such ideological subjection of Kiswahili to English can be found in subtle assertions such as the following: "[...] the great majority of people [in East Africa]¹⁴ know Swahili as a third or a second language. It is a third language if they already know English" (Harries 1969: 277).

As movements for East African independence grew in momentum and strength, Kiswahili was viewed by the British as both a tool and a threat. In 1953, the African Broadcasting Service was created in Kenya, which broadcasted in Kiswahili, tribal languages and even Arabic in order to "propagate obedience to the colonial government" (Wa'Njogu 59). It could be argued that the standardization and development of Kiswahili as a lingua franca ended up backfiring on the British, as Mazrui & Mazrui explain: "As it evolved into the primary language of politics in Tanzania and Kenya especially, it became a part of the process through which the masses in these countries became increasingly involved in national agitation for African rights" (280). As the coat of arms¹⁵ of Kenya and Tanzania read, in Kiswahili: *Harambee* ("all pull together") and *Uhuru na Umoja* ("freedom and unity").

¹⁴ It is possible that the author was somehow alluding primarily to Uganda when writing of East Africa as a whole in this way. Even in 1969, to rank English before Kiswahili in the language repertoire of "a great majority of" Kenyans and Tanzanians is quite a claim. Such a possibility will be discussed in depth in the following chapters.

¹⁵ See coats of arms in Appendix B, p. 114. Note that Uganda's coat of arms is in English.

1.3 The Use of English during East African Colonization

One might think that the Germans would have forced their language to be officially used in Tanganyika, as the vast majority of colonizers have done throughout history. However, not only did the Germans invest in Kiswahili, as previously mentioned, but they also allowed English to be used as the medium of instruction in secondary schools in Tanganyika due to missionary efforts in education; German was taught, albeit nonchalantly, as a foreign language subject, and Kiswahili remained the language of instruction in primary school (Mazrui 2014: 4). Indeed, linguistically speaking, the Germans seemed to be minimally invasive.

After WWI, likely in correlation with the standardization (and thereby, promotion) of Kiswahili, it became evident that the British, unlike the French for example, were not keen on the spread of their language in their East African colonies, as Mazrui & Mazrui explain:

[...] where conditions permitted, they preferred language policies that would limit the dissemination of their language among their colonial subjects. Under the pretext of an enlightened colonialism intended to keep Africans African and the English language exclusive, colonial administrators were sometimes disturbed by attempts to teach the 'natives' English at an early age. (286)

There was, of course, the time and the place to “share” their language, as Michieka explains: “Education was not meant to socially uplift all Kenyans, but it was supposed to be tailored strictly to the needs of the civil service. English education was necessary for only a small group that could serve as civil servants while the rest of the indigenous people received minimal education, if any, to let them serve in manual labor” (39). However, it should be noted that British language-in-education policies in East Africa were “mainly ambivalent” until after WWII, as Professor Wendo Nabea asserts (124). One such example of ambivalent education policy is a 1924 motion to remove Kiswahili from the Kenyan school curriculum, except in areas where it was a “first language”, and to use tribal languages for teaching at the primary level, to introduce English in the latter years of primary school, and then to have English as the language of instruction at the secondary level (124). Then again, one might argue that this fit exactly with the British strategy for “guarding” English, given the sheer number of East Africans who do not make it past primary school for any number of reasons.

After WWII, the language-in-education policy in Kenya turned markedly English-centered, with the launch of the “New Primary Approach” (implemented from 1953 to 1955), which would eventually make English the medium of instruction in primary schools (and thus,

all levels of education) in Kenya¹⁶ (Nabea 124). The motive was not however to help Kenyans learn the language (125)¹⁷. The danger facing the British was a growing Kenyan nationalism, which was part of movements for independence across Africa that would explode in the 1950s and 1960s. The policy prescribed that English be “introduced in the lower primary [and] be taught alongside the mother tongue¹⁸, and called for the dropping of Kiswahili in the curriculum, except in areas where it was the mother tongue” (124). On paper, British policy was considered by some to have been obliging to tribal languages: “In theory then, if not in effective practice, British Colonial Policy [...] in contrast to French or Portuguese policy, strongly supported the principle that the initial object of primary education was vernacular literacy” (Gorman 1968: 214). The author was quick, however, to acknowledge how such benevolent principles were not feasible: “the achievement of literacy in the vernacular languages presents and has always presented very great problems” (214). In others’ words, “should we not then waive our scruples, and banish the mother tongue from even the lowest classrooms?” (MacKenzie 1959: 217). Yet, such condescension was not reserved for tribal languages. Gorman goes on in the same article to mention a 1955 report which “stated curtly that ‘the teaching of Swahili as a second language to children whose early education had been in other Vernaculars was a complete waste of time’” (216). Harries (1969) seems to echo such a sentiment, arguing that even in Tanzania, “the established position of English, in those areas where the use of Swahili is at present not a practical solution, is not to be disputed” (278).

Indeed, the promotion of English in East Africa, especially as independence grew more and more imminent, was an attempt at control. Kenyan professor and writer Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, who was born (in 1938) and raised during the latter part of colonial days in Kenya, has written on a phenomenon he calls “cultural alienation” via language:

We have already seen what any colonial system does: impose its tongue on the subject races, and then downgrade the vernacular tongues of the people. By so doing, they make the acquisition of their tongue [e.g. English] a status symbol; anyone who learns it [e.g. English] begins to despise the peasant majority and their barbaric tongues. By acquiring the thought-processes and the values of his adopted tongue, he becomes alienated from the values of his mother tongue, or from the language of the masses. (qtd. in Nabea 127)

¹⁶ It should be noted that in East Africa there is typically, if not always, a rather large discrepancy between policy and what is actually implemented. For example, a change in policy may mean that this policy is faithfully carried out at least in the capital city and other urban areas. Nonetheless, a change in policy is still at the very least symbolic and therefore significant.

¹⁷ As will be discussed in later chapters, it is therefore highly ironic that Kenyans have retained much of this very policy, which was aimed at suppression rather than empowerment.

¹⁸ See glossary, p. 111.

It could be argued that the British, like countless other colonizing powers across history, have been agents of this “cultural alienation” via the weapon of their language, leaving their victims in a world where the following argument is commonplace, if not true: “Not only is any African or Asian ineligible for a well-paid job without real practical facility in English, but he is unable to get the education that will qualify him for it except through the medium of English” (Gorman 1968: 213). Is English actually a better language? Is it truly indispensable? Did Africans ever really want English in the first place? Is this what the British wanted as their colonial grip in Africa was slipping – to cause a perpetual rat race, with their language as the bait? Such questions will be discussed in the chapters that follow.

Chapter 2: Post-Colonization Language Policy in East Africa

While language policy during the approximately 80 years of European colonization was understandably out of East Africans' jurisdiction, it is somewhat shocking to realize the resemblance of policies *during* colonization with policies *after* independence, primarily in education. The purpose of this chapter is to outline language policies, for government and especially education, immediately following independence¹⁹ (1960s through the 1980s), and then their more recent evolution (1990s and after). An emphasis is placed on language-in-education policies, including a discussion of the feasibility of these policies, because education is vital for countries to prepare the next generation of citizens and there is also much written on the topic. While a discussion of official policy (chapter 2) is important, chapter 3 will go on to focus on linguistic realities that face the average East African (i.e. in realms outside of education). This distinction is especially important, as there is typically a large discrepancy between official policy and actual practice in East Africa, especially once one finishes school.

2.1 Around Independence (1960s-1980s): Language Policy in Government

Tanganyika was the first East African colony to gain independence, in 1961. While the period leading up to independence may have been seemingly docile in regards to language policy, the eventual shift was surprisingly dramatic, as Ali Mazrui described in 1967:

While Kenya had a violent anti-British insurrection and Uganda had its moments of rioting and boycotting against this or that aspect of British rule, the nationalist movement in colonial Tanganyika sometimes seemed to be almost Anglophile²⁰. Yet that old Anglophile Tanganyika has now become, in the area of language policy, anti-English. (qtd. in Harries 1969: 275)

Harries (1969) interpreted such a drastic shift – that is, the adamant official installment of Kiswahili “*in opposition* to English” – as evidence of “both the strength of English usage in the vital sectors of the national administration [under colonization] and the passionate desire of Tanzanians to build a nation which in every particular is a truly African nation” (275). Regardless of the linguistic revolution in Tanzania, and despite the violence of their independence movements mentioned above, Kenya and Uganda would eventually embrace an ironically “Anglophile” stance towards English, reminiscent of colonial Tanganyika.

¹⁹ Dates of independence: Tanganyika (TZ)- Dec. 9th, 1961; Uganda- Oct. 9th, 1962; Zanzibar (TZ)- Dec. 10th, 1963; Kenya- Dec. 12th, 1963

²⁰ A term used frequently in French, meaning “English-loving”.

Tanzania was clear in the central role that Kiswahili was to play in their Republic. Kiswahili was made the only language of parliament and thus, Tanzanian politics, a decision which Mazrui & Mazrui praise as having “resulted in wider participation and broader political recruitment” in the country, and consequently, an enrichment of the language itself (e.g. in political vocabulary and metaphor) (280). Though not explicit, it could be argued that Mazrui & Mazrui are implying that Kenya, in comparison, has somewhat compromised by failing to follow in the wake of Tanzanian language policy²¹. It seems that Tanzania for one attracted its former colonizer’s disapproval in regards to its language policy for government:

[...] bearing in mind that Tanzania is an independent country free to make its own decisions, it is necessary to point out that the policy [of making Kiswahili the national language] must result in the lowering of the standard of competence in English as compared to the standards in Kenya and Uganda. This is the price that Tanzania is prepared to pay. (Harries 1969: 278)

Perhaps such a conflict of interests was the reason for Kenya’s hesitancy to follow suite.

In 1969, just six years after independence, Kenya’s first president Jomo Kenyatta boldly declared: “We are going to use Swahili in Parliament, whether people like it or not” (qtd. in Harries 1976: 153). Steps were to be taken in order for Kiswahili to be introduced “alongside English²², ‘as soon as was practicable’” (153). However, the decree turned out to be mainly symbolic; the ensuing plans had “no legal status” and were “interpreted as an exhortation rather than a series of commands” (154). It was not until July 4th, 1974, that Kenyatta gave Kiswahili official status as the national language of Kenya (153). Harries (1976) reported that “President Kenyatta objected to the idea of a foreign, non-African language being used ‘as a means of everyday communication between the *wananchi*’ (native-born citizens)” (159). Several months later, the president added: “A nation without culture is dead, and that is why I decreed that Swahili would be the national language” (qtd. in Harries 1976: 155). Such a statement asserted the necessity of Kiswahili for national identity and development, in Kenya like in Tanzania.

As for Uganda, its post-independence period was a politically volatile time²³ to say the least, triggered in part by the absence of an “outstanding political leader” like Nyerere in Tanzania or Kenyatta in Kenya (Ingalls). A high-standing government official said of the state of the country in 1959: “We are skating on the thin ice of civil disturbances all the time” (qtd. in Ingalls). Understandably, language policy was not a priority amidst such unrest; in some ways it might have been an aggravator, given the presence of several dominant tribes (one of

²¹ As will be discussed later, this is possibly a result of pressure from their former colonizers.

²² The contrast of such a paradigm of addition (“alongside”) with the earlier policy in Tanzania should be noted.

²³ See post-independence timeline (Appendix C, p. 117).

whom is the Baganda, mentioned in section 1.1) each with zeal for their own language. The status of Kiswahili during this time in Ugandan history was generally in inverse correlation to democracy. Though it has been the official language of the Ugandan military since 1902, it was not until 1972 that Kiswahili was ever declared the national language by then-dictator Idi Amin, who forced its use in the media (Nakayiza 62). Though Kiswahili did grow in use, this was not by choice (Mazrui & Mazrui 281). Following the “election” of Milton Obote in 1980, there was a reduction in the use of Kiswahili (Nakayiza 61). However, Museveni’s rise to power in 1986 “gave Kiswahili a new impetus in Uganda’s national life” (Mazrui & Mazrui 29). Yet, given the affinity of ethnic groups for their own languages and the stigmatized use of Kiswahili in the country, English would prove to be dominant in Ugandan language policy.

2.2 Around Independence (1960s-1980s): Language-in-Education Policy

After approximately eighty years under colonization, African countries were left in a vacuum in more than one way. With the (re)construction of their young countries looming ahead of them, Kenyan, Tanzanian and Ugandan²⁴ policymakers certainly had major issues to resolve. It is likely that education policies came in low on the list of priorities.

2.2.1 Comparing Pre- and Post-Independence Language-in-Education Policy

Though the overall trend in educational policy in East Africa following independence, as far as language is concerned, was a retention of colonial policy, Tanzania was an exception²⁵. Just three years after the union²⁶ that created Tanzania, the government declared Kiswahili as the medium of instruction²⁷ (MoI) in primary school²⁸ in 1967, in parallel with its promotion as the language of the national economy (Mazrui & Mazrui 280). The former colonizer’s language was not chosen because, at independence, Kiswahili “was well spread throughout Tanzania

²⁴ Note that it was not until after 1986 that Ugandan political unrest seemed to be coming to an end. There is thus no mention of Uganda in section 2.2. See section 2.3.2 for Ugandan policies on education from 1992.

²⁵ It can be noted that in its history, Tanzania has consistently adopted policies that have set itself apart – at least linguistically – from its colonial past, as discussed in section 2.1 (government language policy). A contrast can be made with Kenya and Uganda, whose policies have seemed to exhibit a particular affinity for the English language.

²⁶ Again, see glossary (p. 111) for an explanation of the political creation of Tanzania.

²⁷ Language of instruction (LoI) is commonly referred to in academic literature as medium of instruction (MoI). The acronym MoI will primarily be used henceforth in this thesis.

²⁸ An explanation might be helpful: the post-colonial Kenyan school system (7-4-2-3) was modelled after the British system, with 7 years of primary school, 4 years of lower secondary school, 2 years of upper secondary school, and 3 years of university. The 8-4-4 system was introduced in 1985 and more resembles the U.S. system, with 8 years of primary, 4 years of secondary, and 4 years of university. A new system (2-6-3-3-3), intended to be implemented in September 2013, was designed to give students greater opportunities to specialize in certain areas of education. Source: <http://chalkboardkenya.org/chalkboard-kenya-programme/the-kenyan-programme/>

[and] English was evidently of little use” (Mazrui 2014: 8). In 1969, a policy was created for the use of Kiswahili as the MoI at the secondary and university levels. However, this policy was never implemented (Ngonyani 413). In 1982, it was once again recommended that Kiswahili become the MoI of secondary school (beginning in 1985) and university (beginning in 1992), due to a lack of proficiency in both Kiswahili and English (413). However, these recommendations, put forth by educators, were rejected by President Nyerere and his party, who “argued that if English was not used as the medium of instruction, it might die in the Tanzanian community” (416). Clearly, there was an indispensability to English that prevented the total takeover of Kiswahili in the Tanzanian education system. Nevertheless, the status gained by Kiswahili as the MoI in Tanzanian primary schools following independence was quite significant, given how few²⁹ Tanzanians typically continue on to secondary school.

Kenya was even quicker in setting its policy for the language of instruction in its schools. Just months after independence in 1963, the “New Primary Approach” was launched, which “heavily emphasized” English in Kenyan primary schools, though Kiswahili and tribal languages were included complementarily, “at different levels and localities”; the coordinated production of educational resources in these languages for primary school use began in 1967 (Nabea 126). In 1976, the Gachathi Commission recommended English as the MoI starting in grade 4 (through university), a move which, according to Nabea, “entrenched [...] English supremacy in the Kenya educational system” (126). Indeed, there was a striking incongruence in the fine print of this policy; while English as a language subject³⁰ was allotted 8 to 10 hours out of a 40-hour school week, Kiswahili was allotted a mere 3 hours (126). It was the Mackay Commission of 1981 which promoted the study of Kiswahili as a mandatory, tested³¹ subject at the primary and secondary level, though English had had this status for decades (Wa’Njogu 70). The Mackay Commission also prescribed the use of the local tribal languages as the MoI in the lower levels of primary school “in areas where this was possible” (Nabea 126). Though English was by this time established as dominant in the Kenyan educational system, the 1981 policy nonetheless resulted in the increased production of books in Kiswahili (126).

The overall retention of colonial-era policy for English as the language of instruction in most levels of education in East Africa may be evidence of a vacuum effect following

²⁹ In 1999, an estimated 15% of Tanzanians received a post-primary education (Vavrus 387-388).

³⁰ It is absolutely essential that the reader does not confuse a.) the study of a language as a *subject* in and of itself, and b.) the use of a language as the *medium of instruction* and learning for all non-language subjects. This is a notion that monolingual speakers of English might take for granted, yet polylingual societies have to grapple with.

³¹ As will be discussed in chapter 6, it has been observed that the national exit exams for primary and secondary school are generally the focus of a child’s school career, at least in public schools. Thus, whether or not a subject appears on these exams is indicative in large part of the emphasis that will be given to their study in schools.

independence. The independent nations had big shoes to fill, as Michieka explains: “At independence, the pressing need was to train people to take up middle- to upper-level government service, and several years down the line, the goals of education have not changed much” (53). Michieka seems to suggest that they had little choice. With historical hindsight, one might grimace at the decisions of countries such as Kenya to retain their colonizers’ policies on education with little modification. For example, Gorman cited a 1943 memorandum that stated that it “had become necessary to *sacrifice* in some measure educational theory to *political expediency* and to introduce English at earlier stages in the curriculum” (emphasis added; qtd. in Gorman 1968: 216). Yet, however unethical colonial education policies might have been, their retention was not (at least externally) forced upon Kenya. According to the Kenya Educational Commission of 1964, English was decided on as the MoI because “most people were eager to have the English medium implemented right from the first year of school” (qtd. in Michieka 49). The validity³² of such a claim, however, could be questioned.

It should also be noted that language-in-education policies were sometimes made even more English-centered *after* independence. Ghana and Zambia, like Kenya, now have English as the MoI from grade 1, though the colonial policy had been to use tribal languages as the MoI for the first years of primary school (Ngonyani 412). Following independence, a premium had evidently been placed on English. For example, in some Kenyan schools, especially in rural areas and private schools, it was considered shameful if not strictly prohibited to use local languages “except in the first three classes of primary school, in special cases” (Nabea 126). Corporal punishment has indeed been commonplace. Yet, more humiliating punishments show the severity of such English-only rules: a student being made “to carry a metal plate around the neck with the inscriptions such as I AM STUPID or I AM A DONKEY”, being forced to wear a burlap sack on which was written the words “Shame Upon Me”, or simply being “fined money that they could hardly afford” (Nabea 126; Vavrus 377³³). Though these anecdotes might not be representative of the situation in East Africa as a whole, they nevertheless show the extent to which language-in-education policy has become serious, and sometimes, opposed to Kiswahili and local languages.

³² For example, a survey in English carried out in the capital city amongst college graduates would doubtlessly have a much different result than a survey translated into the various tribal languages and administered to a wide demographic of illiterate citizens. Pertinent also is the question of who carried out the survey and with what motive.

³³ Nabea’s example was of a student caught speaking Kikuyu in the vicinity of a Kenyan primary school. Vavrus’ example was from a prestigious private school in Tanzania, where a student was caught speaking Kiswahili on school grounds.

2.2.2 Reasons for the Prevalence of English in Education

Following independence, English continued to be accorded a major status in education policies in East Africa³⁴. This prevalence may have been due to ideologies engrained in the colonial education system. Perhaps arguments such as those expressed in a 1957 Ministry of Education report resounded with policymakers in the newly independent countries:

On purely educational grounds there are strong arguments for using English as the medium [in African schools] as soon as possible. If English is the only medium, then the incentive to learn English becomes greater, the transition to the full use of English becomes quicker, and general progress in the higher classes (where English must be used) is likely to be faster. By using English as a medium at a low level it becomes possible to teach a great deal of English through its use in other subjects. (Gorman 217)

In theory, this argument may seem logical and convincing; if all teachers were proficient and comfortable teaching in English (as in, say, Britain) and the society for which the schools were preparing students was predominantly English-speaking, then this policy would indeed seem to be an effective policy to prepare future citizens for success. In practice, however, such a proposition seems unrealistic at best, given the linguistic context of most areas in East Africa (see chapter 3). Nonetheless, an article in a 1959 edition of the *International Review of Education* is revealing of the firm belief of the indispensability of English as a medium of instruction in Africa; though the author states that he “would not advocate the use of English from the bottom of Primary school”, he firmly asserts paragraphs later that “[...] there is no alternative to English as the medium of instruction from somewhere around the fifth year” (221). Though such an argument may sound presumptuous, independent Kenya and Uganda would adopt (or choose to keep) such education policies. Comments from a personal interview with Lilian³⁵, a Burundian³⁶ immigrant to France, suggest that it is not unusual in her country for European *savoir-faire* in education to be regarded with esteem and even ideological deference. Lilian said, “I could speak about my dad who went through a lot of difficult times during colonization, but he sent us to Belgian school at the end of the day.” When asked if she thought that most people were “moving on [from an unpleasant colonial past] like that”, she responded, “I do believe so.” If her comments are truly representative of popular opinion in

³⁴ Again, the reader should be reminded that sections 2.1 and 2.2 focus on language policies from independence until 1990. As Uganda experienced large-scale political unrest during this period, its language-in-education policy is not discussed until section 2.3, which focuses on more recent policies (i.e. since 1990).

³⁵ For transcriptions of personal interviews, see Appendix E, p. 119. For the sake of privacy, the names of all interviewees are aliases.

³⁶ Burundi is a small country that borders Tanzania and Uganda. It was first a German colony, then Belgian.

East Africa, it may be that the retention of much of the former colonizers' education policies was not done so begrudgingly, but willingly.

As English was increasingly considered indispensable in post-colonial education policy, other languages started to be viewed as inferior in terms of educational utility. Brock-Utne points out a central component of such an ideology: the problem of availability of textbooks and literature (179). After all, with limited resources and the challenge of national development following independence, how could a nation such as Uganda, with 43 living indigenous languages (Nakayiza 33), many of which are used with high sentimental attachment by their speakers, afford to publish textbooks in all of these languages? She criticizes such an ideology, arguing that it illogically disregards the modest number of language families from which the multitude of African languages are derived (see section 1.1), not to mention lingua francas like Kiswahili that could serve large portions of the population. Regardless, it is not hard to understand why, in a time of limited resources and great change (i.e. post-independence), countries would continue to use the same type of educational materials that were used under colonization. Iweriebor, in his commentary on African colonization, says that the choice of “indirect rule” in British colonies was “partly based on Britain’s unwillingness to provide the resources required to administer its vast empire”. Though he was not speaking of education *per se*, it could very well be argued that this phenomenon applied equally to the realm of education, with the need for textbooks in local languages³⁷. The words of Ugandan scholar Mukasa from 1937 reflect such a lack of literature, in this case in Kiswahili; “it appears that the amount of available literature has a decided value in the development of any people. It would therefore be urged that wherever possible, English should take the place of Swahili [in Uganda]” (86).

As mentioned in section 1.3, the decades leading up to WWII saw a shift in British policy regarding the use of English in education in their colonies, though the result was rather ambivalent policies (i.e. that fluctuated for and against its use as a MoI). According to Nabea, the guardedness that the British adopted (at times, ambivalently) in regards to their language being learned in East Africa had adverse effects; in Kenya for example, efforts to “deter” the learning of English during colonization “inadvertently provided a stimulus for Kenyans to learn English considering that they had already taken cognisance of the fact that it was the launching pad for white collar jobs” (122). There was born a “quest for its acquisition” (Mazrui 2008: 197), and this quest would end up largely characterizing the East African education system and

³⁷ It may be helpful to remind the reader that the choice of textbook language is a difficult one in countries where the literacy is, for example, 82% (Kenya), 80% (Tanzania) or 73% (Uganda). Ideally, textbooks should be in languages that are easily understood by students of all backgrounds. 2016-2017 stats source: www.ethnologue.com

motivating the school career of average citizens from all backgrounds (see chapters 3, 5 and 6). Novelist Joyce Cary, in his 1941 pamphlet entitled *The Case for African Freedom*, expressed that he was “not surprised that East Africans incline to think that English has been kept from them in order to make them dependent” (qtd. in Whiteley 351). MacKenzie (1959) suggests the extent to which this denial was at times perceived and resented:

Africans tend to regard any fostering of the vernaculars as a cunning plot to fence them off from the broad streams of knowledge, wealth and power which issue from the perpetual springs of the great languages. [...] On the whole it is probably true to say that encouragement of vernacular literature for the less educated masses of the population has come more from Europeans than from members of their own race. (216)

This statement by MacKenzie is either a gross overstatement, or it reveals an element of truth that is central in making sense of East Africans’ view of English as being indispensable – even at the peril of their own tribal languages, which many East Africans are quick to abandon (a cost they are willing to pay for the acquisition of English). Indeed, this phenomenon of English as a sort of forbidden fruit may explain the strictness discussed in section 2.2.1; it certainly should be recognized as essential to understanding “why East Africans view English as indispensable despite dissonant factors”³⁸ (such as the “death”³⁹ of their tribal languages).

2.2.3 Problematic for Students: Language as a Barrier to Learning and Testing

Though there are always exceptions that can be used in counterargument, it is no exaggeration to say that education policies in East Africa following independence were problematic on a large scale for the majority of the population, as will be examined in the following sections. In 1980, Nigerian professor Pai Obanya described the linguistic situation in African education as follows: “It has always been felt by African educationists that the African child’s major learning problem is linguistic. Instruction is given in a language that is not normally used in his immediate environment, a language which neither the learner nor the teacher understands and uses well enough” (qtd. in Brock-Utne 173). Indeed, this is also the case in East Africa, as Nabea illustrates: “While barely a quarter of the Kenyan population can adequately use English, it remains the advantaged official language and the medium of instruction in the education system, unlike Kiswahili, the co-official language” (Nabea 122). Statistics from the 1970s, stating that “20% of Ugandans were able to speak English”, suggest that Uganda is not much different (305). Though Tanzania for one decided to use Kiswahili as

³⁸ Again, this is the central inquiry of this thesis.

³⁹ For a definition of language death, see glossary, p. 111.

the MoI for primary school, Brock-Utne asserts the irony in its continued use of English as the MoI in secondary school: 95% of the Tanzanian population is fluent in Kiswahili (175). As one Tanzanian secondary school student simply stated, “The [school] books we have are in English, but the language we use for everything is Swahili” (Vavrus 391; translated).

Martha Qorro, Senior Lecturer in English at the University of Dar es Salaam (TZ), argues that the result of such incongruent language-in-education policy is a lack of learning, both in English and in the subject matter; in essence, “the English language has become a barrier to knowledge” (qtd. in Brock-Utne 180-181). Such an idea is echoed in a newspaper article from 2015, whose author criticizes post-colonial education policy in Tanzania, arguing that it “has for generations left students confused and not necessarily proficient in either language” (i.e. Kiswahili or English) (Mohammed). Granted, not all students have been crippled by such language policies, and it could (and surely has been) argued that the situation is aggravated in Tanzania (as in rural Uganda; see section 2.3) due to the *switch* to English as the MoI *after* primary school. However, it is important, inasmuch as national language policy is concerned, to consider the larger picture of the population as a whole, and not let the situation of the few⁴⁰ dictate policies that affect everyone. Also, it should be pointed out that policy prescribing the use of English as the language of instruction does not ensure students’ proficiency in it!



Figure 3: A Tanzanian Classroom.
Source: Mohammed.

An interview with Mary, a Kenyan who moved to London at age 12, shed light on the burden that language of instruction can be for students. Sharing about her first years of (public)

⁴⁰ With excellent education and support (e.g. private schools), any African child can be taught in any language.

primary school (ages 5-8), she said, “I would struggle to understand something [during class]. Then I would tell it to myself in Swahili and then I was like, ‘Ah! Okay, I get it’.” At age 9, she moved to a private boarding school in Nyahuru because her mom could afford it. During the school week, it was strictly forbidden to speak anything but English on school grounds (except for the dormitory). She described the teachers as speaking “at” the students, with little interaction. The exception was Fridays, when Kiswahili was allowed to be spoken. Though not explicitly articulated in the interview, it was evident that this use of English as the MoI was a constant challenge when she lived in Kenya. For example, it was not until after a year of school in London that she said that she was “able to fully understand [English]”.

Though she had the privilege of going to a prestigious, private boarding school for part of her education, Mary’s experiences do not seem unusual, as evidenced by observations of science classrooms in Tanzanian secondary schools, cited by Brock-Utne: “Students either talk very little in class and copy textual information from the chalkboard or attempt discussion in a mixed language (i.e. English and Kiswahili) and then copy notes on the chalkboard in English ... Teachers who insist on using English only end up talking to themselves with very little student input” (qtd. in Brock-Utne 185-186). It could be argued that for the average East African classroom, English is simply an added stress or burden in the learning process.

While English as the MoI in most levels of East African education is ethically troubling inasmuch as it is a burden to students in the classroom, the ensuing implications for national examinations can be downright threatening. Michieka explains that “raters of the [Kenyan] national examinations report that students do poorly in the examinations because they cannot understand the language used in the exams and also because they cannot express themselves well enough in essay questions” (108). Mazrui (2014: 96) reports a similar situation in Zanzibar. And this is purely a question of *language*, as Brock-Utne confirms: “National examiners working for the National Examination Board of Tanzania have told me of the many times they have seen students answer examination questions correctly, but in Kiswahili. The examiners were instructed to give such students zero points because the answers were supposed to be in English” (189). Such a phenomenon is an example of language policy as a hindrance to the success of the general population; one can only imagine the plight of a knowledgeable, intelligent student who simply lacks proficiency in English for whatever reason.

Success rates for East African students are also indicative of the “dissonant factors” behind the use of English as the MoI. An article from 1962 in the *Review of Educational Research* stated that 25% of students in East Africa were repeaters, having failed to move on in their schooling (Wingard 295). According to statistics from 1999, 15% of Tanzanians receive

a secondary school education (Vavrus 387-388). Yet, students are not the only ones in education that are suffering because of language policy...

2.2.4 Problematic for Teachers: Lack of Resources and Proficiency

In 1968, Gorman wrote that, although it was too early to make conclusions on the effects of the New Primary Approach (of 1964) in Kenyan education (that is, using English as the MoI from the first year of primary school), one thing was clear: “the effectiveness of the methods is demonstrably heavily dependent on the language control of the teacher” (218). Indeed, it is no secret that the quality of education hinges upon the quality of teaching. Sadly, the ones making decisions about education are typically not educators. It can be argued that the strain caused by the continued use of English as the MoI following independence was felt more by East African teachers than anyone else⁴¹. Professor Qorro’s response to a 2002 editorial in *The Guardian* is telling of the realities facing school staff in Tanzania in light of post-colonial language policy:

In terms of language use in public secondary schools in Tanzania most students and the majority of teachers do not understand English. For example, the headmaster of one of the secondary schools once admitted that, of the 45 teachers in his school, only 3 understood English well and used it correctly. This in effect means that the other 42 teachers used incorrect English in their teaching. This is not an isolated case. Those who have been working closely with secondary school classroom situations will agree with me that this situation prevails in most public secondary schools in Tanzania. (qtd. in Brock-Utne 181)

One might argue that the above statement is only true in Tanzania, which has placed a greater importance on Kiswahili as a language for national development, both inside and outside of the classroom, and thus has reaped the side-effects. However, in 1959, MacKenzie reported that in Uganda “scarcely one teacher in five is considered by the [colonial] Education Department qualified to teach through English”, and that in Kenya, it is felt that “even an uncertified teacher knows far more than his pupils, and that the cry for knowledge cannot be ignored merely because high standards [of English] are still beyond reach” (219). Also, given statistics on proficiency rates of Kenyans and Ugandans in English (see section 3.1.3), one can assume that policies prescribing English as the MoI pose a problem in all three East African countries.

Due to policy, many teachers find themselves in a predicament. When it comes to their work, their hands are tied – “damned if they do, damned if they don’t”. Their conscience is

⁴¹ Imagine that you are a Kenyan primary school teacher during the 1950s. For at least a decade of your career, you teach in a local language (be it Kiswahili or your tribal language). Suddenly, in 1964, the government decides that primary schools will henceforth use English to teach the same content as before. Textbooks and teaching resources may be provided, but in English. What if you do not feel comfortable teaching in English? How are you to help your students learn? One can thus imagine the plight of many East African teachers.

compromised, as they are not supposed to code-mix or code-switch⁴² but find that they have to, for their own sake and/or for their students' (Brock-Utne 189). Also, this question of conscience is not simply a matter of doing the right thing; the national exams that permit students to successfully finish secondary school and move on to higher studies, are in English. Yet, it is no surprise that code-switching is a common phenomenon when the language of instruction is a daily stressor and/or barrier in the classroom, as expressed by this Tanzanian biology teacher: "I personally was compelled to switch to Kiswahili by a sense of helplessness born of the inability to make [secondary] students understand the subject matter by using English" (qtd. in Brock-Utne 188). While code-switching can sometimes be evidence of a teacher's fluency in both languages (e.g. choosing to explain an entire sentence in another language to ensure comprehension), code-mixing "may often indicate a lack of language competence in either language concerned" (185). Again, this is not a phenomenon unique to Tanzania, as Nakayiza confirmed in her 2013 field research: "Most public schools both in the urban areas [of Uganda] employed a bilingual, code-switching policy in class, using English as the major medium of instruction and Luganda as the language of translation and understanding" (156).

Another coping mechanism mentioned by Brock-Utne is "safe talk" which, according to Rubagumya (2003), normally takes the following forms: chorus answers from students (without taking the time to ensure that the teacher was actually understood), copious repeating after the teacher, and copying notes by rote from the board – in other words, "very little encouragement of pupils to freely express their ideas without the teacher's control" (qtd. in Brock-Utne 183). Safe talk is a way of saving face – for teachers and students alike. In light of these various coping mechanisms, it can be concluded that English as the language of instruction is getting in the way of both students and teachers in the classroom.

2.2.5 The Proximity Factor: Urban vs. Rural

Another factor in post-colonial language-in-education policy has been the proximity to urban areas. Whether or not the divide between city and village was intentional or not is a matter of debate. Michieka for one argues that the Kenya Educational Commission of 1964 "ended up emphasizing academic, urban-based education over practical rural education", and consequently "rural life and rural education were looked down upon" (50). The result was a fall in education standards in rural areas. Michieka reports that, though (primary) schools in rural

⁴² Code-mixing is the use of words from two or more languages within the *same* sentence (e.g. "The machine uses *kinu*."). Code-switching is a similar phenomenon, in which one sentence is formulated in one language, and the following sentence in another, and vice versa (e.g. "He is unable to come. *Sa voiture est tombée en panne*.").

Kenya use local languages as the MoI and then transition to English during year 4, the transition is delayed, sometimes severely (53). According to Michieka, policymakers are to blame, as “the language of instruction at the secondary school level was not a great concern for [Kenyan] policy makers. The assumption was that by the secondary level, all the students from various parts of the country were already at the same language level and could comfortably be instructed in English” (53). In addition to Wingard (1962: 297), Gorman (1968) confirms such an “assumption”, citing a 1950 report on Kenyan education that “rather blithely accepted that the transition from the vernacular languages to English ‘was something [...] which in any case can easily be accomplished’” (215-216). This assumption suggests a bias towards the urban sector, assumedly where politicians live and make policies. It may be easy for policymakers to thus overlook – or look down upon – rural areas, making policies that are feasible and beneficial for urban centers such as Nairobi, Kampala or Dar es Salaam. The result, on a practical level, is a lack of support and resources for rural schools and teachers that need it the most. In the closing remarks of her dissertation, Michieka laments the plight of rural Kenya:

The lack of English in the environment needs to be compensated for by formal instruction and abundance [*sic*] of teaching materials, but unfortunately these materials are not available either in this rural context. [...] English learning in rural Kenya cannot possibly happen informally as it does in some second language contexts where the settings are saturated with English. (108)

So, while urban areas (especially capital cities) may cope well with language-in-education policy thanks to the amount of English in their environment (due in large part to international relations), rural areas are severely disadvantaged, particularly because resources that were promised to them per official policy are not actually provided (for any variety of reasons). Certainly, whenever the rural teacher deviates from official policy (of English as the MoI), whatever precious little resources (in English) he had at his disposal are no longer useful. The teacher finds himself, for lack of a better term, up the creek without a paddle.

2.3 Since 1990: Evolution in Language Policies

Due in part to factors discussed in section 2.2, there have been several reforms in language policy since 1990 that reflect a changing linguistic context in modern-day East Africa.

2.3.1 Evolution of Language Policy in Government, 1990-2015

As the East African countries became further removed from independence, the same languages took on unique roles in each nation. Mazrui & Mazrui summarized the sociopolitical linguistic situation in East Africa in 1993 as follows:

The politics of communication in East Africa [...] manifest three different constellations of languages. In both Tanzania and Kenya, Kiswahili has been accepted as the national language without competition from other local languages. Tanzania's socialist ideology, however, raised Kiswahili to a position of supremacy over English. In capitalist Kenya, on the other hand, English has continued to reign supreme as the official language even though Kiswahili, too⁴³, has made some substantial gains. In Uganda, however, English has not only been the official language⁴⁴, but is also likely to be the de facto national language of the country. (282-283)

Indeed, there has been a certain tension in the similarities of language use and language policy in the three countries – each country interacting with both English and Kiswahili in very different ways. Regarding Tanzania, Mazrui & Mazrui asserted that, though it is often berated for its failed attempt at socialism, it should be recognized for its “success in national integration” for the average citizen thanks to the country’s investment in Kiswahili (280). Though it may be somewhat of an exaggeration to describe English as the “de facto national language” of Uganda, the abundance of tribal languages and the lack of a clear front runner lingua franca has greatly benefited the candidacy of English (see section 3.1.3). In Kenya, the continued use of English (instead of Kiswahili) as the written language of Kenyan parliament could be considered a linguistic curiosity, as both official languages “enjoy equal status as the languages of parliamentary debate” (Mazrui 2008: 196). However, this reflects a particular affinity for English in Kenya, at least from the government, as Mazrui (2008) explains:

In spite of the new educational policy [from 1983] that had advanced the place of Kiswahili in society at large [by making it a required and examinable subject], English has continued to enjoy tremendous support from the government in terms of human and material resources. Kenya’s language policy has put a high premium on English as the language of national and individual economic and social advancement. As a result, not

⁴³ In Kenya, the national language is Kiswahili, and the official languages are Kiswahili and English, according to the constitution (<http://www.klrc.go.ke/index.php/constitution-of-kenya/108-chapter-two-the-republic/173-7-national-official-and-other-languages>)

⁴⁴ These terms, like “native speaker”, can be confusing in multilingual contexts. An “official language” is almost always the former colonizer’s language. A “national language” is typically local – the people’s language. In Kenya and Tanzania, Kiswahili is the “national language”, promoted for national identity and political unity.

only has English dominated the entire educational structure, but also its use in society at large has been expanding. (196)

Again, the extent to which English is used “in society at large” can be debated. According to Yale professor John Kiarie Wa’Njogu, Kenya has failed to go much further than granting official status to Kiswahili in 1974; he argues that, as of 2004, “the government has yet to invest in developing the language” (70). In 2005, Uganda finally followed suit, making Kiswahili its second official language as part of amendments to its 1995 constitution. However, according to Nakayiza, “its official use is still highly symbolic” (60).

2.3.2 Evolution of Language-in-Education Policy, 1990-2015

Thirty years after independence and six years after the last coup, Uganda published its White Paper (1992), whose education policies seemed well-adapted for both rural and urban communities in Uganda, especially in light of the country’s rich multilingualism. For example, not only are all Ugandan languages allowed to be used as MoI under the policy (Nakayiza 46), but policy even prescribes the use of “Main Area Languages” – nine local languages that are estimated to be lingua francas suitable as MoI for 80-90% of the Ugandan population – for the first 4 years of primary school in rural areas (43-44). However, according to Nakayiza (2013), “the policy has not been very successfully implemented because of a lack of structure and infrastructure, but also due to the ideologies and negative attitudes of the people, parents and also teachers” towards the use of languages other than English as the MoI (46). Though Kiswahili is included in the policy as a required subject in rural and urban primary schools, Nakayiza reports that it has yet to be introduced in schools as of 2013 (44). As is the case in most of East Africa, there is frequently quite a large discrepancy between policy and reality.

According to Brock-Utne, “there is scarcely one other sociocultural topic you can start discussing with Africans that leads to such heated debates and stirs up so many emotions as the language of instruction in African schools” (173). An excellent example of such controversy is the 2006 decision (implemented in 2014) in Zanzibar⁴⁵ to make English the MoI starting in the last two years of primary school. Such a decision in Zanzibar of all places – considered the homeland of modern standardized Kiswahili (see section 1.2) and also the majority of its “native speakers” – is truly telling of the conflict of interests in East African language policy and the indispensability of English. Mazrui (2014) lamented that “it seems that governments which

⁴⁵ Though Zanzibar is in political union with mainland Tanganyika, there are some laws (“Non-Union matters”) that each makes independently (e.g. language of instruction in primary and secondary schools) (Mazrui 2014: 3).

came after Nyerere have abandoned his language policy, introduced in 1967. Swahili is not yet [as of 2014] the medium of instruction in the secondary schools as it was predicted” (13).

However, in 2015, Tanzania would once again step out boldly and make East African history in regards to language policy⁴⁶. On February 13th, 2015, a policy was launched by President Jakaya Kikwete⁴⁷, making Kiswahili the medium of instruction from the primary to university level, and “thereby ditching English” (Lugongo). Another news article points out how the implementation⁴⁸ of this policy would make history, as Tanzania⁴⁹ would be “the first sub-Saharan African country to use an African language as the medium of instruction throughout [all] the schooling years” (Mohammed). However, the policy will take time⁵⁰ – decades, according to Lugongo – to be implemented, “because extensive preparations will have to be carried out before English is phased out”. Most notably, the sole use of Kiswahili as the language of instruction⁵¹ will require a significant production of teaching resources in the language. The ramifications of such a bold policy will be discussed in the following chapter.

⁴⁶ This is truly “breaking news”, as no sources other than the two cited are recent enough to include this decision!

⁴⁷ Interestingly, Kikwete belongs to a political party that is based in Zanzibar.

⁴⁸ Email correspondence with personal contacts in East Africa confirmed that the policy was formally passed by the Tanzanian government before Kikwete’s term ran out, though the current state of things seemed “unclear”.

⁴⁹ Disclaimer: it was not specified in the articles if this policy would affect Zanzibar as well, or only the mainland.

⁵⁰ After all, the aforementioned Zanzibar decision of 2006 took eight years to implement.

⁵¹ To clarify, the use of Kiswahili as the sole Mol in Tanzania does not mean that English will vanish from the curriculum; it will be studied as a foreign language subject, as is the case in most countries worldwide.

Chapter 3: National Development & Linguistic Realities

While a presentation of past and current East African language policy (in Chapter 2) is important, such policies must be viewed in light of the realities facing the average East African⁵², as discussed in this chapter. Though there are countless (undocumented) examples and counterexamples, an attempt has been made to present the most accurate “big picture” of the situation – based on the available statistics, studies and scholarly literature.

3.1 Competing Lingua Francas: Kiswahili & English

If the utility of English as *the* international language for (international) tourism and business is well established amongst those concerned by such domains, Kiswahili enjoys an even wider status in East Africa for society at large (at least in Kenya and Tanzania). Kamwangamalu points out that whether or not a lingua franca is one’s first language is a moot point, as these languages are learned – formally and/or informally – and used according to need (735). Indeed, languages can be viewed as tools in one’s tool belt; each person uses his tools in a different manner, as he sees fit. The interplay between a lingua franca known and used by the vast majority of the local population (i.e. Kiswahili) and “the” global language (i.e. English) is nonetheless interesting. Mazrui (2008) says that the two languages “have experienced changing fortunes, sometimes conflicting and at times complementary, since the days of British colonial rule” (196). Language policy aside, the practical solution for a lingua franca in East Africa seems simple; both English and Kiswahili are useful – in different areas and in different ways – and are used by many East Africans, to various ends and to a varying degree.

3.1.1 Lingua Franca for Nationhood

In any nation, there is a need for (a) common language(s) – for social, economic and political purposes. Given the abundance of tribal languages in Africa and how young its nations are, such a need is more obvious and more complicated in the 21st century in Africa than in most other parts of the world. Wa’Njogu affirms the need for lingua francas, suggesting that, “in Africa, many view linguistic heterogeneity as a threat to national cohesion” (71). Indeed, a

⁵² According to Nakayiza, there is a lack of statistics on language in Uganda, evidenced by her use of figures from 1972 in her 2013 dissertation. She makes the disclaimer that much of what is concluded about the linguistic situation in Uganda is pure estimation. She gives the example of the statistical assumption that each person speaks only their ethnic language, “which is likely to be far from accurate” (36). Consequently, the linguistic situation in Uganda is unfortunately underrepresented in this thesis, as has already been acknowledged.

crucial criterion for lingua francas in Africa is political neutrality. Harries (1976) gives the example of Kikuyu, the tribal language of President Kenyatta and a majority of the Nairobi area. Had Kikuyu been named the national language of Kenya, the result would have been “political dynamite”, inciting “ethnic rivalry by promoting [President Kenyatta’s] own language on a national basis” (156). In regards to political neutrality, the author argued (in 1976) that Kiswahili “happens to be such a language [in Kenya]” (156). Tribal languages have failed to receive official (national) status in Uganda as well; the constitution encourages national unity through the promotion of English⁵³ and Swahili.

However, Uganda seems to be an exception, despite official policy in favor of English, and more recently, Kiswahili. Indeed, the widespread use of Luganda in Uganda is evidence of a sociolinguistic anomaly, as explained by Mazrui & Mazrui:

Because Uganda was the most linguistically fragmented of the three East African countries, and Kiswahili had less of a role as a lingua franca, Ugandans learned each other's Afro-ethnic languages more readily than did Tanzanians and Kenyans. Particularly widespread was Luganda. The people of Uganda seemed to be the most impressively polyglottal of all East Africans. (285)

The learning of Luganda has been, of course, largely informal – due not to official policy, but rather to natural factors, perhaps explaining how it has become so widespread. According to Nakayiza, two thirds of Ugandans are “estimated to understand or have some knowledge of Luganda” (52). Its presence is particularly strong in Kampala, the capital city (139). Nakayiza even considers it “a *de facto* national language”, one that may integrate national education policy: “Because Luganda had an advantage over other local languages in Uganda, in terms of usage, development and also materials, the perception of the language in other regions is more positive, with the effect that in other parts of Uganda (apart from Buganda) parents would prefer that their children be taught Luganda [...] rather than their local languages” (153). It should be noted, however, that “the attitudes towards its use in education today [i.e. 2013] compared to English are not supportive at all” (154). Again, English is generally viewed as indispensable and its acquisition is fervently pursued, whatever the cost.

In her dissertation, Nakayiza discusses the possibility of Luganda gaining official status on the national level⁵⁴. The main barrier to the use of Luganda in national language policy seems

⁵³ The shortage of politically neutral lingua francas might indeed explain the utility of keeping the former colonizer’s language as a lingua franca after independence. Yet, East Africa is truly a unique situation, with Kiswahili being an excellent candidate, at least at the local and regional level – at least in Kenya and Tanzania.

⁵⁴ However, it should be noted once again that *official* language policy does not have much of an (immediate) effect on the language use of the average Ugandan citizen: “people have continued to use any language they wish to use anywhere, at any time”, as the constitution explicitly allows the use of any local language (Nakayiza 53).

to be the issue of ethnic bias⁵⁵, as Nakayiza explains: “Luganda [...] is regarded with suspicion and hostility by most non-Baganda and according to them, its demographic might is still located within the confines of Baganda⁵⁶ ethnicity, a factor that has failed Luganda to attain an admirable and neutral position like Swahili in Tanzania or Kenya” (122). Mazrui & Mazrui explain that the proposal of Luganda as the national language of Uganda was opposed on the grounds that it would have been “a linguistic empowerment of the already powerful Baganda, at the expense of other ethnic groups”; they described Luganda as “*potentially* a hegemonic⁵⁷ language” (282). Above all, this is an issue of peace, about which Ugandans are especially sensitive, given their quarter-century of militarized unrest following independence⁵⁸.

In 1993, Mazrui & Mazrui described what they considered to be the linguistic requisites for national politics in each of the three East African countries:

In their capacity as law-makers, [Kenyan] parliamentarians need their English; in their capacity as national politicians, the members of parliament need their Kiswahili. As for the presidency, Kenya has now reached a situation in which a president has to be *trilingual* [...] in the imperial language (English), the preponderant language (Kiswahili), and a language of a major ethnic constituency (Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Luo, or other). A *trilingual president* in Kenya is a de facto requirement.

In Tanzania a president need only be *bilingual* in the preponderant language of Kiswahili and the imperial language of English. An *Afro-ethnic* language is not a political necessity in Tanzania. Julius Nyerere has such an ethno-language of his own but it was not a political asset. Indeed, it was sometimes a political liability. [...]

In Uganda the imperial language (English) has been the undisputed qualification for the presidency. The Afro-ethnic language has been a political risk in this deeply divided society. On the other hand, the role of Kiswahili as a preponderant language has been more popular among the northerners and the military than among the more numerous southern Bantu. Theoretically a Ugandan president could be *unilingual*—simply competent or at best brilliant in the English language. (284)

Noteworthy in such a description is the indispensability of English, the varied importance of Kiswahili and the “liability” or “risk” that is sometimes associated with tribal languages in national politics. Again, for interests of national unity and development, lingua francas are non-negotiable – as much in East Africa as anywhere else in the world.

3.1.2 The Presence and Use of Kiswahili

In an article in the *Journal of the International African Institute* (of London) from 1930, Pastor Roehl said that it would “hardly be possible to find a single village in the whole of East

⁵⁵ “Language is usually equated with ethnicity as each ethnic group has a language that it identifies with” (121).

⁵⁶ According to 2005 figures (Uganda Bureau of Statistics), the Baganda account for only 18% of Ugandans (39).

⁵⁷ In 1959, Ingalls wrote that the Baganda people “regard the other tribes of Uganda as inferior” (Ingalls).

⁵⁸ Again, see timeline of Ugandan post-independence history (p. 117).

Africa where a considerable number of the people born in that village do not talk or at least understand Swahili” (196). Though this is an impressive statement, it may be much more a matter of opinion⁵⁹ than reality. A more objective observation was made concerning the presence of Kiswahili in the Kenyan and Tanzanian capital cities:

In Dar es Salaam⁶⁰, Swahili is indigenous: the model for competence in Swahili is found in the local community, and therefore the standard of competence is high. In Nairobi, Swahili is not indigenous: the model for competence is lacking, and so has to be imported from the Kenya coast⁶¹. The standard of competence is only as high as the limited contact with first-speakers of the language allows. Generally, in Nairobi⁶² the standard of competence falls short of the requirements for its status as a national language. (Harries 1976: 158)

Certainly, a correlation can be found between the pervasiveness of Kiswahili in Tanzania and in Kenya and the extent to which the language is indigenous⁶³ to the inhabitants of its capital cities. Given this contrast between the presence and nature of Kiswahili in Dar es Salaam and in Nairobi, comments by Whiteley from 1956 concerning an observed decline in the “popularity” of Kiswahili in Uganda and Kenya are not necessarily surprising; the author stated that “only in Tanganyika and Zanzibar is its position relatively unchanged” (343).

The population of Kenya in 2016 was approximately 47.6 million. In 2009, there were an estimated 16.6 million total users of Kiswahili (i.e. 35% of 47.6 million) (Ethnologue.com). Included in this figure from 2009 were 111 thousand people (i.e. 0.2% of 47.6 million) for whom Kiswahili was their first language⁶⁴. In 1974, Whiteley “reported that over 70 percent of Kenya’s rural population claimed competence in Kiswahili at some level” (Mazrui & Mazrui 291). In 1980, “over 65% of the [Kenyan] population was estimated to have acquired Kiswahili as a second language” (*ibid*). There is also evidence that Kiswahili has had precedence over English for many if not most Kenyans; in the same 1974 study by Whiteley, less than 6% of those surveyed in rural Kenya “claimed competence in English and one or more ‘vernaculars’ without knowledge of Kiswahili” (Mazrui 2008: 197). In a personal interview, a Kenyan

⁵⁹ For example, Pastor Roehl’s article was critiqued the following year by Canon G.W. Broomfield in an article in the same journal. The quoted statement by Roehl, therefore, should be held loosely, as should all opinions – and especially *statistics* – on the use of languages.

⁶⁰ In 1973, Tanzania declared the more centrally located city of Dodoma its new capital, though Dar es Salaam continued to be considered by many as the *de facto* capital city (even in this quote from 1976, for example).

⁶¹ Indeed, there is typically a correlation between the degree to which Kiswahili is used as an “indigenous” (or “native”, “first”) language and geographic proximity to the coast. This, in part, explains the minimal influence and presence of Kiswahili in Uganda, for example.

⁶² See Appendix D (p. 118) for a detailed map of East Africa.

⁶³ For example, someone who learned Kiswahili from family members as a child would be considered a more “indigenous” speaker than someone who learned it mostly in the classroom as a language subject.

⁶⁴ It should be noted, however, that such statistics (especially on the number of first-language users) seem quite low, for example, in light of the statistics that follow.

university student (Mary) said rather matter-of-factly about Kiswahili that “everyone speaks it in Kenya”; she clarified by saying, “If I’m talking with my friends, cousins – anyone from Kenya – I speak Swahili with them because why not?” When asked how much code-mixing happens, her opinion was that “Kenyans are more likely to just speak Swahili to each other or just mix a little bit of English”. Mazrui (2008), when comparing written to oral communication in Kenya, asserted that Kiswahili “displays its greatest vibrancy in oral communication” (206). According to Mohochi (2003), “approximately more than half of all Kenyan people speak Swahili [...] albeit with varying degrees of intelligibility” (87).

The population of Tanzania in 2016 was approximately 53.9 million⁶⁵. In 2012, there were an estimated 47 million total users of Kiswahili (i.e. 87% of 53.9 million) (Ethnologue.com). Included in this figure from 2012 are 15 million people (i.e. 28% of 53.9 million) for whom Kiswahili is their first language. According to research from 1971, 90% of Tanzanians spoke “Kiswahili and at least one indigenous or vernacular language” (Ngonyani 412-413). It was estimated in 1996 that 93% of the population of mainland Tanzania (not counting the islands of Zanzibar) used Swahili as a second language (Mazrui 2014: 5); figures from a different source – estimating that 10% of Tanzanians used Kiswahili as their first language (Ngonyani 1997: 413) – seem to confirm the figure from 1996. Brock-Utne, in 2005, claimed that 95% of the Tanzanian population was “fluent” in Kiswahili (175).

Because of its unique linguistic context, Zanzibar should also be considered separately (though it was most likely included in the aforementioned statistics). According to Mazrui (2014), Kiswahili is the first language of 99% of Zanzibaris (74). In response to field surveys by Mazrui (2014), 76% of surveyed parents in Zanzibar reported using *only* Kiswahili at home with their children, while 22% reported using *both* Kiswahili *and* English (123); the author made the conclusion that such results “in general show that the support to maintain Swahili at home is still strong among teachers and parents” (the two demographics surveyed), despite overall evidence of language shift⁶⁶ (127).

The population of Uganda in 2016 was approximately 34.9 million. In 2015, there were an estimated 34.1 million total users of Kiswahili (i.e. 98%⁶⁷ of 34.9 million) (Ethnologue.com). Included in this figure from 2015 are 313 thousand people (i.e. 0.9% of 34.9 million) for whom Kiswahili is their first language. In 1956, Whiteley asserted that Kiswahili was “a most useful

⁶⁵ Tanzania is the most populous East African country, as well as the largest in terms of land mass.

⁶⁶ Language shift is the evolution of language preference from one language to another, via the middle stage of bilingualism. It is typically observed over a period of several generations.

⁶⁷ This figure is so extremely high that it may simply be an error, though Ethnologue.com seems to be a credible source (used by Mazrui for his 2014 dissertation, for example).

language” (350), also “commonly spoken in Kampala, where the number of immigrants makes it a useful means of communication” (347). In 1971, it was estimated that 35% of Ugandans “could hold a conversation in Kiswahili” (Mazrui & Mazrui 291). In her 2013 dissertation, Nakayiza wrote that Kiswahili was “minimally or rarely used both in the official and public domains” in Uganda (239). Though it has been the official language of the Ugandan military since 1902, Nakayiza asserts that Kiswahili “occupies a symbolic rather functional position in the country because of the different historical and political factors” (60). Indeed, statistics on Kiswahili in Uganda reflect its fluctuating status during the years of military unrest.

3.1.3 The Presence and Use of English

One of the “dissonant factors”⁶⁸ behind the indispensability of the English language in East Africa – in policy and in popular opinion – is quite simply its limited use in society as a whole. It can be argued that the national promotion of Kiswahili as a lingua franca of choice is inversely related to the need for – and thus the presence of – English, as can be observed in all three East African countries (Mazrui & Mazrui 285). Nakayiza asserts that Kiswahili has had a higher status than English in Kenya, except in “official domains” like parliament, and suggests that Tanzania’s removal of any official status from English at independence is telling of the government’s attitude towards the language in terms of policy and planning (59). Again, each country has used English to a different degree, though all show signs of viewing it as indispensable (especially in policy and popular opinion).

In Kenya in 2003, there were an estimated 2.7 million total users of English as a second language⁶⁹ (i.e. 6% of 47.6 million – the 2016 population) (Ethnologue.com). In 1974, Whiteley estimated that more than 70% of Kenya’s rural population “claimed competence at some level” in English (Mazrui & Mazrui 291). His study also revealed that, of those respondents “who claimed competence in English”, 32% (i.e. the largest group) were “trilingual in the mother tongue [i.e. local tribal language], Kiswahili as a second language, and [then] English” (Mazrui

⁶⁸ Again, the central inquiry of this thesis is the question: “To what extent and why has English been considered by East Africans, despite many dissonant factors, to be indispensable?”

⁶⁹ The author whose statistics are cited clarified that the figures for users of English as a “second language” represent people “who have learned a variety of English (e.g. a pidgin) as a second language, in addition to their mother tongue”. The fact that there are no figures for users of English as a “first language” simply means that the author has “been unable to find any relevant data” (Crystal, David. *English as a Global Language – Second Edition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003. Pg. 61). A similar lack of data is reflected in the smaller amount of statistics on English in section 3.1.3 than on Kiswahili in section 3.1.2. About African users of English as a “first language”, it may also be helpful to cite comments by Mazrui & Mazrui, that “politically significant populations of Black native speakers of English on the African continent are still restricted to Liberia and, perhaps, Sierra Leone in Western Africa” (286).

2008: 196-197). Mohochi, in 2003, asserted that “not more than one Kenyan in twenty [i.e. 5%] understands English” (87).

In Tanzania in 2003, there were an estimated 4 million users of English as a second language (i.e. 7%⁷⁰ of 53.9 million – the 2016 population) (Ethnologue.com). According to research from 1971, 15% of Tanzanians “speak English”⁷¹ (Ngonyani 412-413). Ngonyani also cited a second figure (from 1984) that stated that “after five years of instruction the primary grades, only 10 percent of Form IV students were at a level where English-medium instruction could begin [in year 5]” (413). During field research by Mazrui (2014), 1.6% of surveyed parents in Zanzibar⁷² reported using *only* English at home with their children, while 22% reported using *both* Kiswahili *and* English (123).

In Uganda in 2003, there were an estimated 2.5 million users of English as a second language (i.e. 7% of 34.9 million – the 2016 population) (Ethnologue.com). In 1971, it was estimated that 21% of Ugandans “could hold a conversation” in English (Mazrui & Mazrui 291). Nakayiza (2013) asserts that English is “mainly used by only a section of the whole population (mainly the educated and social elite)” (239), though she argues that English in Uganda has “maintained a very high and prestigious status” unlike in Kenya and Tanzania (59).

There are certain criteria for measuring the value of English in (East) African society at large, such as the instrumental versus the sentimental⁷³ value of the language. These trends, of course, are changing at an accelerated speed in an increasingly globalized and shrinking world. Nonetheless, Mazrui & Mazrui assert that English in East Africa – at least for the efforts of nation-building following independence – has been “purely instrumental”, while Kiswahili has been valued both for its instrumental and sentimental attributes (280). The instrumentality of English is well evidenced in Uganda, where the solution for a lingua franca is more complicated than in Kenya and Tanzania. Mazrui & Mazrui consider there to be a “stalemate” between Luganda and Kiswahili as candidates for being the (*de facto*) lingua franca, and that the likely, if not inevitable, result will be for English to “emerge as the overall winner” (282). It is as if

⁷⁰ It is rather surprising that the percentage of users of English as a second language is higher in Tanzania than in Kenya, and as high as that of Uganda. However, as noted earlier, statistics must be held loosely, and viewed as estimations and not fact.

⁷¹ The extreme subjectivity of the use of the word “speak” to measure a person’s language level/proficiency will be discussed in the following section (3.1.4).

⁷² Yet, given that Zanzibar is the homeland of standardized Kiswahili and that the vast majority of the population is made up of “native speakers” of Kiswahili – not to mention that the home is the most intimate linguistic setting, in which the parents’ language choice is most significant – such a miniscule figure is not surprising.

⁷³ i.e. as a language for national unity and identity, the people’s language, an African language.

there is no other viable option, as Luganda and Kiswahili – the most widespread non-European languages – are both quite stigmatized.

In addition to sentimental versus instrumental value, prestige is also an important and unique factor worth noting. Prestige is an area where English triumphs, as Wa’Njogu observes: “in some spheres, these languages operate at par; but in most cases, English is given priority and greater prestige” (69-70). However, Mazrui & Mazrui highlight what they consider to be the ultimate deciding factor in language preference in Africa: “Pragmatic rather than ideological factors, instrumentality rather than sentiment, seem to be the overwhelming motive forces behind the complex patterns of language maintenance and language shift in Africa” (Mazrui & Mazrui 290). Mufwene made a similar observation about the eventual indigenization of Spanish in Latin America following European colonization: “[Despite] prestige of the dominant language [...] it is the lucrative aspect of Spanish that appears to drive the shift here. Prestige would be only a secondary reason for a population that is simply adapting to changing socioeconomic conditions” (22). It can be concluded, therefore, that economic instrumentality is the ultimate factor favoring the presence and use of English in East Africa.

3.1.4 What Does It Mean to “Speak” “English”?

Just as our world does not stop “shrinking” with globalization, it is increasingly rare to be monolingual⁷⁴ – that is, to not have even a minimal capacity to communicate (via writing or speech, producing or understanding) in any other language besides one’s first language. Incidentally, it has become common to talk informally about language proficiency using such simple terms such as “I *speak*”. Given the prevalence of such terminology, it is essential to be mindful of how it is problematic⁷⁵ for describing a person’s language use and capabilities. The present research project on the linguistic situation in East Africa has also suggested that *a majority of East Africans view English as indispensable* and thus wish to consider themselves as users of “English”. However, barring that every citizen is given the same, certified language proficiency exam, it is indeed impossible to be certain about the “English” that is being referred to. The present body of research seems to suggest that an East African using any degree of English at any level of correctness would likely consider himself as “speaking” “English”. Therefore, these terms, like statistics, should be held very loosely and defined as is possible.

⁷⁴ Especially in Africa, which could be considered one of the most linguistically rich places on earth.

⁷⁵ Whether or not someone “*speaks*” a language is a vague, subjective and unscientific measuring tool. To a certain extent, the same applies to the term “native speaker” (when the person in question is bilingual or polylingual); for example, can a person truly be a “native speaker” of more than one language?

A phenomenon that makes the aforementioned classifications difficult, if not altogether impossible or invalid, is code-mixing. In her interview, Mary explained her instinctual language use with other Kenyans: “If I thought someone else was Kenyan, I wouldn’t speak just English – I would speak Swahili with some English. [...] In Kenya, we mix Swahili and English a lot.” Her comments give the impression that code-mixing is simply the norm in her country, at least where she comes from. Field research in Mombasa (Kenya) by Mazrui (2008) revealed the extent to which this code-mixing can be subconscious. Survey participants at inter cafés, after having responded to his survey, were asked for printouts of their internet exchanges. Mazrui (2008) comments: “From these print-outs it was clear that, in spite of the [nearly unanimous] claim of the respondents [to the survey] that they used English exclusively, Kiswahili appeared quite extensively in many of the exchanges, but almost always in code-switching and code-mixing constructions with English [...] English did form the linguistic core of the texts” (200). Connecting such findings with Mary’s comments, these Kenyans were either lying on the survey, or they simply took the norm of code-mixing/code-switching so much for granted that, to them, they were using English only. A similar phenomenon can be observed from a 2006 field study in rural Kenya: 51% of surveyed (post-secondary, vocational school) students reported using English with their teachers “all the time”, and the remaining 49% “most of the time” or “sometimes” and when asked which language their teachers used, 95.5% answered English (Michieka 80). However, the author expresses her skepticism at such results, stating that the local contact person who distributed the surveys at the school told her that “the main language that was being used in the school while he was there was Kisii” (the local tribal language) (80). One possible explanation offered by Michieka is “that the main language teachers use in class is English, but once in a while they use Ekegusii [a.k.a. Kisii] or Kiswahili to explain difficult concepts and most students do not view this as using Ekegusii” (80). Once again, code-mixing and code-switching seem highly subconscious and difficult to categorize.

The case of Nigerian Pidgin English may help to provide clarity on the extent to which Kenyan English, for one, can be considered “standard” English⁷⁶. An interview with a Nigerian university student named Vauna revealed interesting characteristics of Nigerian Pidgin. When asked how many Nigerians knew “English”, her response was telling:

I would say that 80% speak English – broken English or whatever other English – but English. They speak English. [...] If you go to the market, people are speaking English. It may not be the best – it may be Pidgin – but they’re speaking English. [...]

⁷⁶ However, given how widespread and casual the use of international, “no-man’s” English can be throughout the world, one could argue that whether or not a country’s variety of English is “standard” or not concerns only the more elite portions of society, whose status and career may depend in large part on the excellence of their English.

Everybody...most – 80%, I would say – understand English and speak English, however it comes – whether it’s Pidgin...

Her comments reveal the fact that she considers Pidgin English to be “English”. In an attempt to clarify how Nigerian Pidgin English compared to “standard” English, Vauna was asked what she considered the difference to be. About Pidgin, she said, “Oh, it’s pretty different – like you wouldn’t understand. [...] It’s English, but then some of the words have been joined together, and some of the words have been replaced with local languages. [...] You may get like “I” and “we” and “you”, but you won’t get the meaning. Even I don’t understand some of what they’re saying.” Mary was asked a similar question: how much of a language barrier might exist for someone who does not know Kiswahili to communicate with most Kenyans. She said that “generally people would understand” their English if they “just speak slower”. When asked if most Kenyans could be understood by someone who only knows English, she said yes, mentioning that the Kenyan accent may be the biggest hurdle to being understood. Though these two interviews, like statistics, are far from being conclusive, they suggest that Kenyan English⁷⁷ more resembles “standard” English than say, Nigerian Pidgin English⁷⁸.

Possibly the most helpful distinction to make when discussing English proficiency in East Africa is that of literacy versus oral fluency (i.e. written versus spoken English). According to Mazrui (2008), the distinction is important in Kenya, as “English is the primary language of the written word”, while Kiswahili is preferred in oral communication (206). An anecdote by T.L.L. Griffiths in 1985 reveals how unrelated written and oral linguistic capabilities can be for East Africans: “The barely literate house-servant at Makerere [near Kampala, Uganda] would speak to her family in Ru Toro, to her neighbors in Luganda, to the traders in Swahili, to her employers in English and to her employer's amazement and near-monoglot embarrassment, to a visitor in fluent French, explaining that her former husband was Rwandais” (qtd. in Mazrui & Mazrui 285). Such a phenomenon is extremely rare in societies which take literacy and education for granted. Mary’s interview further confirmed the distinction between knowing written English versus being comfortable with the spoken language. Her opinion was that everyone her age in Kenya “who goes to school speaks English”. When asked whether she meant “proper” English or the mixed variety of which she had spoken earlier, she said that Kenyans learn proper English “in school, so it’s something that we’ll not necessarily speak, but

⁷⁷ However, “Sheng” – a slang dialect of Nairobi which mixes Kiswahili and English – could be compared to Nigerian Pidgin, though its presence is nowhere near as widespread (nationally) by comparison.

⁷⁸ The reader should not be led to the conclusion that the majority of Nigerians use this “broken” or Pidgin English, which Vauna said is neither work nor school appropriate, for example. Instead, the influence that this dialect has had on the English that is used in Nigeria is a notable contrast to the situation in Kenya, for example.

it's something that everyone knows"⁷⁹. When asked if this meant reading, she responded: "Yeah, reading and writing, but not speaking. Speaking may be a bit more challenging." Making this distinction, between the knowledge and use of written versus spoken English in East Africa, is therefore essential for a proper understanding of the extent of its role as a lingua franca.

3.2 Globalization

Our increasingly interconnected world – due to factors such as travel, migration and the internet – has had significant linguistic effects on East Africa. Furthermore, as East African countries struggle to develop their national economies, the potential advantages offered by English are largely perceived as too good to do without (i.e. indispensable). Tribal languages, though important on the personal and family level, are becoming overlooked, if not stigmatized, as more and more of society “moves” to the “global village”⁸⁰. This interconnected “village” is highly influenced by English⁸¹, which consequently impacts language preference and opinion.

3.2.1 The Influence of English in a Shrinking World

It is no secret that the East African economy is struggling. There is evidence that these countries, like many others in Africa, resort to English for its economic advantages – whether perceived or actual. Tourism, for example, plays a significant role in the economy of Tanzania, which boasts some of the most prestigious tourist attractions in East Africa such as Zanzibar, the homeland of Kiswahili and picturesque white sandy beaches. It is estimated that by 2020, 50% of Zanzibaris will work in tourism, a factor Mazrui (2014) considers to be central in the language shift on the two islands (105). The increase in the perceived economic benefit of English in Zanzibar, according to Mazrui (2014), can be explained by two rationalizations: “the belief that English is the lingua franca of the world economy” and that “foreign investment comes with the need to use English” (95). The extent to which these beliefs are accurate can be debated; the effect of such beliefs, however, can nevertheless be observed in society at large.

⁷⁹ Such a distinction between knowing a language and being able to actively speak it is confirmed by Vavrus, who noted the “symbolic dimension of language” – that “knowing English [does] not necessarily mean speaking it like someone who has studied in the United Kingdom” (386).

⁸⁰ The Oxford Dictionary defines “global village” as “the whole world, looked at as a single community that is connected by electronic communication systems”.

⁸¹ Even in 1959, MacKenzie praised the abundance of translations into the language as “providing the man who can read English with access to fresh ideas flowing in from many nations” (217).

The need for English in the Kilimanjaro area for the tourism industry can be summed up by the words of secondary student from the region: “Tanzanians are hospitable, but the problem is language. [...] Because of the language problem, the tourists who come here aren’t shown these things or the proper welcome, but how can you communicate with them? You can’t. They don’t know Swahili and you don’t know English or German or French” (qtd. and translated from Kiswahili in Vavrus 390). Tourism is certainly an important industry that adds to the perception of European languages as an immediate solution to economic problems.

Given such a perceived need for English, the 2015 decision to make Kiswahili the sole language of instruction in all levels of Tanzanian education (see section 2.3.2) has raised economic concerns. A 2015 news article in *The Guardian* (TZ) stated that “in a globalised [*sic*] economy where English dominates almost everything - from trade to politics - it is not clear which way Tanzania wants to go” in the decades to come (Lugongo). In the words of another (private) news article: “In Tanzania, foreign investors have complained about the lack of capacity in the labor force, with English language skills being a major area of concern. The decision to turn English into a foreign language could exacerbate this problem” (Mohammed). In uncertain economic times, Tanzania’s choice to place the priority in education on content knowledge over the acquisition of English⁸² has been interpreted by many as risky. Yet, the words of Harries in 1969, following the decision of Tanzania to remove any recognized status from English following independence, may be pertinent once again: “this is the price that Tanzania is prepared to pay” (278). The question is whether or not Tanzania can develop their national economy on their own terms – that is, without relying upon English.

It may also be noted that foreign investment, beyond simply the tourism industry, can be quite unethical – for example, interested only in what it can gain from the country in which it “invests”. One such example, ironically, is education. Barrett (1994) argued, in regards to the decades of failed attempts to implement Kiswahili as the MoI in Tanzanian secondary schools, that there were “powerful political interests which [were] best served by the retention of English” (qtd. in Mazrui 2014: 14). Brock-Utne is of a similar opinion, asserting that policy dictating the language of instruction in schools “is an area with strong donor pressure, mostly from the former colonial masters, who want to retain and strengthen their own languages. [...] There are strong economic interests from publishing companies overseas, who see that they

⁸² It certainly seems that African countries whose education policies prescribe English as the language of instruction place a premium on the acquisition of English, and do not mind that the learning of content (e.g. math, science, etc.) is compromised, due to the lack of English proficiency of many teachers and students (see sections 2.2.3 & 2.2.4). Also, it is interesting to note that statistics cited in section 3.1.3 suggest that Tanzania is in fact on par if not superior to Kenya as far as percentage of the total population that is considered “users” of English.

will have easier access to the African textbook market when the European languages are used” (174). Indeed, it could be argued that such textbook companies care more about selling their books than about the plight of African students, who would surely⁸³ benefit more from textbooks in languages that are easier for them to understand. Yet, historical hindsight suggests that such ulterior motives are not surprising. Iweriebor points out how the suppression of the trans-Atlantic slave trade at the end of the 19th century was followed by the European colonization of Africa. Furthermore, it is even argued that the collapse of overt colonization has been followed by a period of subtle yet widespread global imperialism by “world powers”⁸⁴.

It could be argued that the “global village” is largely dominated by Anglophone countries. Yet, the modern-day preeminence of English could be considered historically ironic, as Mazrui & Mazrui explain: “The British who did not want their language to become a universal medium have been dealt precisely that fate, while the French have had to embark on a determined attempt to stop their language from receding in importance” (286). According to the authors, this receding is partly due to the fact that the British colonial empire was bigger than France’s, but also “because France never produced a linguistic equivalent of the United States – a child bigger than the mother and which began to contribute even more than the mother to the spread of the shared language” (286). There is indeed evidence of such a phenomenon in the 21st century. In 2008, Rwanda “downgraded” French and switched to English as its language of instruction; Gabon did the same⁸⁵ in 2012 (Mohammed).

Foreign influence in East Africa is especially evident in media. Kenyan television is a prime example. Though it only reached 35-40% of the population in 2014, its content was 85% foreign (Wa’Njogu 67). It should be noted that, while radio in East Africa *is* more widespread and more “indigenous” than television, the internet is another area dominated by English. Mazrui (2008), writing about the “phenomenal expansion” of internet usage in Africa, points out that this development has been “almost exclusively” in the languages that were “inherited” from the former colonizers (192). Consequently, the author views the internet as “one of the recent engines of globalization”, citing a school of thought that emerged in the 1990s⁸⁶ that argues that the internet is “yet another instrument of English linguistic imperialism with a global

⁸³ Such a comment is made in reference to general situation in Africa. There are undoubtedly many possible counterexamples of African students who succeed with textbooks in English, French, etc.

⁸⁴ This theory, known as “Neo-Colonialism”, emerged during decolonization, with the idea that colonization still exists, simply in a different, more subtle form (e.g. “cultural imperialism”).

⁸⁵ Though these decisions were highly politicized in nature.

⁸⁶ “By the mid-1990s, over 80 per cent of the Internet was in English”, though “by the end of the 2004, a little over 30 per cent of Internet usage was in English” (Mazrui 2008: 193).

reach” (193). It is safe to say that *globalization is inflating East Africans’ view of English as indispensable*, for both matters of economy and technology.

3.2.2 The Heritage of Tribal Languages in a Shrinking World

As more and more young Africans “move” to the “global village” – sometimes without their parents⁸⁷ – they find less and less use for the *mother* tongue, though continuing to show ideological reverence to it. Such a trend may facilitate the “death” of tribal languages, who are the most intimate linguistic expression of identity⁸⁸ in East Africa. The number⁸⁹ of “living” tribal languages in East Africa is significant: 67 in Kenya, 125 in Tanzania, 41 in Uganda (Ethnologue.com). Yet, their significance is not only in number. Wa’Njogu says that Kenyan theater is a domain in which tribal languages still attract larger audiences than do alternative languages (67). He also mentions the use of tribal languages around election time – that Kenyan “politicians lure voters by appealing to them in their local languages” (70). Uganda is also frequently considered as an example of an African people’s attachment to their tribal languages.

However, there is a subtle yet telling ambiguity in the terms “tribal language”, “local language”, “mother tongue” and “vernacular” – all appearing in scholarly literature, frequently interchangeably. The contradiction in these terms can be observed in the followings comments from separate interviews with two university students who currently live in Europe. Mary (from Kenya) said, “Kikuyu’s my mother tongue because it’s my mother language; it’s the language of my tribe, that’s why it’s my mother tongue.” When asked how well she knew Kikuyu, she said she could speak it (i.e. “not with a ‘proper accent’”; “my mom laughs”; “but I can talk to people”) and she could read “a bit but not too much”; she could not however write in her mother tongue. Laura, from Cameroon, when asked what language a stranger would probably use to initiate conversation with her in the bilingual capital city of Yaoundé, she said, “They would look at me and speak either French or English because I am very light; they would see that I’m mixed because I have foreign blood [being one quarter French]. I’m very light compared to others and they would think that I am a foreigner – [...] that I have foreign blood, *that I may*

⁸⁷ The play on words here is intentional, evoking the fact that many young Africans a.) physically move to (multi-ethnic) cities where their *mother* tongue – the language of one or both their parents – is of little use, and b.) make more and more use of electronic media and the internet, a domain to which their parents may not also have access (or might access almost “despite” whatever fluency they have in one or more tribal languages). Such observations will be discussed more in depth in chapter 6.

⁸⁸ An East African’s tribal ethnicity is an element of their identity with which most “Westerners” simply cannot relate. A trite comparison might be some Americans’ ardent affiliation with their university alma mater, though the comparison very quickly breaks down.

⁸⁹ Though, as discussed in section 1.1, these languages are not as distinct as, say, German and English, and could be regrouped into just a few family groups.

not speak my native language” (italics added). Clearly, there is a contradiction in terms here; in no way is it logical for someone to say that they do not know their “native language” or “mother tongue”. Kamwangamalu in his article on African “mother tongues” cites the United Nations’ 1953 definition of “mother tongue”: “the language which a person has acquired in early years and which normally has become his natural instrument of thought and communication” (753). This definition is interchangeable with “native language” and “first language”, though the comments by Mary and Laura show the irony in such terms. A distinction is thus becoming necessary for young Africans such as Mary and Laura⁹⁰, as the terms “tribal language”⁹¹ (a.k.a. “vernacular” and “mother tongue”) and “native language” (i.e. first language) are decreasingly interchangeable for an increasingly urbanized population in an increasingly globalized world.

Yet, the phenomenon of tribal languages becoming stigmatized is not a new one. Roehl observed such a trend in 1930, writing about two Ugandan tribes that had an “eager thirst” to learn “the written languages of Kiswahili and Luganda”; he asserted that “like so many African peoples they do not realize the educative and psychological value of the use of their mother tongue” (193). According to Kamwangamalu, the main culprit has been the colonizers’ languages, as tribal languages have “lived in the shadow of former colonial languages both during the colonial as well as postcolonial eras” (736). Evidence of such marginalization and its ideological effects can be observed in comments from Nakayiza’s field research in Kampala. One survey respondent bluntly said, “I don’t like to speak Luganda because it is for people who don’t go to school” (Nakayiza 140). Another respondent said, “so many people don’t like and feel inferior to use their mother tongue thinking that people will think they are illiterate, yet they are educated. For that reason, I prefer to use English than to speak Luganda” (174). The ideological trend revealed here is a disassociation between tribal languages and being educated. It may be argued that education policy (as discussed in section 2.2) is largely to blame for such an ideology. However, there are other factors that may offer explanation.

According to Nabea, “most” tribal languages in Kenya, for example, do not have a written form of their language or have never been standardized, partly explaining why they are so rarely used in literature and the media (127). However, the result is a vicious cycle. If East Africans are never (seriously) educated in their tribal language, those who go on to become

⁹⁰ As for the two other interviews, Vauna (from Nigeria) said she could “barely understand” but could not speak or write in her parents’ tribal language. Lilian (from Burundi) said she could read and write “like a kid” in Kirundi, though this is an official lingua franca in Burundi (unlike the aforementioned tribal languages).

⁹¹ The term “tribal language” is arguably the least ambiguous, though even in many cases of ethnic (i.e. tribal) intermarriage it can be unclear or irrelevant what the children’s “tribal language” is, as they may know two – or none at all! The term “vernacular” may also be an appropriate alternative, though the use of the adjective form of the word confuses things. Also, this term seems outdated, appearing mostly in older scholarly literature.

writers, for example, will most likely not have a propensity towards writing in the language. Even if they did write in their tribal language, this would undoubtedly limit their audience⁹²; writing in Kiswahili or especially English would result in a much wider readership. Thus, it would be largely out of pure good will, conscience or ethnic pride that they would write⁹³ in their tribal language. The result is a severe lack of literature in the tribal language, a major factor that discourages its (serious) use in education.

Another factor in the ideological disassociation of one's tribal language and being educated in East Africa, other than language-in-education policy of course, is the informal and intimate – almost subconscious – manner by which it is acquired (as evoked by the terms “*mother tongue*” and “*native language*”). Such a mindset is reflected by a parent from rural Kisii county who, when referring to children, said nonchalantly, “They can know their mother tongue even when playing with their friends” (Michieka 106). The lack of a standardized, written form of many tribal languages in East Africa, plus the fact that many East Africans are not used to writing and reading in their tribal language, plus the ease with which the tribal language (that is, the oral skillset of the language) seems to be acquired can all be considered contributing factors to the disassociation of the tribal language with the notion of being educated. In other words, many East Africans do not take their tribal language seriously (on an academic level), and thus it can easily get overlooked as one gains more education.

3.3 Language and Social Status

In any culture, language – whether it be vocabulary, accent or multilingualism, for example – is a factor that helps define one's social standing. The situation in East Africa is even more complex, with the preeminence of two lingua francas upon the fading backdrop of numerous tribal languages. Language, particularly English, has been a vehicle for the creation of an elite class and the marginalization of many portions of East African society, as will be discussed presently. Whether it is a matter of job security or simply prestige, Mary's simple words are telling: “if you're unable to speak English, even if you stay in Kenya, it won't do you a favor”. The sociolinguistic result is polarized: an increasing separation between those that *can* and those that *cannot*.

⁹² Again, literacy in one's tribal language is quite rare, even if conversationally proficiency is common.

⁹³ The issue here is literature, not the audible language (e.g. music or theater). Tribal languages, much like Kiswahili, show the greatest “resistance” to the linguistic influences of globalization and urbanization as *spoken* languages. It is the realm of literature and writing that English is the biggest “threat” (as discussed in section 3.1.4).

3.3.1 Elitism

In the vacuum created by independence, African countries had the daunting yet inevitable task of (re)building their countries on their own terms. Yet the “rules” for social self-advancement into the upper classes had already been written, though the establishment of these norms during colonization as well as their retention after independence may have been subtle, if not subconscious. Mazrui & Mazrui describe the new social hierarchy that emerged from the framework of colonialism: “English became the basis of an alternative African elite in East Africa. Competence in the imperial language became an avenue of upward social mobility for Africans. Traditional credentials for leadership based on ancient custom were being replaced or undermined by the mystique of the new imperial language” (283). Language, instead of “traditional credentials”, became an essential criterion for elitism; English had become a primary⁹⁴, even revolutionary, means by which to advance oneself in post-colonial society.

Though, it may be unclear the extent to which this redefinition of societal hierarchy by language was voluntary by the British, Mazrui (2014) argues that such a system, which placed a premium on English for membership amongst the higher levels of East African society, was intentionally set in place by the British during colonization, according to their colonial needs: “English was used by the British to create an elite group of people to serve⁹⁵ the British-colonized country. Given its social status in terms of higher education and prestigious employment, English was viewed as the language of the highly educated and the elite of society” (4). Nabea, in 2009, even went so far as to say that English in Kenya was “only spoken by the elite” (127). Indeed, English has become an important prerequisite for membership to the East African elite, at the very least in Kenya and Uganda.

It could be asserted that, for members of the East African elite, English is truly indispensable. To this sector of society especially, excellence in language skills is an asset. When asked during their (separate) interviews if they thought that English was considered “elite” for people from their country, there were striking similarities in the responses of interviewees. Mary from Kenya said, “The only thing I’d say that is elite is your accent, because it’s always the kids that went to study abroad are the rich kids. If you hear a Kenyan speaking English with a British or American accent, you’re like, ‘whoa, they’re on that other level...’” Vauna said that she “got a lot of attention” – both positive and negative – because of her British

⁹⁴ Gorman, in 1968, attested to the necessity of English for “general progress in the higher classes” – an area of society “where English must be used” (217).

⁹⁵ The utilization of such a group is indeed characteristic of Britain’s choice of “indirect rule”, mentioned in section 2.2.2. This style of colonization contrasts with the “assimilation” system implemented in France’s African colonies, as discussed by Iweriebor.

accent (having studied in a British school while overseas for a few years). She thought that most Nigerians, however, might view such a person as “a snob”. Lilian, from the former Belgian colony of Burundi, said that Burundians “know to differentiate the level of French. You can speak French, but once you speak a certain French – with a certain accent – that’s elite.” These comments suggest that accent is a primary linguistic criterion for garnering prestige.

Yet, the value and pursuit of English for prestige’s sake often exists in a vacuum. Harries (1976) points out the discrepancy in the way that English is viewed and the way that it is actually needed or used in Kenyan society: “For those who regard English as a means of social advancement, proficiency is of great importance. [...] But proficiency is not an essential corollary to the usefulness of a language as only [i.e. purely] a means of communication” (159). It can be deduced from Harries’ comments that, though English is of high value in East Africa, it can be so even if it is not used primarily as a practical tool of communication. Comments by Mary clarify such a motive behind the “quest” for the acquisition of English, suggesting that it connects to something deeply engrained in her culture: “From a young age everyone’s pushed to be the best, so you can get the best jobs, the best opportunities. So, there’s a massive need to be able to speak English.” Indeed, this “massive need” to learn English, possibly despite its lack of usefulness as a practical means of communication, is a “dissonant factor” behind the indispensability of English in East Africa, fueled in great part by the elite of society.

3.3.2 Marginalization: Unintentional

Though the existence of an elite social strata in societies around the world is essentially inevitable, the disproportionate influence and resources that these individuals and families have can nevertheless be quite disconcerting. However, not all marginalization is necessarily intentional and can thus be complicated to remedy, even after major shifts in the political structure of a country (e.g. Tanzania’s failed attempt at socialism following independence). Capital cities, like Nairobi, show evidence of unintentional social marginalization via language:

There is no question that in the capital city of Kenya the language of prestige is English. English is used, not only for the more complex technical type of discussion, but also ‘as a means of everyday communication⁹⁶’ between these *wananchi* [“native-born citizens”] of the middle and upper-middle classes. The higher in the scale of employment or activity, the more they speak English. If a Kenyan does not speak any English, it usually means that his formal education was not advanced beyond primary level. (Harries 1976: 159)

⁹⁶ The author is referring to an earlier quote by President Kenyatta, who said in 1974 that he “objected to the idea “of a foreign, non-African language being used ‘as a means of everyday communication between the *wananchi*”” (qtd. in Harries 1976: 159).

Whether or not English is the cause or effect of this marginalization may be a pointless debate; the importance lies in the realities faced by those who find themselves stranded on the other side of the social divide, which typically has a geographic corollary. Following her research in rural Kenya, Michieka concluded that the “spread of English into rural Kenya is restricted” (105). If her research and the above quote from 1976 are indeed indicative of the situation in Kenya and East Africa⁹⁷ as a whole, it could be argued that the limited access to English for some plays a role in marginalization. Thus, the perceived easiest fix by the average citizen may be migration to the city or even overseas⁹⁸, though this is much easier said than done.

There was a surprising homogeneity in comments on emigration by the three African university students, all of whom find themselves at somewhat of a crossroads in life. Though all three consider the country of their parents (and of their nationality) to be “home”, albeit to a varying degree, none of the three interviewees expressed a desire to return and live in her country. Vauna showed the strongest affiliation with Nigeria as her “home”. Yet, she repeatedly mentioned the *possibility* of going home without ever stating a *desire* to do so (e.g. “I don’t mind”). Mary showed an interest in living in Kenya again one day, though *not longer than a year*, and this only if her parents moved back; after *visiting*, she would “move back to the UK or another country”. When asked if she would go back to Kenya to live there permanently, she simply said, “No.” Laura made very similar comments about Cameroon. This phenomenon of leaving Africa for one’s studies (a privilege in and of itself) and then never moving back could be considered an example of the aforementioned strategy to get on the “better” side of marginalization – with those that *can* use English for their self-advancement. After all, if one could get the better of marginalization and do the same for their family, why would they not? It is indeed possible that marginalization is a reality of East African society that most view as normal, not as a problem that can and must be fixed (e.g. via changes in policies).

The solution to such marginalization might be comparable to the aforementioned problem of a lack of literature in tribal languages (section 3.2.2), or even climate change. As long as one’s family, immediate community and personal well-being are taken care of, it may be all too easy to turn a blind eye to marginalization in society at large and say “*c’est la vie!*”

⁹⁷ 2011 figures from the Uganda Bureau of Statistics seem to show evidence of a stark marginalization when it comes to literacy: the 14.8% of the country’s population living in urban areas was 86% literate; the remaining 85.2% of Uganda’s population, which lives in rural areas, is 66% literate. (Nakayiza 31-32, 47). Recent UNESCO statistics show the country’s literacy rates as rather comparable: 82% in Kenya in 2016, 80% in Tanzania in 2017, 73% in Uganda 2016 (Ethnologue.com).

⁹⁸ It is interesting to make the distinction between economic and political (e.g. refugee) immigrants, as their motive and number can be very different.

(“that’s life!”). It could be argued, therefore, that action by the government is vital, as official policy is certainly part of the problem (as discussed in section 2.2). Wa’Njogu argues that “only through empowering these [local] languages can the government ensure maximum participation of its populace” – i.e. reverse wide scale marginalization (70). Regarding the internet, which in theory can be accessed more easily than any other form of communication or knowledge, Mazrui (2008) makes a similar argument. He asserts that Kiswahili (and consequently those who lack proficiency in English) will remain marginalized from internet usage unless there is a “political paradigm shift” in Kenya (205); the pattern thus far has been a “tremendous support” of English by the government “in terms of human and material resources” (196). Such an investment in Kiswahili has been and continues to be made in Tanzania, which hopes to (continue to) reap the benefits of the linguistic empowerment of the majority of its population.

The need for the government to take action in order to remedy marginalization can be summarized in the following statement by Vavrus’ field study in a Tanzanian secondary school:

[The field study] suggests that young people support an English-only approach to education because they do not feel the country has the resources to implement a Swahili-medium curriculum at the secondary and tertiary levels. If such resources were available through governmental and nongovernmental channels, then students would be likely to accept a bilingual approach to education. (391)

While those who *do not* have the means to cope with the challenging realities of the education system (e.g. language of instruction) are left behind and disadvantaged for generations to come, those who *can* cope will likely pass down this privilege to their offspring.

3.3.3 Marginalization: Ambiguous

While it may be argued that some of the language-related social inequalities in East African society are inevitable or involuntary, there is clear evidence against such a view. The truth may be that those inside and outside of government with both the voice and the means to bring about reform may not be too concerned about the tough realities faced by the average citizen. Three such examples are the domains of education, the judicial system, and radio.

In summary of the findings of her field research in rural Kenya, Michieka majored on one point specifically: that rural areas⁹⁹ in Kenya are consistently the worst educated when it comes to English and thus have the hardest time coping with language-in-education policy.

⁹⁹ Michieka cites statistics released in 2004 by the Kenya Ministry of Education, which reported that “that last ten poor-performing districts were those areas that are far removed from the cities and major towns such as Ijara, Tana River, Kwale, Kuria, Mandera, and Lamu”, while among the top ten were cities such as Nairobi, Nakura, Mombasa, Kakamega and Thika (108).

Nabea points out what could be considered a breach in ethics among Kenyan policymakers¹⁰⁰, which may explain such geographic marginalization in education:

While barely a quarter of the Kenyan population can adequately use English, it remains the advantaged official language and the medium of instruction in the education system. [...] However, while the leadership appears comfortable with this linguistic situation and would wish to have the status quo maintained, the linguistic situation among lay Kenyans demonstrates that not all is well on the ground. (122)

The reason for such nonchalance on the part of politicians is most likely multi-faceted, and it may indeed be a matter of exaggeration to make accusations of willful subjugation. Yet, at the very least, such ambiguity in regards to marginalization – the fine line between voluntary and involuntary – is worthy of investigation.

The situation in Ugandan courts also shows evidence of systematic marginalization that could be easily remedied. In 2010, Nakayiza observed court cases in Kampala, the capital of Uganda, and the surrounding area. Of the forty cases observed in Kampala, all were conducted in English, the official language. Yet only three cases did *not* require translation from English to Luganda (two of these defendants being of Indian origin) (166). Aside from the fact that 93% of the cases observed were conducted in a language that the defendant did not adequately understand, the translation that was provided was also sometimes unsatisfactory, as Nakayiza explains: “On several occasions, the prosecution team was not content with the quality of the translation from the court clerk, so the relevant lawyer decided to switch from English to Luganda so that he could ask the questions directly or translate/interpret his own questions, an act that was common in the courts of law” (166). The ethics of such a judicial system in which defendants, in their own city, are judged in a language that they do not understand is certainly awry. According to Nakayiza, the problem is not a common language, as most judges and prosecution teams in the observed cases “seemed conversant in Luganda” (166).

One of these observed cases was especially ironic and telling. The judge bypassed the usual vehicle of English and spoke to the defendant directly in Luganda; “it turned out that this particular case had been on the judge’s table for quite some time” (166). Though the insistent use of English in courts in Kampala¹⁰¹ could be viewed simply as compliance with official policy, Nakayiza suggests ulterior motives from prosecutors: “English is a language that gives them more authority and power over the complainants and defendants, so its use is aimed at

¹⁰⁰ Ngonyani makes a similar comment about the lack of policy change in Tanzania: “The authorities do not want to acknowledge the social reality of the language being used in schools” (413).

¹⁰¹ Nakayiza also confirmed a similar situation in rural courts, though in these areas there were instances of Luganda being used as “the main language of communication” (167).

making the whole process intimidating and thus to their advantage” (167). At the very least, such examples of marginalization in court are ambiguous, if not outright voluntary.

In 2003, Mohochi wrote about “language choice” in Kenyan media, focusing largely on radio because, of all forms of media, it is the most accessible (e.g. even in remote villages) (87-88). He argued that the choice of language used for broadcasts is incongruent with the language proficiencies of the audience¹⁰², “many” broadcasts being in English. According to Mohochi, one of the reasons for such a prevalence of English broadcasts is that the Kiswahili Service of the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation has generally “lagged behind in programme innovation” (89). However, the author points out a factor in the surprisingly small share of Kenyan airtime that Kiswahili gets: the government restricts private radio stations from broadcasting on the national level. Also, the situation for local languages is much worse. Mohochi reported that, as of 2003, there were only two radio stations in all of Kenya that were in local languages, and this was “because of the government’s tight controls in broadcast licensing” (88). Kenyan radio thus shows evidence of a breach in ethics. Mohochi laments that “even radio programmes which discuss important policy issues and significant matters continue to be broadcast, not in a local language, but in English” (88). Certainly, in theory it would seem to be a rather obvious necessity for radio broadcasts to be understandable by their audience.

The ambiguity of such marginalization – that is, the line between voluntary and involuntary – seems especially questionable in regards to radio broadcasts around election time, when “people want to hear the claims, counterclaims and arguments put forward by the various contestants for office as they discuss important issues of direct relevance to people’s daily lives” (Mohochi 88). In contrast to comments by Wa’Njogu that politicians “lure voters in” by speaking to them in tribal languages, Mohochi decries the senseless use of English for democratic politics: “Politicians prepare elaborate and lengthy speeches on important national issues and then deliver them in English in the villages. What purpose is served by this? In such stratified circumstances of communication where speaking English is considered prestigious, do they communicate successfully with the people they set out to inform or even consult?” (93). It would appear that there is clearly a constituent that desires to keep English in East African society, at all costs.

¹⁰² Mohochi explains: “Many of the programmes broadcast use a language that is not understood by the majority. Whilst approximately more than half of all Kenyan people speak Swahili (the national language) - albeit with varying degrees of intelligibility - not more than one Kenyan in twenty understands English. Yet it is English that many radio programmes are broadcast instead of Swahili [...]” (87).

3.3.4 Marginalization: Intentional

Though common themes can be observed from the personal interviews carried out for this research project, one of the most striking similarities in comments from all four interviewees was on the extent to which colonization was discussed in school. Vauna, for one, said that colonization was “just a topic” in school, describing it in foreign terms, almost as if she was describing a bad dream that was hard to explain¹⁰³. The following comments by Mary were especially telling:

In history class, they taught us a lot about the history of tribes, the history of Kenya, and colonization was something that was really focused on – but *not really how it was during the colonized times*. We kind of focused on how Kenya got its freedom; they focused on towards the end of colonization. For example, *I don't really know how life was when Britain was colonizing because it's not really something that's talked about, maybe because of the painful memories. [...] They didn't really say, 'when Kenya was colonized, this is how life was like.'* They kind of focused on local, tribal history in the beginning and then they went to how Kenyans fought for their independence. *They sort of skipped that bit in the middle.*

If Mary's experience is indicative of an average East African education, one can only imagine how incomplete a picture the average citizen has of the history of colonization¹⁰⁴. The evidently brief study of colonial times in African curricula may indeed be “because of the painful memories” and to save face. When Lilian was asked if she had any idea why colonization was discussed so little in (and out) of school in Burundi, she spoke of a “past is past” mentality as well as the need to “survive”¹⁰⁵. However, this phenomenon in schools reflects a significant choice – to shy away from the realities (albeit horrors¹⁰⁶) of colonization. It may be that African countries prefer – or even, *do not want* – their citizens to be mindful of the economic and ideological exploitation of their lands under colonization, given how much of colonial policy and ways of thinking remain in place today. Laura said that in school in Cameroon, they “did not focus much” – only “briefly” – on national history *during* colonization; when asked whether she thought that this was done on purpose, she pensively responded, almost nervously laughing, “I never thought of that...” It should indeed be wondered why these countries would shy away

¹⁰³ When asked what most Nigerians thought of the history of colonization, Vauna said: “Nobody...it's not...I mean it's like... I don't know. I just don't think people ever really think about it that much, apart from... the only times I thought about colonization was when they taught us about it. And then there are lots of museums and things that would show what would happen during the times – you know, the chains and the stuff that happened.”

¹⁰⁴ Without a knowledge of history, how can a people learn from past situations to improve the quality of the future?

¹⁰⁵ Lilian: “You don't spend that much time talking about [colonial times]. When your life is more like ‘I have to survive everyday’, you don't care. You have to know why it happened, and then you're like, ‘...oh whatever...do I have food on the table? Oh, it's cool’...”

¹⁰⁶ The same may be true in American curricula, with the shameful history of relations with Native Americans.

from the “ugly” history of colonization, thus missing the opportunity to learn from it and make sure it does not happen again in future generations. Yet, the opposite might in fact be occurring.

Authors like Nabea show credence to the theory of Neo-Colonialism, whose arguments may be considered by some to be controversial yet should nevertheless be considered. Iweriebor, for example, likens British “indirect rule” in its African colonies to a feudal system:

The fact that the ultimate authority was the British officials meant that the African leaders had been vassalized and exercised ‘authority’ at the mercy of European colonial officials. Thus the political and social umbilical cords that tied them to their people in the old system had been broken. Some astute African leaders maneuvered and ruled as best they could, while others used the new colonial setting to become tyrants and oppressors, as they were responsible to British officials ultimately.

It can be argued that such a system, which had eventually become established to a varying degree throughout East Africa, was largely retained at independence. Furthermore, Nabea suggests that a subversive strategy, which utilized English to this end, was put in place by the British in the latter days of colonialism in Kenya:

After the Second World War, there was a shift in the British colonial language policy which hurt local languages. When self rule [i.e. independence] was imminent in Kenya following the freedom struggle, the British colonialists mounted a campaign to create some Westernized elite in the country. They believed, and rightly so, that such an elite group would protect their interests in independent Kenya. (124)

The creation of such an “elite group” might explain the retention of an astonishing amount of colonial education policy¹⁰⁷ after independence (even in Tanzanian secondary schools), instead of using Kiswahili as the language of instruction for the educational empowerment of a greater portion of the population. Nakayiza argues that a central motive herein is power, with English as a vehicle: “Being able to use and speak English usually means power over those who do not speak it, power to access the resources that others cannot, power to obtain a good job and eventually a better life, which may not be accessible to those who do not speak English” (233-234)¹⁰⁸. Indeed, language is knowledge, and knowledge is power. Given the unique linguistic utility of two lingua francas in East Africa, as well as the factors of globalization and socioeconomic status, the role of language in these multilingual societies is truly a complex topic, with each person using his linguistic power for various motives and in a variety of ways.

¹⁰⁷ Michieka describes the use of English in colonial education policy for marginalization: “English education was necessary for only a small group that could serve as civil servants while the rest of the indigenous people received minimal education, if any, to let them serve in manual labor” (39).

¹⁰⁸ Nabea argues that language has been used in the intentional marginalization of the majority of Kenyan society: “English, and to some extent Kiswahili, have been used to propagate domination of the masses by the elite in both colonial and post colonial Kenya” (135).

Chapter 4: The Anomaly of Kiswahili

The linguistic situation in East Africa is both common and unique in Africa. The abundance of tribal languages in the area, though noteworthy, is not unusual for the continent. These languages are threatened by the former colonizer's language, which has continued to be considered indispensable following independence, as in most places in Africa. Yet the situation in East Africa is remarkable given the presence of a *local* lingua franca. Kiswahili has exhibited great potential on the national and regional levels. However, there is pushback to its use, particularly when compared with English. Thus, Kiswahili serves as a vantage point as to the tension between the actual *need* for English versus the simple *desire* for the language.

4.1 The Value of Kiswahili

In East Africa (especially Kenya and Tanzania), Kiswahili boasts an impressive status as the most widely known and used lingua franca (before English, as discussed in Chapter 3). The value of Kiswahili is evident in its usefulness as a lingua franca in most of East Africa and the extent to which it is considered an *African* language, in addition to other positive opinions.

4.1.1 Kiswahili as a Useful Lingua Franca in East Africa

Thanks in great part to its utility for Arab trade in East Africa before German and British colonization in the late 1800s¹⁰⁹, Kiswahili has become a widespread and practical lingua franca in most of East Africa. Its overall ethnic and political neutrality, a prerequisite for lingua francas in Africa (as discussed in section 3.1.1), is remarkable; not only was Kiswahili originally a tribal language, of the Swahili people¹¹⁰ from the Swahili Coast (an area stretching from southern Somalia and to northern Mozambique, as seen in Figure 4 on the following page), but it was also accepted despite its religious associations, having been used in the spreading of Islam and then Christianity. Indeed, as early as during German and British colonization in East Africa, it was observed that Kiswahili had a firmly established presence in the area¹¹¹. Following its standardization with a Latin alphabet in the 1930s (as discussed in section 1.2), the groundwork was laid for Kiswahili to become the most useful lingua franca in East Africa.

¹⁰⁹ There was also Portuguese colonization on the coast during the 1500s.

¹¹⁰ Kiswahili was accepted so easily in Kenya and Tanzania (i.e. without much dissension from ethnic groups) partly because the Swahili people “were not numerous enough as an ethnic unit to make a substantial difference in the ethnic power equation of these two countries” (Mazrui & Mazrui 281).

¹¹¹ In 1937, Mukasa (Ugandan) wrote that “without doubt Swahili will hold its place as the lingua franca of East Africa” (84). In 1956, Whiteley wrote that “Swahili has proved a useful medium” between tribes (350).



Figure 4: Map of the Swahili Coast.¹¹²

Source: <http://www.mrburnett.net/apworldhistory/maps/africaswahilicoast.bmp>

Though its presence in Uganda is the least established of the three East African countries (doubtlessly in correlation to its distance from the coast), Kiswahili has nevertheless enjoyed a noteworthy role in the north of the country, as Mazrui & Mazrui describe:

The armed forces of Uganda from 1961 to 1986 [...] were overwhelmingly from the north of the country (uni-regional) but the north itself was multi-ethnic. The multi-ethnic nature of the armed forces created the instrumental need for a lingua franca like Kiswahili. But the uni-regional (northern) nature of the army eventually created sentimental attachment to Kiswahili virtually as a northern lingua franca. In the cultural divide between the mainly Nilotic northern Uganda and the mainly Bantu southern Uganda, the northerners paradoxically¹¹³ espoused Kiswahili almost as their own language. (282)

Indeed, Kiswahili in Uganda became closely associated with the military. Though this association would turn out to be rather stigmatizing for the language, it should nevertheless be noted that Kiswahili *has* had a “sentimental attachment” in (parts of) the country. Nakayiza points to the accessory value of Kiswahili for many Ugandans, highlighting its importance as an East African lingua franca¹¹⁴; this is especially apparent in informal domains such as music, where Ugandan artists are increasingly using Kiswahili instead of English or even local Ugandan languages (123). It would certainly be erroneous to give the impression that Kiswahili

¹¹² Though unclear from the source whether the map shows the main areas of trade on the Swahili Coast or the homeland of the Swahili people, other sources suggest that the highlighted area indeed represents their homeland.

¹¹³ The word “paradoxically” here is most likely in reference to the fact that Kiswahili is a Bantu language, though southern Uganda (which is “mainly Bantu”) remains largely opposed to the use of Kiswahili as a lingua franca.

¹¹⁴ “Access to opportunities in East Africa requires addition of Swahili to one’s linguistic repertoire” (63).

has no noteworthy use in Uganda, especially to those who do not have access to English and who for whatever reason do not use widespread tribal languages as Luganda.

The potential usefulness of Kiswahili is notable in pre-university education, particularly in Tanzania. Given the country's economic struggles and limited funding, Kiswahili simply seems pragmatic. Ngonyani argues that the use of Kiswahili as the MoI in Tanzanian schools would be less expensive than the investment that would be necessary to improve instruction in English in all subjects¹¹⁵ (416). Besides matters of cost efficiency, Ngonyani argues that Kiswahili is the most practical language to use in schools (at least in Tanzania): "Legitimizing Kiswahili as the instructional medium¹¹⁶ would free students and teachers from having to learn in a language they have not mastered [i.e. English]" (416). One could argue the same for at least Kenya, if not northern Uganda as well. Again¹¹⁷, it is a privilege in (East) Africa to live in an (urban) area with the academic and community resources necessary for an effective education with English as the medium of instruction. Kiswahili would seem to be an excellent alternative.

Another domain in which Kiswahili is useful is social equality (in Kenya and Tanzania). For example, an East African's skill level in the language is rather irrelevant because of the greater importance of practicality. Harries (1976) noted that Kiswahili was "widely employed in Kenya as a language of communication by people who readily admit that they are not very proficient in the language" (160). Because the language is used primarily as a second language, Harries argued that both the speaker and the hearer in most situations would not care¹¹⁸, and might not even know, if a mistake were made. Another contributing factor to its impartiality is that Kiswahili is learned mostly outside of the classroom on an informal basis, and thus does not necessarily expose a lack of education (like English does), as Mazrui & Mazrui explain: "Some of the most articulate of Kiswahili speakers may not be literate at all. While the majority of those who speak 'good' English in East Africa are, almost by definition, part of the literati, the majority of those who speak 'good' Kiswahili are not 'men and women of letters'" (284). Michieka suggests that Kiswahili could be an equalizer in Kenyan education, as even "some poor areas perform well in Kiswahili because this is the language of their immediate environment" (109). Also, given the fact that Kiswahili is not Nairobi's language, its promotion could turn the tides of urban/rural marginalization in Kenya, for example.

¹¹⁵ Mazrui (2014) argues a similar point: "In a poor country like Tanzania using Swahili as a medium of instruction is more cost effective since many people live in the rural areas where there are fewer resources" (30).

¹¹⁶ As a Zanzibari teacher from Pemba island said, "it is very easy to understand new concepts by using national language" (Mazrui 2014: 102).

¹¹⁷ See section 3.3.

¹¹⁸ The same is true for international "no-man's" English, even if one is interacting with a "native speaker".

4.1.2 Kiswahili as an African Language

One of the biggest factors behind the “success” of Kiswahili in East Africa is the fact that it is an *African* language¹¹⁹. Its validity and sentimental value as the regional lingua franca is greatly strengthened by this characteristic. MacKenzie in 1959 wrote of the edge that Kiswahili had over English, noting the capacity of Kiswahili “to reflect the African mind in subtle ways from which English is debarred” (217). Indeed, there is much scholarly literature which chides the prevalence of European languages in African academia, arguing that a former colonizer’s language could never adequately express the African reality. Responses to Mazrui’s 2008 survey in Mombasa reflect the African-ness of Kiswahili, especially amongst university graduates, who described the language as “a language of our cultural heritage”, “the expression of our Africanity [*sic*]” and even “our linguistic weapon against cultural imperialism” (202).

Particularly in Tanzania, Kiswahili has shown its remarkable usefulness for national unity and identity. This has been especially necessary for a young nation trying to construct itself following the vacuum of independence. Harries (1969) asserted that Kiswahili was chosen in Tanzanian language planning as “not only the expression of a newly created African culture, but also an important medium for achieving the new culture” (276). The decision to follow suit with Tanzania and give Kiswahili national language status – first by Kenya¹²⁰ in 1974 and then Uganda in 2005 – shows the extent to which the above statement is true for all of East Africa¹²¹. Indeed, language is communication, which is absolutely fundamental to unity and development.

The expansion of Kiswahili has certainly not been limited to the Swahili Coast, having international status as a recognized language in the East African Community and the (all-continent) African Union, for example. Its use as a lingua franca can be observed as far inland as the Democratic Republic of Congo, and neighboring Burundi and Rwanda, not to mention being the native language of inhabitants of the island nation of Comoros (see Figure 4, p. 54). In 1930, Roehl considered it to be “perhaps” the “most important” African language (201); in 1993, Mazrui & Mazrui considered it “the most widely used African language internationally” (276). It is clear that the language has unique potential as an *African* lingua franca, against a backdrop of non-African lingua francas (i.e. former colonizers’ languages).

¹¹⁹ Although Kiswahili was standardized with a Latin alphabet during the colonial era, the dialect that was chosen as the model for its standardization is a tribal language. It is thus not hard to consider it genuinely African.

¹²⁰ Harries (1976) affirms that the giving of official status to Kiswahili in Kenya was “a political declaration in favour of what is African” (156).

¹²¹ Harries (1969) also called Kiswahili “a truly African means of expression” (279).

4.1.3 Other Positive Opinions of Kiswahili

Without a doubt the country the most attached to Kiswahili is Tanzania, whose first president Julius Nyerere suggested even before independence that Kiswahili become the national language of Tanganyika (Harries 1969: 275). Indeed, the country has invested both concretely and symbolically in the language for national development following independence. Harries (1969) noted that Kiswahili was Tanzania's "symbol of national unity" and "a reflection of the national will and purpose" (279). Such value for national development is echoed in Uganda's White Paper policy in 1992, which prescribed Kiswahili as a subject in primary and secondary schools. Nakayiza paraphrases the reasoning outlined in the White Paper, saying that Kiswahili was considered "as the language possessing greatest capacity for uniting Ugandans and for assisting rapid social development" (45), which is a powerful statement.

Despite its somewhat tainted reputation – as a lingua franca used in the Arab (slave) trade, the language used by the Ugandan military (especially during the volatile post-independence period¹²²), and a language of somewhat limited prestige – Kiswahili has managed to gain a well-established role as a lingua franca in most areas of East Africa. In 2006, chairperson Kimani Njogu of Kenya's National Swahili Council said, "The language is now common in offices, in the streets and homes. It is robust in the informal sector and has become an engine of economic regeneration. Official business is being transacted in the language and it is no longer viewed as 'low status' to speak it" (Mazrui 2008: 197). Though Njogu's statement on the widespread use and good standing of Kiswahili may not be representative of the average Kenyan, his comments are nevertheless worth taking into account. Such a regard for Kiswahili finds its echo in responses to Michieka's survey on language use in rural Kisii Kenya. Of the albeit relatively few survey respondents that chose Kiswahili (instead of English) as "the most important language to learn", common themes in their reasoning were the ease of learning Kiswahili and the widespread knowledge and use of Kiswahili across Kenya¹²³ (97).

There may also be a difference in sociolinguistic attachment to Kiswahili according to gender, as Mazrui's research in Zanzibar suggests, though he admits his findings are far from conclusive. In response to the survey question "Which language would you like our children to know better?", 62% of female respondents answered Kiswahili (compared to 40% of men). Mazrui (2014) comments on such results, noting the especially important role that mothers play

¹²² Again, see post-independence timeline (p. 117).

¹²³ Respondents' commented as to why Kiswahili is the most important language to learn: "Everybody is able to speak that language", "it is easy as you may find some words are related to or similar to mother tongue", "it is easy to speak", "it easier to communicate", "many people know the language very well", "it is easy to speak because it is a community language", and "it is our most used language in Kenya" (Michieka 97-98).

in the transmission of language¹²⁴: “Women are in favor of Swahili because they are protectors of culture and local value. Swahili and not English is the carrier of culture and local values in the context of Zanzibar” (116). Though Zanzibar is the homeland of Kiswahili in many ways, its role as “the carrier of culture and local values” is not exclusive to the Swahili Coast.

4.2 The Pushback to Kiswahili

Given the usefulness of Kiswahili in most parts of East Africa, its widespread knowledge and use across society, and the sentimental attachment it can engender even in those who use it as a second language, the anomaly of Kiswahili is that there is local pushback to the language, particularly when compared to English, which continues to be promoted in the age of technology and globalization. Indeed, the subtle yet consistent disregard for Kiswahili in much of East African language policy, despite its practicality as a lingua franca, is one of the “dissonant factors” behind the indispensability of English.

4.2.1 The Limitations of Kiswahili

Central to the pushback against Kiswahili as a lingua franca are the limitations of the language. Two key limiting factors are technology and geography. The internet, in particular, is a vehicle of development that has been linguistically rather one-sided. English has dominated East African internet usage for a variety of factors, one of which is that the computer has traditionally been a medium of *written* communication¹²⁵. The result has been somewhat of a linguistic monopoly by English on computers and internet usage in East Africa (as discussed in section 3.2), a market which Kiswahili is largely failing to penetrate. Mazrui (2008), in his research on language and internet use in Mombasa, Kenya, discovered a consistent bias towards English in regards to computer and internet use; in regards to Microsoft’s “localization” efforts to “computerize” Kiswahili (completed in 2005), respondents to Mazrui’s survey were mostly skeptical, as Mazrui (2008) explains: “apart from the fact that they were not familiar with the Kiswahili computer terminology, there was a general feeling that, in any case, such a terminology would be difficult to understand”¹²⁶ (200). Mazrui’s research suggests that English

¹²⁴ It could even be argued that a father’s language preferences are somewhat irrelevant, since the acquisition of one’s *mother* tongue in the earliest years of life does not depend primarily on the father.

¹²⁵ As discussed in section 3.1.4, most East Africans who “know English” write it better than they can speak it.

¹²⁶ Only a cumulative 27% of respondents said they were likely to utilize the newly translated Kiswahili software; a cumulative 45% said they were “quite unlikely” or “very unlikely” to do so (Mazrui 2008: 202).

gets the upper hand on the internet¹²⁷, partly because of the sheer abundance of (*written*) content in the language. Indeed, it is often argued that such a bias towards English on the computer is simply inevitable, particularly when the alternative is Kiswahili.

Like most African tribal languages, Kiswahili sometimes falls prey to a sociolinguistic phenomenon known as “linguistic prison” – the belief that the “local language cannot come up with new vocabulary needed to cope with new innovation and science and technology” (Mazrui 2014: 99-100). Such a belief goes hand in hand with a view of those languages that are more global as more advanced and, overall, superior. Mazrui (2014) chides the myth that Kiswahili cannot adapt to modernity and technological advances, noting the tendency by some East Africans to ignore or willfully resist new, official Kiswahili terminology (created by the Institute of Kiswahili Research) for items such as television (*runinga*) and air conditioner (*kikoyozzi*) (23). Such a trend may explain why code-mixing is so common, especially in Kenya (as discussed in section 3.1.4). Yet, “linguistic prison” is not a new phenomenon, even in association with Kiswahili; it largely predates the proliferation of technological development¹²⁸.

Beyond the realms of technology and internet, which only have a significant impact on a portion of East African society, geography plays a major role in limiting the knowledge and use of Kiswahili. Though its use has not been *isolated* to the Swahili Coast, proximity to the coast *has* had a corollary effect on its use and status. In the case of land-locked Uganda, Mukasa argued in 1937 that “the little Swahili that is spoken in Uganda (especially between foreigners and indigenous peoples) is not the real Swahili of the coast and hence unsuitable for use in the country” (84-85). In 1956, Whiteley wrote of its lack of sentimental value in Uganda, asserting that though Luganda “is unique in East Africa in the pride it evokes and the sense of identity which it bestows [...] no such pride [...] seems to be aroused by Swahili” (347).

The international level is where Kiswahili “struggles” the most, compared to bigger linguistic players which compete on a global stage. Mazrui & Mazrui outline the challenge that faces Kiswahili in an increasingly globalized world: “whether Kiswahili will be the first African language to have anything approaching a *universalist* role” (289). Indeed, even in international organizations as local as the re-established East African Community, with six members as of

¹²⁷ Respondents’ comments included the following: ‘English is just simpler’; ‘It is easier to browse in English’; ‘I cannot write fast enough in Kiswahili’; ‘I am just used to English’; ‘I cannot read Swahili very well’ (201).

¹²⁸ Whiteley (1956) critiqued popular arguments of “Swahili as being incapable of expressing the technical concepts of the twentieth century” (351). Harries (1969), writing about Tanzania, argued that “the only really mature works in Swahili belong to a life that is past, the life that has been rejected by the majority of the nation” (276) and that “Swahili is constantly having to catch up with development in the national life [...] [including] new terms, new concepts, new styles, which have no immediate equivalent in the national language” (277).

2016¹²⁹, English is the only official language, though Kiswahili is recognized as a lingua franca. The deeper question is whether having a “universalist role” is truly a criterion for the validity of a lingua franca. Yet, with other lingua francas as alternatives, it may very well be the case.

4.2.2 Kiswahili as Compared to Other Languages

The rich multilingualism of East Africa, coupled with the presence of two distinct lingua francas, has produced an interesting linguistic context in the region. Kiswahili, the most widespread local lingua franca, finds itself in a predicament – between the socioeconomic giant of English and the plethora of tribal languages¹³⁰ (especially in Tanzania¹³¹). Whiteley (1956), for example, argued that Kiswahili was simply “redundant” and asserted the “difficulty and wastefulness of making” East African children learn it (350). Ironically, Whiteley had, in the very same article, written of the “fashionable” trend of comparing “the language unfavourably with English” in academic circles, alluding to “the early prejudices against the Welsh language” in the 16th and 17th centuries (343). The author later asserted that a main reason for this condescension towards Kiswahili was the lack of literature in the language, which forced “the educated African to go elsewhere for his reading; not unnaturally he has turned to English” (352). Such statements seem to be indicative of the pre-independence time period, as they are echoed by other authors such as MacKenzie (1959), who argued that Kiswahili cannot “offer the eager young African scholar more than a minute fraction of what he can obtain through a world language such as English” (217). Indeed, if accessory (i.e. non-tribal) languages – particularly lingua francas – are simply a means to an end, then English would arguably be more valuable than Kiswahili. Yet, there is a linguistic predicament in East Africa (especially in Kenya and Uganda) between lingua francas and one’s tribal language.

Firm opposition to the idea of Kiswahili being used as the language of instruction is also common. For example, a cumulative 76% of survey respondents in rural Kisii, Kenya *disagreed* with the statement “I wish that all my school textbooks were written in Ekegusii [the local tribal language] or Kiswahili”; 34% “disagreed” and a noteworthy 42% “highly disagreed” (Michieka 2006: 91). Although inexplicit, it is highly likely that this was not because of Kiswahili itself, but rather the fact that such a policy shift would mean the substantial reduction of the use of *English* in the curriculum. In other words, there was a substantial pushback to Kiswahili when

¹²⁹ Created in 1967, collapsed in 1977, restored in 2000. Joined: Burundi & Rwanda (2007), South Sudan (2016).

¹³⁰ Mukasa (1937) argued that Kiswahili could never “express the African’s soul as his own language did” (85).

¹³¹ Statistics on the number of “living” tribal languages in East Africa (from section 3.2.2): 67 in Kenya, 125 in Tanzania, 41 in Uganda (Ethnologue.com).

it threatened the presence of English, whose indispensability is especially evident in Vavrus' summary of findings from her study in a Kilimanjaro secondary school; her "proposal to use Swahili as the medium of instruction throughout the education system but offer English as a subject taught by qualified bilingual teachers was roundly rejected" (390).

Economics is another area where Kiswahili seems to suffer by comparison to more global languages like English, as participation in the "world economy" as such grows increasingly important for the success of national economies. A potentially troublesome issue for proponents of Kiswahili is the extent to which it is possible to be economically successful in East Africa – on a personal and national level – without the asset of English. Kenya, for one, has been especially in favor of foreign investment in the context of their free market economy (in contrast to Tanzania's history with failed socialism). A news article on Tanzania's 2015 decision to make Kiswahili the sole language of instruction in all levels of public education expressed economic concern about the future: "The question then is this: can we be economically competitive on our own terms? [...] Only time will tell" (Mohammed). Could English be an economic savior for East Africa, or is its perceived economic value like a mirage? It appears that this policy in favor of Kiswahili for economic purposes is at the very least a risk.

4.2.3 Negative Opinions of Kiswahili

A focal point of negative opinions of Kiswahili is its tainted reputation, especially in Uganda. Indeed, Nakayiza explains that Kiswahili was "considered the language of the uneducated, the language of thieves and slave raiders [...] and the language used by the army to torture innocent people¹³²" (52). Yet, Kiswahili was stigmatized not only in Uganda; Whiteley noted that "Swahili traders", who were greatly responsible for the spread of Kiswahili into the mainland as far as the D.R.C., often had "unsavory reputations" (343). Since language is a tool, it is unfortunately utilized for both the noble and the ignoble.

Other negative opinions of Kiswahili which are noteworthy are various in nature. Some respondents to the aforementioned survey in Mombasa considered Kiswahili too difficult, making mention of the new draft of the Kenyan constitution that was very technical and complicated in nature (Mazrui 2008: 201). Reflecting somewhat of a colonist perspective, Whiteley in 1956 made the lofty statement that Kiswahili "cannot appeal to tribal sentiment,

¹³² Nakayiza shares an anecdote of how Kiswahili was at times used as a language of terror: "In Uganda, Swahili became marginalized because it was used by undisciplined soldiers (in the periods of political unrest, 1970-1985) who terrorised local people. This created negative associations with Swahili, connecting it to the times of political unrest. For instance, words like *'funguwa'* which means 'open' would leave everyone in a house terrified and running for their life because it was used by army or police patrols when invading private homes" (62).

nor can any gateway be opened as a result of proficiency in it' (351, italics added). Kiswahili has also been largely responsible for the language death of the many other tribal languages that were native to Tanzania, as Roehl observed in 1930 (194-195). Indeed, even the African language of Kiswahili incites opposition from some East Africans.

Chapter 5: The Indigenization Potential of English in East Africa

Once upon a time, Central and South America were about as multilingual as Africa. Their striking linguistic uniformity today – with Spanish and Portuguese being remarkably well-established and engrained in local cultures – is proof of the capability of a colonizer’s language to become indigenous overseas. After centuries¹³³ of settlement-style colonization (as in North America), the invading language eventually became not only dominant but self-sustaining among the native population, and local languages faded from popular use or died altogether. Though both the duration and style of colonization are two major differences between the history of Latin America and Africa, it is nevertheless stimulating to ponder the prospect of the indigenization¹³⁴ of English in Africa. It is observable that English has already become localized to a certain extent in pockets of East African society. However, *for society at large*, pro-English language policy seems like an impetuous attempt at defying gravity.

5.1 Evidence of Pro-English Language Shift

It is certainly evident that language shift¹³⁵ is taking place in East Africa, as lingua francas become increasingly in demand in a globalized world of ethnically diverse nations. Though language shift takes roughly three generations to occur (Mazrui 2014: 17), it is already an observable phenomenon in East Africa, as evidenced by the intensely positive popular opinion of English, the increase of bilingualism in English, the abandonment of local languages, as well as misconceptions leading to the idolization of English.

5.1.1 Positive Opinions of English

If there is one point in this research project that is absolutely indisputable, it is that East African society, as a whole, views (at least the idea of) English in an *overwhelmingly positive* way. Such a phenomenon suggests that language shift is taking place and will likely continue. Major themes revealed in these positive opinions are education, economics, power and respect, as well as an ambiguous interplay between genuine affection and simple pragmatism.

¹³³ For example, Brazil was established as a Portuguese colony in 1500, and their language “started to prevail” on the continent by the 1600s (Mufwene 3, 17). Brazil’s independence was official 325 year later, in 1825.

¹³⁴ Indigenization: the act of being made indigenous, that is “belonging to a particular place rather than coming to it from somewhere else” (Oxford Dictionary).

¹³⁵ Mazrui (2014) cites several definitions of language shift: “The replacement of one language by another as the primary means of communication and socialization within a community” (Swann 2009), and “a process whereby speakers of a language in a community gradually replace one language with another” (Fasold 1984) (16-17).

The indispensability of English in East Africa is especially evident in popular opinion surrounding its use in primary and secondary schools. Statistics from field studies by Michieka and Mazrui (2014), for example, show clear support for English as the language of instruction in public schools in Kenya and in Zanzibar. When asked which language they considered most important to learn, 78% of survey respondents in rural Kisii Kenya chose English, 13% chose Kiswahili, and 5% chose English and Kiswahili (Michieka 94). The ensemble of Michieka's study reveals that English is revered even (or *especially*) in rural areas, undoubtedly due to the poverty with which most rural areas struggle. Indeed, the benefit of English, whether merely perceived or truly concrete, can be quite irresistible to many East Africans¹³⁶. Nakayiza also notes the increasing value that Ugandan families place on English; she asserts that many urban middle-class families view English "as a vehicle of success" (137). There is thus a massive support for *its use as much as possible* in the schools – a central factor in language shift.

Though counterexamples may exist [i.e. popular opinion *against* English as the MoI], they would certainly be a matter of exception, even in Tanzania. In a survey on both islands of Zanzibar, 67% of survey respondents were in favor of *introducing* English as the language of instruction in the first five years of primary school¹³⁷; 75% were in favor of continuing the use of English as the MoI in secondary school (Mazrui 2014: 89). It is especially remarkable to note such support of English as the MoI in Zanzibar, given the intimate connection that the islands have with the Kiswahili language. Indeed, both the studies by Michieka and by Mazrui suggest that East Africans view *English as the indispensable language for instruction* in schools; *policy* (not necessarily popular opinion) in mainland Tanzania is the notable exception, with their 2015 decision to make Kiswahili the sole MoI in all levels of education¹³⁸.

The economic value of English seems to be the strongest factor in positive opinions of the language and in language shift. As Mary plainly stated in her interview, "you have to be able to speak it because it'll help you out career-wise". Survey results in rural Kisii Kenya reflected such a belief, with only a cumulative 19% of respondents agreeing with the statement "I don't think I will need English in my future job", and a cumulative 69% agreeing with the statement "People who speak English well get a well paying job" (Michieka 91). Mary's comments overall expressed that English was indeed a *necessity* for professional advancement.

¹³⁶ Whiteley in 1956 wrote of the "belief that mastery of the English language is the key to success in the material world" and that the language was "the gate of entry to a new world" (348).

¹³⁷ As noted in section 2.3.2, Zanzibar (not the Tanzanian mainland) made the decision in 2006 to make English the MoI in the last two years of primary school, a decision finally implemented in 2014 (Mazrui 2014: 144).

¹³⁸ Again, the Republic of Tanzania has both Union and Non-Union laws, the latter being laws that Zanzibar and the mainland can make independently, such as the MoI in primary and secondary school (Mazrui 2014: 3).

Due to its economic value, English is increasingly viewed as an *economic “savior”* (Mazrui 2014: 138). This is largely the case in East Africa on both the national as well as the individual level. Even Tanzania, which shows the strongest pro-Kiswahili sentiment in East Africa, has had to resort to English due to “the deteriorating economic situation” in their country (Mazrui & Mazrui 288). It could be argued that the economic prosperity of the former colonizer has (voluntarily and involuntarily) coaxed its former colonies into opting for its language (i.e. English) for economic benefit. A parallel can be made with the internet, a domain in which English certainly dominates over any East African language. Wa’Njogu argues that “many people see the Internet as a means for poor countries to leapfrog stages of development; they argue that the future of Africa lies in ‘digital bridges’”¹³⁹ (68). English seems to be *viewed* in a similar way, as a means for leapfrogging economic barriers that have long been present in Africa during and after colonization. As Mukasa put it in 1937, “English has all the advantages of the West that we need at the present time” (85). Indeed, British colonization was not only physical (i.e. a matter of resources); East African nations were able to a certain extent to observe the technology and “advantages” that the British Empire boasted. The treasuring of the English language after independence is proof that they were convinced of its value.

English is often so ideologically indispensable for personal employment that it can become a sort of precious *symbolic* asset in the *hope* of future employment, regardless of one’s current circumstances. Vavrus comments on such a phenomenon in summary of her field study:

Learning English has become an important form of symbolic capital that young people believe will help them improve their material conditions through employment [...] or through higher education abroad. These optimistic possibilities for the future are tempered by young people’s recognition of the difficulty of achieving these goals when jobs are scarce, salaries are low, and language skills are often limited even after 4 years of using English as the medium of instruction [in Tanzanian secondary school]. Despite these challenges, English remains inextricably linked to secondary school students’ identity as educated persons during uncertain economic times. (391-392)

This optimistic perception of economic security gained by a knowledge of English was the case even for graduates who were unemployed; English was still viewed as a priceless asset that would doubtlessly help them in some way in the future (388). Such an ideology is certainly shared, if not even stronger, in neighboring Kenya and Uganda. Indeed, it can be argued that, in regards to societal marginalization, English is seen as a priceless economic asset for citizens

¹³⁹ Indeed, the introduction in 2007 of an entirely wireless, cell phone-based mode of payment in Kenya and Tanzania, called *M-Pesa*, is an example of such beneficial leapfrogging development. This technology has greatly reduced the fraud that was rampant with physical cash.

on both sides of the fence – both the marginalized and the empowered. This economic indispensability is a central driving force behind pro-English language shift in East Africa.

Another theme in the highly positive opinion of English by East Africans is the issue of power and respect. English, like any language, is a tool in one's tool belt, yet one with special potential in East Africa. Nakayiza made the observation (from survey responses) that a Ugandan's choice of language is strategic, according to audience, setting and motive: "In Kampala [...] the use of English shows one's status (e.g. being educated, social and economic prosperity) or is aimed to attract respect from the public; while in particular settings like villages, a local language might be used to show solidarity and harmony, or a bigger language like English used to show a higher social status or power" (238). Such a sociolinguistic "game" is certainly not unique to East Africa, though the presence of two lingua francas *is* rather unique.

The social construct of "race" plays a role in this view of English as empowering and commanding respect. In interviews with Mary and Laura, a racial bias of European languages was mentioned. Mary said that, "in Kenya, and I guess a lot of African countries, white people are really sort of glorified". When asked if a "black" British person would be viewed in a similar way, Mary said that "they wouldn't have the same advantage as a white British person would, but they would have more of an advantage compared to a Kenyan, born and raised in Kenya". Laura confirmed such a racial bias, saying that "Cameroonian people will always think that white people are better than us – always better in terms of intellect, in terms of wealth". If these opinions are indicative of popular opinion, then it may be safe to say that (East) Africans view of European languages as powerful or commanding respect is correlated to racial bias.

It could be argued that gender also plays a role in the positive view of English for respect and power. In Mazrui's Mombasa study, 61% of female respondents preferred English for computer *usage*, compared to 34% of male respondents (2008: 202). Such statistics seem contradictory to the aforementioned statistics (in section 4.1.3), that Zanzibari mothers were more likely than fathers to want their *children* to *learn* Kiswahili. However, they *may* suggest that East African women themselves prefer using – or desire to learn – English as a social equalizer. After all, there is great disparity between education rates and gender in East Africa.

Given the abundance of positive public opinion towards English, it may be pondered whether such apparent unanimity is innate or learned. Michieka, for example, wondered whether the positive opinions expressed in response to her surveys were "a result of genuine love for English or because the students know that they do not have much choice" (109). Without a doubt, there *is* evidence of a genuine affection for English, especially among young East Africans, thanks especially to globalization and the media. Many of Mazrui's Mombasa

survey respondents evoked the “cool factor” of English, saying that Kiswahili was not “cool” enough comparatively (2008: 201). However trivial this type of reasoning may be, it nonetheless shows sentimental attachment to English. It can also be noted that one of the highest percentages in the quantitative results of Michieka’s field study in rural Kisii Kenya was indicative of a personal attachment to English: a cumulative 90% of survey respondents reported feeling “proud to say that they can speak English” (89). Nakayiza also commended the social liberty that English in Uganda could engender; she wrote that though English *is* used in Uganda as a “language of exclusion”, it also has a unique capacity for unity: “People from diverse language backgrounds are able to use it to communicate easily and freely without any prejudices” (58). Indeed, there is evidence of a natural appreciation of English as a language in and of itself.

There is also evidence of English being viewed positively simply because it truly is indispensable and there is no feasible alternative. Such a phenomenon was observed in a study by Vavrus, in which secondary school graduates in the Kilimanjaro area expressed that they were in favor of English as the MoI in secondary school because they felt the government was lacking the necessary resources to provide adequate secondary school education in Kiswahili; in other words, they supported the use of English as the language of instruction because there was no viable alternative (Vavrus 391). Mazrui (2008) asserts that there is no alternative to English if one wishes to advance socioeconomically in East Africa: “Since independence, socioeconomic advancement at the individual level and economic development at the national level have been pegged to the English language, both in policy and practice” (205). If English *is* indispensable for socioeconomic advancement, then the overwhelmingly positive opinion of English in East Africa is not at all surprising. After all, who doesn’t want advancement and development – for themselves, for their families, for their community, for their country? Though it may be interesting to ponder whether the nearly unanimous positive public opinion towards English stems from a genuine appreciation or more from unemotional pragmatism, it may very well be impossible to know for sure and ultimately insignificant, given its indispensability.

The many positive opinions of English in East Africa are indeed suggestive of language shift towards English, even if it is primarily on an ideological level for now. It surely seems that if all East Africans had the means to learn English, they would do so without a doubt, regardless of the implications for their tribal language. As English becomes more and more accessible, such a prospect is increasingly plausible.

5.1.2 Bilingualism

It should be noted that language shift is not instantaneous. Bilingualism¹⁴⁰ (e.g. in Kiswahili and English) is a necessary middle ground for the process to take effect. Indeed, it has been observed that some Kenyans, for example, find themselves in a peculiar sort of no-man's-land, without a clearly defined “native language”¹⁴¹. This phenomenon of disorienting multilingualism¹⁴² is certainly evidence of linguistic flux.

In 1998, H.M. Batibo came up with three stages that are “precursors” to language shift: “Mother-tongue monolingualism”, then “Bilingualism with dominant mother tongue” and lastly “Bilingualism with dominant second language” (Mazrui 2014: 20). In the African context, the mother tongue (i.e. tribal language) is getting rapidly encroached upon by the “dominant second language” – be it English or Kiswahili¹⁴³. Mazrui & Mazrui comment on the increasing prevalence of bilingualism in homes and its implications on language preference:

[Because] an increasing number of Africans who are growing up bilingual in English and their respective Afro-ethnic languages [and] [...] because the children are exposed to the ethnic language only in the home, while they get English both at home and in school, English begins to gain the upper hand. [...] Though bilingual, they may end up regarding English as more of their first language than their ethnic language. (287)

What is essential to note here is that English tends to have a sort of gravitational pull in regards to language use and preference, gaining an “upper hand” due to a plethora of reasons. While Kiswahili complicates this linguistic situation considerably – being a widespread lingua franca that, for most, is not their ethnic language – there is evidence that English is gaining the upper hand, even over Kiswahili, and even in bilingual contexts as intimate as the home.

Though the exposure of East African children to English at school is intentional according to policy (primarily in Kenya and Uganda), bilingualism in the *home* is evidence of language shift at a deep level. Mazrui (2014) studied language shift in Zanzibar in order to investigate whether the homeland of Kiswahili showed evidence of language shift towards English. Mazrui did report a change in language use in the home, contrasting research from

¹⁴⁰ The term “bilingualism”, for the purposes of this research project, can be defined as *knowing and using English* in addition to a traditionally “local” language – such as one’s tribal language and/or Kiswahili.

¹⁴¹ Mary (age 22) has lived in London for the past 10 years. She said in her interview that she knew English “the best”, though she did not consider herself a “native speaker” of English. With her parents as a child, she used Kiswahili (“I still remember quite a lot”) and English. She considers her mother tongue to be Kikuyu, though she only knows it limitedly.

¹⁴² Personal contacts in rural Migori County (Kenya) shared about how the region’s young people are linguistically “unmoored”, living in a language and culture vacuum. They are pulled between three different languages according to different contexts: using the tribal language at home, Kiswahili in primary school (being punished if they speak the tribal language), and then punished if they speak anything but English in secondary school.

¹⁴³ However, the same could be argued with Kiswahili as the “mother tongue” and English as the second language.

1990 that had shown that English was *not* used in Tanzanian homes with the findings from his field study: that English is indeed “encroaching on the home domain”¹⁴⁴ (125). Mazrui’s interpretation of responses by Zanzibari parents to an ensemble of questions was that 63% of surveyed parents were “technically in favor of bilingualism” (140). Since the parents’ language *preference* defines to a great extent their children’s language *acquisition* and *use*, this favoring of bilingualism is telling of future language shift. To no surprise, Nakayiza found an even stronger encroaching of English in Ugandan homes in the Kampala area; 20% of surveyed parents reported using and preferring the use of *only* English with their children at home, while 41% reported using both the “mother tongue” and English (Nakayiza 135).

It should be noted that significant language shift towards English manifested in bilingualism is not a widespread phenomenon in East Africa¹⁴⁵. However, there is evidence that East Africans are growing increasingly *accustomed to* and thus bilingual in English, especially those who are privileged with the access to the best resources and education (e.g. private schools in urban areas which have some English in their immediate environment, thanks to nationals and/or foreigners). While the exposure and access to English, as well as its use, are undoubtedly more common among the elite of East African society, Mazrui (2008) argues that “the spread of English in [Kenyan] society as a whole is by no means limited to the urban middle and upper classes” (197). The overwhelmingly positive popular opinion of English coupled with an increased exposure to the language is highly conducive to eventual language shift.

Indeed, the exposure of the average East African to English can be widely observed in both schools (with the exception of Tanzanian primary school) as well as readership. This exposure is conducive to bilingualism, whatever the extent. Even in Tanzania, there is evidence that English as the language of instruction is a well-established norm¹⁴⁶. The more children hear English at school – and the better that English is¹⁴⁷ – the more they will consequently use English themselves. As has already been discussed, English enjoys its strongest use and preference in the area of literature. In fact, a striking 0% of 111 respondents in rural Kisii Kenya reported *never* reading in English on a regular basis (Michieka 86). Regarding the preference of many Kenyans for newspapers in English, Mohochi noted that for many, newspapers were a

¹⁴⁴ For example, to the survey question “Which language do you use with your children at home?”, 22% of the surveyed Zanzibari parents responded both Kiswahili and English, and 1.6% responded English (only) (123).

¹⁴⁵ Yet, even an ideological shift towards the favoring of English suggests an eventual shift in actual language use, especially over several generations’ time.

¹⁴⁶ “Even some of the [Zanzibari] respondents who want Swahili to be the medium of instruction in the primary schools, want English to continue as the LoI in the secondary schools.” (Mazrui 2014: 137)

¹⁴⁷ Indeed, one of the hurdles to the indigenization of English in East Africa, as will be discussed in section 5.2, is the poor level of English of many school teachers. A student is not greater than his teacher.

means of practicing and improving their English and were not primarily used “as a source of information” (87). Certainly, written language and schools are two domains in which East Africans are growing increasingly accustomed to English on a regular basis, which leads to greater bilingualism, which in turn may make language shift imminent in East Africa.

5.1.3 English as a Threat to Local Languages

Whether voluntary or involuntary on the part of African policymakers, English has played a significant role in the abandonment of local languages (i.e. language shift), especially tribal languages. As ethnic communities become increasingly interconnected, the necessity of lingua francas increases, while tribal languages become less useful. Because most East Africans view English as a sort of promise of success on a variety of levels (e.g. educational, economic, social), local languages are largely being forgotten. English has a similar impact on Kiswahili to some extent, though Mazrui (2008) asserts that Kiswahili exhibits strong linguistic resistance to the “invasion” of English (for example, in politics) (207). If nothing else, the two lingua francas may be mutually compatible in a context of bilingualism, particularly in Kenya.

Given the need for a neutral lingua franca in these ethnically diverse nations (as discussed in section 3.1.1), excessive multilingualism can lead to language shift in favor of common languages (Mufwene 15). Uganda is arguably the most multilingual of the three East African countries¹⁴⁸. Yet, research from the greater Kampala area showed that only 34% of those surveyed used *only* the “mother tongue” when at home; such a small figure is even more surprising, given that most of those surveyed were “native speakers” of Luganda, a language that Nakayiza considers to be dominant in the country at large (135). It could be argued that Uganda’s continued multilingualism is facilitating the very death of these tribal languages.

Though Kiswahili *as a lingua franca* shows linguistic stability in regards to English, it should be noted that in areas such as Zanzibar, where it is *the tribal language*, there are signs of language shift towards English – at least a preference for bilingualism in the two languages. The 2006 decision to make English the MoI in the last two years of primary school in Zanzibar – a policy approaching that of Kenya and Uganda – shows a preference shift towards English and away from the tribal language (i.e. Kiswahili). Indeed, in the summary of his dissertation, Mazrui (2014) almost laments what he considers a compromise¹⁴⁹ in language policy: “The signs of language shift which have been seen to emerge in Zanzibar tarnish the image of

¹⁴⁸ According to Nakayiza, average Ugandans can have up to seven languages “in their language repertoire” (42).

¹⁴⁹ Of the 33% of survey respondents who were *not* in favor of introducing English as the MoI in all years of primary school, 96% said it was for reasons concerning the “mother tongue” [i.e. Kiswahili] (Mazrui 2014: 78).

Tanzania as an example of a nation with a successful indigenous language policy” (151). Certainly, the policy of language of instruction is a significant one, as it undoubtedly has an impact on a child’s language use and preference, regardless of his parents’.

It should be noted that the exposure to (some form of) English that *most* East African students get at school varies quite a bit, depending on various factors (most importantly the teacher’s level in English). Whatever this exposure may be at *school*, the potential for language shift is compounded when *parents* prefer English over local languages in the home, a domain that has traditionally been the haven for the “*mother tongue*” (i.e. tribal language). This is a phenomenon that is increasingly common among the elite in urban areas, especially with an international presence (e.g. capital cities). In 1993, Mazrui & Mazrui wrote of the somewhat outdated ideal of “mother tongue education” (i.e. the local tribal language as the MoI), asserting that it was “capitulating to the silent demands for English” (288). This demand for English is of course from parents, who understandably want only the best for their children and view English as indispensable to this end.

Mary’s parents, for example, never taught her their “mother tongue”, Kikuyu; they spoke English and Kiswahili at home. Her cousins, however, who grew up in rural Kenya, speak Kikuyu fluently, and do so even with Mary’s parents. Yet, this story is not unusual. Many parents make a sacrificial language choice¹⁵⁰, wanting their children to have the best possible chance at a more successful education. Because of language-in-education policies that are “dissonant” with the linguistic reality of *most* East African communities, many parents repress the use of their tribal language with their children; they do so not to voluntarily bring about the language death of their tribal language, but in order to privilege the language of Kenyan and Ugandan education – English. The tribal language thus becomes symbolic and accessory; English is the promise of success and a better future, and Kiswahili (or Luganda, for example) is the practical means of communicating informally with fellow citizens.

There is certainly evidence that East Africans parents are even *opposed* to the use of tribal languages in schools. In a 2010 press release by the Ugandan Ministry of Education, it was noted that many parents had a negative attitude towards the implementation of language policy from 1992 (White Paper) for the coordinated use of local languages as MoI; they thought that “teaching in local languages was a waste of time and would lead to poor results” (Nakayiza 152). Summarizing comments from survey respondents in Kampala, Nakayiza said about

¹⁵⁰ In Nakayiza’s study in the Kampala (UG) area, 30% of surveyed parents “preferred English over their first languages or mother tongues” for use with their children in the home because it is a necessary language (137).

Luganda, the majority language of the area, that “the attitudes towards its use in education today compared to English are not supportive at all” (154); this is the same language that she considers to be a *de facto* national language in Uganda. Indeed, English is viewed as indispensable by many parents in East Africa (especially Kenya and Uganda), even at the cost of tribal languages and despite the alternative of Kiswahili (or Luganda).

These signs of language shift (i.e. the gradual fading of the importance and use of tribal languages in East Africa) might be seen as evidence that linguistic “cultural alienation” (as discussed in 1.3) was indeed successful, especially *after* colonization. Norman MacKenzie, university English Professor in then-Rhodesia (modern-day Zimbabwe), almost showcased such an ideology in a 1959 article which appeared in the *International Review of Education*:

At school a study of *his vernacular will lead him backwards* into a past with which [the young African scholar] has generally scant sympathy, the very vocabulary and style having *changed since the dignified days of his grandfather*. In literature it has little of distinction to offer him - some elementary texts and translations, a handful of novels telling tribal stories *irrelevant to modern life*, tales of superstition which no longer hold him in their grip, a scatter of poems which *do not live with the zest and despair of today*. Through *English, on the other hand*, he can have access to innumerable sources of vital knowledge - on politics and health, on scientific and technical matters (*manuals about horse-power instead of legends about hares*), - and a religion which will at any rate stand modern investigation *better than his own*. No wonder the impatient African scholar calls out for more and more English [...] (217, emphasis added)

However exaggerated and condescending such comments and colonial-era ideologies may seem today, the linguistic reality in East Africa suggests that such a mindset has indeed largely won out, even if imperceptibly so. It was as if MacKenzie was foretelling the post-independence indispensability of English; it might even be argued that scholars like him were even responsible for instilling such an ideology. However, MacKenzie suggested that his point of view was shared locally; at the very beginning of his article, he quoted the editor of a tribal language newspaper, who had said, “African vernaculars are dying languages [...] The African is running away from his language and rightly so, for it has no future” (qtd. in MacKenzie 216). Such comments also find resonance with Whiteley, who, writing about the position of Kiswahili in East Africa in 1956, noted what he considered to be the “fact that Africans all over East Africa have been clamoring for more English to be taught and at an earlier stage in the school curriculum” (350). Indeed, the signs of language shift a half-century later are evidence that these authors’ brazen statements were nevertheless foretelling.

The gradual death of many East African tribal languages may be considered inevitable – if they themselves are permitting such a process to happen! It can be argued, however, that this is not a conscious choice, but a by-product of the insatiable quest for English – that they

are losing the linguistic identity of their ancestors for a shot at a better economic and social standing. Though subconscious for many, this loss is poignant. Especially telling is a response of one survey respondent from rural Kisii Kenya who considered the local tribal language Ekegusii as the language children should learn first; the reasoning given for such a response – which Michieka translated from Ekegusii – was the following: “It is our mother tongue and whoever forsakes his tradition is a slave” (qtd. in Michieka 99). This forsaking of linguistic tradition is certainly a dissonant factor behind the indispensability of English in East Africa.

5.1.4 Common Misconceptions of English

Contributing also to language shift in East Africa are prevalent misconceptions about English. These misconstrued ideas are transmitted across communities and generations. They are reinforced by *and* further cement *language policy which favors English as indispensable despite dissonant factors*, many of which have already been discussed (e.g. the hurdle of English as the MoI, increased marginalization, the practicality of Kiswahili, etc.). Several examples of misconceptions that will be presently discussed pertain to education: English as the medium of instruction, as defining one’s level of education, and as a sort of elixir.

An overall retention of colonial policy prescribing English as the MoI in the majority of East African schools (notable exceptions being primary schools in Tanzania, rural Uganda and rural Kenya) is indeed reflective of the value attributed to English. However, there is a *major* misconstrued ideology among East Africans that is largely responsible for such a retention of policy: *that keeping English as the MoI will result in a child’s proficiency in the language*. As has already been discussed in sections 2.2.3 and 2.2.4, the often-considerable discrepancy between *policy* and *reality* is where such an ideology becomes a misconception – wishful but erroneous thinking. Indeed, Tanzanian *English* professor Martha Qorro has been a proponent of *removing English as the MoI* in Tanzanian secondary schools, a policy which was finally passed in 2015. In her rebuttal to an editorial in Tanzania’s *The Guardian* newspaper, Qorro acknowledges that her proposal is hit with much dissent because most assume that policy prescribing the use of English as the MoI will result in students mastering English. She essentially exposes the fallacy behind such an idea, asserting that a change to *Kiswahili* as the MoI would actually *improve* the quality of *English* that is taught (as a foreign language subject), by “eliminating the huge amount of incorrect English to which our secondary school students are exposed” and entrusting it to those who are specifically trained to teach the language, which is “a specialized field just like History, Geography, Physics” (qtd. in Brock-Utne 182). She also mentions the immense benefit for all domains of learning, which are currently being taught in

a language that many students (and teachers) either struggle to understand or simply do not (see section 2.2.3 and 2.2.4). A dissonant factor to the indispensability of English in East African language policy which is especially sobering is the fact that many students in East Africa who lack the necessary resources to learn English *are simply not getting a thorough education in any subject* because the medium of instruction is not a language in which they can (easily) learn or be taught. Yet, the misconception of MoI for language learning continues to propagate itself.

Another misconception surrounding English in East Africa is that he who knows and speaks English is educated, and inversely, he who does not (or especially, cannot) use English is not educated. Again, this misconception is *based* on a genuine correlation between English and education – because English is not easily acquirable in most places in East Africa apart from the classroom. Of the Kampala area, Nakayiza asserts that “because English is mainly acquired in school, most illiterate people will not be able to speak English but will speak Luganda, which associates Luganda with illiteracy” (140). In other words, if you are educated, why would you not speak in English as much as possible, especially for fear of being labelled uneducated? Another factor is the all-important national exit examinations which are in English; many associate a student’s performance on these multi-subject exams with his proficiency in English (Mazrui 2014: 81). The reasoning here is that if a student is intelligent, he will be so *in English*. Such a misconception contributes to further language shift in East Africa, where education is preciously valued and English is viewed as indispensable.

English is also at times viewed as if it had magical qualities. Whiteley, in 1956, noted that “in not a few cases the acquisition of English seems to be regarded less as a course of study than as a pill to be swallowed, giving instantaneous results” (348). While this statement is perhaps not surprising given the context of the colonization era, the same comment could be made of East Africa today. Mazrui (2014) notes that some African parents genuinely believe that European languages are indispensable for education (28). Whether such a belief is a result of or a contributing factor to education policy might be impossible to ascertain. What is indisputable is that there is evidence of language shift towards English in East Africa. Given such evidence, as well as the essentially unanimous pro-European language policy in East Africa (and many African nations), it might be speculated that the linguistic effects of globalization are leading humanity back to a sort mono-linguistic Tower of Babel¹⁵¹.

¹⁵¹ For the corresponding excerpt from the Bible, see footnote on page 7.

5.2 Hurdles to the “Africanization” of English

Only time will tell whether or not English will linguistically take over East Africa, even despite the well-established presence of Kiswahili. In 1959, MacKenzie almost boasted of the inevitability of English in East Africa, drawing reference to the linguistically threatened Welsh language¹⁵² (218). One might argue that, given the indigenization of Spanish (and Portuguese) in South and Central America, the same is possible for English in East Africa. However, there are significant differences between the two cases. Indeed, there are substantial hurdles to the widespread “Africanization” of English in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, one of which is Kiswahili (as discussed in Chapter 4). Other hurdles that will be presently discussed are cycles of impoverishment, the struggle to become localized, as well as negative opinions of English.

5.2.1 Impoverishment: Vicious Cycles and Circular Reasoning

As evoked in section 1.3, the British became guarded about their language during the period leading up to WWII. Though the extent could be disputed, language policy for the remainder of the British colonial era in East Africa was undoubtedly flavored by such wariness. Consequently, it is not pure coincidence that East Africa has struggled with falling standards of English¹⁵³. MacKenzie, an English professor in Zimbabwe during colonial times, decried in 1959 the vicious cycle of poor English in African education systems at large, pointing out what he considered a glaring problem: the lack of teacher language proficiency for teaching in English as the MoI. MacKenzie said of the teachers, “Their standard of English is disturbing: it is not uncommon to find glaring error in grammar and spelling written in perfect script on the blackboard for all to copy” (219). Given the absolute authority that most African teachers have, it is indeed understandable why such a phenomenon would be detrimental to learning. Though his article was on Africa as a whole, he made specific mention of Uganda – that “scarcely one teacher in five¹⁵⁴ is considered by the Education Department qualified to teach through English [i.e. as a MoI]” (219). MacKenzie warned of the ramifications of such a defective education (with erroneous English as the MoI), asserting that “the benefit derived by a group of school-

¹⁵² “Against the forces of English even Welsh, a beautiful Western language with a rich and distinctive literature stretching back many hundreds of years, is waging a desolate battle. There are pessimists who predict that within twenty years [from 1959] Welsh will be found in a museum of languages” (MacKenzie 218).

¹⁵³ In comparison to the settlement model of Iberian (i.e. Spanish & Portuguese) colonization in Latin America, the simple lack of “native English speakers” *living* in the East African colonies was undoubtedly a major factor in the limited access and exposure to English in East Africa.

¹⁵⁴ Such a figure resonates with comments by Tanzanian professor Martha Qorro, who in 2002 made mention of a certain Tanzanian secondary school, whose headmaster “once admitted that, of the 45 teachers in his school, only 3 understood English well and used it correctly” (qtd. in Brock-Utne 181, cited already in section 2.2.4).

children from a whole year's teaching in English given by an unqualified African can be almost negligible" (220). He asserted that not only was the benefit for students "negligible", but the product was lackluster: "They regard language as something designed for politely handing back to examiners information which they already possess, or for making innocuous and unoriginal statements whose sole merit will lie in their grammatical blamelessness" (221). Yet ironically, MacKenzie was not writing in opposition to the use of English but for a reforming thereof.

Nearly sixty years later, MacKenzie's comments still largely ring true; the very same problems can be widely observed in East Africa today. This lack of qualified teachers and resources for the use of English as the MoI seems to be creating a vicious cycle, which produces *many* dropouts and *some* graduates – not to mention future teachers! Martha Qorro, even as an *English* professor, is a proponent of Tanzania *dropping* English as the MoI in secondary schools. In 2002, she said, "the use of English as a medium¹⁵⁵ actually defeats the whole purpose of teaching English language". She shared the reasoning for her proposal: "If we want to improve the teaching and learning of English in Tanzania secondary schools, I believe that has to include the elimination of incorrect English to which students have been exposed from the time they began learning it" (qtd. in Brock-Utne 181). If the trend she described is not reversed, there is almost no hope that this vicious cycle will remedy itself; the result is miseducation, as Ngonyani laments¹⁵⁶. Yet, this phenomenon is exclusive neither to Tanzania nor to education.

Such a vicious cycle – of the indispensability of English, the burden it causes, which then further cements the norm – is evident even in the highest echelons of society. The irony of such a trend, in which *English is propagated as indispensable despite many dissonant factors*, is well depicted by a Ugandan newspaper article from 2010, which Nakayiza cites:

The members of parliament are conspicuous by their silence in the House due to their *inability to articulate views in logical and accurate English*. In spite of the high illiteracy rates in the country, it is *claimed that English is understood by very many Ugandans*. If that is the case, why then should parliamentary candidates not address rallies in English, the language they will use in Parliament if elected? What's the point in 'blowing' all your Luganda, spiced with convincing jargon, during campaigns to try and impress the electorate...*yet you can't even translate your Luganda into intelligible parliamentary English?* [...] *Yet the civilized world has accepted English as indispensable*. (qtd. in Nakayiza 170-171, italics added)

¹⁵⁵ The distinction between English as *the* language of instruction for *all* subjects and English as a foreign language subject in and of itself (and taught by a teacher specialized in the subject) is a very important one.

¹⁵⁶ "As long as students spend five years in [Tanzanian] primary schools learning English with the same unqualified and unmotivated teachers, and with no books or supplementary materials, English proficiency will not improve. In such a situation, English contributes only to miseducation. In essence, the current language policy concerning the medium of instruction [i.e. English as the MoI in secondary] cannot be implemented because schools are not prepared to use English as the medium of instruction and teachers are not proficient to teach it" (Ngonyani 416).

The underlying motive for the continued use of English in this quote is to “impress the electorate” and get elected. Not only is the author arguing that Ugandans do not widely understand English, but that many elected officials do not either. Yet, for whatever variety of reasons, the vicious cycle is nevertheless propagated and English remains promoted at all costs. The result is that practical local languages are undervalued and English becomes impoverished.

Another example of the impoverishment of English in East Africa is in circular reasoning surrounding the language. Two such examples are discussed by Mazrui (2014) during his synthesis of survey responses in Zanzibar. He notes that it is common for Tanzanians to think that since English will be used in secondary schools, it is advisable to *start English as early as possible* (81); indeed, it is no secret that the transition to English as the sole language used for teaching all subjects is a very difficult one, especially in rural areas. While such an argument could be considered logical, a crucial factor is whether or not the school system in question has the proper means (e.g. teachers, resources) to teach correct English “as early as possible”. Yet, such an argument is ultimately circular reasoning. Seemingly absent from this reasoning is the possibility of English *not* being the *MoI* for *all* school subjects in secondary school but rather *a foreign language subject*. But, again, English is viewed as indispensable; if its use in education is a theoretical possibility, it is preferred at all costs and as much as possible. Any English is better than *less* English. A similar example of circular reasoning is that because the national examinations at the end of secondary school are in English, the *MoI* needs to remain English to prepare students for these exams (which are the dominant focus of most of East African education) (Mazrui 2014: 96). Again, absent from this argument is the idea of the language of examination being changed from English to Kiswahili, a language much more readily understood by the entire population.

A third example of circular reasoning is when English is the problem and the solution. Vavrus concluded from her study that “[secondary school graduates] were well aware of the barrier to learning that English [as the *MoI*] poses at the secondary level, but their solution was to intensify the use of English rather than abandon it” (390). Again, English is clearly considered indispensable; consequentially, everything else must bend in order to compensate for the burden that it is to many. This is indeed a substantial “dissonant factor” behind the indispensability of English in East African policy. Yet, this phenomenon is not unique to Tanzania. National student success rates for Uganda from 2003 to 2007 confirm the barrier that English is, even in Uganda, with 34% - 46% of students proficient in English after year 3 of primary school and 20% - 50% proficient after primary year 6 (Nakayiza 47). Yet, English as the *MoI* continues largely unchallenged in Kenya and Uganda, and a major side effect is the

impoverishment of generation after generation, though some manage to acquire an education and a good command of English.

5.2.2 Localization: School & Work

As Kiswahili has struggled to gain an international role, English has had the opposite challenge: becoming localized. This is perhaps the largest hurdle to English becoming indigenous (i.e. linguistically stable and self-sustaining) in East Africa, as the language is largely isolated to the formal sector – most notably school and work.

English *is* being learned locally in East Africa. Yet this learning is isolated *in large part* to the classroom, especially in rural areas and cities without an international presence¹⁵⁷. Mazrui & Mazrui note that English in East Africa has to be learned formally, which is the exact opposite case of Kiswahili, which is often learned so informally (e.g. subconsciously) that it is sometimes overlooked or looked down upon¹⁵⁸ (284). Consequently, if and when one is no longer in school or in a white-collar job situation, the exposure to and need for English is greatly reduced. Such a phenomenon is noteworthy, given the fact that many East Africans (especially girls) do not finish secondary school, some not even finishing primary school. As Nakayiza notes, once Ugandans finish school, they “tend to lose their fluency in English easily because it is not used in daily language communication” (57). In other words, English is not localized; it is mostly isolated to the classroom. Ngonyani notes the Tanzanian equivalent, that many primary school graduates “have little use for English [which they learned as a language subject] since they do not go on to higher education” (412). Indeed, statistics have shown that as few as 15% of Tanzanians continue school after primary school (Vavrus 387-388). So, while policy prescribes the teaching *in* English (i.e. as the MoI) in most levels of East African education, it is safe to say that this is the only significant exposure that *most* students will have to English, except for the privileged few with the necessary means to acquire and be informally exposed to English.

The professional sector¹⁵⁹ is another area of East African society in which English is present and, to some extent, localized. Yet there is evidence that this presence is not indicative of the role of English in society at large, but rather of a sort of linguistic island. For example,

¹⁵⁷ Michieka’s research in rural Kisii Kenya showed that students clearly used English more at school than at home (80). Mazrui’s research in Zanzibar (2014) revealed that though most Zanzibaris viewed English in a very positive way – many wanting its use even as the MoI in all of primary school – the majority of survey respondents reported using *only* Kiswahili at home, though they were in favor of the *idea* of bilingualism (147).

¹⁵⁸ Mufwene notes that Spanish in Latin America is so indigenized and informally learned that it is sometimes sub-standard (i.e. not “proper Spanish”) because its knowledge and use does not depend upon an education (22).

¹⁵⁹ It should be clarified that “professional” for the purposes of this research project invokes the “world” of white-collar jobs, and not the many informal blue-collar and manual labor jobs that are almost limitless in nature.

Mary spoke of how necessary English was “career-wise”, though she said that “for everyday life it’s not that important”¹⁶⁰. She also thought that the only time one would observe Kenyans speaking “pure” English to one another (i.e. with no code-mixing) was in the news and other “formal settings”, such as an interview. When asked if English was ever “necessary” in Kenya, she said, “In anything that’s not professional, English is not that much of a necessity”. While it is true that English is still used even when it is not a necessity, there is abundant evidence that the use of Kiswahili or another local language is by far more common and natural in such an informal setting. English is considered professional, yet somewhat isolated to such a domain.

A major theme in responses to Nakayiza’s field study in Kampala concerning the use of English at work was with one’s superiors. As one respondent said, “If I have never interacted casually or informally with my boss, then English is the language to use” (286). Again, English *is* used, but often as the formal language that *should* be used in certain cases. Another survey respondent spoke of the formal stigma that English has:

Just imagine if we have lost somebody, there is no way I can speak to [my boss] in English at a funeral, talk about our cultural functions like *Kwanjula* [‘engagement ceremony’]. I cannot! There is time and place for everything. English is used at the work place, not at such other cultural or traditional functions in the village. *Oluzungu lulina we lukoma* [‘the use of English has a limit’]. (qtd. and translated in Nakayiza 29)

This quote helps bring to light the formal stigma of English and its lack of localization in East Africa, which is a dissonant factor behind its ideological indispensability. Indeed, its reputation as a language representing education and professionalism has been a contributing factor to language shift. However, it can be argued that this reputation is *also* indicative of a hurdle to its indigenization – that is, the isolation of English to the classroom and the professional world.

5.2.3 Localization: Foreign & Urban

A major hurdle to the indigenization of English in East Africa is the extent to which its localization is geographically limited. In spite of the forces of globalization and urbanization, English has failed to permeate East African communities outside of urban areas. Mazrui & Mazrui contrast the linguistic situation in former British colonies with the former French colonies, the latter having a greater “feel” for French than their “Anglophone” counterparts (285). Though the authors point out the difference between the models of colonization (France using a policy of “cultural assimilation” and Britain of “indirect rule”), the contrast with Iberian

¹⁶⁰ The same can be said of Tanzania, though this is less surprising given the extent to which Kiswahili is embraced in the country. Brock-Utne wrote that “in actual fact there are not many Tanzanians who need English in their daily lives, as all communication outside the classroom is either in vernacular languages or in Kiswahili” (180).

colonization in Latin America is also telling. The *settlement* style of Iberian colonization, in which Europeans (i.e. “native speakers”) came and lived among – that is, in superiority to – the colonized, resulted in a consequential linguistic contact between *the* dominant language and the many diverse linguistic groups. Given the *comparatively* limited presence of Europeans in East Africa during the approximately eighty years of colonization, it is no wonder that their language, though highly revered, has remained largely foreign to the average East African.

In a 1976 article, Harries affirmed the foreignness of English in Kenya, in reference to their decision just two years prior to recognize Kiswahili as their national language: “The political decision to opt for English as the national language would be tantamount to making a public declaration in favour of what is foreign, however familiar English may be to Kenyans, especially in the urban areas” (156). It is interesting to note that however familiar English may be “in the urban areas”, Harries considered it markedly foreign. Nakayiza affirmed a similar notion – that English simply cannot express Ugandan national identity (55). Personal interviews also gave clarity on the extent to which the former colonizer’s language, though respectable in and of itself (and spoken excellently by the interviewees), was nonetheless foreign¹⁶¹. MacKenzie also described such foreignness when writing in 1959 about the idea of introducing English as the MoI in African primary schools:

My hesitation arises from observing not merely Africans, but students in general whose education has been conducted entirely through a foreign medium, and with a content drawn to an overwhelming degree from a foreign culture. The effect on such people is precisely what we might predict: however diligently they work, they are like a man with a grafted skin, where the delicate sensitivity of the nerves has not yet grown again, so that his contact with his surroundings is uneasy and coarsened. (221)

MacKenzie expresses concern about the debilitating side effects of an education that is conducted solely in a language that is foreign. Yet ironically, such an idea is perhaps rarely considered, given the overwhelmingly positive regard East Africans have for English. If nothing else, the foreignness of English is a limiting factor in its potential indigenization.

As discussed in section 3.3, the presence of English in East Africa is most strong in urban areas, with rural areas having a comparatively insignificant access to English (Mazrui 2008: 197). This marginalization is indeed a substantial hurdle to the language becoming

¹⁶¹ Mary (Kenya): “In casual situations, just speaking English to each other is a bit weird. Even now, if I meet someone who is Kenyan who speaks English to me, I’m like, ‘Why are they speaking English to me?’” Lilian (Burundi): “In my heart Kirundi is my mother tongue. I mean it would be crazy to say that I was born and raised in Burundi, around Burundian people, and say French is my mother tongue”.

indigenous in East Africa on a large scale¹⁶², as many attempt to move to cities in the quest for English¹⁶³. As a result, rural areas become, in regards to *English*, a sort of linguistic wasteland. Those who cannot – or for whatever reason do not – move to the city revere English as if from afar, as Nakayiza describes in the summary of her field study in Uganda:

As observed during this study, English has increasingly become important to families, especially urban middle-class families, who look at this language [i.e. English] as a vehicle to success. However, although rural and low-income families continue to admire and appreciate the use of English, and the status and prestige associated with it, its use was not a practical solution to their needs. (137)

Since language is, after all, primarily a means of communication, such a lack of “need” for English in rural areas is not at all conducive to language shift. Yet, the indispensability of English on a national (and ideological) level lives on, with cities as well as overseas countries almost viewed as castles of the language and its promise of success. This marginalization only serves as a hurdle to the potential indigenization of English in East Africa as a whole.

5.2.4 Negative Opinions of English

Though relatively rare, there are those that have plainly negative opinions of English in East Africa. These negative opinions are indicative of the hurdles in the indigenization of the English language in East Africa. One factor is age, given that the end of colonization was less than sixty years ago. When asked during her interview what the general sentiment of Kenyans was towards the former colonizing country, Mary said, “The older, older generation, they’re not too fond of westerners; they grew up during the colonization times, when they were really oppressed. I don’t think they have an optimistic view.” A statement of this sort is not surprising, though her very next comment was telling: “Weirdly enough, people who were born towards the end of colonization (late 50s and onward) or after, we esteem the western cultures - it’s inspirational”. It should be noted that such a statement may be more indicative of Kenya’s relationship with “western cultures” than Africa in general. Laura, for example, had a very different opinion about the situation in Cameroon, saying that even young people and urban residents feel resentment and mistrust towards foreigners, especially their former colonizers¹⁶⁴.

¹⁶² It should not be forgotten that in order for a language to become well established and locally appropriated, it must be significantly present in the immediate linguistic environment – and present in diverse geographic areas. Languages can never become nationally indigenous in isolated domains such as school and the professional world.

¹⁶³ Mufwene alludes to a similar historical phenomenon in Brazil: that of “rural exodus” and the ensuing “pressure on incoming Native Americans to adopt [the urban] vernacular: Portuguese” (14).

¹⁶⁴ Laura: “Many Cameroonians still have an anger against foreigners because they feel like foreigners always want to steal everything from us. [...] ”A lot of Cameroonians feel that France is still stealing things from us and still manipulating our government [...] *qu’ils exploitent nos terres*”.

English is also seen as having a detrimental effect on African languages and cultures¹⁶⁵. In 1972, East African Muslim scholar Muhammed Kasim, expressed his wariness of English, which he nevertheless considered indispensable:

We have no alternative but to study and know English, because today English is the language of livelihood. But we must not forget that there is also the larger world of religion and our traditions. If we are not careful the English language will swallow us completely – even our thoughts will now be cast in an English mode. The danger of English must be tempered by the wisdom encapsulated in both Arabic and Kiswahili. (qtd. and translated from Kiswahili in Mazrui 2008: 203)

Such an opinion on the “danger of English” – that it will “swallow us completely” – is certainly indicative of a cautious wariness in regards to the potential indigenization of English in East Africa. It could even be argued that Sheikh Kasim views English as somewhat of a “necessarily evil”. Kenyan professor Mohamed Hassan Abdulaziz seemed to express remorse about the prospect of the linguistic invasion of English, when he wrote in 1974, “It will be a sad day when a section of our African population cannot express themselves except in a European language” (qtd. in Harries 1976: 159). Certainly, language is a most intimate thing, and especially significant¹⁶⁶ in linguistically rich and diverse places like Africa.

English can also quite simply be an emotional burden. Michieka describes English in rural Kisii Kenya as not having much “social support”, giving the anecdote of a boarding school in Kenya: “The school is often quiet and dull on the days when English is supposed to be the only language used, but it springs back to life on the days when students are allowed to use Kiswahili” (107). Yet the morale of students is not a high concern for policymakers.

As has been previously discussed, English is the vehicle for a considerable amount of marginalization in East Africa, as Nakayiza and Nabea quite overtly assert¹⁶⁷. A statement by Mohochi about Kenyan television broadcasts is simple yet poignant: “The continued use of English remains problematic and - although many find it an unacceptable truth in this day and age - *English remains a language that many rural and some sectors of urban society do not understand*” (90, italics added). Such a statement exposes a fundamental “dissonant factor” behind the indispensability of English, “although many find it an unacceptable truth”.

¹⁶⁵ Neo-Colonialism would argue that this is on purpose; others might argue that such death is inevitable.

¹⁶⁶ Again, the words of one survey respondent from rural Kisii Kenya are poignant: “It [Ekegusii] is our mother tongue and whoever forsakes his tradition is a slave” (qtd. in Michieka 99).

¹⁶⁷ “English is not as neutral as is assumed and it is one of the causes of power and social-economic divisions in society” (Nakayiza 142). “English is divisionary in that it creates a chasm between the elite and the masses” (Nabea 127).

Chapter 6: Field Study in Kenya & Tanzania

During the course of this two-year research project, it became increasingly evident that a trip to East Africa was not only ideal but also feasible. Thanks to networking, it was possible to make plans to visit three areas: Nairobi, rural Migori County (Kenya), and even a small town in the Mara Region (Tanzania). A primary objective of the three-week trip was to develop and administer a survey on language proficiency, opinion, and use, as will be discussed presently.

6.1 Survey: Methodology

What follows is a discussion of the preparation and logistics of the language survey, including its structure, its participants and how the survey was distributed and administered.

6.1.1 Survey Design

In preparation for the field study, I consulted the three doctoral dissertations cited throughout this thesis (Mazrui 2014, Michieka 2006, Nakayiza 2013). The methodology for their studies on language use and attitude in Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar was a helpful starting point. I based several of my questions on the ones used in their surveys, taking liberties to modify things as I saw fit. Their reflections on their own studies were also taken into account, and I tried to shape my survey in a way that might even supplement their research. There were also several subjects in particular (e.g. language of national examinations, differentiating between writing/speaking/reading/listening skills) that I felt were not adequately addressed in the aforementioned dissertations; these were areas that I wanted my survey to explore.

The issue of medium was initially troublesome. It took much reflection and correspondence with locals to find a feasible solution. It seemed ideal to take advantage of technology, but the potential limitations that this could entail were numerous; the initial options considered were sending out a Microsoft Word document or a fillable PDF that could be edited and emailed back. Though one correspondent said that this might be possible, it was decided that the risk of participants making technological errors or simply not having the proper software or devices to access the electronic version of the survey was too great. Though quite time-consuming to configure, an online survey tool was decided upon as the best solution, and a website by the name of “Survey Planet” was chosen. Though the potential audience was still limited due to the need for a device with internet access, the ease of distribution, as well as the automaticity of survey administration and the tabulation of results were highly positive factors.

Paper surveys were a necessity in order to broaden the pool of potential participants beyond those with access to technology and internet; my intent, albeit ambitious, was to reach as vast a demographic as possible. Language was a significant factor therein. Thanks to local contacts, the entirety of the survey (i.e. instructions and questions) was translated into Kiswahili by a resident of Nairobi and back-translated¹⁶⁸ by a resident of Dar es Salaam. This translation was incorporated into both the online and paper versions of the survey, which were bilingual¹⁶⁹.

During the design process, the survey was modified in an attempt to maximize participation; it was eventually organized into four distinct parts of approximately eighteen questions each. It was realized that the order of the questions should be strategic, given that not all participants would finish the entire survey, and that mental sharpness would probably diminish as they progressed through the survey. Major factors dictating this order were the importance of questions (i.e. questions whose responses I was most interested in), and also the potential controversy or tediousness of certain questions. The questions I was most interested in were put near the beginning of the survey so as to obtain a maximum amount of responses. The most potentially controversial question was about the 2015 Tanzania decision to make Kiswahili the sole language of instruction. This question was strategically put at the bottom of page four (of ten), near the beginning of part two, in an attempt to make it inconspicuous to the survey participant¹⁷⁰. The most tedious section was a series of questions on the participants' language use in a variety of contexts: which languages they used, and which one language they used the most, in twenty-two contexts. This section was put at the very end of the survey.

The online version of the survey, though identical (and bilingual) in all its directions and questions, had unique characteristics. A potential problem was the fact that, if an online participant did not have the time or the desire to finish the entirety of the survey and they closed the webpage, none of their responses would be logged. Thus, the option was added, at the end of Part 2 and Part 3, for participants to finish the survey early or continue on with the next Part. It was decided to purposely *not* give them this choice after Part 1, because this might have resulted in some participants only completing 25% of the survey. However, there were certainly

¹⁶⁸ Translation is typically a one-way process of rewriting a document from, say, English into Kiswahili. Back-translation can be useful for exposing errors (whether simple or subtle). A *second* person who has *not* seen the original document (e.g. in English) translates the *translated* document back into its original language (e.g. English), and *then* compares this back-translation (in English) with the original document (in English). Sections needing improvement or correction are thus more obvious, and revisions are made to the *translated* document. The result is a translation that has been double-checked by an impartial audience.

¹⁶⁹ For a copy of the paper survey, see Appendix F, p. 145.

¹⁷⁰ The risk with such a question was not primarily that participants would get upset and stop taking the survey, but more that it would influence the rest of their responses because of an emotional reaction to the question.

advantages to the online version of the survey; the program ensured that participants followed the instructions (e.g. “choose only one”) and answered every question. Indeed, errors were prevalent in responses to the paper surveys.

6.1.2 Survey Participants

There was a total of 65 survey participants, and they were solicited in a rather controlled manner. I was warned to be cautious in requesting participants, as I was told that East African countries can be quite suspicious of foreigners and research carried out in-country. This was easier to manage with the paper surveys, as they were given to and returned by local contacts who were part of the communities. As for the online surveys, it was advisable to only email the survey link to personal contacts, who then transmitted the link to their personal contacts.

Out of the 65 completed surveys, 24 were online and 41 were in-person (i.e. paper). In the instructions, it was specified that only citizens of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda were eligible to participate. There were 5 participants whose responses were not compiled due to other ineligibility. Out of the 24 online participants, 4 were living outside of East Africa (3 in the U.K. and 1 in the U.S.); their answers were discarded because they might not have been indicative of the situation *in* East Africa. Out of the 41 “paper participants”, one was deaf and mute and communicated in sign language; his responses were also not counted, as his language use was such a unique case. There was thus a *total of 60 eligible participants (20 online, 40 paper)*, whose responses will be discussed in section 6.2.

There were three predominant sample groups: 18 residents of a small town in the Mara Region of northwest Tanzania, 16 residents in a rural farm community in Migori County in southwest Kenya, and 26 urban residents (mostly online participants, almost entirely Nairobi residents). Out of the 40 eligible *paper* participants, 18 were from the Mara (“TOWN”) sample, 16 from the Migori (“RURAL”) sample, and 6 were from the “URBAN” sample (5 were Nairobi residents; 1 was a resident of Dar es Salaam). Out of the 20 eligible *online* participants, all 20 were considered part of the URBAN sample: 16 were residents of the greater Nairobi area, 3 lived elsewhere in Kenya (Nakuru and Eldoret) and 1 was a resident of Dar es Salaam.

In addition to a mostly rural demographic, the breakdown of age shows that the survey participants were on average rather young (i.e. 52% were age 29 or younger): 15% of participants were 10-17 years old, 17% were 18-23 years old, 20% were 24-29 years old, 17% were 30-39 years old, 17% were 40-49 years old, 10% were 50-59 years old, and 2% were 60-69 years old. The breakdown of gender was 60% male, 40% female. A total of 65% of survey respondents were Kenyan citizens; the remaining 35% were Tanzanian.

6.1.3 Survey Administration

Of the three-week trip to Kenya and Tanzania, approximately one week was spent making on-the-ground modifications and preparations to the survey. Results were gathered for the better part of two weeks. A hyperlink to the survey was emailed to personal contacts who then transmitted it to their personal contacts in East Africa. Since the online survey was entirely electronic, results continued to come in even days after my trip was finished. The tabulation of results to the online surveys was entirely automatic on the Survey Planet website.

The distribution of the paper surveys took place when visiting personal contacts in Migori County (RURAL sample) and the Mara Region (TOWN sample), as well as in Nairobi. In Migori County, I personally met most participants *after* they had taken the survey, in order to not influence their responses on language preference (being a foreigner myself). My local contacts administered the survey, giving instructions and answering questions using mostly the local tribal language and Kiswahili, and privately consulting with me for clarification. In the Mara Region, it was not possible to be physically absent from the room while participants took the survey, though it was my local contact who administered the survey in Kiswahili. I tried to be as inconspicuous as possible, purposefully leaving the room for extended periods and coming back only to check in with my friend. Though it was a local contact who distributed the paper survey to 5 participants in Nairobi, I had to personally give directions and answer questions about the survey.

The manual tabulation of the results from the paper surveys was done at the same time as the compilation of all results – both online and paper. Microsoft Excel was used to do all calculations in order to prevent errors.

6.2 Survey: Results & Discussion

It should be duly noted that *the following results are not meant to be taken as conclusive statistics* on the linguistic situation in East Africa. The fact that there were no Ugandan participants, for example, is telling. Several themes in the results are worth discussing, as they serve as *suggestions* of the linguistic realities faced by three relatively diverse sample groups.

6.2.1 Survey Results: Language Proficiency

The first major section of the survey was intended to measure participants' language proficiency. Participants were asked to list the languages which they could use, according to

four *categories* (writing, speaking, reading, and listening) and three *proficiency levels* (“with much confidence”, “adequately”, or “with little confidence”). Participants were free to list any language under any proficiency level or category (e.g. considering themselves capable of *listening to Kiswahili and a tribal language with much confidence*, yet considering themselves capable of *reading Kiswahili adequately and a tribal language with little confidence*).

The most noteworthy of these results were the languages which the respondents¹⁷¹ from the URBAN and RURAL samples listed as using “with much confidence”. In results from both sample groups, the languages that were most frequently listed under the proficiency level “with much confidence” were the two lingua francas: 96% of URBAN respondents listed reading in English and 92% of RURAL respondents listed listening in Kiswahili¹⁷². The languages that were the least frequently listed under the proficiency level “with much confidence” were English and tribal languages: 9% of RURAL respondents listed reading in a tribal language, and 8% of this same group listed listening in English. To no surprise, the category under which English was most often listed under the proficiency level “with much confidence” in *both* sample groups was reading (96% of URBAN respondents and 55% of RURAL respondents); these results are coherent with the discussion in section 3.1.4 of the dominance of English in East African readership. There was also a notable pattern in tribal language proficiency in both sample groups: listening was the most frequently listed category (61% of URBAN respondents and 50% of RURAL respondents reported being able to listen to a tribal language “with much confidence”); listening was followed by speaking, then writing, then reading (29% of URBAN respondents and 9% of RURAL respondents). This trend is coherent with the disassociation between academic skills and tribal languages, as discussed in section 3.2.2.

The survey results also seem to *suggest* that the URBAN sample was more confident in tribal languages than the RURAL sample, which was rather surprising. However, as discussed earlier, especially in section 3.3., a general trend in (East) Africa is that the elite live in cities

¹⁷¹ There is an essential distinction between the terms “participant” and “respondent”. The term “participant”, for the purposes of this survey, refers to *all* those who filled out a survey (whether only several questions or the entirety of the survey). The term “respondent” refers to survey participants who *successfully responded to* a specific question, and whose response was thus counted. Many responses were not counted because the directions were not followed; those who gave unsuccessful responses were not counted in the term “respondents”. In other words, “participant” refers to the survey as a whole; the number of “respondents” is different for each question.

¹⁷² For clarification: to say that “92% of RURAL respondents listed listening in Kiswahili” does *not* mean that 92% of *all survey participants from the RURAL sample group* answered this way. It simply indicates that 92% of those who listed *at least one* language under this specific category (being able to listen to Kiswahili “with much confidence”) listed *Kiswahili*. Some listed Kiswahili and other languages and some listed only Kiswahili. If survey participants did not list any language under this category or did not follow the directions (which was rather common), they were not counted as “respondents” to this specific question.

and get the best education¹⁷³, while those who cannot do so remain in areas with disadvantaged schools. Indeed, it should be noted that the RURAL sample, when compared to the URBAN sample, had less respondents reporting high confidence in all three languages in and all four categories (i.e. in twelve subcategories), with only two exceptions: more respondents in the RURAL sample (92%) were highly confident in *listening* to Kiswahili than the URBAN sample (70%), and in *speaking* a tribal language (43% vs. 38%). The fact that these two skills are conversational in nature, developed outside of the classroom, is no coincidence.

To no surprise, high confidence in Kiswahili and tribal languages was most frequently reported for conversation-related skills (i.e. speaking, listening). English was less commonly listed as a high-confidence language for conversation, but extremely common as a confident language for reading. The biggest contrast between proficiency levels in the two samples was with English, being by far the *most* frequently listed high-proficiency language by the URBAN sample¹⁷⁴ and the *least* frequently listed by the RURAL sample (though just barely after the tribal language). In summary, the survey results *suggest* that the language in which the most URBAN respondents felt very confident was *firstly* English, then Kiswahili, then a tribal language, and for the RURAL sample: Kiswahili, then a tribal language, and *lastly* English.

6.2.2 Survey Results: Language Opinion

The second major section (spanning Part 1 and Part 2) focused on participants' personal opinions about language: the importance and success factor of English, Kiswahili and tribal languages, preference for the MoI at the primary, secondary and university levels, as well as opinions on Tanzania's 2015 decision to make Kiswahili the sole MoI in all levels of education.

Questions 11 through 16 prompted participants to indicate, for each of the three languages, the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with two statements: “[Language] is an important language” and “Knowing [language] well will help me succeed”. In general, the survey results strongly suggest that very rarely was any language considered unimportant. In rank of importance, Kiswahili (with a cumulative 91% of respondents agreeing) was considered slightly more *important* than English (with a cumulative 88% of respondents agreeing); yet, “my tribal language” received a cumulative 82% agreement from respondents. These results are coherent with the high sentimental value that local languages hold for East Africans, as

¹⁷³ While this urban education almost certainly does not include a tribal language, it is nevertheless safe to say that the East African with a higher education is more likely to have the leisure, resources and language skills to *study* tribal languages. Indeed, several highly educated online participants reported knowing several tribal languages.

¹⁷⁴ Personal contacts Anthony and Theresa shared about the cultural importance of honor in Kenya. Because English is modern, “who wouldn't say [...] yes, I speak English?” – for the sake of their self-esteem.

evoked in prior chapters¹⁷⁵. In response to the questions about which languages will help one to succeed, the two lingua francas almost perfectly tied (each with a cumulative 81% of respondents agreeing), though 70% of respondents *highly agreed* for English and only 52% *highly agreed* for Kiswahili. Unsurprisingly, tribal languages were generally not viewed as tools for success, with a cumulative 61% disagreeing (as compared to a cumulative 19% for Kiswahili, and a cumulative 18% for English). This trend is also coherent with prior discussions about the utility of lingua francas for personal success.

Participants were later asked which language or languages they would prefer to be used as the MoI in schools, their options being “only English”, “only Kiswahili” or “both English and Kiswahili”. The trend in responses for primary and secondary school were clear, both among the 38 Kenyan respondents and the 18 Tanzanian respondents: there was actually a relatively low preference for either Kiswahili or English as the *only* language of instruction. On the contrary, there was a striking preference for bilingualism: 81% of all respondents preferred both languages as the MoI for primary school, 78% for secondary, and 67% for university¹⁷⁶. Such results are coherent with the trends towards bilingualism discussed in section 5.1.2.

The survey question in which I was most interested asked participants how positively or negatively they viewed the 2015 decision by Tanzania to make Kiswahili the sole MoI for all levels of educations. The results were generally positive, with a cumulative 70% of 20 Tanzanian respondents expressing a “highly positive” or “somewhat positive” opinion; the 36 Kenyan respondents were equally split, with a cumulative 50% expressing a positive opinion and a cumulative 50% expressing a negative opinion. There was a striking amount of “highly positive” responses: 55% of Tanzanian respondents and 39% of Kenyan respondents. Though a cumulative 50% Kenyan respondents expressed a negative opinion, “highly negative” responses were not necessarily noteworthy (28% of Kenyan respondents and 15% of Tanzanian respondents). It should be noted that responses from Tanzanian respondents showed an overall support of their government’s recent decision.

6.2.3 Survey Results: Language Use – Others

The third major section of the survey (in Part 2) attempted to reveal patterns in the language use of participants’ teachers and family members. In general, responses about

¹⁷⁵ It should also be noted that East Africans are highly relational and define themselves in large part in terms of community. Local languages give them access to their traditions and identity; English gives them access to the vast world, which seems to offer endless opportunities.

¹⁷⁶ The 67% for English as the university MoI was lowest because 33% of all respondents chose “only English”.

teachers' use of the three languages were not particularly interesting, due perhaps to misunderstanding about what these six questions were asking. One noteworthy detail was in the difference between responses by Kenyan and Tanzanian respondents regarding the amount of *English* their secondary school teachers use or used. Of the 26 Kenyan respondents, 23% selected "ALL of my [secondary] teachers SPOKE *only in English* during class" as compared to 6% of 16 Tanzanian respondents. Though the percentages for "...*mostly* in English..." and "...*sometimes* in English..." were quite similar between the two groups, 25% of the Tanzanian respondents selected "SOME of my teachers NEVER SPOKE in English during class", as opposed to 4% of Kenyan respondents. Such results are both coherent and surprising, in light of prior discussions about the lack of resources and certified teachers in many East African schools. That Tanzanian secondary teachers, despite official policy, would use less English than their Kenyan counterparts is not surprising. However, the fact that 23% of all Kenyan respondents (including 20% of 5 RURAL respondents) reported that *all* of their teachers *speak* in English *only* during class is relatively surprising. Likely explanations could be a misunderstanding of the question (e.g. if *any* of their teachers spoke only in English) or, more likely, an inconsistency in what it means to "speak" "English" (as discussed in section 3.1.4).

Participants were then asked questions about their family members' literacy (i.e. the ability to speak *and* read *and* write) in three languages. The responses about grandparents and parents suggest a trend in their literacy rate. These family members were most frequently reported as literate in a tribal language, then in Kiswahili and finally in English¹⁷⁷. An interesting observation can be made by comparing these responses with the languages which the respondents themselves felt that they used and understood "with much confidence" (section 6.2.1): Kiswahili was listed most often, followed by English and, *lastly*, a tribal language. Such a comparison might be considered as indicative of language shift away from tribal languages, possibly as a consequence of the proliferation of the internet. This too is coherent with earlier discussions on language shift, especially in section 5.1.

6.2.4 Survey Results: Language Use – Participants

Part 3 and Part 4 of the survey focused on participants' use of three languages in twenty-two different contexts (ten of them relating to family, five to community, four to personal matters, three to work) and according to two categories. The first category was for *all*

¹⁷⁷ For example, the reported literacy rate (i.e. the ability to speak *and* read *and* write) among parents was 70% in a tribal language, 62% in Kiswahili and 48% in English.

languages¹⁷⁸ that the participant used in each context, regardless of the extent. The second was for the *one* language that the participant used *the most* in each of the twenty-two contexts.

It was interesting to note the contexts in which English was *not* the *least* commonly used language. When participants were asked to list *all* the languages that they used in each of the 22 different contexts, more respondents reported using English than a tribal language in 10 contexts (for Kenyan respondents) and 14 contexts (for Tanzanian respondents). When participants were asked to choose *the one* language that they used the most in each of the 22 contexts, more respondents reported using English than a tribal language in 12 contexts (for Kenyan respondents) and 8 contexts (for Tanzanian respondents). These results might *suggest* that there is more pro-English language shift occurring in Kenya that is serious in nature. A possible explanation for English being frequently used more than tribal languages among Tanzanian respondents is that tribal languages play less of a role in Tanzania than in Kenya.

A central objective behind asking so many questions about language use in such a variety of contexts was to uncover trends in how each language was used. The contexts for which Kiswahili was *most* frequently reported as being used were informal and social in nature: “when shopping/at the market”, followed by “with friends”. The contexts for which English was *most* frequently reported as being used were miscellaneous in nature: “when reading”, followed by “with your boss”. The contexts for which a tribal language was *most* frequently reported as being used were family-related: “with your mother”, followed by “with your children” and “with your uncle(s)”¹⁷⁹. Such trends are in no way surprising in light of the ensemble of this research project, which has shown that English is most present in areas such as literature, work and in matters of authority. The contexts for which Kiswahili was *the least* frequently reported as being used were miscellaneous in nature: “with your boss”, followed by “with your uncle(s)” and “when reading”. The contexts for which English was *the least* frequently reported as being used were mostly family-related: “with your mother” and “with your aunt(s)”, followed by “with your uncle” and “when shopping/at the market”. The contexts for which a tribal language was *the least* frequently reported as being used were formal contexts: “with your doctor”, followed by “your teacher(s)/your children’s teacher(s)” and

¹⁷⁸ However, there was only one respondent (out of approximately 35) that reported using a language other than English, Kiswahili or a tribal language: French.

¹⁷⁹ The context for which each language had *the highest* reported use, as *one of several* languages used: Kiswahili was used by 94% of all respondents “when shopping/at the market” and “with friends”; English was used by 68% of all respondents “when reading”; tribal languages were used by 56% of all respondents “with [their] mother”.

“when listening to the news”¹⁸⁰. Such trends in the rare use of English and tribal languages are not at all surprising; these languages are frequently isolated from certain sociolinguistic contexts, whereas Kiswahili is widespread.

Survey results also *suggest* signs of language death for tribal languages; in results from approximately 15 Kenyan respondents and 13 Tanzanian respondents, tribal languages *never* averaged as the most used language in *any* of the 22 contexts. There is a variety of potential explanations. Firstly, there was only a total of 28 respondents (approximately) out of 60 participants to Part 3 and Part 4. Results to this section of the survey should be held *especially* loosely because of this 47% response level. Secondly, nearly all of the RURAL and TOWN sample groups were part of the same tribe, though residing in two different countries; it may be that this tribe (or at least the current generation) has less of a connection with their tribal language. The most likely explanation, which would be coherent with the ensemble of this thesis, is that tribal languages are greatly threatened by lingua francas like English and Kiswahili. It was especially interesting to note that survey results suggested a considerably higher rate of language death among Tanzanian respondents than Kenyan respondents. There was only 1 context (“with your doctor”) for which *none* of the 15 Kenyan respondents reported using a tribal language as one of several languages¹⁸¹; there were 7 such contexts reflected in the results from 13 Tanzanian respondents¹⁸². A possible explanation here might be the national unity which Tanzania has achieved in large part thanks to Kiswahili, with tribal languages being viewed sometimes as a liability to interethnic nationhood. Indeed, a personal contact in the from Dar es Salaam was of the opinion that intermarriage between tribes was common in Tanzania, unlike in Kenya, where tribes live separately and there is less mixing of cultures¹⁸³.

Again, the aforementioned survey results serve as *suggestions* of the language situation in Kenya and Tanzania. As is the case with any statistics, they should be held loosely and appreciated primarily for their qualitative value.

¹⁸⁰ The context for which each language had the lowest reported use, as *one of several* languages used: Kiswahili was used by 56% of all respondents “with their boss”; English was used by 8% of all respondents “with [their] aunt(s)”; tribal languages were used by 0% of all respondents “with [their] doctor”.

¹⁸¹ Anthony and Theresa mentioned two tribes in particular, the Luo and the Luhya, who refuse to use Kiswahili, even young people. They believe “our language is good enough for us, and English is useful internationally”.

¹⁸² The 7 contexts for which tribal languages were never reported as being used by Tanzanian respondents were: “with your colleagues at your work place”, “with your doctor”, “with your teacher or your children’s teacher”, “when praying”, “with friends”, “when listening to the news” and “when reading”.

¹⁸³ This same person shared an anecdote of attending an international religious gathering in Asia with a Kenyan friend. During the service, a Kenyan stood up and introduced himself to the congregation. After the service, the Kenyan friend did not go up to converse with the other Kenyan because she knew he was from a different tribe.

6.3 Survey: Limitations & Potential Improvements

In the preparation and administration of this survey, there was a plethora of challenges and problems that arose, as is to be expected with any research tool. Several of these issues were able to be addressed before participants were solicited, though the majority were recognized while the surveys were being administered and after the results were compiled. One major challenge in this survey project was time constraints. The translation process took a lot longer than originally expected – not only the actual translating itself, but especially finding the right people who were willing (and qualified) to translate into Kiswahili, a language which is grammatically rather complex. Though fifty paper (bilingual) surveys were printed before departing for East Africa, revisions were made soon after arrival in Nairobi thanks to discussions with Dr. Ingram¹⁸⁴, a local sociolinguistics professor; thus, the revised surveys had to be printed locally. A second challenge was obtaining a diverse sample of participants. It was never my intent to focus on one specific socioeconomic layer of society, not to mention how difficult managing this might have been. In future research, I would focus on specific regions, as done in all three doctoral dissertations that are cited in this research project. The fact that 34 of the 60 participants were from two distinct areas – 16 were from the same region in rural Migori county (RURAL sample) and 18 from the same town in the Mara region (TOWN sample) – was evidence of the feasibility of this strategy for data collection.

Another major challenge in conducting a language survey, especially in rural areas where education is typically less thorough and of lower quality, was brought to my attention by Anthony and Theresa, who have been living in East Africa for more than twenty-five years. They shared that many of those to whom they distributed the survey initially thought it was a test with correct and incorrect answers. It took thorough explanations by Anthony and Theresa (in the tribal language) that the survey was asking for participants' personal opinion. Theresa said that most do not have a culture of self-knowledge and introspection, as self-evaluation is not part of the culture. It may have been quite difficult if not unrealistic for some participants to “honestly” fill out a survey. This phenomenon likely caused problems with questions 19 and 20, about preferred MoI and language for national examinations. The fact that the vast majority of respondents reported preferring English over Kiswahili for the national examinations (78% for primary school examinations, and 85% for secondary school) simply did not seem possible. In light of this cultural insight, it is indeed possible that some respondents were answering based on the current policy as it was, instead of giving their personal opinion on a hypothetical basis.

¹⁸⁴ For the sake of privacy, the names of local contacts are aliases.

Another challenge which was brought to my attention was the lack of comprehension skills that are developed in local schools. Theresa spoke of little skill in perception, even in test-taking. Certainly, this may explain the many errors and disrespect of directions that led to many participants' responses not being counted (as "respondents") in the results.

There were certain survey items that proved particularly problematic for participants. Though all 60 participants attempted questions 7-10 on language proficiency (discussed in section 6.2.1), only 65% of all responses were accepted; in the TOWN sample group, for example, only 2 of 18 participants had answers that could be counted! The main reasons for so many uncountable responses were that participants were not specific enough (e.g. listing the exact same language combination for each of the language skill categories) or simply did not follow directions (e.g. listing the same language under multiple proficiency levels). Feedback from questions 30-35 on family members' literacy (discussed in section 6.2.3) revealed that there these questions were frequently misunderstood. First of all, there was a rather significant difference between reported proficiency of participants' grandparents and their parents in *all* languages. In theory this could indicate a generational improvement in literacy rates and education, as mentioned in section 6.2.3. However, after further reflection, it was realized that grandparents' proficiencies were probably so rarely mentioned because most participants simply did not recall the language proficiency of their grandparents that were deceased, at least not well enough to vouch that they could "speak AND read AND write in [language]". This is an example of a simple, subtle yet highly problematic detail in survey design. Also, local contacts Anthony and Theresa thought that many participants were not paying much attention to these criteria, viewing the question as asking about family members who could "speak *or* read *or* write" in the given language. Though all attempts were made to make these questions as clear as possible, survey participants were the ultimate judges.

The experience of developing and administering this survey, and then compiling and analyzing the results, was indeed revealing of areas for potential improvement, especially if further field study is undertaken. In addition to improving the aforementioned survey questions, a substantial improvement to this survey might be to shorten it, possibly by dividing it into three separate surveys (e.g. on language proficiency, language opinion, and language use)¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸⁵ Indeed, Dr. Ingram expressed concern about the ten-page survey being too long for most participants, and that few would answer all the questions. However, a non-local professor was of the opposite opinion: that the survey was *not* too long, according to her experience in working with East African university students. Survey results actually showed a relatively good completion rate: 95% for Parts 1-2, 77% for Parts 1-3, and 67% for all 4 Parts.

In summary, it should be said that the experience of conducting a field survey was both challenging and rewarding. Not only were the responses insightful *suggestions* into the complex language situations in three geographic areas, but they were helpful feedback as to the effectiveness of the survey tool, especially if further research is pursued.

Chapter 7: Language Policy for the Future

The initial goal of this research project was to ascertain the role of English in East Africa. Based on what was discovered, this thesis was written to demonstrate the extent to which English is considered indispensable in policies and to expose the dissonant factors that make such an indispensability disempowering for many East Africans. Yet, linguistic reform in East Africa is not a lost cause, as will be discussed presently. Suggestions for future language-in-education policy will also be presented: those of other authors, as well as a personal proposal.

7.1 The Need for Linguistic Reform

In light of the research that has been presented over the past six chapters, it is clear that changes need to be made in East African language policy if marginalization is to be remedied and national development fostered. The goal of such reform would be the empowerment and integration of citizens in *every* sector of society. Though language is by no means the only factor, it certainly is a significant one. As discussed in section 3.3, English is a vehicle for international economic integration but also of marginalization (intentional or unintentional) in East African society. Wa’Njogu considers English a “liability” and local languages “an asset” for “vertical [social] integration” because local languages “ensure interaction and accessibility between the elite and the masses” (72). Yet, English remains highly preferred by the majority of East Africans, though adequately acquired almost exclusively by those who are privileged with the necessary means. Policymakers’ membership among this elite is noticeable, especially in Kenya and Uganda, where the indispensability of English is cemented by pro-English policy. It may be that East African policymakers genuinely hope that English will one day have a similar role as Spanish in Latin America – as a widespread and indigenized *lingua franca*¹⁸⁶. However, as this thesis has argued, there are many dissonant factors to pro-English language policy in East Africa, which needs to be reformed. The presence of Kiswahili is a major factor.

The presence of a relatively widespread and local *lingua franca* in East Africa has the potential of being truly strategic in social integration and national development, of which Tanzania is proof. Yet, it is no exaggeration to say that the language has failed to garner a substantial place in Kenyan and Ugandan policy. In these countries particularly, it can be argued that English is threatening the potential of Kiswahili (or even Luganda, in Uganda) as *an*

¹⁸⁶ Linguist John Lipski asserts that Latin American Spanish has been a melting pot – “the product not only of its first settlers but of the totality of the population, immigrants and natives alike” (qtd. in Mufwene 9).

alternative lingua franca that is much more widely accessible. Mufwene even mentions Kiswahili as he describes the linguistic history in Latin America of local lingua francas leading to the death of ethnic languages, but then eventually floundering to the ever-increasing demand for a more prestigious, international language (13). For all intents and purposes, the likelihood of such a process eventually happening in East Africa is in the hands of those with the most power: the elite (including those in government). As Nabea argues, those that *can* use English (“the included”) “are a major stumbling block in the use of African languages in a wider range of domains” (128). Yet, the potential of reform is not entirely limited to the upper classes, who demand English; since education is power, all educated citizens have some degree of empowerment to affect language policy and attitude. Even in 1956, Whiteley wrote that “so long as educated Africans desire to think and write in English, Swahili will probably recede towards the littoral [i.e. the coast]” (352). It is herein that the key to reform is clear: cooperation between citizens and the government, though this is much easier said than done¹⁸⁷.

Indeed, “the masses” as such do have a substantial role to play in East Africa’s linguistic future; this role depends on the extent to which they either foster and prefer Kiswahili, all the while acquiring English as a valuable second language, or heedlessly pursue English at all costs (e.g. the death of all local languages – tribal and lingua francas). Mazrui (2008) described how the future role of Kiswahili as a national language hinges on its use by the average Kenyan: “The realization of the nationalist objective in favor of Kiswahili will ultimately depend on the extent to which the general population is aware and makes use of the Kiswahili option. [...] This has not happened in Kenya nor is it likely to happen any time soon, except among a few (especially university graduates) who are inspired by nationalist sentiments” (205). Indeed, the sociolinguistic reform that could be facilitated by Kiswahili is limited in Kenya and especially in Uganda. Nabea argues that the destiny of a language is ultimately in the hands of the population: “Only rarely can a language or reform be imposed on people against their will. Is it possible to defend (or save) a language whose speakers don’t want it anymore? The issue is not the language itself but the importance attached to its speakers” (129). Though Kiswahili could be a strategic language for the empowerment of East African society at large (or Luganda for Uganda), it may prove to simply be a stepping stone to the more economically valuable and prestigious English. Given the indispensability of English (whether simply ideological or also concrete), linguistic reform that empowers “the masses” may indeed be a utopian matter.

¹⁸⁷ Mohochi contemplated such cooperation in Kenya: “Government and citizens are partners in development - an ideal of collaboration that calls for, and is designed to be about, a productive working relationship. [...] The public should be kept informed with regard to how policies are reached and how they will be affected by them” (85).

The most pressing need for linguistic reform, as evoked throughout the preceding chapters, is in education policy. The words of a recent secondary school graduate in the Kilimanjaro area are insightful into the educational plight of many East African students, given pro-English policy that is incongruent (i.e. dissonant) with their educational needs and abilities:

The books we have are in English, but the language we use for everything is Swahili. [...] So if we could do this [bilingual teaching] from the beginning, there wouldn't be a problem. The problem here is a result of our poverty. Where will we get the money to change these books, to change computers? [laughter] This is where our problem lies. Of course, it is good to be taught in a language you know. You will understand well and succeed in your studies. (qtd. and translated from Kiswahili in Vavrus 391)

The obvious fact that anyone learns best in a language that they know seems to be overlooked in East African policy, for a variety of reasons which have already been discussed. It is no exaggeration to argue that if students are taught in a language that is not well-known to them, by teachers who are not linguistically qualified, they will *not* “succeed in [their] studies”. Yet, this student alludes to finances as the main problem, implying that keeping English as the MoI and struggling to make use of whatever educational resources are available is the only option because of national economic difficulties. As will be discussed in the following section, a bilingual approach to education (and policy that would officially allow and support this) might be the most feasible next step for linguistic reform in East African, though Tanzania’s bold decision in 2015 to bypass English altogether as a language of instruction certainly challenges pre-conceived notions of what is and is not possible in language-in-education policy.

7.2 Language-In-Education Policy: Authors’ Suggestions

Since the students of today are the citizens of tomorrow, education is one of the best ways a country can invest in its future. As formerly colonized (and young) nations in Africa navigate the waters of national development post-colonization, the almost unanimous trend has been to retain the colonizer’s language as the language of instruction in schools. However, authors – both African and non – have recommended alternatives to such a one-size-fits all system. The suggestions put forth by those authors cited in this body of research are for a three-language policy for education (the most common), as well as a bilingual system of instruction.

7.2.1 Three-Language System

Given the multilingual richness of Africa, which has survived to a decent extent even into the 21st century, a three-language system for education can be quite appealing, especially

in regards to ethics. Brock-Utne cites and supports such a proposal made by Cameroonian sociolinguist Maurice Tadadjeu in his 1989 book *Voie Africaine*. Tadadjeu's three-language model would consist of students first mastering their tribal language ("mother tongue"), then learning an African lingua franca that could be used as the language of instruction in secondary school and university, and then learning an international language as a foreign language subject (180). Other authors propose three-language models that differ slightly. Wa'Njogu argues for a three-language system in which "local languages" are the sole media of instruction, and Kiswahili and English are compulsory language subjects. Uganda's 1992 White Paper policy (discussed in section 2.3.2) is technically a three-language model, though a major difference with the two aforementioned models is the role of English (as the MoI for part or all of students' education, and Kiswahili as the language subject). Such models are an attempt to combat the language death of the many African languages that are still "living" today. The propositions by Tadadjeu as well as by Wa'Njogu, which Brock-Utne also endorses, are apparently intended to keep English in check for many of the reasons stated throughout this thesis.

A subtle yet *essential* detail in the models proposed by Tadadjeu and Wa'Njogu is the role of English, which would *not* be absent from the curriculum but would be a compulsory *subject* treated as a specialized field of study, as discussed in section 5.1.4¹⁸⁸. It has been argued that transitioning from a system of English MoI to a system in which English is studied as a language subject, taught only by specialists, would be two-fold: not only would more East Africans be taught in a language that they actively understand, but it would improve the overall quality of English proficiency¹⁸⁹ (Brock-Utne 181). Indeed, Tanzania's recent decision to do just this is admirable, though the resulting role of tribal languages is in fact uncertain.

Interestingly enough, arguments against three-language models were rather rare. Two of such arguments were cited by colonial-era authors Gorman (1968) and Whiteley (1956). This is possibly due to the fact that "mother tongue education" (i.e. tribal languages as the MoI) was most seriously being considered as an educational model during this period surrounding independence. It is not clear to what extent these authors were in agreement with these arguments, which were most notably against the use of Kiswahili. Yet, the arguments they cited

¹⁸⁸ As Mazrui (2014) also argued, "it should be known that English does not have to be a medium of instruction to enable students to speak the language" (84).

¹⁸⁹ Indeed, a newspaper article on Tanzania's 2015 decision to make Kiswahili its sole MoI included the following quote: "The assistant director for policy at the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, Mr. Atetaulwa Ngatara, said it was proper that Kiswahili be the channel by which the skills are transferred to students. Language studies will then be available to enable students to communicate in English. 'To think that learning in English will lead to students communicating in English is wrong', he said. 'Communicating in English is something else, which has to do with language studies'." (qtd. in Lugongo)

are quite outspoken in nature, asserting the “difficulty and wastefulness of making children learn three languages” (Whiteley 250), and that a three-language model for education is “obviously pedagogically unsatisfactory” (Gorman 216). It should be noted that however ideologically ideal three-language models for education might be, they either fail to be made into policy or, when they are, such policies are sometimes simply not implemented or respected (e.g. Uganda’s White Paper).

7.2.2 Bilingual System

A second language-in-education model proposed by those authors cited in this body of research is a system in which two lingua francas (e.g. Kiswahili and English, or Luganda and English) would be used on a complementary and equal basis as media of instruction. This model is more immediately feasible than the aforementioned three-language model, which would require the production of more resources comparatively. For example, though Brock-Utne stated in her conclusion that she was personally in favor of a three-language model for education, which she considered ideal, she was in favor of the adoption of a bilingual policy for education while the necessary transition was made. Such a policy might be as simple as allowing teachers to code-switch and use both English and Kiswahili freely, though the issue of national examinations might be problematic in such a policy.

Ngonyani also argued for a bilingual secondary school system in Tanzania, in which Kiswahili and English would be “given equal weight” (417). The author mentioned “literary skills in both languages” as a primary benefit of such a policy, further revealing how inseparable the idea of MoI and mastery of language are for many (East) Africans¹⁹⁰. Vavrus also argued for a bilingual language-in-education policy in Tanzania instead of the “exclusive use” of any one language. One of her main arguments was that bilingualism is the *de facto* practice anyway, “even when teachers are constrained by monolingual textbooks and teaching aids” (393). It would only make sense to provide teachers and students with the resources they actually need, and to remove the hindrance to learning that an English-*only* policy can be. It could also be noted that survey results discussed in Chapter 6 showed an extremely high support of the use of both Kiswahili and English in primary and secondary schools, as well as at the university level, which are confirmed by the trends of bilingualism discussed in section 5.1.2. It appears that policy for bilingualism in schools could be both feasible and popular.

¹⁹⁰ It should be noted that “bilingual” schools across the world have a similar goal, though the effectiveness of such an educational method hinges considerably on the excellence of both languages that are used by the teachers.

7.3 Language-In-Education Policy: Personal Proposal

In light of all that has been discussed in this body of research, several conclusions can be confidently made. The fact that most students in East Africa struggle to understand instruction in English (due to their own and their teachers' lack of proficiency), and that MoI policy remains unchanged, is unacceptable. It can be argued that the result is further marginalization in society, both in regards to and regardless of language. Education policy should cater to the needs of the entire population, and it is unethical for the urban and the elite to dictate policy that suits them and not the rest of the population. Uganda's White Paper policy for education is an admirable attempt at addressing the unique needs of rural areas versus urban areas. Yet the unfortunate reality is that this policy is not truly implemented, mostly because rural parents do not want their children to miss out on any opportunity to be taught in English, which is considered indispensable. Therefore, unless the government can ensure that such policies are actually implemented, *MoI policy should be identical for all areas (urban and rural) and should cater to the linguistic reality of the greatest number*. In Kenya, this would be Kiswahili (most likely with English as a second MoI). In Uganda, this would be the Main Area Languages (as discussed in section 2.3.2). Those who desire English as the (sole) MoI *and* can afford it could pay for private education, a privilege that is inevitable for privileged families across the world.

Tanzania's 2015 decision is to be commended, though whether or not this policy will be implemented (and especially how long this will take) is quite a mystery. If *English is taught in a more refined way as a language subject by truly qualified teachers*, the level of English of Tanzanians (which is currently the weakest of all three East African countries) may catch the attention of Kenyans and Ugandans. Tanzania may very well make history and show the rest of sub-Saharan Africa that *a European language is not indispensable as the language of instruction* in order to have respectable proficiency in a European language.

In Kenya and Tanzania, a bilingual education system would be the most feasible next step towards *addressing the dissonant factors behind the indispensable and unrealistic (not to mention marginalizing) use of English as the (sole) medium of instruction*. Since English is so highly valued by East Africans, it makes sense to keep it at least as one of two MoI, and at least until a more ethical and realistic policy (including tribal languages, for example) can be developed. Also, if tribal languages are not given more of a recognized place in education, they will surely die in the near future, at least in Tanzania. Yet, all these ideas are weighed in the balance with economic survival, which is understandably more important than language policy.

Conclusion

It might be argued that “ignorance is bliss” – that “what you don’t know can’t hurt you”. Indeed, with greater knowledge comes greater responsibility. When this research project was first undertaken, the goal was to ascertain the role of English in “Anglophone” East Africa. The central inquiry in research was, initially, on the indigenization of English in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda – the extent to which it has been observed as well as its future potential. Certainly, the idea of an independent people perpetuating the language of their former colonizers was both intriguing and puzzling on a sociolinguistic level, however commonplace this is. As more was learned on the topic, a responsibility arose to expose some of the disconcerting realities that were discovered. This thesis was written to demonstrate the extent to which English in East Africa is considered indispensable in language policies and to expose the dissonant factors that make such an indispensability disempowering for many East Africans. One such dissonant factor is the presence and relatively widespread knowledge of Kiswahili, a local and relatively politically neutral lingua franca that has been quite underprivileged in language policy. Perhaps the plight of many East Africans, faced with pro-English policy that is incongruent with the linguistic reality of their community, remains a matter of ignorance to those who are responsible for and benefit most from such policy. However, this thesis exists in part to expose such language policy that is marginalizing, and to advocate for linguistic reform in East Africa.

Chapter 1 gave a brief background on colonization in East Africa, focusing primarily on matters of language. Chapter 2 discussed post-colonial language policy (in government and education), including the many ways in which colonial-era policies were unchanged, as well as some ways in which they did evolve. Chapter 3 presented an overview of the linguistic realities East Africans face in their quest for national development, with Chapter 4 examining the anomaly of Kiswahili as a practical and local lingua franca that is underprivileged. In Chapter 5, the indigenization potential of English in East Africa was discussed. The results and observations from a field study survey conducted in Kenya and Tanzania were discussed in Chapter 6. A hopeful outlook on the future was offered in Chapter 7, with a presentation of suggestions for reform to language policy, in which English has largely been considered indispensable despite many dissonant factors.

Language, like any tool, can be used for a variety of things in a variety of ways. No language is bad in and of itself. Yet the many complex factors behind its use can be dissonant with its supposed benefit, having a detrimental effect on society at large, especially when it is multilingual. Such is the case with English in East Africa. However, it would be wrong to

conclude that English is somehow the “bad” language¹⁹¹; furthermore, Kiswahili is not necessarily the “good” language. Effective and ethical policy, however, takes into account the many factors at play in all areas of society. Thus, education policy *or practice* that dictates the use of English in an entire country (e.g. only giving teachers resources in this language), without regard to the needs or situations of students and teachers, is simply unethical.

Though the ideological reasons behind the widespread and fervent desire for such policy are understandable, the current reality in most of East Africa is far from conducive to such policy being effective for the advancement of citizens – academic or otherwise. Language policy needs to withstand the test of time, not simply ideological and theoretical scrutiny. Though it may well be almost unanimously ideal among East Africans for English to be used as a language of instruction in schools, the system is *not* yet ready for such a policy, as the test of more than fifty years of independence has shown. The stubborn retention of pro-English policy, with English as the language used for instruction and also for the national examinations, is not having a magical transforming effect, as was probably initially desired; the effect on many is indeed one of impoverishment and marginalization. Tanzania’s 2015 decision to make Kiswahili its sole language of instruction is a perfect example of the type of necessary reform on the part of government – for the welfare of its citizens and their nation in the 21st century.

Given the escalation of globalization, thanks in great part to the proliferation of the internet, it could be argued that lingua francas are the inevitable way of the future, at least in East Africa¹⁹². However, given the linguistic richness of Africa, even into the beginning of the 21st century, it is truly *regrettable* that such a linguistic treasure is presently vanishing. Indeed, it seems that these languages and the way of life that accompanies them are progressively being abandoned by increasingly global generations who become captivated by English, which they consider indispensable. However, despite the gravity of English in our globalized world, it may never again see a mono-linguistic phenomenon such as the Tower of Babel¹⁹³. Nevertheless, it seems that the modern, interconnected world – especially inasmuch as it affects (East) Africa – increasingly pursues similitude and shies away from that which differentiates, even in matters of language. It may be that the writing is on the wall, and that those languages which are used

¹⁹¹ In the concluding remarks of her article, Vavrus asserted that ethical African education policy and English are not incompatible, but rather that policy must be carefully designed in a reflective manner: “Being aware of the sociopolitics of English does not mean that one must necessarily abandon the teaching of English in postcolonial countries because of fears of reproducing social inequalities; instead, this awareness should heighten one’s ongoing cultural critique of language and development policies for individuals and societies in specific contexts” (394).

¹⁹² In areas such as Latin and North America, as well as Europe, such a concept is more like an accepted reality.

¹⁹³ For the corresponding excerpt from the Bible, see footnote on page 7.

by the greatest number of (powerful) people will be the languages of the future, regardless of ethics. Yet, ethics begets reform, and reform should not be delayed.

Because the journey towards truth and greater understanding is endless, this research project can be viewed as the genesis of further investigation – whether formal or informal. Certainly, inasmuch as some positive difference can be made in the lives of the many disadvantaged people of East Africa, the quest for reform is of great importance. Indeed, each and every citizen of each and every country has his or her part to play in bringing about justice for our interconnected world, in which actions have consequences, both big and small. Ignorance is not bliss; it's a choice.

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Appendix A

Glossary

Anglophile – the quality of having an affinity towards the English language.

Anglophone – the quality of being English-speaking (person, country, etc.)

Buganda – a former kingdom in modern-day Uganda, whose language, Luganda, is known by a majority of the Ugandan population as a lingua franca.

Code-mixing – the use of words from two or more languages within the same sentence (e.g. “The machine uses *kinu*.”).

Code-switching – the use of two or more languages, with one sentence formulated in one language, and the following sentence in another, and vice versa (e.g. “He is unable to come tonight. *Sa voiture est tombée en panne*.”).

Cultural alienation - a process by which the colonial power would “downgrade the vernacular tongues of the people [...] [and] make the acquisition of their tongue [e.g. English] a status symbol [...] [resulting in the citizen becoming] alienated from the values of his mother tongue, or from the language of the masses” (Nabea 127).

East Africa – for the purposes of this thesis, the three original members of the East African Community (from 1927 to 2009): Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda.

Global village – “the whole world, looked at as a single community that is connected by electronic communication systems” (Oxford Dictionary¹⁹⁴).

Iberian – an adjective referring to the Iberian Peninsula, i.e. Spain and Portugal.

Independence – Dates: Tanganyika (TZ)- Dec. 9th, 1961; Uganda- Oct. 9th, 1962; Zanzibar (TZ)- Dec. 10th, 1963; Kenya- Dec. 12th, 1963.

¹⁹⁴ <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com>

Indigenized – the quality of being made indigenous, i.e. “belonging to a particular place rather than coming to it from somewhere else” (Oxford Dictionary).

Kenyatta – Jomo Kenyatta was a key political leader in the Kenyan movement for independence and Kenya’s first president, serving from 1964 to 1978. Born c. 1897; died August 22nd, 1978.

Language death – a linguistic phenomenon occurring when there are no longer any speakers of a given language, and therefore no way for the language to “live”.

Language-in-education policy – government policy dictating the language of instruction in schools.

Language of instruction – the language used for the teaching of all subjects in schools; a.k.a. “medium of instruction” (MoI).

Language shift – the evolution of language preference from one language to another, via the middle stage of bilingualism. Typically observed over a period of several generations.

Lingua franca – “a shared language of communication used between people whose main languages are different” (Oxford Dictionary).

Luganda – the tribal language of the Baganda people of the former kingdom of Buganda. The language is known by a majority of the Ugandan population as a lingua franca.

Mother Tongue – a.k.a. “vernacular”. In the context of Africa, the least ambiguous denotation is the *tribal language* of one’s mother. In the past, the term was synonymous with one’s “native language”, i.e. the language used most confidently and naturally. However, these terms are less interchangeable in modern-day Africa, where “native language” and tribal language are not always the same.

Medium of instruction (MoI) – the language used for the teaching of all subjects in schools (a.k.a. language of instruction).

Native language – the language one uses the most confidently and naturally; normally the first language that one learned as a child, typically from his/her family.

Neo-Colonialism – “the use of economic or political pressure by powerful countries to control or influence other countries” (Oxford dictionary).

Nyerere – Julius Nyerere was the first president of the United Republic of Tanzania, serving from 1964 to 1985. Born April 13th 1922; died October 14th, 1999.

Participant – the term “participant”, for the purposes of the survey discussed in Chapter 6, refers to *all* those who filled out a survey (whether only several questions or the entirety of the survey). “Participant” refers to the survey as a whole; the number of “respondents” is different for each specific survey question.

Respondent – the term “respondent”, for the purposes of the survey discussed in Chapter 6, refers uniquely to those survey “participants” who *successfully responded to a specific question*, and whose response was thus *counted*. Many responses were not counted because the directions were not followed; those who gave unsuccessful responses were not counted in the term “respondents”. “Participant” refers to the survey as a whole; the number of “respondents” is different for each specific survey question.

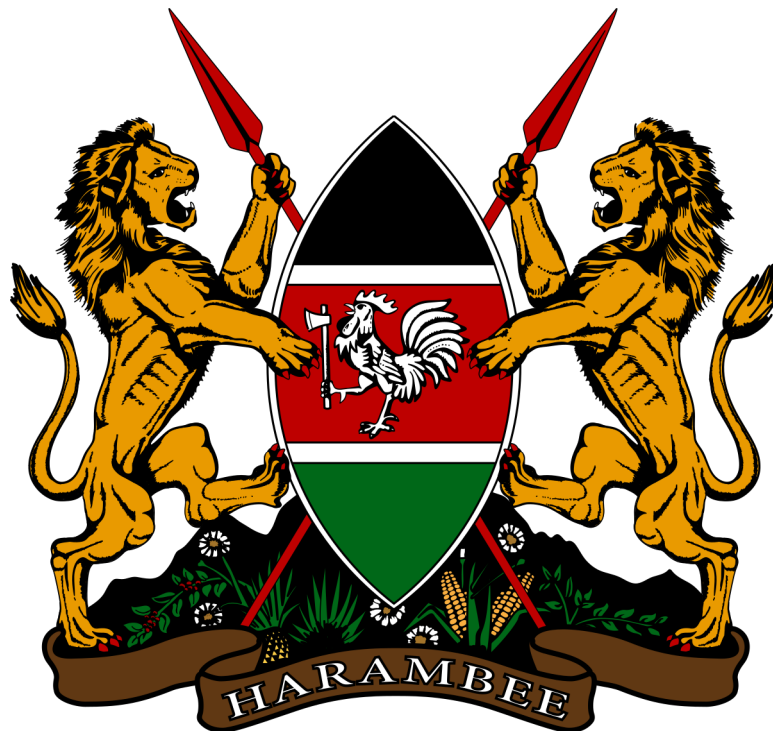
Tanganyika – an area comprised of the modern-day Tanzanian mainland, this territory was under German colonial rule for a quarter century (from 1885 until WWI), after which it became a British colony until its independence on December 9th, 1961. It merged with the islands of Zanzibar to form the United Republic of Tanzania on April 26th, 1964.

Vernacular(s) – a.k.a. “tribal language(s)” and, many times, “mother tongue(s)”.

Zanzibar – a region comprised of two islands, Pemba and Unguja, which are found off the northeastern Tanzanian coast. Unlike the mainland of Tanganyika, these islands never became colonized by the Germans. They were under the rule of the Sultanate of Oman from 1804 to 1890, and then became a British protectorate from 1890 to 1963, gaining their independence on December 10th, 1963. The islands joined in union with the mainland of Tanganyika to create the United Republic of Tanzania on April 26th, 1964.

Appendix B

Coats of Arms



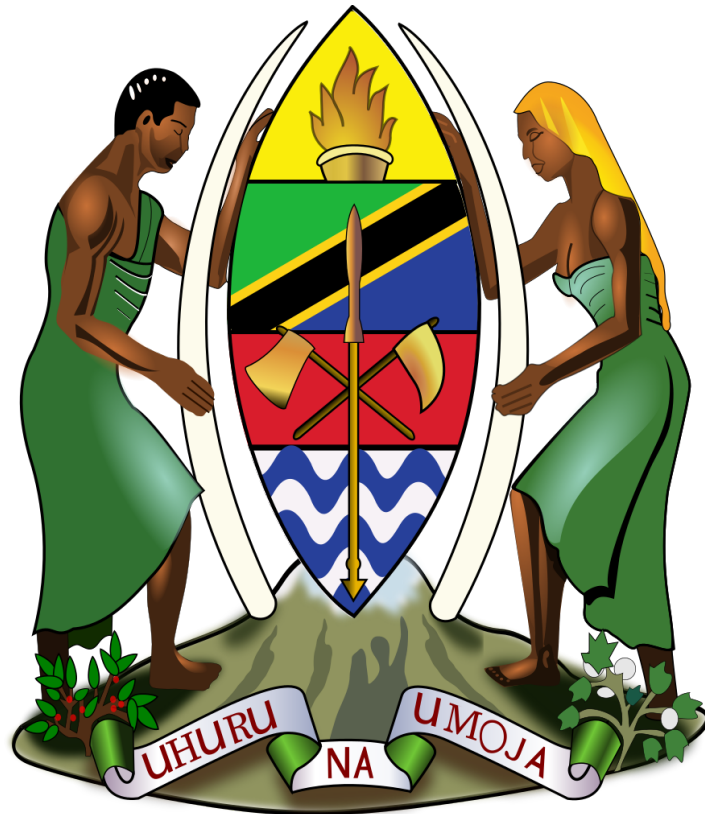
“Kenya’s coat of arms contains two lions (a symbol of protection) supporting a traditional East African shield. Both the shield and spears crossed behind it are representative of unity and defense of freedom, while the rooster at the center of the shield symbolizes the dawn of a new day. The national motto of Kenya Harambee (“Let us all pull together”) is displayed on a ribbon below.”

Image source:

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coat_of_arms_of_Kenya#/media/File:Coat_of_arms_of_Kenya_\(Official\).svg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coat_of_arms_of_Kenya#/media/File:Coat_of_arms_of_Kenya_(Official).svg)

Text source:

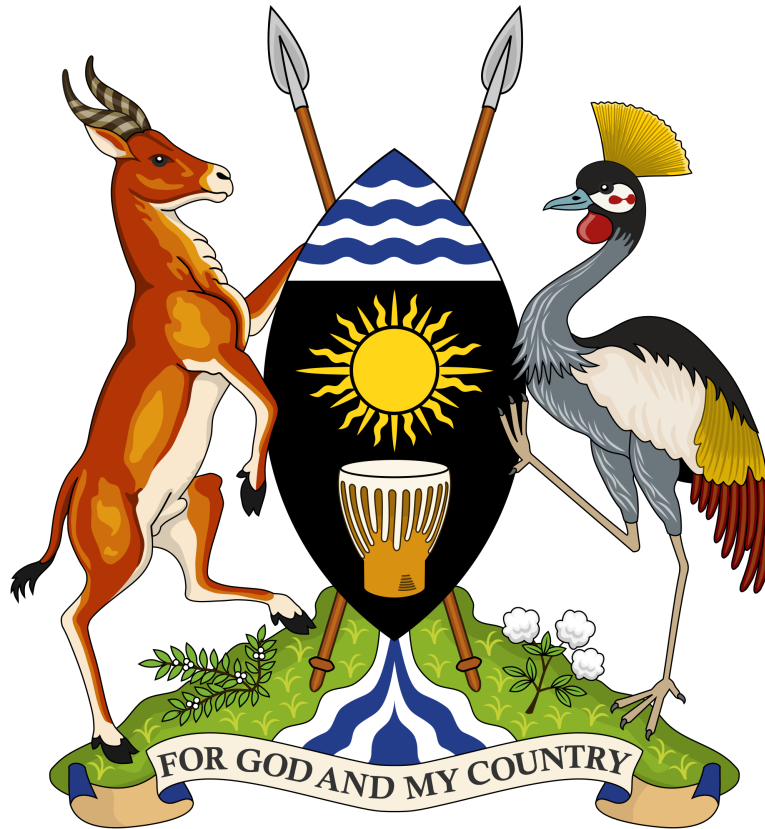
<https://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/africa/kenya/keflags.htm>



“Tanzania’s coat of arms is composed of a man and woman supporting a warrior’s shield divided into four sections. The first section depicts a burning torch (symbolizing enlightenment, knowledge and freedom), the second is the national flag, the third a crossed axe and hoe, and the fourth contains wavy bands of blue (representing the land and sea).”

Text and image source:

<https://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/africa/tanzania/tz.symbols.htm#page>



“Uganda’s coat of arms features a Crested Crane and a Ugandan Kob supporting a shield that displays three symbols: waves for Lake Victoria at the top, a sun representing the beautiful weather centered, and a traditional drum symbolic of dancing at the bottom. Crossed behind the shield are spears, and the national motto is displayed on a ribbon below.”

Text and image source:

<https://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/africa/uganda/ugsymbols.htm>

Appendix C

Political Timeline of Independent Uganda¹⁹⁵

1962, October 9th – Independence from Britain

1962 – Muteesa II, King of Buganda, elected the first president after independence

1966 – Dr. Milton Obote, Prime Minister to Muteesa II, overthrows him

1971 – Idi Amin, military commander of the Ugandan army, overthrows Obote, who fled to Tanzania. Amin becomes president.

1979 – Amin overthrown by war led by Obote (also backed by part of the Tanzanian army)

1979 – Professor Yusuf Lule elected president, though removed from office 68 days later by the National Consultative Council, which he had allegedly tried to undermine

1979 – Lukongwa Binaisa, a lawyer who had served as Attorney General on Obote's cabinet, replaces Lule as president

1980 – Second presidential election since independence in 1962; elections rigged in favor of Obote, who became president for the second time

1980-1985 – bush war over the rigged elections of 1980; a very “politically unstable” time

1985 – coup by General Tito Okello Lutwa, who overthrows Obote

1986 – Lutwa overthrown by Yoweri Kaguta Museveni

1986-present – President Museveni in office

2005 – Ugandan Constitution amended, removing the two-term limit for presidents

¹⁹⁵ Source: Nakayiza 34-35.

Appendix D

Map of the East African Community, as of June 2012



Appendix E

Transcriptions of Personal Interviews

Laura

Cameroonian

Undergraduate university student in France

Interview on April 22nd, 2017

Interviewer: "Please briefly present yourself."

Laura:

"My name is Laura, Laura [last name]¹⁹⁶, and I'm Cameroonian. I was born in a small village called [village name]. I'm 21 years old. I came to France three years ago for my studies. I'm Bulu - it's my ethnic group. And I can't really speak but I can understand. My parents are both Bulu - my mom is Bulu and French and my dad is 100% Bulu. I grew up in the capital called Yaoundé and I've always been to bilingual and English - Anglo-Saxon - schools. In Cameroon our two national languages are English and French and many people in Cameroon speak both languages. My mom is a missionary. She works at a community center [...] And I grew up in this community."

Interviewer: "Where do your parents live?"

Laura's parents moved to the capital city, Yaoundé, when she was four years old. They moved when her younger brother was born, for a bigger house.¹⁹⁷

Interviewer: "How much of your extended family lives in the country where you were born?"

All of Laura's family, except her grandfather (who is French and lives in France), live in Cameroon. Her grandfather moved to France when he left his Cameroonian wife. He had worked in Cameroon for fifty years as a lawyer but had to come back to France for work, at which point Laura's mom lost contact with him. When Laura was in 5th grade, they finally regained contact with him again.¹⁹⁸ He was Laura's connection, and the reason she came to France; she had originally wanted to go to Canada.

¹⁹⁶ Such bracketed words are to conceal private information and ensure the anonymity of the interview.

¹⁹⁷ Text without quotation marks indicates a paraphrase of the interviewee's comments.

¹⁹⁸ The abundance of paraphrase in the transcription of this interview is representative of the level of fluency in English of the interviewee, who considers herself more Francophone than Anglophone. The original phrase that has been paraphrased by "When Laura was in 5th grade, they finally regained contact with him again" was the following: "It's only when I was in - uh - sixth...fifth grade that she...got, she found him - uh - she found her...his...uh...contact again."

Interviewer: “How would people in your country of birth describe you and your family (in terms of social status)?”

Laura:

“Open and kind, I guess [...] it’s cultural – it’s tradition, I guess. In Cameroon, the pastor’s house is everyone’s house. [*“Average or wealthy?”*¹⁹⁹] Average. [*“Not necessarily wealthy, not necessarily poor?”*] Yeah.”

Interviewer: “How long have you been in France? What brought you here?”

Laura has been in France for four years. She came for her undergraduate studies.

Interviewer: “How long do you plan to stay in France?”

Laura plans to stay for another two years to complete her Master’s degree.

Interviewer: “Where do you consider ‘home’ to be? Do you want to live there in the future?”

Laura:

“Everywhere I’ve been - in [French city A], in [French city B], in Cameroon. [*“Do you want to go back to Cameroon in the future - go back and live there?”*] I’d like to but not for long, because I’d like to travel around the world.” She explained that she does not want to settle down and live in Cameroon indefinitely. [*“Do you want to vagabond or do you want to settle down and live someplace?”*] “My dream was to set my feet in every country in the world. But I have countries I really want to go to like...uh...British – Britain, sorry and Japan and Canada. [*“Any one place to settle in?”*] In [French city B].”

Interviewer: “What languages do you speak proficiently (i.e. can read/write/carry on a conversation)?”

Laura:

“French and English”, as she can do all three (i.e. read, write and converse) in both. [*“If you have to rank them?”*] “It depends. Right now, it’s French. Back in Cameroon it was English. I feel like it depends on the people that surrounds me. [...] Bulu I can only understand, and I only know some few words. I can’t really have a conversation.” Laura said that he could not read or write in Bulu. She is also learning Japanese, which she can “read and understand a little bit”.

Interviewer: “What language or languages do you speak with your parents and family?”

¹⁹⁹ Brackets that include italics and quotation marks (e.g. [*“Average or wealthy?”*]) which are found within a quoted statement by an interviewee denote clarifying comments or questions (verbatim) interjected by the interviewer.

Laura said she speaks “mostly English” with her father, “because he’s an English and French teacher”. She speaks French with her mother, except when Laura is angry, in which case she speaks English. She guesses that her mother will not understand right away, which gives her an upper hand of sorts. But she code-switches with both of her parents. Laura said she usually uses English with her brothers and sisters.

Interviewer: “What do you consider to be your mother tongue or heart language?”

Laura responded without hesitation: “French. [*“Why is that?”*] Because my...well...I don’t know. I’m surrounded more of French peop-...uh...language speakers in Cameroon. It was only in school that I really started speaking English. [...] I always say both but I feel like I speak more French than English.”

Interviewer: “What are your professional aspirations and plans?”

Laura said that she wanted to continue in Journalism and specialize in documentaries, focusing on cultural studies. “I’d like to work for National Geographics [*sic*].”

Interviewer: “Describe your primary school experience.”

Laura went to two different private schools for primary school, which she considered to be quite similar. Both were in Yaoundé. They were “very big schools”. Her classmates were not necessarily from wealthy families; tuition was “kind of expensive but not too much”. School was bilingual – divided into English and French sections. Laura explained that all kids had the same classes, just in one of the two languages. When kids were together, especially during recreational time, they spoke both languages; “it depends the friends you were surrounded with”. Laura was in the English section, where they would only speak French during French literature and French language classes. (The opposite was true for the French section.) Almost all her teachers were Cameroonian, though some were Nigerian (for the English sections).

[*“To what extent was this a normal school experience for someone from Cameroon?”*] “Totally normal, especially in primary school. [...] Most primary schools in Cameroon, at least in Yaoundé, is...are bilingual.” She clarified that there *are* bilingual *secondary* schools, but that it is more common for secondary schools to have either French *or* English as the language of instruction.

Interviewer: “Describe your secondary school experience.”

Laura went to two different secondary schools. The first was private. Laura described it as “really expensive” – not an average Cameroonian school. Her family would not have sent her to a school that expensive, but her (French) grandfather visited them in Cameroon and wanted her to go there. So, her grandfather paid for it. The school created by a “minister of education”, and was prestigious because of its good facilities, particularly their technology. It was a bilingual school, though there were more French-section students. Laura was in the English section, like in primary school, though she spoke more French than in her bilingual schooling in primary school. Some of her teachers were French (i.e. from France), most were

Cameroonian. Her classmates were very international. She specified that there were a lot of Koreans in her English section.

The second secondary school that Laura attended was “Anglo-Saxon” (i.e. not bilingual) and was also private. All of her classes were in English, except for French literature and French language class. Her teachers were mostly Cameroonian and some were Nigerian, like at her primary schools. The school was more expensive than primary school, but not as expensive as her first secondary school; she described it as “still kind of expensive”. Her classmates were mostly Nigerian students and people from northern Cameroon (which she described as predominantly Anglophone).

Interviewer: “How much did you study colonization in school?”

Laura:

“We always studied colonization from 5th grade on.” She explained that in history classes, they mostly discussed world history (i.e. the two world wars). She mentioned that they studied the “dark Ages – before colonization”. They studied the period during colonization, though mainly “our participation in the world wars”. Laura said they “didn’t focus much” on how life was during colonization. [*Do you think that was done on purpose?*] “...I never thought of that...[laughs] [*So, did you study how life was under colonization?*] Yes, but...briefly.”

“There’s something that we didn’t really have - that we don’t really have in our schools.” She went on to explain that in France, teachers let the students think for themselves; “they will leave the people – the student – question everything”. In Cameroon, “at least in the schools I went to we don’t have the culture of questioning things; what the teacher says is true, is truth”. [*And that’s not the way it is in France?*] She said that she has been shocked in her university experience in France, because students will argue with the teacher, even saying that what the teacher is saying is not true.

Interviewer: “What do you think is the general sentiment of people in Cameroon towards the former colonizing nation?”

Laura:

“Those that are still surrounded by French and British people” (i.e. those that live in big cities) view foreigners as “normal people” and as “equals”. But “for normal Cameroonians, that feeling of superiority is still there; Cameroonian people will always think that white people are better than us – always better in terms of intellectual, in terms of wealth. Many Cameroonians still have an anger against foreigners [even in big cities], because they feel like foreigners always want to steal everything from us. It’s not everyone who thinks like that, but the feeling is still there. I guess that’s why when foreigners come to Cameroon, they [i.e. local merchants] will always set prices higher, for example for the taxi, going shopping...” In Laura’s opinion, this was a way to “get back at them”.

Laura also mentioned that the current Cameroonian president came to power with the help of the French. She said, “*Il a été au pouvoir pendant très longtemps*”²⁰⁰ (“He was in power for a very long time”) – since 1987, she thought. “A lot of Cameroonians feel that France is still

²⁰⁰ Such code-switching into French might have been fatigue-related, considering how much of the one hour and fifteen minutes of the interview had already passed.

stealing things from us and still manipulating our government – *qu'ils exploitent nos terres*" ("that they exploit our land").

[*"Do you think there is a difference in sentiment among teens and young adults as compared to senior citizens?"*] Laura did not see much of a difference between older people and younger people in regards to these sentiments.

Interviewer: "Can you describe how the English that is most commonly spoken in Cameroon is similar and different from British English?"

Laura said that they were different, that Cameroonians add local languages (e.g. terms). The youth create slang words. She said that the major change if she were to speak "in Pidgin" would be her accent (as compared to the way she was speaking during the interview). She clarified that she was speaking about Nigerian Pidgin, which was common in the Anglophone part of the country. She explained that Nigerian Pidgin has Nigerian "native" words in it (e.g. "talk" becomes "*talkam*"), even if Cameroonians do not speak a Nigerian language. During class, they speak "proper English". But elsewhere, especially with their Nigerian neighbors, they might speak Pidgin. Laura said that the amount of Pidgin people use varies. Even for her, it would be hard to understand someone speaking *only* in Pidgin. Yet, it is such a mixture of languages that it can be hard to distinguish which languages are actually being used.

Interviewer: "Do you think English is a practical language for people living in Cameroon? Why or why not?"

Laura:

"English is always practical, because we have a lot of foreigners in Cameroon, especially in Yaoundé, even if not from Britain or the USA. We have a lot of Kenyans, Nigerians." She also said that there are a lot of Cameroonians coming from the Anglophone part of the country who only speak English. "English is always handy." Laura mentioned Cameroonians from the north, whom she considered as "English native speakers", who only speak English (i.e. not French). "As they come to Yaoundé they would learn French. [*"You called them native English speakers. Do you think they don't speak any other language except for English?"*] They have their native language too. They would speak their native language and English, but not French."

[*"You said you can't read or write Bulu, but you can understand and speak it barely. Do you think that's normal for someone from Cameroon?"*] (Laughs) "No. That's only because my parents didn't speak Bulu to us. They wanted us to start learning when we were in secondary school but it was really hard so we couldn't learn." She explained that her parents spoke to their eldest brother in Bulu, because he was the only sibling to go back to their village. However, they did not go back very often because of family discord; they would go back to the village only for special events. She thought that most Cameroonians still speak their "native language"; she is just an exception.

[*"Would people speak their tribal language to each other if they met on the streets?"*] Laura said that it was difficult to say. If two people's tribal languages were under the same ethnic groups, they might have different languages but they could understand each other. In Yaoundé, they would use French or English, but also their native language as often as they would use English or French, except when they speak with someone who could not understand the tribal language ("like me", Laura said). [*"If you met a random person, would they initiate a conversation in a language [from your ethnic group]?"*] "It's hard to say. They know those

that are in the same ethnical group as they are. [*“But you’re Beti, so wouldn’t they speak to you in that language?”*] No. They would look at me and speak either French or English because I am very light and they would see that I’m mixed because I have foreign blood. I’m very light compared to others and they would think that I am a foreigner. [*“Just because of the way you look?”*] Yeah. [*“So, they’d think you’re a foreigner?”*] Not necessarily that I’m a foreigner, but that I have foreign blood – that I may not speak my native language.”

[*“When you’re out on the streets, what languages do you hear?”*] “Both English and French, and native languages - it’s really mixed”. Laura said that signs are in French and English; in Yaoundé, most but not all signs are in French. [*“Are there any people that you cannot communicate with in the city? How often does it happen?”*] “Never. Even Muslims would speak French or English too.”

Interviewer: “Do you think English is considered elite by people living in Cameroon? Why or why not?”

Laura:

“I don’t think it’s considered elite.”

Interviewer: “How often do you switch between languages when talking with people from Cameroon?”

Laura:

“Not often.” She explained that one adapts to what the other person speaks, and normally they speak either French or English better than any other common language. Even if people code-switch and use languages that she does not know (e.g. Bulu, which she does not speak very well), she can figure out meaning from the context. She did say that most Cameroonians code-switch (i.e. from sentence to sentence).

Interviewer: “How likely is it for Cameroonians who are proficient in a European language to move to a western English-speaking country? Why?”

[*“If they speak English or French well?”*] Laura responded by explaining that it is quite common for them to move to foreign countries for a time and then come back. “Most of them come back. I guess they always come back”. When talking about going abroad for university studies, she explained that it always depends on the financial situation of the family and the financial aid given by the foreign university.

[*“If almost everyone eventually comes back, is your situation, of not wanting to go back permanently, rare?”*] “It’s rare for people to not go back because we always think about our families. Our family encourages us to go gain some... *des connaissances* [“knowledge”] and come back to build the country. [...] There are some people that never come back. *Ils se rebellent* [“They rebel”]. It’s more for younger people. More mature people come to gain knowledge because they have a heart for the country and just want to make things better for the country so they’ll always come back. Maybe for the young people one day they’ll think ‘I want my country to be better so I’ll go back’.”

Laura also shared that she thought that when Cameroonians come to Europe, they will always consider themselves Cameroonian. “They will always look for - it’s normal after all - they will always look for Cameroonian peoples. They always stick together.”

Lilian

Burundian

French resident

Interview on April 12th, 2017

Interviewer: "Please briefly present yourself."

Lilian:

"My name is [Lilian]. I'm 29, born and raised in Burundi, Bujumbura. I came in France when I was 19. Came for my studies. Spent three years in [city] France studying hospitality management. In 2010, I came to [city] to study Finance & Marketing and since then I'm looking for a job. Living a quiet life ever since."

Interviewer: "Where do your parents live?"

Her mother lives in the capital of Burundi. Her father lives in Ivory Coast for work, but regularly goes home.

Interviewer: "How much of your extended family lives in the country where you were born?"

Three of her sisters live in Burundi (1 is married and lives there, 1 is there momentarily and will soon come back to Belgium, and the third lives there). They will soon all be out because of unrest, safety, and political instability. They will probably all go to Canada, where her two other sisters live.

Interviewer: "How would people in your country of birth describe you and your family (in terms of social status)?"

Lilian:

"Privileged, wealthy" [...] "I don't know what definition comes with 'wealthy' in Burundi; we're not Bill Gates." She went to private school all her life. "Life was very secure compared to the others [...] we're doing good but we're not going to talk about it." Her father's side has been involved in politics. Her mother's side is not into politics but is privileged. Her mom was one of 10 kids who all went to school, "and at that time it was really a privilege for any kid to go to school."

Interviewer: "How long have you been in France? What brought you here?"

Lilian:

"Almost 10 years." She came to France for her post-secondary studies.

Interviewer: “How long do you plan to stay in France?”

Lilian plans to stay in France for one more year.

Interviewer: “Where do you consider ‘home’ to be? Do you want to live there in the future?”

Lilian:

“I’ve always said that home was Burundi. [*“It’s true?”*] Up to a certain point.” She thought she would study in France for a few years and then go home (i.e. to Burundi). “Then I realized it was not possible; at that time, it was political instability and I didn’t know exactly where I was heading. I wanted to do something else, that’s why I did business school. [...] I know it sounds crazy, but church redefined family for me [...] for me, I call [French city A] home, but not as Burundi is home; it’s a different kind of meaning.”

She wants to be in the U.S. for anywhere from five years to the rest of her life. “I’m not defined by [French city A] and I’m not defined by Burundi. I have like a cultural mix. The way I think in French and Kirundi doesn’t make sense.”

Interviewer: “What languages do you speak proficiently (i.e. can read/write/carry on a conversation)?”

Kirundi is her “mother tongue”. [*“You can read, write, carry on a conversation in all of them?”*] “Kirundi, less.” She has never studied in Kirundi, though she has studied it. She can read and write Kirundi “like a kid”. Conversational skills are her strongest area in Kirundi.

Of all the languages she knows, French is “definitely the best”. She also mentioned English.

Interviewer: “What language or languages do you speak with your parents and family?”

With her friends and family, Lilian speaks “mostly” Kirundi & French. It depends on the subject. She discusses matters of finance with her father in English; she discusses faith with her mother in English. She says this is “because we follow the same programs” and read similar materials, “so we don’t want to waste time”.

“Conversations are mostly a mixture of Kirundi & French.” Within a sentence, there may be more than one language. “If I want to be specific about something, I will add English.” The same holds true for her interactions with her siblings.

Interviewer: “What do you consider to be your mother tongue or heart language?”

Lilian:

“It’s hard to say. It’s hard to acknowledge that. A friend of mine said to me once, ‘Lilian, don’t you know which language you’re comfortable in?’ And I was like, ‘Yeah, sure – Kirundi, man!’ Kirundi is my mother tongue to be honest. [...] And then she [this same friend] said, ‘What language do you count in?’ I said, ‘French.’” Thus, Lilian considers her heart language to be French, but it bothers her. “In my heart, Kirundi is my mother tongue. I mean it would be crazy to say that I was born and raised in Burundi, around Burundian people, and say French is my mother tongue. [*“Why would that be crazy?”*] Because it doesn’t make sense. It’s not like

I was born in France. [*“But isn’t French one of the official languages there?”*] Yeah, still - come on! [laughs] Okay, because maybe when you go to school you spend six hours at school and you have to speak in French, obviously, in class. You mess around with your friends in Kirundi. You go play tennis with your coach, you speak Kirundi - a mixture of Kirundi & French, obviously, but mostly Kirundi.”

[*“So, it would be safe to say that your heart language is French?”*] “Yeah, over Kirundi - it really hurts. [*“So, never French over Kirundi, that feels bad to you?”*] That feels bad, yeah, it’s a personal thing. But people who know me, especially some cousins, used to say, ‘You know you’re French - you know it’s French your mother tongue.’ And I would say, ‘You’re crazy!’”

“When I’m having a deeper conversation, I use French words because these are the things that I learned when I was in school. [*“So maybe playing tennis you’ll speak Kirundi, but then as soon as there’s a deeper something...”*] I just lose it and then I go to French. It just is what it is. [*“Are there some things you couldn’t express in Kirundi?”*] When I’m stressed around Burundians, I tend to speak French. I know - it doesn’t make sense. [*“And do you think that’s normal for people in your country?”*] No.” This is only how it is for her and her sisters. “We’ve never really learned Burundian culture per se. We learn it at school and you learn it at home, but it’s never like ‘you have to behave like this because you’re Burundian’. We always had this access to the world – we don’t think Burundian, we think worldwide, we think international since we were young.”

“Burundian culture for me really restricts my way of thinking sometimes. The French words allow me to go further. And it doesn’t mean that the word doesn’t exist in Kirundi; I don’t know the word. My Kirundi classes were like an hour per week. My Kirundi is more like friendly, go-to. When I talk to my grandparents and other elders, I’m like, ‘they don’t get me’. [*“Is this because you’ve lived the past 10 years in France or was it this way before you came?”*] I knew this was the case, but I didn’t know how deep it was. And I had to acknowledge it when I came to France - actually it was two years ago. Because I was losing my Kirundi. [*“Is this because you’ve lived the past 10 years in France or was it this way before you came?”*] Yeah, the 10 years played a huge part, obviously. When I was in Burundi, I never felt like Kirundi was *not* part of me.” When she changed cities and was then no longer surrounded by Burundians, that’s when it changed significantly.

Interviewer: “What are your professional aspirations and plans?”

She wants to work in the finance industry. She would like to go to the U.S., finish her Bachelors, then get her MBA. Her professional aspiration is to work in the U.S. as a consultant in investment banking and be self-employed.

Interviewer: “Describe your primary school experience.”

Lilian went to an international school. It was private, with smaller classes (i.e. 25 students per class). The language of instruction was French. She started learning English at school at age eight, though had started learning it by watching TV as a kid (i.e. age five or six). Her classmates were mostly privileged kids; some were internationals, though many left because of the Burundian genocide. Most of her classmates were Francophone. She had Kirundi class twice a week during elementary school and once a week starting in middle school. English class was more frequent (i.e. two or three hours a week). Her teachers were mostly Burundian;

most others had left because of the genocide. Many teachers had been there for many years because this was a sort of dream job.

[*“To what extent was this a normal school experience for someone from Burundi?”*] “It was really hard to get into this school, and it was expensive.” She explained that many families were on a waiting list for three years unless they knew someone (and even in that case the student would only get in if someone was expelled). In her opinion, knowing someone is the best means to get in. This was one of the best schools in the country.

Interviewer: “Describe your secondary school experience.”

Lilian attended a Belgian school for secondary school. “A good deal because it was a European degree [i.e. the Baccalaureate] at the end.” She had already made plans to come to Europe afterwards. The school was private, and the most expensive school in Burundi; tuition was paid in euros, not even in Burundian francs. Lilian said that if you are an average Burundian, “it doesn’t even cross your mind” to go to this school, simply because of the cost. However, Lilian said, “wealth is really relative”, estimating that the school cost 3,000 euros per year. About her classmates, she said “they were just rich kids [...] they didn’t know what problems were. They were living in a bubble”; most of them were expats. As for the teachers, only two or three were Burundian; most of them were Belgian. Lilian explained why she did not go to the French school in Bujumbura: “The [French] system had broken down over the years; it was the worst of the private expensive schools.” Lilian clarified that both the French school and the Belgian school were the only one of their kind in Burundi.

[*“Why didn’t you go to public school?”*] “You don’t dream big in a public school [...] it’s just like you do your work and then que sera, sera. Private school has taught me, still teaches me, that wherever you want to go, you can get there. And it’s not just a matter of money; they teach you another perspective that public schools don’t.” Lilian explained that certain public schools in the capital (on the Belgian system) are “really effective, but up to a certain point”; for example, “you know your maps, your facts, but you don’t have culture. I grew up on, ‘You want to go somewhere else, you go’. I never knew it was dreaming big. I thought it was normal.”

Interviewer: “How much did you study colonization in school?”

Lilian:

About primary school, Lilian said, “we get to understand why things happened this way. When I was seven or eight, I didn’t understand why people were killing each other [i.e. genocide]. So, it’s cool to understand from the get-go that it comes from here [i.e. colonization]. And then things turn out to be the things you are living now. I’m pretty sure I understood and I’m pretty sure my classmates understood too.”

Lilian said that colonization was studied “less in high school [...] because we’re focusing on something else. [...] Then you go home, and your parents tell you their version of it. Most families don’t talk politics at home. [*“So, you don’t talk about colonization?”*] You talk about it because my parents lived through it. So, they could be like, ‘I remember when I was fifteen, I couldn’t go there because it was only for white people’. But you don’t spend that much time talking about it.” She thought that maybe she knew more about colonization because her family was involved in politics. “When your life is more like ‘I have to survive everyday’, you don’t care. You have to know why it [colonization] is happening, and then you’re like, ‘Oh whatever... I have food on the table? Oh, it’s cool.’”

Interviewer: “What do you think is the general sentiment of people in your birth country towards their former colonizing nation?”

Lilian:

“The past is the past. At this point, we’ve been through a difficult time. Obviously, Belgium is guilty of a lot of things, but not all things, because we have to move on. But in general, there’s a good, close relationship.” She confirmed that she indeed thought this was the case for the country as a whole, not just her family. “The resentment that we had at a time - you have to move on. I could speak about my dad who went through a lot of difficult times during colonization, but he sent us to Belgian school at the end of the day. [*“And do you think most people are moving on like that?”*]

I do believe so.” [*“Do you think there is a difference in sentiment among teens and young adults as compared to senior citizens?”*] Lilian indicated that perhaps senior citizens have more resentment. “It’s harder to forgive what you went through [...] but teenagers really don’t care – they moved on.” Lilian went on to explain that in Burundian culture, “we don’t spend much time on the past; we move on.” She thought this was the case for all of Africa too. She also considered Burundi to be most similar to countries like Rwanda, Ethiopia, Senegal.

Interviewer: “Do you think French is a practical language for people living in your birth country? Why or why not?”

Lilian:

“You can find work easily if you speak French. [...] You cannot work in government offices and be like ‘I only speak Kirundi’.”

Interviewer: “Do you think French is considered elite by people living in your birth country? Why or why not?”

Lilian:

“We know to differentiate the level of French. You can speak French, but once you speak a *certain* French, that’s elite. [*“Maybe with a certain accent?”*] Exactly. [...] People will realize ‘Oh, you went to *that* school’.”

Interviewer: “Is it ever necessary in Burundi to use French, or is it always a choice?”

Lilian started out by saying that sometimes you have to use French for work. She corrected herself, saying, “I think it’s a necessity actually. [...] In everyday life, I would say you don’t have to speak French. Whatever you’re doing, you can do it in Kirundi. But, once you want to find work, I think you need to speak French.”

Interviewer: “How often do you switch between languages when talking with people from Burundi?”

Lilian:

“When I don’t know you and I’m in a different environment, I tend to speak the opposite language. But when I have to, I speak Kirundi.” She explained that if you changed to French (i.e. against the norm), most people would wonder why you would not be speaking Kirundi if you could.

Interviewer: “How likely is it for Burundians who are proficient in a European language to move to a western English-speaking country? Why?”

Lilian explained that in order to move, you need to have the means. You “get access to better schools on the outside.” She argued that this was human nature, that people always want something better, whether it is rural population moving to city, or city people moving internationally. She thought that most people have a strong desire to leave, that people know that there is something better somewhere else, as the local school system has gone down and people are aware of that. She also thought that the rural population does not know or realize that the level of education has gone down.

Interviewer: “To what extent do these immigrants eventually move back to Africa?”

Lilian:

“Now, I would say it would be crazy to go back.” She explained that this was for political and economic reasons, with the economy “going bad”. In her opinion, one would have no job unless one had a family business, which most people do not. She thought that if things “truly get better”, people will go back. “Burundi is still home. [...] There’s something about home. You can live thirty years somewhere and then you feel like you want to go home because it’s your home. [...] I hope it will happen.”

Mary

Kenyan and British

English resident; university (undergraduate) exchange student in France

Interview on April 20th, 2017

Interviewer: "Please briefly present yourself."

Mary:

"I'm Mary. I'm 22. I live in [English city A]. I study in [French city A] right now. But I'm originally from Kenya. I lived in Kenya until I was 12, and then me and my sister moved to [English city A] to join my parents. I'm Christian."

Interviewer: "Where do your parents live?"

Mary's parents live in a suburb of [English city A]. Her mother moved from Nairobi to [English city A] in 2012 for work ("she got the opportunity so she went"). Mary's father moved from Nairobi to [English city A] in 2005, right before she and her sister moved there; he was looking for work. Mary explained, "he was an accountant in Kenya, but then some stuff happened; he lost his job and couldn't find anything, so I think he just decided that moving to [English city A] would be a good opportunity for him."

Interviewer: "How much of your extended family lives in the country where you were born?"

All of Mary's family, except her parents and her sister, live in Kenya. [*"Do you have a big family?"*] "Yeah [*"Will any of them come join you?"*] No."

Interviewer: "How would people in your country of birth describe you and your family (in terms of social status)?"

Mary:

"I think we're middle-class [...] an average family [...] In reality we're middle class, but because we live in [English city A], a lot of people may perceive us to be higher, which isn't true. Especially people who are more poor, because they're like 'they must be rich' because they get to see - when they watch TV and see [English city A], they see all the perfect places."

[*"Is your extended family of a similar status?"*] "No." She explained that both her parents are the "highest" (i.e. wealthiest) ones in their families. "My aunt is quite wealthy as well. But I think us living in a different country makes us look like we're richer. [...] The rest of the family is not poor, they're just kind of living paycheck to paycheck [...] just above average."

[*"Are your parents wealthier because they live in [English city A] or did they move because they could afford it?"*] "My mom is wealthier since moving to [English city A] because her job pays way more. That's one of the reasons she chose to move. [...] My dad earns less

because he was an accountant in Kenya but now he works as a post delivery man in a university. Before my dad was the breadwinner, but now my mom is the breadwinner. [...] But if you combine what they're making, I think it's gone up overall since moving to [English city A]."

Interviewer: "How long have you been in France? What brought you here?"

Mary has been in France for eight months and came for two semesters of study as an Erasmus exchange student.

Interviewer: "Where do you consider 'home' to be? Do you want to live there in the future?"

Mary:

"I think I'll say Kenya because when I'm in the UK, I don't identify as British because even though part of my formative years were in [English city A], my history is in Kenya. I feel like if I identified [English city A] as home, it would be a bit weird because that's not where my extended family is. [...] But [English city A] has a massive influence. For example, if I go to Kenya, I can't travel on my own because I don't know how to get around. In the last three years that I was in Kenya [i.e. ages 10 to 12], I was in boarding school. Boarding school is very sheltered, and before that I was like a kid with my parents. [...] A lot of my thoughts is influenced by me growing up in [English city A]."

[*"Do you see yourself moving back to Kenya in the future. Would you like to live there?"*] "I'd like to. I used to say 'Never...I don't think I could.' Even before [i.e. starting university], it's not something that I would picture - just because Kenya works so differently to [English city A]. But I think I'd move back if my parents retired and moved back. I think I would move back and stay for like a year or so - see my family and then move back to the UK or another country. [*"You wouldn't go back to Kenya to live there permanently?"*] No. [*"Why would you not move back and live there?"*] If they [i.e. her parents] moved back, they would be retired and doing their own thing. And if I picture my future and what I would do, I just don't think it would call for me to be in Kenya. So, I'd go back and see my parents, but I don't think I would go back and live there."

Interviewer: "What languages do you speak proficiently (i.e. can read/write/carry on a conversation)?"

Mary mentioned the following languages: Swahili ("I still remember quite a lot"; "I've forgotten maybe slang, but I can talk, read and write"); English ("the best"); French (i.e. can read, write and speak "a little bit"); Spanish (similar but a bit lower than French); her "mother tongue", Kikuyu (i.e. can speak it [but not with "a proper accent [...] my mom laughs [...] but I can talk to people"], can read "a bit but not too much" and cannot write it). Mary ranked them as follows: English, Swahili, French, Kikuyu, Spanish. "Kikuyu's my mother tongue because it's my mother's language; it's the language of my tribe, that's why it's my mother tongue."

Interviewer: "What language or languages do you speak with your parents and family?"

Mary:

“My parents, when I grew up, they mainly spoke English and Swahili to me and my sister. So, my cousins can speak Kikuyu really well but I can’t because my parents never taught me. [*“Your cousins’ parents mainly spoke what languages?”*] Mainly Kikuyu, because with us growing up in the city [i.e. Nairobi], it’s not very traditional. As things become more modern, the traditions kind of get left behind a little bit. My cousins, they grew up in more rural areas of Kenya – the rural areas of my tribe. They grew up speaking Kikuyu to everyone. [*“In school and everything?”*] Maybe not in school, but with their parents and grandparents. [...] Both of my parents, they speak Kikuyu to each other, and they speak Kikuyu to us [i.e. she and her sister], but it’s not something that I was taught. [*“Do they only speak Kikuyu to each other?”*] No, they speak Kikuyu, English and Swahili mixed up. [...] My parents would speak Kikuyu to each other when they’re talking about something that they didn’t want me or my sister to hear. Or like when they’re on the phone to their siblings; obviously they speak Kikuyu ‘cos that’s their original language. [...] It’s not something that my parents really emphasized on me and my sister learning so... I can understand if they speak to me, but even sometimes I can’t fully answer back in Kikuyu because of words I don’t know.”

[*“But do you feel that you’re fluent in Swahili?”*] “Yeah, because everyone speaks it in Kenya. [*“With cousins/family, do you speak only in Swahili?”*] In Kenya, we mix Swahili and English a lot. So, if I’m talking with my friends or my cousins, anyone from Kenya, you speak Swahili with them because why not. [*“Would you mix in Kikuyu?”*] With Swahili in Kenya, the way we speak it is we don’t speak the fluent one, we mix it with English a lot. But you wouldn’t mix English with Kikuyu because that usually doesn’t happen. Or maybe you can – but I’ve never heard it. [...] If you hear Kenyan people speak, you’ll be able to pick up the things that they’re saying because they’ll say them in English. I could speak Kikuyu to my cousins, but I don’t speak it. [...] My parents speak Kikuyu with my cousins.”

[*“Do you ever speak English with your cousins?”*] “I try not to because if I’m talking to them on the phone, their default is to speak to me in English because they think I’ve forgotten Swahili. So, I have to speak as much Swahili as possible to prove that I still remember the language even though I don’t live in Kenya anymore. [...] They speak to me in English and I answer back in Swahili. Then they start answering back in Swahili. [*“They’re just doing that to be nice?”*] Yeah. A lot of kids when they move they forget the language. But those are kids that moved when they are really young. But I moved when I was twelve, so I can still remember a lot. And they’re always really impressed: ‘Oh you still remember!’ I wasn’t that young when I moved; of course, I still remember! [...] I’m realizing now how weird it sounds, but it’s so normal to me.”

Interviewer: “What do you consider to be your mother tongue or heart language?”

Mary answered Kikuyu, because it is her mother’s language and the language of her tribe.

Interviewer: “Describe your primary school experience.”

Mary attended two different primary schools over a span of six years. She spent three years in the first school, and three years in the other. Then she moved to [English city A] to finish primary school. Mary described her first primary school. It was a public, “state school [...] a government school.” She explained that it was a normal school: “average” and “free”. She attended from ages five to eight. Her classmates were all were from a nicer neighborhood

in Nairobi center. About the language of instruction, she said that everything was in English, except for Swahili class. She said they learned the formal Swahili – “the Swahili that’s spoken in Tanzania”. They had Swahili class one to three times a week, for thirty minutes. About the languages that her classmates spoke, Mary said, “English and Swahili...I would say mostly Swahili, because that’s the national language, but we mix English a lot when we speak, but we were encouraged to speak English because it’s important for you to learn English for your future purposes.” Her teachers were all Kenyan, from different tribes.

Mary’s second primary school was private – a boarding school, “because my mom could afford to pay”. About boarding schools, Mary explained that they are “quite common because we really value education and they’re the best schools in the country and all parents aspire to that”. Her classmates were almost all Kenyan. Mary said, “I remember seeing two white kids”, which she described as “the wealthier kids”. The boarding school was in Nyahuru. When asked about the language of instruction, Mary said that it was similar to “the structure for pretty much all Kenyan schools” – all English. “But this school was more strict with what we spoke. From Monday through Thursday, you had to be speaking English [i.e. during school hours only, not like in the dormitory]. So even if you’re walking down the corridor with your friend and your teacher hears you speaking Swahili, you’d get a beating for that. [...] Beatings are common in Kenya – that’s the main way of punishment. Because we’re used to that form of discipline, it didn’t seem that strict ‘cos we knew schools where they’re ten times stricter than ours.” Mary clarified that they disciplined in this way for anything in school, not just language. “Fridays were the days you were allowed to speak Swahili”, though English was still the only language of instruction. “Our boarding school was actually one of the more relaxed ones. For example, we had hot water to shower, and some of my cousins were like you’re spoiled. We looked more privileged for having hot water.” Her teachers were all Kenyan, and mostly from the region.

[“*To what extent was this a normal school experience for someone from Kenya?*”] [“*Are other schools as strict as that with the language?*”] “I think that that was more unique to my school. I would argue all schools in Kenya try to encourage students to speak in English as much as they can. But because English and Swahili are the two languages that pretty much everyone speaks in Kenya, so it’s not like we’re a country where people don’t speak English and they have to force us to. So, I guess my boarding school was just a little bit extra, I don’t know, I guess... I haven’t heard of my cousins and friends being forced to speak a certain language. But this was not something that had always existed, this was a weird rule that they tried to introduce a little bit later.”

Interviewer: “Describe your secondary school experience.”

Mary was in [English city A] for all five years of British secondary school. “It was kind a challenging when the first year. Even though I knew English, we didn’t speak the British English. So, I think I struggled most of my year with understanding people. I remember one of my friends said that [initially] I kept on saying ‘pardon’ ‘cos my mom taught me that if you don’t understand you need to say ‘pardon’, and I remember saying ‘pardon’ all the time because people spoke way too fast for me to understand.” This was a public school in a suburb. Mary said that there were “less than ten black kids in the whole school. [...] The area where we moved it was really, really white – like you’d go down the road and people looked at you. But no one was ever racist towards me, everyone was cool.”

[“*But you said you struggled initially to speak English?*”] “Yeah, I think it’s just the way they spoke, because they spoke it very differently. As a native English speaker, you speak it really fast. But for me English...if I thought someone else was Kenyan, I wouldn’t speak just English, I would speak Swahili with some English. It took me a long time to learn...to be able

to understand. ‘Cos in Nairobi in school, I would struggle to understand something and then I would tell it to myself in Swahili and then I was like, ‘Ah! Okay I get it.’ [*“When you’re listening during class?”*]

Yeah. It took like one year [i.e. of school in the UK] I would say for me to be able to fully understand and speak as the same level as other kids.”

“I remember when my mom told me and my sister that we were going to move to [English city A]. It’s such a romanticized idea – even in Kenya, and I guess a lot of African countries, white people are really sort of glorified. So that whole idea that you’re going to go live with white people, everyone’s like, ‘Oh, that’s going to be so cool!’ I was like, ‘I’m going to have all these white friends...’ And then I moved and I was like, (whispers) ‘I can’t understand them...’ And I was like, ‘woah...okay’. [...] When I moved to the UK, that’s when I realized I was shy. But then my mom was like, ‘Maybe in Kenya, teachers don’t call on you to speak – they kind of talk at you’. So maybe that’s why I never realized that I’m shy.”

Interviewer: “How much did you study colonization in school?”

Mary:

“A lot [...] we got our independence in 1961 – not that long ago. [...] In history class, they taught us a lot about the history of tribes, the history of Kenya, and colonization was something that was really focused on. But not really how it was during the colonized times - we kind of focused on how Kenya got its freedom. They focused on towards the end of colonization. For example, I don’t really know how life was when Britain was colonizing because it’s not really something that’s talked about, maybe because of the painful memories. [...] It’s something that they really focus on teaching in school because a lot of our public holidays, for example, they link to how Kenya got its freedom.”

[*“So, you’d say you study it, but you mostly study the tribal history, which doesn’t really involve colonization?”*]

“The tribal history links into colonization. I think my tribe was one of the most affected by colonization because where the British people went...the area they went in Kenya was where my tribe lived, because they went for the places that were really fertile. And my tribe – historically, we’re farmers. [...] They didn’t really say, ‘when Kenya was colonized, this is how life was like.’ They kind of focused on local, tribal history in the beginning and then they went to how Kenyans fought for their independence. [...] They sort of skipped that bit in the middle.”

Interviewer: “What do you think is the general sentiment of people in Kenya towards the former colonizing nation?”

Mary:

“The older, older generation, they’re not too fond of westerners. They grew up during the colonization times, when they were really oppressed. I don’t think they have an optimistic view. But weirdly enough, people who were born towards the end [i.e. late 50s and onward] or after colonization, we esteem the western cultures – it’s inspirational. So, they’re very optimistic about the UK. They aspire to be more western.”

“If someone who is white-British moved to Kenya and they just had an undergraduate degree, and then compare them against a Kenyan person who had like a Master’s or a PhD, the British person is more likely to get those top jobs, even though they’re not really qualified for it because of how westerners are viewed. [*“Is it race-based? Would the same apply for a black Brit?”*]

They wouldn’t have the same advantage that a white British person would, but they would have more of an advantage compared to a Kenyan, born and bred in Kenya. [*“Even if*

the Kenyan had a higher education?”] Yeah. [...] Even just if you went to a British university. If I went to Kenya, they’d be amazed that I studied at [English university] in [English city A]. They perceive you getting a degree from a British university as really high. But the weird thing is I would argue that the level of education in Kenya is way higher, but it’s not viewed as that. It’s quite weird. [“Why would you say it’s ‘higher’?”] I feel like the teachers care more, it’s more intense. Even in primary school and high school. When I was in boarding school we were learning stuff that was two or three classes above us. So, the level of education that you receive in Kenya is like much more big. [...] Kenya as a whole, and maybe Africa, we really value education; it’s really precious. And it’s something that families really invest a lot of money into because if you have good education, it can take you anywhere. Whereas, back in [English city A], there’s a more relaxed attitude towards education. In Kenya it’s very serious, it’s very competitive, it’s very intense. In Kenya we view it as something you need in order to have a better quality of life. So, it’s something that everyone aspires to. It’s something that’s really pushed. [...] When I moved to [English city A], they were talking about stuff that kids didn’t get and I was like, ‘I learned this two years ago in Kenya’. But I think teachers didn’t understand my accent so they didn’t see me as knowing as much as I did.”

Interviewer: “Can you describe how the English that is most commonly spoken in Kenya is similar and different from British English?”

Mary:

“The only time that they would see Kenyan people speaking purely English [i.e. just English, no Swahili added] to each other is in the news – in formal settings, like for example if someone was going to an interview. In casual situations, just speaking English to each other is a bit weird. Even now, if I meet someone who is Kenyan who speaks English to me, I’m like, ‘Why are they speaking English to me?’ [...] Like if I’m speaking to you, I’m mainly speaking in Swahili but let’s say I forget what something means in Swahili then I’ll say it in English.”

Interviewer: “How do you feel your level of English is in comparison to most people from your community and country? Why?”

Mary has lived in the UK for ten years, so she would say that her English is much better than most Kenyans (“the Britishness of my English, but it doesn’t mean that my English is grammatically better”). “In Kenya, I’d argue generally Kenyans who’ve learned English speak better English in terms of grammar - how English should be spoken. But obviously with the Kenyan accent.” Mary said that she now speaks “more relaxed” (“how people speak”).

Interviewer: “Do you think English is a practical language for people living in Kenya? Why or why not?”

Mary:

“A lot of non-western countries believe English is really important to be able to speak because professionally it will put you up on a higher level. For example, if you’re in Kenya and you don’t speak English and you wanted to move to a western country for a job, you wouldn’t be able to because you don’t speak English. You have to be able to speak it because it’ll help you out career-wise. [“So, for work it’s useful?”] Yeah, but for everyday life it’s not that important. But culturally we place a lot of emphasis on the professional life. From a young age

everyone's pushed to be the best, so you can get the best jobs, the best opportunities. So, there's a massive need to be able to speak English. [*"And this is for people who don't even move abroad?"*] Yeah, 'cos the way things are in Kenya, there's a lot of students whose parents pay for them to go to university abroad – US, UK, other western countries – but then they come back after they finish university [i.e. to live in Kenya]. But when they come back their accent is different. For example, if you watch the news, all of the Kenyan news presenters for the English news, they all have western accents. [*"So, they probably studied abroad?"*] Yeah. So, if you're not able to speak English, even if you stay in Kenya, it won't do you a favor."

"I guess all parents aspire to be able to send their kids abroad for school. Some of them can't afford it, some of them do fundraising and they make money, some of them are just rich and they can pay for it. [*"Do you think the average person has good opportunities to learn English living in Kenya without going abroad?"*] Yeah, we learn it in school. It's part of the languages that we learn in school. Well we don't learn it as a language, well actually maybe we do because we do a lot of grammatical stuff, and we do a lot of essays in English. Pretty much all schools teach in English, in Kenya as a whole. [*"Even in rural areas?"*] Maybe not in really deep rural areas, but even in those areas I feel like they do speak English because for example, the national exams are all in English except for the Swahili ones [i.e. the Swahili-as-a-subject exam, but all other subjects are tested in English]."

"In Kenya, I would say the people who maybe can't speak English are from the older generation who grew up at a time when they wouldn't study English, or like they didn't even go to school. I would argue that everyone my age who goes to school speaks English."

Interviewer: "Do you think English is considered elite by people living in Kenya?"

Mary:

"No, because it's something that we all speak. The way Kenyans speak Swahili is with English. So, it's kind of a language that everyone speaks. [*"But are you talking about the mixture or pure English?"*] I would say pure English because you learn pure English in school, so it's something that we'll not necessarily speak, but it's something that everyone knows. [*"Knowing' meaning reading?"*] Yeah, reading and writing, but not speaking. Speaking may be a bit more challenging."

"The only thing I'd say that elite is your accent, because it's always the kids that went to study abroad that are the rich kids. If you hear a Kenyan speaking English with a British or American accent, you're like, 'Woah, they're on that other level.'"

"But everyone kind of pretty much speaks English. [*"Or at least a mixture of Swahili and English?"*] Yeah. [*"Do you think everyone can speak pure English? Like for example, if I went to Kenya and I don't speak Swahili, how easy would it be for me to talk to them?"*] I think generally people would understand you if you just speak slower. [*"Would I understand them?"*] Yeah. We have an accent. I wouldn't say it's too thick of an accent to understand."

"But the majority of people in Kenya went to school, studied English. So many things in Kenya are in English – the newspapers. When asked how much code-switching or code-mixing normally happens between Kenyans, Mary answered, "Kenyans are more likely to just speak Swahili to each other or just mix a little bit of English."

Interviewer: "Is it ever necessary in Kenya to use English, or is it always a choice?"

Mary:

“It’s only necessary in professional situations [...] any type of job I would say. [*“Are there certain jobs where you are not allowed to speak Swahili?”*] I imagine like in a job you can speak Swahili with your friends, in those kinds of situations. But if you’re addressing your manager, or someone higher than you, you’d do it in English [i.e. pure English - only English, no Swahili added]. Kenya is very hierarchal, so you wouldn’t address anyone superior to you in a casual way [i.e. in Swahili]. [...] In anything that’s not professional, English is not that much of a necessity.”

Interviewer: “How likely is it for Kenyans who are proficient in a European language to move to a western English-speaking country? Why?”

Mary:

“It’s something that everyone aspires to because there’s more jobs that pay better in the UK in comparison to Kenya. I think it’s something that more and more people are doing.” Mary explained that a lot of children of immigrants are moving back to Kenya, some permanently. However, she said that there is “movement in both ways.” [*“Why would they move back?”*] “The main reason people move to western countries is for job opportunities, but I think they prefer the ethics/morals and how things work in Kenya in comparison to the UK, so maybe that’s why a lot of them decide to go back. [...] There’s a way things work in Kenya; there’s a way that we value things, that we treat things. A lot of our beliefs/values. [*“So just cultural reasons?”*] Maybe politically, I don’t know... [...] People who move to western countries, they don’t really like the beliefs, morals and values in those countries but they move because there are better job opportunities. But that’s almost always like the only positive.”

Mary made the disclaimer that she may be biased because she knows mostly nurses in people in the medical industry – mostly mothers. She also explained that it is common for married couple to live apart because of not being able to find work, or not finding work opportunities that are as good as back home. They work whichever system pays better. Mary also explained that working in the west even for just a time period could be a resumé booster that could help them back home.

Interviewer: “To what extent do these immigrants eventually move back to Africa?”

Mary:

“I see a lot of people in their late twenties/early thirties moving back to Kenya. ‘It was all fun and games living in the UK, but it’s not my home’ – that’s how they view it. They’re like, ‘I need to go back home, I need to go back to where I’m from’. [...] I’ve seen more people who moved when they were kids but older who decided to move back [i.e. to Kenya]. But people that were my age and younger, they’re less likely to move back to Kenya because they don’t really remember much.”

“The reason I wouldn’t move back is there are a lot of things that Kenyans believe and do that I don’t agree with and I don’t really see the point. Kenya is authoritative and masculine as compared to the UK. Like if I’m talking to my boss, I have to address him in a certain way. Things like that are why I wouldn’t move back to Kenya because the way Kenya works and the way I view things are different. But there’s a lot of people [i.e. immigrants] whose views and beliefs are similar to Kenya, so that’s why they decide to move back. [...] But us kids who moved when we were younger, we’re more westernized so we would struggle more if we moved back to Kenya.”

Vauna

Nigerian

Master's student in France

Interview on May 6th, 2017

Interviewer: "Please briefly present yourself."

Vauna:

"My name Vauna [last name]. I'm 24 years old. I'm Nigerian. I am a student at [French university]. I'm studying Ethics and Sustainable Development, in the faculty of Philosophy."

Interviewer: "Where do your parents live?"

Vauna's parents live in Abuja, the capital city of Nigeria. They have also lived in Legos, Nigeria (another big city, and the former capital of Nigeria). Their family has also lived overseas in Eastern Europe because of her father's work.

Interviewer: "How much of your extended family lives in the country where you were born?"

Vauna explained that about half of her extended family lives in Nigeria. On her father's side, all of his siblings live in Europe. On her mother's side, less than one fifth of her siblings live outside of Nigeria (in Canada and England).

Interviewer: "How would people in your country of birth describe you and your family (in terms of social status)?"

Vauna:

"Average. [*"You guys aren't like especially wealthy?"*] No. I think we're just average. [...] We're not rich."

Interviewer: "Where do you consider 'home' to be? Do you want to live there in the future?"

Vauna:

"Home? Nigeria. Abuja. [*"Do you want to live there in the future?"*] I don't know; it depends. [...] I could live anywhere else but I always know that home is there. [*"Would you want to live there in the future?"*] I don't mind. I don't know if it's a want...it's home, so it's always going to be there. I could always go back if I wanted to."

Interviewer: "What languages do you speak proficiently (i.e. can read/write/carry on a conversation)?"

Vauna mentioned two languages: English, which is the only language she uses with her family, and French. She said that she can read, write and carry on a conversation in French. She studied French for eight months just before coming to France to do her Master's at a French university. She had learned some in primary school as it was compulsory; she explained that in secondary school one can choose to continue learning it.

Interviewer: "What language or languages do you speak with your parents and family?"

["Do your parents speak another language at home between the two of them or with your siblings?"] She explained that her ethnic group is Isoko, and their language is also called Isoko; they are a minority in Nigeria. Both her parents speak Isoko, as well as a major local language called Yoruba, as does all of her mother's family. She explained that in Legos, the majority of the people are Yoruba. She said that she visits the small villages where her parents are from (i.e. the Delta state in Nigeria), but has never lived there.

["How well do you speak your parents' other languages?"] "Isoko, I don't speak well...I don't speak at all. And understand – I really don't understand much" apart from greetings. As for Yoruba, Vauna studied it for three years in secondary school, because secondary students have to study one of three local languages. *["But you know it better than Isoko?"]* "I wouldn't say I speak the two. *["But you can probably read and write Yoruba?"]* No, I can't. *["Well what do they teach you in class?"]* [laughing] I wouldn't really put the fault on the teachers. But I feel like it's mostly the students who don't really care to learn." She explained that there are three main local languages in Nigeria: Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo. "They're the most common - why? Because they are the biggest ethnic groups."

Interviewer: "What do you consider to be your mother tongue or heart language?"

Vauna:

"For me, English is my mother tongue."

Interviewer: "Describe your primary school experience."

Vauna attended two primary schools. Her first school was in Legos. She did not remember whether it was private or public. This is where she did her first two years of primary school. She said she could not remember the school very well. *["What language was the school in? All in English?"]* "No but in Nigeria, every...most schools are taught in English. Like everybody...the teachers speak English to the students." The exception to this is foreign language classes.

Her second primary school was in Eastern Europe, when her family moved there for her father's work. She did not remember whether the school was public or private, though it was a "British school", recommended by the Nigerian embassy. Many of her classmates were the children of politicians and diplomats. She attended this school for four years (i.e. the rest of her primary school). The teachers were mostly British.

Interviewer: "Describe your secondary school experience."

For secondary school, Vauna went to a private, Catholic, all-girls boarding school in Abuja. The students came from all over Nigeria. “The thing is in Nigeria, we have so many ethnic groups that there is no... everybody comes from everywhere. So, you may live in Abuja – most of the people in the school lived in Abuja – but they were not from Abuja. [*“Were there any internationals?”*] A few mixed girls.” Some students were from other African nations. The teachers were mostly Nigeria, some Ghanaian.

[*“To what extent was this a normal school experience for someone from Nigeria?”*] Vauna explained that boarding schools have the reputation of being the best schools in Nigeria. In Abuja there are four or five. However, a lot of parents do not want their kids to go to boarding school [*“What keeps people away?”*] Vauna said that there are entrance exams (like most secondary schools). Because it was private school, it was more expensive than public school. She said that as she thought about it as an adult, it seems like it must have been pretty expensive.

Interviewer: “How much did you study colonization in school?”

Vauna said that it was “just a topic” discussed in social studies and government class. When asked whether it was mostly the pre-, during, or post-colonization period that was discussed, she responded, “I think it was equally”. At university she also learned about it, but that was because of her studies in international relations.

Interviewer: “What do you think is the general sentiment of people in Nigeria towards the former colonizing nation?”

Vauna had a hard time answering, but eventually said, “Lukewarm – not positive, not negative. [...] The UK is just another country. I don’t know. [*“Among older generation that lived through colonization, do you think they have harsher feelings?”*] Against the U.K. – is that what you mean? [*“I was thinking about resentment about colonization.”*] Oh...resentment about colonization... I mean, I don’t- I can’t, I can’t answer that question because...I really don’t know how the older citizens feel about that. And my parents, I don’t even think they lived through it. [...] I mean, my grandparents. I don’t know. My grandmother doesn’t talk about it. Nobody- it’s not- I mean it’s like I don’t know. I’m sorry I can’t answer that question. [...] I just don’t think people ever really think about it that much, apart from...the only times I thought about colonization was when they taught us about it. And then there are lots of museums and things that would show what would happen during the times. You know, the chains and the stuff that happened. [*“You’ve never asked your grandparents about it?”*] I never asked them. [*“You don’t think it’s a subject that people avoid?”*] It just doesn’t come up.”

Interviewer: “Can you describe how the English that is most commonly spoken in Nigeria is similar and different from British English?”

Vauna:

“The local languages influence the way our accent is. [...] In school we’re taught the British English. [...] Even when we do speak broken English – what we call ‘broken English’ or ‘Pidgin English’ – it still has like British terms. [...] But that’s how we’re taught. Obviously with the influence of TV and films, there’s a lot of American influence. [*“For me who doesn’t know Pidgin English at all, how different is it from standard English?”*] Oh, it’s pretty different – like you wouldn’t understand. Pidgin English is like most broken English all over the world”.

For Vauna, the two terms are synonymous. “It’s English, but then some of the words have been joined together, and some of the words have been replaced with local languages. It’s like speaking in slang, if you don’t know the slang, you can’t understand. [...] You may get like ‘I’ and ‘we’ and ‘you’, but you won’t get the sense. [...] Even I don’t understand some of what they’re saying. [*“But do you speak Pidgin in Nigeria?”*]

That’s interesting, because in Nigeria mostly boys speak Pidgin. [*“Oh, so it’s a gender thing?”*]

Yeah, it’s a gender thing, which is interesting. [...] Girls we don’t...I mean I don’t speak Pidgin English at all. [*“Do you understand it?”*]

Yeah, I understand it. But I don’t know how to speak it very well. And when I speak it, it doesn’t sound as nice. It’s like...forced, you know. So, I don’t speak Pidgin English and I don’t speak Pidgin English with any of my friends. But I know a lot of boys – a lot of my male friends – speak Pidgin English with themselves. But with me, they would speak regular English. [...] You know like that ‘bro, bro’ kind of guy thing. [*“Do you know why this is the case?”*]

I don’t know; it’s very interesting. I’ve never thought about it.”

Interviewer: “How do you feel your level of English is in comparison to most people from your community and country? Why?”

Vauna:

“I would say there’s obviously a difference if you have education – if you’ve gone to school and if you haven’t been to school. [...] I talk like any other Nigerian that went to school. [*“‘Went to school’, meaning what?”*]

Went to school meaning finished their primary school, finished their secondary school, probably went to university. But if you finish university, I would think that I speak like everybody else. [*“How many people do you think finish university?”*]

I don’t know...”

She said she could only speak for her family; she only has one uncle who did not go to university, out of about twenty aunts and uncles. Vauna has three siblings and almost all of them went to the same university in Nigeria, though the youngest went to another private university in another state in Nigeria.

[*“Do you think that people who only finished secondary school, their English is still quite good?”*]

“I would say that it’s quite good communication-wise. You would understand what they’re saying and they can-... But the only issue, I feel like, would probably be in writing, maybe, I would say. But that’s like a general thing, because now like with internet, there’s auto-correct. [*“So, with people who don’t speak English, what other options do they have?”*]

What do you mean by options? [*“What other languages? You just said some people will not be understandable. Do they speak other languages then?”*]

Who? Which people? [*“The people whose English is not as good as yours...”*]

They would probably speak a lot of languages. [*So probably like - what was it - the one you learned in school...”*]

Wherever they’re from - their ethnic language.”

[*“So, you would say that level of English corresponds to how much school they’ve been in. So those that haven’t been to secondary school would probably speak one of those other ethnic languages, but not English, right?”*]

“Oh okay. No, no, no, no. I would say that 80% speak English – broken English or whatever other English, but English; they speak English. [...] Everybody speaks English. But obviously – because that’s our official language. [...] So, if you go to the market, people are speaking English. It may not be the best – it may Pidgin – but they’re speaking English. [*“So you, who doesn’t speak Pidgin very well, would you go and speak to them in non-Pidgin and still be able to understand?”*]

That’s interesting. I would go to the market place, for example, and speak English – normally I would ask them – and they would speak English, whether it’s Pidgin English. Sometimes, I would speak broken English to ask them something and they would speak broken English back in response. It’s not something...I don’t know...it’s not rigid. Because that’s the language. Everybody –

most...80% I would say – understand English and speak English, however it comes – whether it's Pidgin..."

[*"Is there social stigma to proper versus broken English? For example, if you were to speak to someone in proper English and you didn't switch to Pidgin, would they think, 'Oh, she's a snob!'"*]"You can't speak Pidgin English in school. You would never speak Pidgin English to your teacher. You could speak it with your friends. And at work, you can't speak Pidgin English at work. In the market place, they will be like 'Oh, she's snotty or she's rich'. Or if you come with an accent, it's different – for example, if a Nigerian who's lived his or her whole life in America and has a strong American accent, would come, they would probably be like, you know, 'He's a snob' or something like that. So, you have to speak...with a normal, Nigerian English accent."

Interviewer: "Do you think English is considered elite by people living in Nigeria? Why or why not?"

[*"Is a British accent viewed as elitist - as in like snob?"*]"If you have a British accent?! [*"Like to me, your accent is very British."*]"No, no, no. I don't have a British accent. No, I don't have a British accent. I mean I could have like influences, because I went to a British school. But if someone who had a British accent was speaking, people would... for example, personally, when we left Poland and we came back, I started my secondary school in Nigeria, I and my sister had a very strong British accent – very, very strong British accent. So, there were lots of people in school that bullied us because of our accent. So, we had to learn quickly - to try to change the way we spoke, because we were bullied. But we got a lot of attention for it. It could be good attention. It was actually one of the reasons we got into the school [i.e. private secondary boarding school]."

Interviewer: "Is it ever necessary in Nigeria to use English, or is it always a choice?"

Vauna:

"It's really, really necessary. I mean to get a job you need to speak English. But in my field, though, it's not as...because I want to work in the [sustainable] development field, I...you need to be able to adapt to however they speak. I've worked in an area where we would go to villages and they would speak – maybe some of them don't...they speak English but you have to speak Pidgin English or they would not understand. Or you have to speak the local language. So, it's like a mix. So, it depends on where you work."

[*"Can you speak some Pidgin to me?"*]"I can't really speak Pidgin English, but if I would say, 'I want to go out'...ok, ok I know one – really good. [...] Umm...trying to think. I'm just not really good at this. Okay... 'I want to go'. People speaking in Pidgin English would say something like, 'I woan go'. [*"To me it sounds like 'I won't go'."*]"If you were to say 'I want to go to the market'... 'I woan go to the market' [*"Which to me sounds like, 'I won't go to the market'."*]"But I would understand it. I think any Nigerian would understand it. [*"How would you say 'I won't go to the market'?"*]"*I no deh go to the market*" – 'I'm not going'... You see, you probably would not understand. But there's no Nigerian – I assure you... I mean the basic Pidgin, every Nigerian understands. Unless maybe like a Nigerian that has never lived in Nigeria before, probably may not. I think most Nigerians understand Pidgin English to a certain level. But then there's Pidgin English that is [...] more adapted to the local language. [*"There's many varieties?"*]"Exactly."

[*“So, would you say that some peoples’ native language would be Pidgin?”*] “No. That’s the thing. [*“Because slang can’t be your native language?”*] Exactly. [*“Wait – you don’t write Pidgin, do you?”*] That’s true! We don’t write Pidgin... I mean...yeah! I’ve never thought about that before. I don’t think so. I don’t think so. [*“So maybe when you guys text, it looks and sounds like Pidgin?”*] Yeah, yeah, I think that’s right. Like, for example, you know ‘LOL’ – laugh out loud? We have one that is been adapted to Pidgin. It’s LWKMD – ‘*laugh woan kill me die*’. What do you understand from that? [*“It looks like long weekend.”*] [laughing] [...] [*“It sounds like ‘laughing won’t kill me’, but then you die...”*] But for us, it means like ‘I’m laughing so hard I may die’. Lots of Nigerians text each other that.”

Interviewer: “How often do you switch between languages when talking with other Nigerians?”

[*“To what extent are the three local languages used as lingua francas instead of English?”*] “That’s interesting. For us in Nigeria, you can’t write any official document in a local language. [*“Because maybe someone who’s working in the office might not understand it?”*] Exactly. We have so many ethnic groups, it’s impossible to have...it’s just English. [*“So, do you hear people speaking any of those three languages in the streets?”*] In the streets? Of course! Of course! Like my parents speak Isoko, and that’s not even like the major language. My parents speak Isoko sometimes to themselves and to my aunts and uncles. I mean it’s not banned to speak a local language - of course not! [*“I’m just wondering how common it is.”*] In some families, they don’t even speak English. It’s the local language [that they use]. But then in school and with their friends, they would speak English; at work, they would speak English. But then at home, they would speak their local language.”

[*“Which language do people go to? If you met a stranger on the streets, would you try your local language or...?”*] “No. [*“Or would you speak English and then say, ‘Oh, you’re from this village’ and then you go into the specific language?”*] Yeah, that can happen. But you start with English. Because you don’t know where they’re from. [...] I mean some people would start speaking to you in a local language and they’d be like ‘No’. I mean my mom has so many cases that she’s speaking so much in Yoruba people think she is Yoruba. And then she’s like ‘No, I’m not. I’m not! I’m from the south. I’m from Delta state. I’m Isoko.’ There’s so many cases where people think you do speak this language, but you can’t.”

Interviewer: “How likely is it for Nigerians who are proficient in a European language to move to a western English-speaking country? Why?”

Vauna said she has “lots of friends” who are doing Master’s degrees in other countries. Most of them are in Canada, England and Australia. She thought that it was rather common for Nigerians to study overseas but she doubts that most stay and live the rest of their life overseas. For example, her parents would rather she stay in Nigeria. [*“How common is it for people to leave Nigeria and never come back if their English is really good?”*] “Like most developing countries, the grass is always greener. [...] I can’t speak for the rest of the world, but I believe you would think that something would be better other than what you already know. I mean if you have lived your life a certain way, you would want to explore new options and see what’s going on in other parts of the world. And see how life is. That’s how I look at life. [*“Maybe it’s pretty common for people to want to see other things?”*] Yeah, yeah. [...] I have a friend that he was so depressed in [French city A] that he couldn’t stay here. He left, he went back. [...] It depends on the person. Some people don’t appreciate this new place and they have to go somewhere else or go back.”

Appendix F

Field Study – Language Survey

Directions/Maelekezo

Language: please answer in English.

Lugha: Tafadhali Jibu ukitumia Kingereza.

Questions with require a selection/check (e.g. or or).

Maswali yenye jibu kwa alama ✓ au ✗ kwa mfano au au

Questions with _____ require a written response (on the line).

Maswali yenye _____ jibu kwa maneno kwenye mstari. Kwa Mfano Nairobi ni Mji mkubwa

RETURN TO/TUMA KWA: [REDACTED].edu! Thank you! Asante!

Privacy/Faragha

Your answers will be kept confidential and anonymous.

Majibu yako yatawekwa usiri, bila kujulikana na mtu yeyote.

Please DO NOT PUT YOUR NAME anywhere on this survey.

Tafadhali USIANDIKE JINA LAKO popote kwenye hili utafiti.

East Africa Survey/Utafiti wa Afrika Mashariki

SEHEMU 1 -- PART 1

Date/Tarehe: _____

1. How old are you? *Umri wako?*
 10-17 18-23 24-29 30-39 40-49 50-59 60-69 70+ *na zaidi*
2. What is your gender? *Jinsia yako:*
 Male/*Kiume* Female/*Kike*
3. What is your highest level of education? *Kiwango chako cha elimu:*
 I didn't finish primary school / *Sikumaliza shule ya msingi*
 I finished primary school / *Nilimaliza shule ya msingi*
 I didn't finish secondary school / *Sikumaliza shule ya upili/sekondari*
 I finished secondary school / *Nilimaliza shule ya upili/sekondari*
 Associate's degree/Diploma / *Shahada ushirika au Diploma*
 University (Bachelor's) degree / *Shahada kutoka chuo kikuu*
 Master's degree / *Shahada ya Uzamili*
 Doctorate / *PhD*
4. Ethnicity/*Ukabila*
 - Your nationality/ies / *Taifa la kuzaliwa:* Kenya Tanzania Uganda
 - Place of birth (city, country)/*Mahali pa kuzaliwa (mji, nchi):* _____
 - Where do you currently live (city, country)? *Sasa hivi unakaa wapi (mji, nchi)?*

 - Your father's tribe/*Kabila wa baba yako:* _____
 - Your mother's tribe/*Kabila wa mama yako:* _____
5. What is your occupation? / *Aina ya Kazi unayofanya?* _____
 retired/*Nime staafu* unemployed/*Sina Kazi*

6. Family/Familia

- Your **father's** occupation/Baba yako alifanya au anafanya kazi gani? _____
- Your **mother's** occupation/Mama yako alifanya au anafanya kazi gani? _____
- Which of the following does your family have at the house? Select all that apply:
Nini kati ya hivi vinapatikana nyumbani kwenu? Weka alama inavyo faa:
 - Television/Televisheni
 - Radio/Redio
 - Cassette player/Redio ya kanda
 - Wired telephone/Simu ya wire
 - Mobile cell phone/Simu ya mkono with internet/inayo tumika kwenye mtandao
 - Computer/Tarakinishi with internet/inayo tumika kwenye mtandao

7. What languages can you **write** in? Please write in each language in the appropriate box.
*Unaweza **kuandika** lugha zipi? Andika kila lugha kwenye daftari ifuatayo.*

...with much confidence ...kwa Ustawi wa juu Zaidi	...adequately ...kwa ustawi wa kawaida	...with little confidence ...kwa ustawi wa chini

8. What languages can you **speak** in? Please write each language in the appropriate box.
*Unaweza **kunena** lugha zipi? Andika kila lugha kwenye daftari ifuatayo.*

...with much confidence ...kwa Ustawi wa juu Zaidi	...adequately ...kwa ustawi wa kawaida	...with little confidence ...kwa ustawi wa chini

9. What languages can you **read**? Please write each language in the appropriate box.
*Unaweza **kusoma** lugha zipi? Andika kila lugha kwenye daftari ifuatayo.*

...with much confidence ...kwa Ustawi wa juu Zaidi	...adequately ...kwa ustawi wa kawaida	...with little confidence ...kwa ustawi wa chini

10. What languages can you **hear** and **understand**? Please write each language...
*Unaweza **kusikiliza** na **kuelewa** lugha zipi? Andika kila lugha kwenye daftari ifuatayo.*

...with much confidence ...kwa Ustawi wa juu Zaidi	...adequately ...kwa ustawi wa kawaida	...with little confidence ...kwa ustawi wa chini

To what extent do you agree with the following statements (check one box)?
Je, unakubali kwa hali gani na maono yafuatayo (Weka alama kwenye boksi)

11. **"My tribal language is an important language" / "Lugha ya kabila yangu ni muhimu"**
- | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> I highly agree
Na kubali sana | <input type="checkbox"/> I somewhat agree
Na kubali kwa ujumla | <input type="checkbox"/> I somewhat disagree
Sikubaliani sana | <input type="checkbox"/> I highly disagree
Sikubali hata kidogo |
|---|---|--|--|
- Why? / Sababu gani? (Tafadhali jibu kwa Kingereza) _____

12. **"Knowing my tribal language well will help me succeed"**
"Kuifahamu lugha ya kabila yangu itanisaidia kufaulu"
- | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> I highly agree
Na kubali sana | <input type="checkbox"/> I somewhat agree
Na kubali kwa ujumla | <input type="checkbox"/> I somewhat disagree
Sikubaliani sana | <input type="checkbox"/> I highly disagree
Sikubali hata kidogo |
|---|---|--|--|
- Why? / Sababu gani? (Tafadhali jibu kwa Kingereza) _____

13. **"Kiswahili is an important language" / "Kiswahili ni lugha muhimu"**
- | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> I highly agree
Na kubali sana | <input type="checkbox"/> I somewhat agree
Na kubali kwa ujumla | <input type="checkbox"/> I somewhat disagree
Sikubaliani sana | <input type="checkbox"/> I highly disagree
Sikubali hata kidogo |
|---|---|--|--|
- Why? / Sababu gani? (Tafadhali jibu kwa Kingereza) _____

14. **"Knowing Kiswahili well will help me succeed" / "Kuifahamu Kiswahili itanisaidia kufaulu"**
- | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> I highly agree
Na kubali sana | <input type="checkbox"/> I somewhat agree
Na kubali kwa ujumla | <input type="checkbox"/> I somewhat disagree
Sikubaliani sana | <input type="checkbox"/> I highly disagree
Sikubali hata kidogo |
|---|---|--|--|
- Why? / Sababu gani? (Tafadhali jibu kwa Kingereza) _____

15. **"English is an important language" / "Kingereza ni lugha muhimu"**
- | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> I highly agree
Na kubali sana | <input type="checkbox"/> I somewhat agree
Na kubali kwa ujumla | <input type="checkbox"/> I somewhat disagree
Sikubaliani sana | <input type="checkbox"/> I highly disagree
Sikubali hata kidogo |
|---|---|--|--|
- Why? / Sababu gani? (Tafadhali jibu kwa Kingereza) _____

16. **"Knowing English well will help me succeed" / "Kuifahamu Kingereza itanisaidia kufaulu"**
- | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> I highly agree
Na kubali sana | <input type="checkbox"/> I somewhat agree
Na kubali kwa ujumla | <input type="checkbox"/> I somewhat disagree
Sikubaliani sana | <input type="checkbox"/> I highly disagree
Sikubali hata kidogo |
|---|---|--|--|
- Why? / Sababu gani? (Tafadhali jibu kwa Kingereza) _____

17. What language(s) define who you are (your identity)? *Ni lugha ipi/zipi unasikia inakufafanua*

- Why? / Sababu gani? (Tafadhali jibu kwa Kingereza) _____

18. What language(s) do you want your children or the next generation to learn?
Ni lugha ipi/zipi ungetaka watoto wako au kizaki kinachofuata kutumia?

- Why? / Sababu gani? (Tafadhali jibu kwa Kingereza) _____

SEHEMU 2 -- PART 2

About education/Kuhusu Elimu

19. In your personal opinion, which language(s) would you prefer to be used as the language of instruction in schools in your country? *Kwa maoni yako, ni lugha ipi/zipi zinapaswa kutumika au ungependa zitumike **kwa kufundisha katika shule** kwa taifa lako?*

- Primary school/Shule ya msingi: only English/Kingereza pekee only Kiswahili pekee
 both English & Kiswahili/Kingereza na Kiswahili pamoja
- Secondary school/Shule za sekondari: only English/Kingereza pekee only Kiswahili pekee
 both English & Kiswahili/Kingereza na Kiswahili pamoja
- University/Chuo Kikuu/Shule za Utatu: only English/Kingereza pekee only Kiswahili pekee
 both English & Kiswahili/Kingereza na Kiswahili pamoja

- Why? / Sababu gani? (Tafadhali jibu kwa Kingereza) _____

20. In your personal opinion, which language would you prefer to be used for national examinations in your country? *Kwa maoni yako, lugha ipi/zipi ungependa zitumike **kwa mitihania ya taifa** katika nchi yako?*

- Primary school/Shule ya msingi: English/Kingereza Kiswahili
- Secondary school/Shule za sekondari: English/Kingereza Kiswahili

- Why? / Sababu gani? (Tafadhali jibu kwa Kingereza) _____

21. What is your opinion of the 2015 decision to make Kiswahili the only language of instruction in primary, secondary and tertiary (university) education in **Tanzania**?
Je, Una maoni gani kuhusu uamuzi wa mwaka 2015 kuifanya Kiswahili kuwa lugha pekee ya mafunzo katika shule za msingi, sekondari na chuo kikuu nchini Tanzania?

<input type="checkbox"/> Highly positive <i>Ni uamuzi mzuri sana</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat positive <i>Ni uamuzi una uzuri kidogo</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat negative <i>Ni uamuzi una ubaya kidogo</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> Highly negative <i>Ni umuzi mbaya zaidi</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> I never heard about this decision <i>Haini husu mimi</i>
---	---	---	---	--

Primary school/Shule ya Msingi

22. In which country/ies did you go to **primary** school? *Ulienda shule ya msingi kwa taifa lipi/zipi?* KE TZ UG Other/Kingine: _____

In what city/ies or town(s)? *Mji au Kijiji ulizosomea:* _____

23. *Besides language class, do/did all of your (primary school) teachers speak in English when teaching? Select ONE response below:*

Ila darasa ya lugha, Je walimu wako wote walikutumia/wanatumia (Kunena) lugha ya Kingereza wanapofundisha (katika shule ya msingi)? Chagua jibu MOJA chini:

Yes, ALL of my teachers **SPOKE** only in English during class.
Ndiyo, Walimu wangu WOTE walinena Kingereza peke yake kwa darasa.

Yes, ALL of my teachers **SPOKE** mostly in English during class.
Ndiyo, Walimu wangu WOTE walinena Kingereza kwa wingi kwa darasa.

Yes, ALL of my teachers **SPOKE** sometimes in English during class.
Ndiyo, Walimu wangu WOTE walinena Kingereza mara kwa mara kwa darasa.

No, SOME of my teachers NEVER **SPOKE** in English during class.
La, BAADHI ya walimu wangu HAWAKUNENA Kingereza kwa darasa.

I do not remember.
Siwezi kukumbuka.

24. *Besides language class, do/did all of your (primary school) teachers use (i.e. speak/write in) Kiswahili when teaching? Select ONE response below:*

Ila darasa ya lugha, Je walimu wako wote walikutumia/wanatumia (Kunena au na Kuandika) lugha ya Kiswahili wanapofundisha (katika shule ya msingi)? Chagua jibu MOJA chini:

Yes, ALL of my teachers used mostly Kiswahili during class.
Ndiyo, Walimu wangu WOTE walitumia Kiswahili kwa wingi kwa darasa.

Yes, ALL of my teachers used Kiswahili sometimes during class.
Ndiyo, Walimu wangu WOTE walitumia Kiswahili mara kwa mara kwa darasa.

No, SOME of my teachers NEVER used Kiswahili during class.
La, BAADHI ya walimu wangu HAWAKUNENA Kiswahili kwa darasa.

I do not remember.
Siwezi kukumbuka.

25. *Besides language class, do/did all of your (primary school) teachers use (i.e. speak/write in) a tribal language when teaching? Select ONE response below:*

Ila darasa ya lugha, Je walimu wako wote walikutumia/wanatumia (Kunena au na Kuandika) lugha ya Mama au lugha ya kabila wanapofundisha (katika shule ya msingi)?

Chagua jibu MOJA chini:

Yes, ALL of my teachers used mostly a tribal language during class.
Ndiyo, Walimu wangu WOTE walitumia Lugha ya mama kwa wingi kwa darasa.

Yes, ALL of my teachers used a tribal language sometimes during class.
Ndiyo, Walimu wangu WOTE walitumia Lugha ya mama mara kwa mara kwa darasa.

No, SOME of my teachers NEVER used a tribal language during class.
La, BAADHI ya walimu wangu HAWAKUNENA Lugha ya mama kwa darasa.

I do not remember.
Siwezi kukumbuka.

Secondary school/Shule ya Sekondari (Upili)

26. In which country/ies did you go to **secondary** school? Ulienda shule ya **sekondari** kwa taifa lipi/zipi? KE TZ UG Other/Kingine: _____
 I did not go to secondary school/Mimi sikuwa na nafasi kusoma kwa shule ya sekondari
In what city/ies or town(s)? Mji au Kijiji ulizosomea: _____
27. Besides language class, do/did all of your (**secondary** school) teachers **speak** in **English** when teaching? Select ONE response below:
Ila darasa ya lugha, Je walimu wako wote walikutumia/wanatumia (Kunena) lugha ya Kingereza wanapofundisha (katika shule ya sekondari)? Chagua jibu MOJA chini:
- Yes, ALL of my teachers **SPOKE** only in English during class.
Ndiyo, Walimu wangu WOTE **walinena** Kingereza **peke yake** kwa darasa.
- Yes, ALL of my teachers **SPOKE** mostly in English during class.
Ndiyo, Walimu wangu WOTE **walinena** Kingereza **kwa wingi** kwa darasa.
- Yes, ALL of my teachers **SPOKE** sometimes in English during class.
Ndiyo, Walimu wangu WOTE **walinena** Kingereza **mara kwa mara** kwa darasa.
- No, SOME of my teachers NEVER **SPOKE** in English during class.
La, BAADHI ya walimu wangu **HAWAKUNENA** Kingereza kwa darasa.
- I do not remember.
Siwezi kukumbuka.
28. Besides language class, do/did all of your (**secondary** school) teachers use (i.e. speak/write in) **Kiswahili** when teaching? Select ONE response below:
Ila darasa ya lugha, Je walimu wako wote walikutumia/wanatumia (Kunena au na Kuandika) lugha ya Kiswahili wanapofundisha (katika shule ya sekondari)? Chagua jibu MOJA chini:
- Yes, ALL of my teachers used mostly Kiswahili during class.
Ndiyo, Walimu wangu WOTE walitumia Kiswahili **kwa wingi** kwa darasa.
- Yes, ALL of my teachers used Kiswahili sometimes during class.
Ndiyo, Walimu wangu WOTE walitumia Kiswahili **mara kwa mara** kwa darasa.
- No, SOME of my teachers NEVER used Kiswahili during class.
La, BAADHI ya walimu wangu **HAWAKUNENA** Kiswahili kwa darasa.
- I do not remember.
Siwezi kukumbuka.
29. Besides language class, do/did all of your (**secondary** school) teachers use (i.e. speak/write in) a **tribal language** when teaching? Select ONE response below:
Ila darasa ya lugha, Je walimu wako wote walikutumia/wanatumia (Kunena au na Kuandika) lugha ya Mama au lugha ya kabila wanapofundisha (katika shule ya sekondari)? Chagua jibu MOJA chini:
- Yes, ALL of my teachers used mostly a tribal language during class.
Ndiyo, Walimu wangu WOTE walitumia Lugha ya mama **kwa wingi** kwa darasa.
- Yes, ALL of my teachers used a tribal language sometimes during class.
Ndiyo, Walimu wangu WOTE walitumia Lugha ya mama **mara kwa mara** kwa darasa.
- No, SOME of my teachers NEVER used a tribal language during class.
La, BAADHI ya walimu wangu **HAWAKUNENA** Lugha ya mama kwa darasa.
- I do not remember.
Siwezi kukumbuka.

30. Select the box(es) next to the members of your family who can/could **speak AND read AND write** in **ENGLISH**.

Weka alama kwenye boksi kwa yule mmoja wa familia yako anayeweza au aliyeweza kusoma NA kunena NA kuandika kwa KINGEREZA.

<input type="checkbox"/> My father <i>Baba yangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> My mother <i>Mama yangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> My grandfather <i>Babu yangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> My grandmother <i>Bibi yangu</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> My older brother <i>Kaka yangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> I have no older brother / <i>Sina kaka</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> My older sister <i>Dada yangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> I have no older sister / <i>Sina dada</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> My younger brother <i>Mdogo wangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> I have no younger brother/ <i>Sina mdogo</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> My younger sister / <i>Mdogo wangu wa kike</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> I have no younger sister / <i>Sina mdogo</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> No one in my family can speak AND read AND write in ENGLISH. / <i>Hakuna mtu yoyote kwa familia yetu ambao anaweza kufanya hizi zote: kusoma, NA kuandika, NA kuzungumza KINGEREZA.</i>			

31. Select the box(es) next to the members of your family who can/could **speak AND read AND write** in **KISWAHILI**.

Weka alama kwenye boksi kwa yule mmoja wa familia yako anayeweza au aliyeweza kusoma NA kunena NA kuandika kwa KISWAHILI.

<input type="checkbox"/> My father <i>Baba yangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> My mother <i>Mama yangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> My grandfather <i>Babu yangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> My grandmother <i>Bibi yangu</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> My older brother <i>Kaka yangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> I have no older brother / <i>Sina kaka</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> My older sister <i>Dada yangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> I have no older sister / <i>Sina dada</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> My younger brother <i>Mdogo wangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> I have no younger brother/ <i>Sina mdogo</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> My younger sister / <i>Mdogo wangu wa kike</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> I have no younger sister / <i>Sina mdogo</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> No one in my family can speak AND read AND write in KISWAHILI. / <i>Hakuna mtu yoyote kwa familia yetu ambao anaweza kufanya hizi zote: kusoma, NA kuandika, NA kuzungumza KISWAHILI.</i>			

32. Your **MOTHER'S** tribal language/Lugha ya kabila ya mamako: _____

33. Select the box(es) next to the members of your family who can/could **speak AND read AND write** in your **MOTHER'S TRIBAL LANGUAGE**.

Weka alama kwenye boksi kwa yule mmoja wa familia yako anayeweza au aliyeweza kusoma NA kunena NA kuandika kwa LUGHA YA MAMA.

<input type="checkbox"/> My father <i>Baba yangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> My mother <i>Mama yangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> My grandfather <i>Babu yangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> My grandmother <i>Bibi yangu</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> My older brother <i>Kaka yangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> I have no older brother / <i>Sina kaka</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> My older sister <i>Dada yangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> I have no older sister / <i>Sina dada</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> My younger brother <i>Mdogo wangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> I have no younger brother/ <i>Sina mdogo</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> My younger sister / <i>Mdogo wangu wa kike</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> I have no younger sister / <i>Sina mdogo</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> No one in my family can speak AND read AND write my MOTHER'S TRIBAL LANGUAGE/Hakuna mtu yoyote kwa familia yetu ambao anaweza kufanya hizi zote: kusoma, NA kuandika, NA kuzungumza LUGHA YA MAMA			

34. Your **FATHER'S** tribal language/Lugha ya kabila ya Babako: _____

35. Select the box(es) next to the members of your family who can/could **speak AND read AND write** in your **FATHER'S TRIBAL LANGUAGE**.

Weka alama kwenye boksi kwa yule mmoja wa familia yako anayeweza au aliyeweza kusoma NA kunena NA kuandika kwa LUGHA YA BABA.

<input type="checkbox"/> My father <i>Baba yangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> My mother <i>Mama yangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> My grandfather <i>Babu yangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> My grandmother <i>Bibi yangu</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> My older brother <i>Kaka yangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> I have no older brother / <i>Sina kaka</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> My older sister <i>Dada yangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> I have no older sister / <i>Sina dada</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> My younger brother <i>Mdogo wangu</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> I have no younger brother/ <i>Sina mdogo</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> My younger sister / <i>Mdogo wangu wa kike</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> I have no younger sister / <i>Sina mdogo</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> No one in my family can speak AND read AND write my FATHER'S TRIBAL LANGUAGE./Hakuna mtu yoyote kwa familia yetu ambao anaweza kufanya hizi zote: kusoma, NA kuandika, NA kuzungumza LUGHA YA BABA.			

SEHEMU 3 -- PART 3

36. What languages do **you** use, and which language do **you** use the most?

Lugha gani unajua na kutumia na lugha gani unatumia zaidi?

			...what languages do/did you use? (select ALL that apply) ...Unatumia lugha ipi/au ulitima lugha ipi... (weka alama iliyo sahihi)	...which ONE language do/did you use the MOST OFTEN? (select ONLY ONE) Lugha ipi unayotumia ama ulitumia zaidi au kwa kawaida (Chagua jibu MOJA tu)
A	With your spouse/partner/ girlfriend/boyfriend... <i>Na mke/mume/mchumba wako...</i>	I do not have one/ <i>Sina mke/mume/ mchumba</i> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____
B	With your children... <i>Na watoto wako...</i>	I do not have any/ <i>Sina watoto</i> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____
C	With your father... <i>Na babako mzazi...</i>	I never knew him/ <i>Sikumfahamu</i> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____
D	With your mother... <i>Na mamako mzazi...</i>	I never knew her/ <i>Sikumfahamu</i> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____
E	With your brother(s)... <i>Na ndugu zako/yako...</i>	I do not have any/ <i>Sina ndugu</i> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____
F	With your sister(s)... <i>Na dada zako/yako...</i>	I do not have any/ <i>Sina dada</i> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____
G	With your cousin(s)... <i>Na Binamu zako...</i>	I do not have any/ <i>Sina</i> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____
H	With your aunt(s)... <i>Na shangazi yako/wako...</i>	I do not have any/ <i>Sina</i> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____
I	With your uncle(s)... <i>Na Mjomba wako...</i>	I do not have any/ <i>Sina</i> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____
J	With your colleagues at your work place... <i>Na wafanyikazi wenzako...</i>	I do not have any/ <i>Sina</i> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____
K	With your boss... <i>Na mkubwa wako kazini...</i>	I've never had one/ <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Sijawahi kuwa na bosi</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____

	SEHEMU 4 -- PART 4		...what languages do/did you use? (select ALL that apply) <i>...Unatumia lugha ipi/au ulitima lugha ipi... (weka alama iliyo sahihi)</i>	...which ONE language do/did you use the MOST OFTEN? (select ONLY ONE) <i>Lugha ipi unayotumia ama ulitumia zaidi au kwa kawaida (Chagua jibu MOJA tu)</i>
L	With your clients/customers... <i>Na wateja wako...</i>	I've never had a job/ <i>Sijawahi kupata kazi</i> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____
M	With your doctor... <i>Na daktari wako...</i>		<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____
N	With your teacher or your children's teacher... <i>Na mwalimu wako ama mwalimu wa watoto wako...</i>		<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____
O	In your leisure time... <i>Wakati wa mapumziko...</i>		<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____
P	At home... <i>Nyumbani...</i>		<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____
Q	When shopping/at the market... <i>Madukani/sokoni...</i>		<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____
R	When praying... <i>Unapo Sali/omba...</i>	I do not pray/ <i>Si swali</i> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____
S	With friends... <i>Na marafiki...</i>		<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____
T	At ceremonies (e.g. burials, weddings)... <i>Kwa sherehe (Harusi, Mazishi)...</i>		<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____
U	When listening to the news... <i>Unaposikiliza Habari...</i>	I do not listen to the news/ <i>Si sikilizi habari</i> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____
V	When reading... <i>Unaposoma...</i>		<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other(s)/zingine = _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Kiswahili <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> other/nyingine = _____

Final questions/Maswali ya Mwisho

37. Did anyone help you to fill out this survey? *Je, mtu yeyote amekusaidia utafiti huu?*

Yes. *Ndiyo, Nimesaidiwa.*

If yes...what relation is this person to you (e.g. son, aunt)? _____
Ndiyo? Aliyekusaidia unahusiana naye vipi (Mtoto wako, Shangazi wako...):

Did YOU write? *Je, ni wewe umejibu kwa kuandika:*

Yes, I wrote. *Ndiyo, Ni mimi nimejibu kwa kuandika.*

No, this person wrote for me.
La, mtu aliyenzaidia amejibu kwa kuandika kwa niaba yangu.

No, I answered all the questions on my own without any help.
La, Nimejibu maswali yote bila msaada kwa mtu yeyote.

38. Do you have any comments? (NOT obligatory) *Je, Una maoni mengine (sio lazima)*

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THIS SURVEY!
ASANTE SANA KWA KUSHIRIKI KATIKA UTAFITI HUU!

Appendix G

Letter of University Sponsorship for Field Study



FACULTÉ
DES LANGUES

Lyon, February 12, 2018.

To whom it may concern:

I, the undersigned, hereby certify that Andrew Sweeney is currently a Master's student in English Studies ("Master 2 Langues, Littératures et Civilisations Etrangères et Régionales, Etudes anglophones") at University Jean – Moulin Lyon 3, France.

He is conducting research for his Master's thesis under the supervision of Dr Stéphanie Bory, and his topic is "The Linguistic Situation in East Africa". The research he will be carrying out in Kenya and Tanzania directly concerns this thesis.

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