Participation and language use

Irmi Maral-Hanak

First published as chapter 4 in:
Maral-Hanak, Irmi. 2009. Language, discourse and participation: Studies in donor-driven development in Tanzania. Wien / Münster: Lit-Verlag, 115-156.

Multilingualism, colonialism, racism

> "The term 'expatriate' itself is an interesting one, on the one hand distinguishing a certain group of people clearly from 'immigrants' and other dark-skinned arrivals, and on the other locating their identity not as 'foreigners' or 'outsiders' in a host community […] but rather as people whose identity is defined a decontextualized English/American etc. person overseas. Being an 'expatriate' locates one not as an outsider in a particular community but a permanent insider who happens for the moment to be elsewhere. The very use of this term puts into play a host of significant discourses" (Pennycook 1994:219, endnote to chapter one).

Sociolinguistic enquiry focuses on variants in speech and the association of these variants with social factors. A sociolinguistic approach is promising where insights on the implications of language use in society are at stake, such as why 'development experts' or 'beneficiaries' choose to communicate in one language or variety rather than another, and how the use of a particular language is related to social discrimination and exclusion. From the linguistic vantage point, the object of investigation is the plurality of languages and variations, while from the perspective of social categories it is age, sex and social class (constituted by factors such as education, profession, housing, and others). Sociolinguistic analysis relates code choice, that is, the practices of using one particular language in a particular communicative situation, to the social characteristics of the speakers involved (Chambers 1995:14). Yet conventions on the use of linguistic varieties are not "solid social facts", but themselves "stakes in and outcomes of struggle between social forces" (Fairclough 1995:248). Language use does

not merely reflect social stratification. Instead, it is part of the social formation, possessing a dynamic force that shapes society (Pennycook 2001:53). This chapter begins by tracing stereotypical attitudes towards languages in today's Tanzania to their colonial origins. It continues by discussing challenges to the sociolinguistic analysis of development, inequality and language use in the East African context. It then proceeds to analyze the data that was obtained in interviews on the social background and language practices of development workers and beneficiaries in two Tanzanian development networks.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, the relationship between language and society – issues such as who speaks which language to whom in what situation – is to a considerable extent shaped by the continent's recent history of colonial occupation. Foreign domination, including massive interference in linguistic practices, took place only a few decades ago and problems created by the prevalence of ex-colonial languages continues to pervade all aspects of life. Both colonial and mandatory rule were primarily interested in ensuring the smooth running of political administration and economic transactions. Consequently, controversies over the language of instruction in schools – in the case of Tanganyika the options were English, Swahili or other African languages of the 'territory' – mainly reflected "different views of how best to run a colony" (Pennycook 1998:20) and were rarely guided by pedagogical considerations. As Louis-Jean Calvet (1978:104) has argued, the colonial discourse on language relied on the notion that African languages were inferior to those of the European rulers, and it created a peculiar mix of stereotypical assertions and circular arguments that nevertheless claimed to have scientific validity. African languages were 'dialects' that were spoken by 'tribes' – both terms invoking a myriad of assumptions about the political structures and linguistic expression of colonized people that had little to do with the communicative, social and political realities in which Africans lived. The fact that many of the African languages were not written was taken as evidence that it was not possible to write in these languages. In the case of the languages that had developed or adopted an alphabet (some African languages including Swahili used the Arab script), respective orthographies were often dismissed as disfunctional. With regard to language structures, it was maintained that inflecting languages (a structure that Indo-European languages possess) were more 'advanced' than agglutinating or isolating languages. (All languages of the world belong to

one of the three types, as do the languages spoken on the African continent. While this structural division is still a standard tool of modern linguistic description, there is no real evidence to support a respective hierarchy of language types). As African languages borrowed terms from European languages when naming technical innovations (for example, in Swahili 'baiskeli' = 'bicycle'), this was taken as proof that African languages could not express modern concepts. It was conveniently ignored that African languages were productive in coining their own terms (for example, in Swahili 'gari la moshi' [lit. 'steam wagon' = 'train'). Calvet (1978:104) also remarks that the "short memory of ideology" chose to overlook the fact that European languages like Spanish and French had borrowed terms from Arabic, and that, of course, all languages in contact exhibit such borrowing processes. In the case of Swahili, a language that acquired exceptional status and functionality even before the colonial occupation of East Africa, the myth of the "mixed language" played an additional role (a term that makes little sense from a modern linguistic viewpoint). Because of the high percentage of Arabic loanwords in Swahili, it was claimed that Swahili was not really a language of the Bantu group, but rather a 'mixed' Arab-African idiom (Whiteley 1969:7; Mazrui and Mazrui 1998:161). It mattered little that linguistic evidence pointed to the contrary. The grammatical structure of Swahili is clearly that of a Bantu language, and the influence of other languages at the lexical level is irrelevant for linguistic genetic classification. By comparison, English has one of the highest proportions of terms borrowed from other (mostly Romance) languages. These many borrowings into English have given rise to a richness of synonyms and expressions in the language – an attribute that is highly appreciated by its users. To some, this quality is one 'reason' why English has become such a successful world language. Yet English has always been classified a Germanic language, while Swahili, which has a lower proportion of borrowings, was in colonial times often presented as a so-called 'mixed' language, especially in popular descriptions. The implications of this perception were twofold: The first was that the use of 'mixed' suggested that there existed a 'pure' language (another, of course, unsuitable term to describe any language); the second was that this alleged Arab-African 'mix' placed an emphasis on the influence of Middle Eastern languages and cultures which, in the eyes of the colonizer, 'distinguished' Swahili from other African languages. In the first implication, 'mixed' assumed a meaning similar to 'contaminated'.

Assumptions about the 'mixed' origins of languages were often coupled with the expectation that such languages were functionally reduced or degenerated versions of their supposedly 'pure' counterparts – a stereotype that creole languages continue to be confronted with today. A language thus disqualified could be presented as acceptable for the purposes of trade, lower education and administration, and at the same time be excluded from the more sophisticated tasks reserved for European languages. In accordance with the second implication, the British administration in Zanzibar, for example, institutionalized a racist hierarchy that placed Europeans at the top, Africans at the bottom and Arabs and Indians in between. In this context, asserting an Arab component in Swahili provided a pretext for giving Swahili a privilege over other African languages, while at the same time sustaining the colonial idea of ethnic hierarchy in the larger East African context.

This should only serve as a brief outline of arguments that can be pursued in greater depth. The colonial discourses on language provided a conglomeration of ideas and strategies that allowed the instrumentalization of languages for establishing hierarchies and control. It is important to note that, despite the systematic devaluation of African languages, they were not necessarily excluded from consideration for promotion and development, especially for primary education and lower administration. For example, a conference on education in the colonies sponsored by the British Government in 1925 proclaimed the importance of what it termed 'native languages' (Webb 2004:105). In British colonial discourses on Asia, the 'orientalist' stance supporting education in 'native' languages was no less articulate than the 'anglicist' one that argued for English only. The two positions resulted in "an apparently balanced educational policy, promoting the spread of European knowledge via English in higher education and via vernacular languages in primary education" (Pennycook 2000:57). In Africa, the Phelps-Stokes Commission Report of 1925 recommended the use of African languages in education, arguing that "All peoples have an inherent right to their own language. It is the means of expressing their own personality, however primitive they may be." (Jones 1925:19, quoted from Roy-Campbell 2001a:51). African languages were therefore not necessarily excluded from use in schools, but they were disqualified as primitive and space conceded to them was clearly circumscribed. Notably, they were assumed to be incapable of conveying any concepts relating to advanced

science, technology and higher levels of government. These domains, which were at the heart of colonialism's 'civilizing' mission, and at the same time also the domains on which the emerging discourse of progress and development relied, were to be reserved for the English language. The report expressed reservations about using Swahili in education, concerned that it would endanger the position of English and other African languages. The colonial administration, however, continued to rely on Swahili as a language of instruction of elementary education for Africans. Higher education continued to be provided in English, but Africans' access to English-speaking education was limited. In 1955, the Binn's Mission Report took a similarly critical position on Swahili, again arguing in favour of other African languages and English (Roy-Campbell 2001a:54). Facing a rising anti-colonial movement that relied on Swahili as its primary medium of communication, attempts were made to discredit the language. It was argued that the use of Swahili was factionalist as it favoured Islam, or that it had been the language of the slave trade. As a result of the Binn's Mission Report, Swahili was able to retain its position in basic education, but not replace English in higher education.

Educational institutions were instrumental in planting the notion of the supremacy of European languages in the minds of the subjugated peoples. One notorious practice in schools all over colonial Africa was the use of the 'symbol', an object used to shame and punish anyone who dared to speak any language other than those of the colonial masters in class. Inequality was enacted and communicated in many other subtle ways, as Pennycook observes: "It is not so much that colonialism produces unique behaviours, words and ideas but rather it makes a set of practices and discursive frames more available, more acceptable" (Pennycook 1998:25). Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o has eloquently described how colonial education in Kenya not only forced the English language on pupils, but along with it a British cultural and geographical orientation that had no reference to Kenyan children's everyday experience (Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o 1993:34).

After Independence, the majority of African countries continued to use the ex-colonial languages as their official languages. It was only hesitantly that some countries eventually committed themselves to the promotion of African languages. At the national and regional level, conferences took place, declarations were made and action plans were adopted. Nevertheless, very little changed in day-to-day linguistic practice. In most countries,

European languages continued to be used as the languages of education and official communication, excluding the majority of the population who had no knowledge of these idioms. Reflecting on the persistent dominance of ex-colonial languages, Vic Webb identifies three major reasons why the ambitious plans for linguistic change were so ineffective. First, as mentioned above, colonialism as a century-long "process of subjugation and domination led to the inferiorisation of indigenous cultural values, beliefs, patterns of behaviour" (Webb 2004:112), a development that could not be reversed in a few years or even decades. Second, globalisation, and in particular the dominance of Western transnational corporations and technologisation, has contributed to a continuous process of marginalization of African languages. Third, most governing elites in Africa have an interest in the exclusive function of ex-colonial languages: As long as politics and government are inaccessible to the majority of the population who have no access to these languages, it remains easier for the powerful to retain their privileges. "English is thus used as a gate-keeper, a separator, an exclusionary mechanism, and instrument to protect own interests" (Webb 2004:113). In development co-operation, the gate-keeping function of English may have far-reaching consequences, as Rose-Marie Beck has indicated in her description of a participatory project in Namibia. She observed that participants who were very articulate as long as their language, Herero, was used, became passive listeners when the exercise required them to write down notes, with the facilitator insisting that these notes be taken down in English (Beck 2006:310).

To summarize the effects of colonial educational and language policies, it is worth considering the fact that in East Africa, even today, having a good education is still popularly equated to knowing English well. With regard to the contemporary situation in Tanzania, the publisher Walter Bgoya concludes that the continued adherence to English in secondary education has meant that the country as a whole has "ended up with neither English nor education" (Bgoya 2001:289).

Sociolinguistic approaches and postcolonial challenges
Sociolinguistic descriptions of the coexistence of languages in plurilingual societies have only been partly able to capture the realities of postcolonial societies. Sociolinguists have developed models to account for the coexistence of language in society, with 'variation', 'diglossia' and

'bilingualism' serving as essential concepts. They have analyzed factors in individual speaker's linguistic choices, investigating notions of 'appropriateness' and 'attitudes'. The scope of action for political decision-makers is explored in work on 'language planning'. Finally, the expression of social inequality through language, including the divide between countries of the global South and North, have been accounted for in reflections on 'linguistic imperialism', 'linguicism' and 'linguistic human rights'.

Sociolinguists can be credited with broadening the field of linguistic inquiry – which prior to the 1950s was largely limited to prescriptive, comparative and historical approaches – to include social contexts. However, depending on the underlying social science perspective, sociolinguistic approaches have varied greatly. As Alastair Pennycook (2001:49) points out, sociolinguists have often relied on static and consensual models of social organization. In the following, a selection of approaches and concepts and their relevance for sociolinguistic research in East Africa will be briefly discussed.

Variation theory focuses on understanding the evolution and coexistence of linguistic varieties (sociolects, dialects[1], languages). Based on the empirical study of language use, variation theory has provided insights into social motivations for the use of nonstandard forms (for example, as a means of expressing group solidarity), and, most importantly, it has demonstrated the functional equality of all languages and varieties: All information relevant to human beings can be expressed in all natural languages or varieties that exist. On the base of variation theory, Labov (1970) and other sociolinguists have explicitly rejected racist disqualifications of particular languages or varieties, such as, for example, claims about alleged structural deficits in American 'Black English'.

Diglossia is defined as any linguistic situation where more than one language or variety is spoken and "clear functional differences between the codes" is involved (Wardhaugh 1992:86). In addition, the term often implies a hierarchical relationship between the varieties, as one is usually regarded as more prestigious.

---

[1] Common linguistic definitions of dialect imply mutual intelligibility, or sharing a lexical base of at least 75%.

Charles Ferguson's (1959) work has introduced 'diglossia' as a term referring to the complementary use of 'classical' or standard varieties of a language in conjunction with their dialectal counterparts, such as the use of Standard Arabic and Arabic regional dialects in present-day Arab speaking countries. Ferguson argued that standard (in Ferguson's terms 'high') varieties are used for communicative domains of greater prestige, while the latter pertain to informal functions of little esteem ('low').[2] Ferguson emphasized that speakers express social hierarchies and values through language use, as the 'high' variety is invariably related to more prestigious domains. However, in his model the coexistence of languages is primarily constructed in terms of a complementary and stable division of functions. Ferguson's concept explains how two different varieties may coexist in harmonious, static ways; he is less concerned about unequal social relations that underlie respective linguistic divisions and the possible dynamics of change involved.

Joshua Fishman (1967) extended the concept to account for functional divisions in the use of two or more distinct languages. Introducing the issue of individual linguistic competence to the debate, he asked whether those living in diglossic situations had the possibility to communicate in both 'high' and 'low' contexts, or possibly remained excluded from eminent domains. Fishman showed that it made a difference whether speakers in a diglossic situation were individually bilingual or not (diglossia with or without bilingualism). He also argued that it was possible to have widespread individual bilingualism without a functional division in language use (bilingualism with or without diglossia).

Sociolinguists like Labov, Ferguson and Fishman demonstrated the functionality and 'normality' of multilingualism in an era in which the supremacy of monolingualism and standard varieties was still taken for granted. They showed that non-standard varieties were as complex and sophisticated as standard ones, that the presence of more than one language in a society did not necessarily lead to chaos, and that individuals could speak more than one language without necessarily performing inadequately in any of them. While these merits are unquestioned, the liberal approach in sociolinguistics has been critiqued as it "wishes for equality where there is

---

[2] It has been remarked before that two of the varieties specified by Ferguson, namely French and Haitian Creole, do not fit the pattern of standard – dialect opposition, but rather constitute two distinct languages.

none" (Pennycook 2001:49). In short, the above-quoted authors hardly dealt with the question of how varieties become 'high', 'low' or 'standard' in the first place, or why some varieties are the focus of racist slurs. In liberal sociolinguistic work, social inequality is described – usually in terms of stratification – rather than questioned. The underlying model is one of a harmonious society, in which it is assumed that every member works for the common good. Such an approach neither considers the conflictual nature of social relations nor does it account for the fact that language plays an important role in the negotiation of social inequality. Sociolinguistic enquiry based on a static model of society remains caught up in the question of how language mirrors the existence of social groupings: A person's social background, so the assumption, largely determines how she or he speaks. Such approaches ignore how social class, gender and race intersect and are linked to social dominance and struggle. They therefore fail to account for more complex manifestations of social difference. Contemporary poststructuralist, feminist and postcolonial approaches, in contrast, have demonstrated how gender, race, class and identity are constructs which themselves require explanation. Instead of limiting themselves to description, these approaches have encouraged critical enquiry into agency. A critical sociolinguistic approach that takes up this challenge would therefore focus on the question of how people use language to negotiate, interact and deal with manifestations of inequality – as language use "is about producing and not just reflecting realities" (Pennycook 2001:53).

In his reinterpretation of the sociolinguistic concept of diglossia in several African countries, Louis-Jean Calvet (1987:47) has adopted a critical stance towards linguistic description. He points out that, as in many countries of Sub-Saharan Africa the majority of the population does not speak the 'high' variety (in most cases an ex-colonial language), prevailing language policies continue to serve the elites and exclude the majority. The reality is that languages not understood by the majority enjoy the highest social prestige and are used in administration and politics. Policies privileging former colonial languages not only enforce a eurocentric cultural orientation, but they are of course also incompatible with any form of inclusive or participatory development communication. In order to describe the hierarchy between ex-colonial, regional and minority languages in some

African countries, linguists have also used terms like 'embedded diglossia' (Calvet 1987:47).

'Appropriateness' has become another key term in sociolinguistic description, relating to the choices speakers have in linguistic variety, style, register, strategy, etc. 'Appropriateness' is, for example, indispensable to the concept of communicative competence as developed by Dell Hymes (1972). He argued that in order to communicate successfully, speakers cannot simply apply the grammatical rules of a language; they must also know what is 'appropriate' and how to express it in a given social context. The concept of communicative competence has helped second language teaching reflect on the socio-economic and cultural context in which a language is used.

While the observation of social norms determining the appropriateness of language use can provide useful information for language learners, it also raises many questions about the societies in which these norms apply: Who determines the relevant linguistic standard, and why are speakers of some varieties discriminated against? Why is deference or mitigation expressed along the lines of social class, gender, age or ethnicity? The use of 'appropriateness' as a linguistic concept often leads to the unquestioned acceptance of an issue rather than the facilitation of critical analysis. In politeness studies, 'appropriateness' is at times invoked when deference is expressed by one speaker towards another on account of difference in social status, for example from a younger person towards an older one, or from an illiterate towards a an educated person. Instead of analysing and questioning cultural norms that create and maintain social inequality, hierarchies are reinforced.

A similarly veiling notion of appropriateness often appears in the debate on the medium of instruction in educational institutions. The UNESCO Position Paper on "Education in a multilingual world" of 2003 finds clear points of orientation in this regard. First, it argues that the mother tongue should be used in initial instruction and continue to be used as late as possible in education. Second, where the mother tongue is different from the official or national language, communication in the official or national as well as one or more foreign languages should be encouraged, particularly through the early acquisition of a second language. Third, measures are recommended to ensure the elimination of any form of discrimination in

education, to further the rights of linguistic minorities, and to raise awareness of the positive value of cultural and linguistic diversity (UNESCO 2003:30-32). However, this clear theoretical commitment towards additive bilingualism – that is, the provision of mother tongue education *as well as* access to regional and international languages – encounters both material and ideological obstacles in its implementation.

The "truism that learning in a language which is not one's own provides a double set of challenges" (UNESCO 2003:15) is "obvious but not generally recognized". Concerns for offering literacy or primary schooling in a child's first language often become secondary when the official or standard language is argued to be the more 'appropriate' idiom for educational institutions. As Fairclough has argued, "portraying standard English and other languages or varieties as differing in conditions of appropriateness, is dressing up inequality as diversity: Standard English is 'appropriate' in situations that carry social clout, while other varieties are 'appropriate' at the margin" (Fairclough 1995:225). While there are certainly pragmatic reasons for teaching standard language in education, Fairclough points out that this should not prevent teachers from exposing students to critical views about standard varieties.

More often than not, notions of what is 'appropriate' are shaped by prevailing power relations. With its appeal to common sense, 'appropriateness' provides comfortable answers when other explanations would require a more differentiated analysis and possibly bring to light unsettling facts. In development co-operation, prevailing notions about what languages are 'appropriate' often hold that English is indispensable in working for progress and technological innovation. Yet even a superficial survey of linguistic conditions shows that the objective of broad popular participation and transparency requires the active support of African languages that are widely understood, and that this may include languages with both minority and official status.

Language attitudes constitute another eminent concept in sociolinguistic description which should not only be considered, but also subjected to further analysis. Language attitudes are the result of historic developments; they are not merely determined by economic and pragmatic factors. For example, in Namibia, English is only spoken by a small minority of the

population, yet it enjoys high acceptance as an official language because it is associated with the liberation from South African rule.

The example of South Africa also shows how the history of colonial domination and apartheid rule has shaped deeply ambivalent language attitudes. The Freedom Charter, adopted by the ANC in 1955, proclaimed that "All people shall have equal right to use their own languages" (ANC 1955, Beukes 2004:6). During apartheid rule, however, the policy of 'Bantu Education' coupled racist discrimination in education with mother tongue instruction at the primary school level. In 1976 protests against the introduction of Afrikaans as a language of instruction in secondary schools led to the Soweto student uprising which became the most outspoken political protest against the apartheid state. At the end of the apartheid era, popular resentment of any linguistic policy that did not favour English in education was widespread. "Amongst speakers of African languages […] liberation was imagined in English" (Heugh 2003:130). The democratic constitution of 1994 affirmed its commitment to official multilingualism and recognized eleven official languages. However, the implementation of these ambitious policies was sluggish, the result being that little was done to ensure the equity of African languages. There is still unequal access to government services and information (Beukes 2004:15). Public domains and work environments remain dominated by the English language. Parents continue to opt for English language instruction for their children. Yet despite the socioeconomic pressures in favour of English, some observers have also pointed to the concerns speakers of African languages have voiced about the lack of recognition given to their languages in education and public contexts (Banda 2004:272). It is therefore highly problematic to regard linguistic attitudes as static, or to instrumentalize them in justification of hegemonic linguistic policy and practices.

Part of the problem is that the debate on languages of instruction in Sub-Saharan Africa is often framed in terms of an exclusive 'either – or' scenario (Qorro 2003:188). It is either the ex-colonial language or the African language, English or Swahili. At the same time, language attitudes are often complex and ambivalent, as they mirror a history of deep social inequalities. In Tanzania, the demand for English language instruction is primarily motivated by an interest in good education and access to an international language (Rugemalira 2005:70). However, as Qorro (2003:188) has pointed out, many countries in the world successfully offer their students both

quality education in the first language <u>and</u> access to English as a foreign language.

Language planning is a domain that focuses on the scope of action for political leadership in language use. Within this domain, 'status planning' refers to the official recognition granted a language, while 'corpus planning' involves concrete measures for language development, such as the expansion of the lexical base of a particular language. Given the political sensitivity of the subject, linguists have often sought to assume a particularly detached and 'objective' position. A number of categorisations have been suggested in this context. These include the division between 'endoglossic' and 'exoglossic' (Heine 1979:31ff) language situations, distinguishing those countries which have put foreign languages in the position of official language (exoglossic) from those which use indigenous languages (endoglossic). Other classifications have focussed on the number of languages possibly involved in diglossic language coexistence. Using game theory to develop a model that accounts for language use in the multilingual countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, David Laitin finds a '3 ± 1 outcome' to be the most common language pattern of language use (1992). This means that most speakers use their first language, which is likely to be a minority language, and/or an African language of wider communication, an ex-colonial language and, contingently, an additional language if the individual's first language is different from the minority language used locally in primary education. An individual's motivation in language choice is seen as largely determined by economic considerations: "People only use a second, third or fourth language if they need to for socioeconomic and political mobility" (Eastman 1991:140). This approach explains tendencies towards rationalization. It points to the discrepancy between the formal official recognition that is often readily granted to African languages and the practical reality that language use remains tied to ex-colonial languages. However, it also portrays linguistic developments as predetermined by socioeconomic constraints: "Language change follows social change, and social change moves in the direction of perceived power and prestige" (Eastman 1991:147). Unfortunately, this approach lacks the historic depth to account for the formation of social inequalities and future perspectives of change. As such, it discredits any promotion of African languages and merely serves as an apology for an "English only" policy in the continuation

of colonial language policies. Beneath these arguments lies a descriptive concept of sociolinguistic epistemology that fails to critically examine linguistic practices in postcolonial contexts. While claiming to refrain from explicit political commitment by asserting 'objective' sociolinguistic description, such an approach is in fact highly political, as it supports ongoing practices of linguistic domination (Pennycook 2001:49, Tollefson 2006:57). Clearly, the example of Swahili in Tanzania in many ways illustrates the possibilities of an alternative policy of language planning, a proposition that will be explored in greater depth in the next section (Abdulaziz 1971, 1980; Polomé 1980, O'Barr 1976).

In direct opposition to the use of ex-colonial languages in Africa, the concept of **linguistic imperialism** describes the powerlessness of those marginalized and excluded by present-day linguistic policies in Africa. In the late 1970s, the Kenyan author Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, at that time already an acclaimed English language novelist, began writing and publishing his works in both his mother tongue, Kikuyu, and English. Committed to the facilitation of the political participation of poor peasants, Ngũgĩ became highly critical of the dominant role of English in present-day Kenya. Robert Philippson (2001:185) has presented a profound critique of the past and present worldwide hegemony of English which he calls "linguistic imperialism". In addition to documenting the historical developments which led to the dominant position of English in the world, this approach examines the practices of social exclusion and repression that speakers of minority languages face. It names grievances and demands change in linguistic policies. However, Philippson's approach has been criticized for its failure to account for the agency of those described as oppressed. Those who experience neo-colonial linguistic policies have developed a number of ways of resisting, subverting and appropriating the languages they are confronted with (Blommaert 2005b:410, Pennycook 2001). The dictum of the 'empire writing back' has come to refer to the ways in which writers in all parts of the former British Empire have appropriated and shaped 'New Englishes' in their own work (for example Canagarajah 2000:127, 1999:187). Arguments within the postcolonial framework have shown that there are different strategies for tackling the challenge created by linguistic hegemonies. However, in most African countries the majority of the population has neither access to a secondary education nor proficiency in

ex-colonial languages. This is one reason why these aspects of the postcolonial debate faced the criticism of remaining elitist and less relevant.

One concept related to the debate on linguistic imperialism is that of **linguistic human rights**, which proclaims that every person has the right to education and other social services in her or his language. For the African context, this entails a challenging agenda, such as providing access to literacy in every living African language, promoting of the use of African languages in secondary and tertiary education, and raising African languages to the status of official languages (Philippson and Skuttnab-Kangas 1995:344-345). But linguistic human rights were also identified beyond the development and provision of services in a person's mother tongue. The UNESCO declaration includes both "the provision of schooling in their languages, if so desired" as well as the access to regional, national and international languages, and the creation of "positive attitudes to minority […] languages and the cultures they express" (2003:16) in its listing of the linguistic rights of minority groups.

Reviewing the practical experience of mother-tongue education based on the concept of linguistic human rights, Christopher Stroud instead proposes an approach based on **linguistic citizenship**. Discussing the poor performance of many mother tongue education programmes, Stroud (2001:341) points out how the 'rights discourse' fails to adequately address the way speakers of minority languages are socially marginalized. In order to achieve transformative development, he argues, empowerment of and active participation by the speakers of minority languages is a key factor. Kathleen Heugh likewise identifies the importance of an "empowering sense of linguistic citizenship" (2003:142).

This short review of sociolinguistic approaches has made frequent references to the work of Alastair Pennycook, as his consideration of postcolonial perspectives and his critical position towards linguistics are particularly useful in identifying issues relevant to development work in postcolonial Africa. Alastair Pennycook advocates a 'postcolonial performative view of language', some aspects of which are listed here:

> ➤ The need for a critical social theory capable of analysing social inequality.
> ➤ An approach to language that goes beyond description and moves toward critique.

➢ An understanding of the shortcomings of a model that emphasizes appropriateness.

➢ A view of language as both productive *and* reflective of social relations.

➢ A need for a historical understanding of language use.

➢ A view of culture, identity, and global politics that avoids essentialism and instead looks at forms of resistance and appropriation.

➢ The need to always work contextually (Pennycook 2001:72).

While the above outline constitutes a broader critical approach to sociolinguistics, it is of particular value when approaching linguistic challenges in the context of development work. The challenges of linguistic choice have largely been ignored in aid co-operation. Even authors who focus specifically on development communication have directed comparatively little attention to the challenges of multilingual environments (see for example Melkote and Steeves 2001:340). The next section will focus on the sociolinguistic situation in Tanzania, while examining the linguistic dimension of aid co-operation.

Tanzania: a critical perspective on linguistic choice

The most remarkable aspect of the linguistic situation in Tanzania is the strong position of Swahili, which is an official language spoken by more than 90% of the population (Roy-Campbell 2001b:272). Most other Sub-Saharan African countries rely on ex-colonial languages for communication at the national level, languages that often only 5-20% of the population are familiar with. In Tanzania, although English continues to be a prestigious language of secondary and higher education, professionalism and international communication, Swahili is the primary language of interaction at the national level, being firmly established in such domains as basic education, administration, political debate and a significant portion of development communication. The functions of the remaining more than 120 African languages of Tanzania are usually described as being restricted to the domain of the home, village, local informal contexts and cultural performances. Multilingualism in Tanzania is therefore not a neutral expression of linguistic plurality, but rather a reflection of the history of colonialism in a distinct pattern of social inequality – a constituent feature of the postcolonial predicament. In the following, some aspects of the historic

background of this development will be discussed, with a particular focus on the exceptional position of Swahili.

Swahili is a language of the Northeastern Bantu subgroup whose speakers settled in the area between the Webi Shebelle and Tana rivers in Southern Somalia and Northern Kenya in the first millenium AD. The language is particularly close to the neighbouring Sabaki languages. By the end of the first millenium AD, Swahili speakers, who were originally a fishing and agricultural people, turned to trading and navigation, subsequently establishing settlements on the East African coast that extended to Northern Mozambique. Between 1000 and 1500 AD, those independent city states on the East African coast which had acquired wealth through trade in gold and other items included, for example, Lamu, Malindi, Gedi, Mombasa, Bagamoyo, Unguja (Zanzibar) and Kilwa. Their trading routes linked the East African inland to the Persian Gulf. An urban culture developed, with Islam becoming the dominant religion. The Portuguese conquest from the 16th century onwards resulted in destruction (in particular in Mombasa and Kilwa) and stagnation in many of the cities. The Portuguese, however, did not manage to establish a continuous presence on the coast. In the 18th century, political leaders in Mombasa entered an alliance with the Busaidi, the ruling family of Oman, to get rid of the Portuguese. While the Portuguese were successfully driven away, Omani rulers took control of the coast, establishing themselves in Zanzibar. Their economic base at that time relied very much on trade, which followed the century-old inland routes. Towards the end of the 19th century, Germany took control of the Tanzanian mainland, and Britain established itself in Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar. By this time, Swahili had already spread into many parts of today's mainland Tanzania. German colonial rule relied on African employees in lower levels of administration. The language used was Swahili, an option that helped to keep costs low. Disregarding the existing Arabic orthography, the Germans developed a Latin orthography for writing Swahili and forced the literate speech community to adopt it (Legère 2006a:387).

The British mandatory administration that took over mainland Tanzania after the collapse of the German colonial empire restricted Swahili to lower levels of education and administration, while higher levels of education and government were reserved English. This ensured that Africans were largely excluded from the higher positions of power for which English was needed – education, if available at all, was mostly carried out in Swahili and

allowed only a few men to become low-level government employees. Within the greater colonial context, the use of one African language at a country-wide level was nevertheless exceptional. Swahili was present in domains in which few other African languages were used. Economic, cultural and social developments such as migrant wage labour, urbanisation, growing mobility, emerging media and popular culture were important factors in the spread of the language (Mulokozi 2002:1). In 1930, an Interterritorial Language Committee was established to promote the use of a standardized form of Swahili. Despite the fact that other varieties such as the Kimvita dialect of Mombasa had a longer literary tradition, the committee decided to adopt the Unguja variety as "Standard Swahili", as it was already widely used in trading, administration and schools (Khamisi 1991:207). The committee also standardized the orthography – from the turn of the century onwards, the Latin alphabet had begun to replace the Arabic one – in addition to the grammar, lexicon and process of accommodating borrowings from other languages. Dictionaries, teaching materials and a journal served as a body of reference for language users. The committee monitored language teaching, and the production of literary texts and translations. Within a two-tier system in which English had primary status and Swahili secondary status, a limited effort was made to adapt the language for use in lower educational and administrative domains. At the same time, the policy of having Swahili and not English as a language of instruction in primary schools remained an issue of controversy until the end of the colonial era (Puja 2003:118). In particular, when the use of Swahili became a unifiying factor for the anticolonial movement, the British authorities resorted to a policy of divide and rule, endorsing other African languages and English as languages of instruction in primary education (Legère 2006a:387).

In the 1950s, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) recognized the potential of Swahili for the anticolonial movement and further promoted it by using it as its preferred means of communication. Swahili embodied the unity of Africans vis à vis the foreign colonial power. In the first years of Independence, the new government further extended the use of Swahili to include internal administration, the courts, primary education and politics. The Interterritorial Language Committee was transformed into the Institute of Kiswahili Research in 1964. Two years later, the Tanzania Publishing House was established. In 1967 the National Swahili Council

was founded and in 1970 the Department of Kiswahili was founded at the University of Dar-es-Salaam (Mulokozi 2002:2). Both institutions were to enhance language development, mainly through terminological expansion, but also through linguistic and literary research. In 1967, Swahili was adopted as the official language of government. The use of Swahili in public contexts became a core element of the implementation of Ujamaa ideology. While English was associated with colonial oppression and the other Tanzanian languages with ethnic factionalism, Swahili stood for a commitment to socialist values. As Blommaert puts it, "the 'better' or 'purer' one's Swahili would be, the better a socialist Tanzanian patriot one would be" (Blommaert 2006:247). In 1968, the government declared its policy of 'Education for Self-Reliance'. Swahili was introduced as a language of instruction throughout primary school. At the same time, promoting access to primary education became an important objective, with levels of primary school enrolment rising to 93% of the age cohort towards the end of the 1970s.

In 1969, a plan was adopted to introduce Swahili as language of instruction in secondary and tertiary education. As a first step, the subject of 'Politics' (Siasa) was taught in Swahili in secondary schools. In the following years, manuscripts for school textbooks for other subjects were prepared in Swahili, but the planned shift of the language of instruction in secondary schools continued to be delayed. The Tanzanian Government ultimately lacked the decisive momentum and backed down from the plan, although experts still advocated the shift to Swahili. The efforts of educators and linguists to implement a change in the medium of instruction were disappointed in 1984, when a strategy paper on education announced a stronger role of English in the educational system (Legère 2006b:177). The move to favour English came at a time of political and economic crisis when the Tanzanian government was keen on gaining international recognition, and the "need for foreign aid went hand in hand with the renewed acceptability of English" (Blommart 1992:59).

It took 14 years before the issue of having Swahili as a medium of secondary school instruction was brought back on the agenda. In its 1997 'Sera ya Utamaduni' (Cultural Policy) document, the government of Benjamin Mkapa once more alluded to the long-term goal of having Swahili as a language of instruction at all levels of education. It argued that the much-needed knowledge and technology provided in English would only benefit

the small elite who understood that language, and announced a plan that was to prepare the use of Swahili as language of instruction at all levels of the education system (MEC 1997:19, Mulokozi 2002:4, Brock-Utne 2002:28). To date, this plan has not been implemented. As Mulokozi observes, president Benjamin Mkapa "cleverly evaded the language question by directing that the debate should continue. And so it continues!" (2002:3). Official policy stops short of introducing Swahili in secondary and higher education and thereby also inhibits its use in professional and technical contexts.

Retaining English as a language of secondary education has created a problematic situation: Pupils have to study in English, a language which they often have not adequately mastered, while Swahili is not fully acquired for use in technical and professional domains. English medium instruction assumes that 'submerging' students in English in school enables them to learn the language effectively. In Tanzania, this approach has shown poor results. In the last two decades, several reports came to the conclusion that "levels of English were too low in most schools for effective learning to take place" (Brock-Utne 2002:27). Despite the implementation of the 'English Language Teaching Support Project' (ELTSP), a ten year programme of co-operation between the Tanzanian and British government initiated in 1986, the situation continued to deteriorate (Qorro and Roy-Campbell 1997:47; Malekela 2003:106-107). A large number of students fail simply because they do not comprehend classes taught in a language of instruction that is irrelevant to most Tanzanians' everyday experience. Research in Tanzanian classrooms shows that secondary school students do far better when the language of instruction is Swahili (Roy-Campbell 2001b:273, Mwinsheikhe 2003:143). In many cases, the English language proficiency of teachers has been found to be insufficient. Observers argue that the job of English language teachers is not aided but rather made difficult by teachers of other subjects who communicate with the students in poor English. But while the deteriorating status of English is partly due to the lack of relevance the language has in society at large, the teaching of Swahili in secondary schools is equally neglected. In research carried out by the Institute of Kiswahili Research (IKR) in 2003/4, Swahili teachers mentioned the following problems: insufficient time allocated for the teaching of Swahili (only three periods per week compared to six for English); occasional lack of qualified teachers, with teachers of other subjects being called in to fill the

gaps; absence of any follow-up training or seminars for graduated Swahili teachers (Msanjila 2005:216, 217). For a long-term perspective of the educational system in Tanzania, substantial improvements will have to be made in the teaching of both languages. Changing the medium of instruction to Swahili and at the same time supporting the teaching of English as a foreign language is an option favoured by linguists familiar with the situation (Qorro 2003:188). Its implementation, however, depends on not only making a principal decision, but also supplying the right material conditions. In this context, the "pathetic state of government schools" (Mulokozi 2002:4) constitutes an eminent challenge. As Rugemalira reports, even better-endowed primary schools in Dar-es-Salaam are found to have eighty children in their smallest classes, with half of the children sitting on the floor and hardly any textbooks available (2005:67). Under such circumstances, educational achievements of any kind are virtually impossible to attain, and most children who leave primary school are ill-prepared for secondary education.

In a long term perspective, the issue of having or not having a functioning "language of instruction" matters not only to the educational system itself, but also to the country's social development. Education plays an important role in making information accessible. "If formal education and other worthwhile information such as research findings were disseminated in languages that the majority of the people understood, this would go a long way towards educating and informing the general public and enable them to bring about their own development" (Qorro 2003:192). Language policy in the educational sector affects other key domains. It is only when Swahili is introduced in secondary and higher education that it will also become relevant for high-level professional, scientific and administrative domains. The development of Swahili in recent decades shows that claims about the language being inadequate for technical contexts are not only untenable from a theoretical point of view, but have also been refuted in practice: The language is already functioning in a number of social, cultural and technical domains. It is the language in which most Tanzanian newspapers and journals are produced and it is very much present in audiovisual media. Remarkable works of literature have been written and published in the language. Swahili is also being used in technical contexts, with the presentation of a Swahili version of Microsoft's text processing programmes in 2005 serving as a recent case in point. A number of textbooks and

dictionaries for teaching science subjects in Swahili have been written and published (Mutasa 2003:201). Ultimately, of course, "like an inventory of technical terms, Kiswahili teaching materials can only be accumulated through a process of actually using the language and thereby creating a need for such materials" (Rugemalira et al 1990:30).

Despite the progress Tanzania has made in promoting Swahili, the country faces the same predicament as other African nations: As long as African languages are barred from most contexts of social eminence and prestige, speakers will suspect that these languages are deficient in some way, and that by learning them they are wasting their time (Desai 2001:338). After 1995, when private schools were allowed to operate, primary schools using English as a language of instruction mushroomed, reflecting parental preference for education in English (Rubagumya 2003:156). The majority of Tanzanian secondary and university students have problems following classes in English, but still favour English as a language of instruction, assuming that a Swahili-language education would carry less prestige (Mwinsheikhe 2003:141; Puja 2003:123). Those Tanzanian politicians who decide on language policy belong to the elite minority who have successfully negotiated their way through English language higher education, and who are not necessarily sensitive to the difficulties of the majority (Roy-Campbell 2001b:271). Against this background, linguists' efforts to promote the use of Swahili or other African languages in English language domains are often derided by administrators or officials who themselves do not have any linguistic qualifications (Legère 2004:37).

Compared to Swahili, Tanzania's more than 120 other African languages play a marginal social role. For these languages, the term 'minority languages' has been proposed, as this accounts for the fact that all Tanzanian languages apart from Swahili are marginalized and excluded from public domains (Legère 2002:169). Minority status in this sense does not refer to the number of speakers – they may be 3-5 million, as in the case of Sukuma, or just a few hundred; rather, it refers to the lack of official recognition these languages experience. Often, the derogatory attitude towards these languages is already explicit in the terms used to describe them. Karsten Legère draws attention to the fact that the term vernacular is still used, although it is "derived from the Latin *vernaculus*, 'domestic, native' and in turn from *verna*, 'home born slave'" (Legère 2002:167). Expressions like 'local' or 'ethnic' language are problematic as they suggest

that these languages carry intrinsic properties that prevent them from functioning beyond certain places or groups. Legère notes that the term 'national languages' would be preferable, if understood as denoting languages that have evolved in the area of what today constitutes Tanzania. However, as in the past the term 'national language' has been reserved for Swahili, presently this is not an option.

The relationship between Swahili and the 120 Tanzanian minority languages is a difficult one, as the growth and spread of one African language has partly taken place at the expense of the others. In the decades after Independence, official policy did not support the development of minority languages. It was argued that this would only lead to ethnic cleavage and that the problematic economic situation forced the country to set priorities (Blommaert 2006:247, Legère 2002:170; 1992:107). Only in the 1990s, at a time when multipartism was introduced, did the promotion of minority language development become acceptable in public discourse. The "Sera ya Utamaduni" (Cultural Policy) document from 1997 gave official recognition to activities supporting the development of minority languages, and the publication of grammars, dictionaries and all types of texts was encouraged. The "Sera ya Utamaduni" document, however, did not really break with longstanding stereotyped attitudes towards minority languages. Again, minority languages have either been instrumentalized as sources for the lexical expansion of Swahili, or reduced to being a "treasury of culture and tradition". 'Preservation' and 'sustainment' rather than dynamic action has been associated with minority languages. Limiting the scope of Tanzanian languages to these domains not only represents a very narrow view of language, but is also based on a problematic view of culture. As Bgoya says, "the erroneous notion that African culture is only its folklore, including its oral tradition, music, dance, rites of passage and their rituals, frozen in a kind of static idealised time and space, is not helpful" (Bgoya 2001:290). The idea that creativity on a high level, "using but not limited to traditional props and genres" (Bgoya 2001:290) might be realized using a minority language seems just as inconceivable to the policy makers as the use of these language in science and technology.

Assimilation processes affecting speakers of minority language have been intense on the coast as well as in urban areas. Children whose parents still spoke one of the minority languages often grow up with Swahili as their first language (Puja 2003:120). Minority languages with 20,000 and fewer

speakers are under greater pressure of assimilation than those of more populous speech communities. Speakers of such languages also assimilate into other minority languages with greater numbers of speakers (Batibo 1992:88). In remote areas, children who have grown up monolingual in one of the minority languages have difficulties following classes that are taught in Swahili. In the case of speakers of non-Bantu languages, pupils have been found to have an inadequate command of Swahili even after years of schooling (Legère 2002:170). In monolingual environments, mother-tongue-based bilingual education would probably be the most promising option for present-day Tanzanian primary schools (Batibo 2006:279).

Tanzania's co-operation partners have shown limited concern about the linguistic challenges of carrying out development work in a multilingual society. The problem of bias against African languages is unfortunately not limited to nations where the systematic deprivation in social and cultural domains has led to a biased perception of potentials. It is also widespread in development organizations and networks where professionals would have ample opportunity to acquire more balanced information on linguistic and cultural conditions. However, in most aid agencies there is little sensitivity or consideration of the pressures that lead to decisions such as the one to continue the use of English as a language of education for official use. As a result, "education donors in Africa have mostly worked to strengthen ex-colonial languages" (Brock-Utne 2002:34). Development practice during the 1960s and 1970s, with modernization's emphasis on human capital and education, continued the colonial practices of providing specialized and technical knowledge in European languages. For example, the textbooks given to African students were originally created in Europe for European students. However, the practice of supplying inadequate Eurocentric textbooks did not cease with the end of the colonial era. In Tanzania, in its initial years after 1986, the English Language Teaching Support Project ELTSP provided textbooks produced in Britain for British students which were irrelevant to the Tanzanian context, but had been supplied for free. At a later stage, books authored by Tanzanians were also used, but again, the economic interests of the donor nation took precedence: Printing was assigned to British publishers instead of Tanzanian publishers (Brock-Utne 2002:36).

Many development experts regard the use of English in former British colonies as neutral or even beneficial. "There is a failure to problematize the

notion of choice, and therefore an assumption that individuals and countries are somehow free of economic, political and and ideological constraints when they apparently freely opt for English" (Pennycook 1994:12). Development planners are often not aware of the problematic nature of asymmetric linguistic situations and do not inform themselves about policy measures that could help participants overcome language barriers. "'Development' researchers, including those specialising in education, seldom focus on language issues" (Philippson 2001:187). If language is addressed at all, it is usually relegated to the process of implementation rather than considered in long-term planning (Robinson 1996:30). The assistance of interpreters is taken for granted, but their work is not considered worthy of much attention or support. As Thomas Bearth and Diomandé Fan have pointed out, the translation process itself poses numerous problems for development work. It reinforces perceived social and cultural asymmetry, as development messages inevitably originate from outside language. It dichotomizes the processing of inferences, because listeners are forced to follow the translator's interpretation of the original message. It carries an anti-dialogical bias, as the activity of translation inevitably takes control of the agenda and hinders free negotiation of topics. Finally, it imposes constraints on utterability and face regulation. Critique or discussion of past negative experience with development organizations are likely to be avoided, as they carry a risk for those uttering them (Bearth and Fan 2006:280-283). Western experts are often ignorant of both the implications of complex linguistic situations and the languages involved. In many cases, they hide their incompetence behind a set of stereotypical negative attitudes that tend to take the shape of pseudo-academic arguments – many of which bear striking similaritiy to those used in colonial discourse more than half a century ago. These include, for example, anachronistic concerns about the alleged purity or impurity of languages and speculations about mysterious structural or lexical deficiencies in possibly all languages that are not part of the Western European school curricula. In addition to resulting from ignorance, the donors' arguments are also often motivated by tangible national interests. While there is no substantial lobby behind African languages, European languages continue to be promoted through respective donor nations. For example, funding for the English Language Teaching Support Project ELTSP was granted by the British government on the condition that English

would be retained as a language of instruction in secondary schools (Roy-Campbell 2001a:153).

The continued dominance of ex-colonial languages is particularly worrying when considered from the perspective of democratization and popular participation (Mazrui and Mazrui 1998:99). As Birgit Brock-Utne points out, donors appear to be preoccupied with good governance and decentralisation but choose to ignore the fact that "some 90% of the people of Africa have no knowledge of the official language of their country, even though it is presumed to be the vehicle of communication between the government and its citizens" (Brock-Utne 2002:17). As a matter of fact, these are also the same languages donors use when communicating with the political leadership of African countries, a practice that has kept development co-operation intransparent to the majority of the population.

This historic perspective on the language situation in Tanzania has focussed on the exceptional status of Swahili. Although instrumentalized for colonial administration, it eventually became a powerful medium for the anti-colonial movement. After Independence, the postcolonial state turned Swahili into a symbol of socialist transformation. Ultimately, the language project turned out to be more successful than the political ideology of Ujamaa that had promoted it in the first place (Blommaert 2006:249). Swahili successfully replaced English in a number of public domains – however, the decisive step of making Swahili the language of instruction in secondary schools remains to be implemented. At the same time, the example of Swahili also illustrates the complex relationships between African official languages and minority languages. The postcolonial ideology of promoting Swahili in Tanzania has been coupled with a policy of actively discouraging the use of all other Tanzanian languages in all public contexts. Speaking minority languages has been considered equal to holding conservative and factionalist attitudes, whereas Swahili has symbolized progress and national unity. Just as there has been no status envisaged for any language apart from English or Swahili, neither have there been efforts made towards corpus planning for these languages, such as creating an orthography or working towards lexical expansion. The challenge is therefore to open spaces that go beyond the domain of 'home and traditional culture' for minority languages.

In Tanzania, as in other countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, a multilingual language policy and practice is often thought to be too costly. It is also

frequently argued that African countries have more pressing problems. While both arguments seem convincing at first, empirical evidence opens up a different perspective. The actual cost of corpus planning, that is for example the expansion of the lexical base or the creation of text books, may be comparatively moderate, especially in light of the overall cost of the educational system. At the same time, there is ample evidence that education in a child's first language is by far the most effective form of learning, not only in the achievement of basic literacy and numeracy, but in the acquisition of all sorts of academic skills (Legère 2004:38; Brock-Utne 2002:7; Desai 2001:337). In contrast, learning in a language with which a child is unfamiliar poses numerous obstacles. Many of Africa's pressing problems are indeed closely related to these pervasive mechanisms of linguistic social exclusion (Webb 2004:111).

In development co-operation, there is little critical awareness of the problematic nature of discriminatory language policies and practices. This may be due to several factors. First, while there exist – admittedly often inadequate – instruments to deal with discrimination on grounds of gender or ethnicity, there are no established mechanisms for dealing with racism and its implications in practices of linguistic exclusion. Consequently, the problem of linguistic hegemony in aid networks is rarely addressed. Second, linguistic arguments have often been belittled when economic or technological progress is at stake. Third, the contributions of the academic debate have often been problematic, as these are not free of stereotypical perceptions of languages. As Saida Yahya-Othman critically remarks, multilingualism in itself has often been assumed to be problematic, with Africa being described as "the epitome of both underdevelopment and multilingualism" (1990:45). The task of linguistic corpus and status planning is therefore not only to develop and adapt languages, but also, to break through the cycle of negative stereotypes. Material deprivation and negative attitudes have effectively prevented most African languages from functioning in domains beyond the home and the local arena. There are exceptions, however, with Swahili presenting a notable example.

Language use and inequality in two agricultural development programmes
The particular sociolinguistic situation in Tanzania, as delineated above, creates specific opportunities and challenges for development

communication. Without a doubt, the fact that one language is understood by more than 90% of the population constitutes an exceptional achievement by a language policy committed to broad popular participation in social, economic and political domains. However, some communicative bottlenecks typical of the postcolonial situation remain to be addressed. One major problem lies in the fact that programmes often rely on academic or technical knowledge – for example, improved seeds that require specific planting methods which are primarily available in English rather than Swahili. This fact in itself raises a number of issues, each of which probably needs to be addressed separately. First, despite several decades of "Farmer First" policy, RRA and PRA, knowledge and innovation originating in rural areas often still lacks recognition and acceptance. Second, there are few networks that facilitate the exchange of knowledge among rural farmers. Instead, if information is considered relevant by outsiders, it is then often documented in urban centres and in languages inaccessible to the peasant population. Third, even participatory programmes are to a large extent designed externally. Fourth, formal institutions of higher learning and research in Africa continue to rely on ex-colonial languages.

As a consequence, farmers are rarely in a position to directly access information on innovative approaches, depending instead on aid workers' mediation. This poses several interrelating challenges for agricultural extension workers. First, there is the pedagogical aspect of getting ideas across in an intelligible and convincing manner. Second, processes of cultural adaption may be required. Third, there is a need for translation, a task for which aid workers are rarely specifically prepared or rewarded.

Another problem relates to the hierarchical nature of languages use in aid networks. Thus, it is presently rather unthinkable for Tanzanian development NGOs to forward applications or reports written in Swahili to donors and Northern aid agencies. Northern donors and development organizations usually accommodate the fact that they might need to use a language of wider communication rather than their own national language – a development that has been promoted by processes of integration among donors such as those co-ordinated by DAC-OECD. But this disposition seems strictly limited to *European* languages of wider communication. Tanzanian development NGOs co-operating with foreign partners have to forward all relevant documents in English. This, however, means that beneficiaries have no opportunity to review information which is passed on

about them, or to obtain information on those parts of the aid network beyond the national framework. Again, their knowledge depends entirely on Tanzanian aid workers' willingness to share information with them. Additionally, even Tanzanian aid workers' knowledge about the organizational structures, objectives and self-image of their Northern counterparts often remains fragmentary, as information on the up-to-date state of policies and relationships between the ministry, donor agency and possibly development organization of the Northern co-operation country may not be accessible even in the English language. At times, Northern partners may consciously prefer to remain secretive about some issues, and use the linguistic cleavage to keep matters obscure. More often, however, the intrinsic bias is not consciously enhanced, but simply taken for granted. Northern aid workers gain experience by travelling and meeting partners from various backgrounds, whom they visit, support, monitor and evaluate. Their Southern counterparts have far less opportunity to travel in their jobs, and when these visit their Northern counterparts, they are rarely invited to assess their performance. Their lack of knowledge about the entirety of the aid system is in turn often an impediment to their gaining status as development experts. As these few examples show, linguistic obstacles and donor-recipient inequality are closely intertwined.

In the following, interviews conducted with aid workers and beneficiaries of two Tanzanian agricultural programmes will be discussed. The open qualitative interviews provide an idea of the diverse individual linguistic backgrounds involved. They also illustrate how complex attitudes towards languages are formed and contradictions accommodated. Finally, they also anticipate some of the deeper social rifts that emerge more conspiciously in the text analysis sections of the following chapters.

The Sustainable Rural Agriculture Programme (SRAP)

The SRAP was established as a Tanzanian-Austrian co-operation programme to promote rural development through a focus on improved organic farming techniques. Initiated in 1992, the programme targeted village youth in three places in North-Western Tanzania, offering them training as well as access to tools and implements. At the beginning of the research in 1994, groups of about 15-20 members had formed in two villages; in a third village, operations had been suspended after an unresolved theft of the programme's agricultural tools. The programme

initially reached out mainly to men, who had undergone a year of training in agriculture and skills of various trades, such as masonry and carpentry. They formed a core group within the programme and were continuing common activities as the "Follow-up Group". At the time of research, efforts had been made to iniatiate a separate Women's Group, as the initial programme had failed to attract them. Additionally, a Youth Group had recently formed, with whom another cycle of year-long training had begun.

The SRAP was run by a team of three aid workers: two of them Tanzanians employed by the local Catholic Diocese, which functioned as project holder; one of them an Austrian employed by the Austrian implementing organization. The Diocese provided the administrative infrastructure, office space and supervision. The concept and design of the programme had been laid out by experts of the Austrian implementing organization, which also ran similar programmes in two other areas in Tanzania as well as in Zambia. The organization secured funding from the Austrian Government, paid the Austrian development workers, carried out monitoring and provided short-time experts. Its ideas of participatory development included the following:

> Planning: target group and local project holders contribute their models, visions and needs and we our possibilities and conditions of funding. This ensures that programmes are negotiated with the people concerned without pressure of time (IIZ 1994:1).

The above statement by the Austrian implementing organization rationalizes an asymmetric process of decision-making. It suggests that the actions of partners on both sides are determined by practical constraints. The target group and project holder have 'needs', while the Austrian organization has 'possibilities. The opportunity of actively shaping the programme is assumed to be primarily with the Tanzanian partners, as only they are seen to "contribute […] models and visions". However, by referring very generally to "conditions of funding", a rationale for ultimate control of the Austrian organization is retained. Finally, the notion of "negotiating without pressure of time" suggests equality among the co-operation partners, where in fact there is none.

In everyday implementation, the Project Team had a pragmatic view of participation similar to that which prevails in many participatory programmes (cf Kelsall and Mercer 2003, Green 2000). The emphasis was on getting group members to take part in the programme's offers. A lot of

effort was put into organizing and holding meetings in which beneficiaries and stakeholders were made familiar with the programme's objectives and activities. The limited scope of the programme – two groups of no more than 20 people each – and the commitment of the three aid workers attending to them meant that communication and activities were frequent and well-organized. As a result, there was intense participation in the sense that a stable group of people regularly took part in meetings and activities. However, decision-making on important and principal issues remained largely in the realm of the team or the implementing organization; the extremely limited nature of participation in decision-making will be discussed in the next chapter.

Regarding the composition of the group, male farmers in their thirties were well represented from the beginning, whereas efforts to take women and younger men on board had been made rather recently, which meant that they also had little say in issues concerning the group as a whole.

Another challenge to participatory practice was inequality within the team which mainly reflected organizational affiliation to the respective 'donor' or 'recipient' side of the programme. The Austrian Agricultural Advisor had close contact with the implementing organization, which meant that he had more information and a greater influence on financial decisions within the programme. The Tanzanian Programme director was theoretically his superior in the Project Team, but in practice had less influence on the way the programme was implemented. The third member of the team was a Tanzanian Social Worker. She had only recently started working there, and was still coming to terms with the often contradictory patterns of decision-making and implementation. Inequality also manifested itself in the respective contracts and salaries team members received: The Agricultural Advisor was paid according to Austrian standards, whereas his Tanzanian colleagues received Tanzanian salaries.

As the Tanzanian project holder, the Catholic Diocese had a hierarchical organizational culture, which did not help much to encourage egalitarian communication. Additionally, interference such as the Bishop diverting the use of the project car for other undertakings of the Diocese were not uncommon, especially when representatives of the Austrian implementing organization were absent. The team occasionally considered operating independently of the Diocese by setting up a separate NGO as project holder. This plan was carried out by the end of the 1990s.
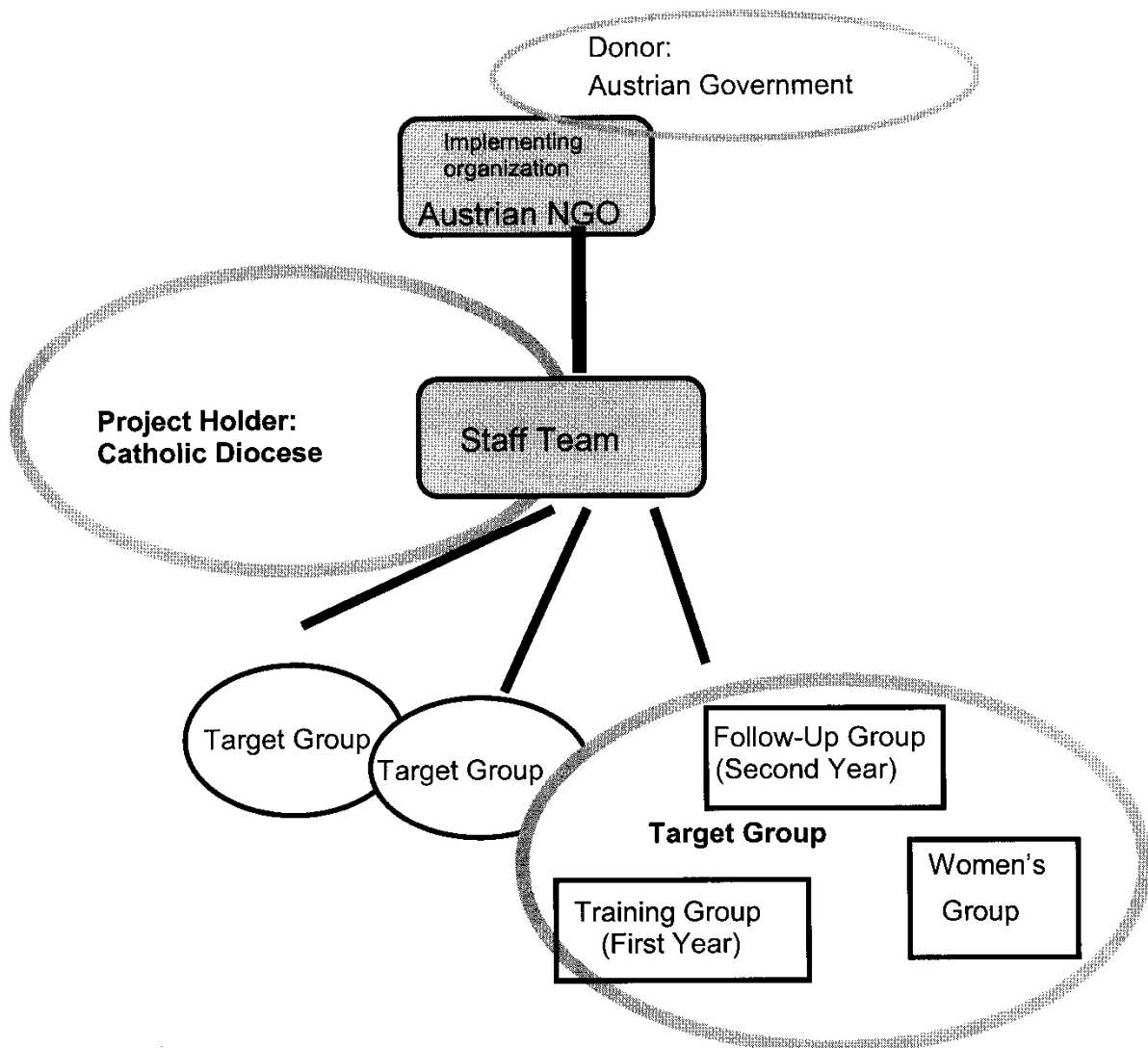
Figure 1: SRAP: Organizational Network

Linguistic preferences of individual actors (SRAP)

Beneficiaries: Members of the village groups are women and men aged between 20 and 40 years. Of the 18 villagers participating in various meetings in village M., 17 were interviewed, and of the 15 participating in the meetings in village T., 12 were interviewed. Most of them earned their living in agriculture, in addition to some minor activities in fishing, masonry, carpentry or blacksmithing. More than half of them stated that they lived in thatched brick houses, only a few had aluminium roofs, and fewer than half of the households involved owned radios. Yet they were not

necessarily the poorest farmers in the village; the programme explicitly addressed those with initiative and a will to improve conditions in the village.

Both the women and men stated that they had completed 'Standard 7', that is, seven years of primary schooling. All 29 women and men interviewed stated that they had had seven years of primary schooling, with the exception of two representatives of the village government who were in their fifties and sixties respectively, and had received only two years of schooling. Accordingly, all were at least bilingual, being fluent in their first language (Kwaya in the first village, Jita in the second) and Swahili. Of the two project groups, one woman and two men had received training outside the village after their primary education (typing, mechanics). However, due to financial constraints they had not completed their courses and had come back to the village. A few members stated that they had a little knowledge of English. Some said that, because of the similarities between Kwaya and Jita, it was also possible to understand a little of the respective other language. One mentioned that he understood some Luo, while another said he also understood Kabwa and Kerewe. Two group members said that because of the similarities between the languages they could understand some of the neighbouring languages, but not speak them.

The two languages Kwaya and Jita both belong to the Haya-Jita language subgroup (Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Central, J, Haya-Jita [J.20]). Thanks to a high proportion of lexical similarities between the two languages, partial mutual intelligibility may be assumed. Figures on the number of speakers of minority languages in Tanzania are generally difficult to obtain, as Tanzanian census data do not include information on linguistic or ethnic affiliation. The only source available, the Ethnologue, reports 217,000 speakers for Jita, and 102,000 for Kwaya. As Legère (2002) cautions, however, these numbers are the result of speculative projections of long outdated census figures, and therefore highly unreliable.

When asked about their linguistic competence, most people emphasized their first language and Swahili, but also mentioned – often partial – knowledge of other languages. Personal language competence was, for example, described in the following way:

> "I use Swahili, Jita and a little Luo. If a person speaks English I can recognize some of the words, a little." (Mimi natumia lugha ya Kiswahili, Kijita na Kijaluo kidogo. Kama mtu akiongea naweza nikatambua na baadhi ya maneno ya Kiingereza, kidogo) (Mr. B. Kasawe, farmer, 22/2/94).

> "The first language is Jita, the second Swahili, the third English – just reading it."
> (Lugha ya kwanza ni Kijita, ya pili Kiswahili, na ya tatu Kiingereza - kukisoma
> tu) (Mr. C. Mtaki, farmer, 22/2/94).

When asked about the use of these languages in everyday interaction, people mentioned a range of purposes for using both their first language, either Kwaya or Jita, and Swahili. Some described using the languages in separate domains. These usually coincided with those outlined in the official Tanzanian discourse, in which minority languages are designated as belonging to the realm of the home and culture, while Swahili is considered the language of work committed to progress and development, as well as official contexts.

> "When at home I use the home language – that is Kwaya." (Nikiwa nyumbani
> natumia lugha ya nyumbani - yaani Kikwaya) (Mr. R. Mbuna, farmer,
> 21/2/94).
> "If it is at home I use the indigenous language, Jita, but if it is at work we use
> Swahili." (Kama ni nyumbani natumia lugha ya kienyeji, ya Kijita; lakini
> kama ni kazini tunatumia lugha ya Kiswahili) (Mr. M. Kigeli, farmer, 22/2/94).

Many group members, however, point out that this separation is not a rigid one. If necessary or desired, languages other than Swahili may also be used in work contexts.

> "Of the languages, we use more Swahili. But if necessary you can also use the
> indigenous language, dialect. You can just use it, at work." (Zaidi kwa lugha
> tunatumia Kiswahili. Lakini inapobidi unaweza ukatumia hata lugha ya
> kienyeji, kilugha. Unaweza ukatumia tu, kwa kazi) (Mr. B. Kasawe, farmer,
> 22/2/94).

A pragmatic attitude predominates, where intelligibility is obviously the primary concern.

> "Yeah if I work, I mostly use Swahili language and Kikwaya for those who
> don't understand Swahili well." (Eeh nikifanya kazi / sana sana natumia lugha
> ya Kiswahili / na ya Kikwaya kwa wale wasioelewa Kiswahili vizuri) (Mr. R.
> Mbuna, farmer, 21/2/94).

"Not understanding Swahili well" refers in particular to problems some group members might have with unfamiliar technical language. Explanations in Kwaya or Jita are often preferred when new concepts are introduced – despite the fact that such concepts are often named by borrowing words from English or Swahili.

However, in meetings that address a wider public in the village, Swahili is likely to be used exclusively, especially when administrative or political village functionaries are involved. This is due to the legacy of the early decades after Independence when speaking minority languages in public was

associated with factionalism. The Chair of the village government in village T., who was also involved in the SRAP programme, would only use Swahili for activities within the group.

> "If I work in the group, I use Swahili." (Nikifanya kazi kwenye kikundi natumia Kiswahili) (Mr. M. Ngoka, farmer, 2/3/94).

Other group members reported that they were more flexible, especially in situations where all participants had the same linguistic background – that is, they all spoke Jita or Kwaya.

> "(At) work, like farming, I use Kwaya, or at times Swahili, both languages." (Kazi, kama ya kilimo, natumia Kikwaya, au wakati mwingine natumia Kiswahili, lugha zote mbili) (Mr. M. Kilanya, farmer, 21/2/94).
>
> "Yeah, as here we work with one ethnic group only, we very much use our home language if at work. But if foreigners, who do not know our home language Jita, turn up, we use Swahili." (Eeh, kwa vile sisi huku tunafanya kazi kulingana na kabila moja tunatumia sana sana lugha ya kinyumbani tukiwa kazini. Lakini wakitokea watu wageni ambao hawajui lugha ya kinyumbani ya Kijita, tunatumia Kiswahili) (Mr. C. Lukolo, farmer 18/2/94)

But a flexible attitude to language choice does not only relate to the use of Kwaya and Jita at work. Some villagers also mentioned that Swahili is an option for them at home and within the family.

> "When I am with my family, I use two languages, Swahili and Kwaya." (Nikiwa na familia yangu, natumia lugha mbili, Kiswahili na Kikwaya) (Mr. M Ngoka, farmer, 2/3/94).

Asked which language he used at home, one group member said that he spoke Jita at home, but also Swahili in order to teach his children.

> "I use Jita. And Swahili for teaching the children." (Natumia Kijita. Na Kiswahili kwa kufundisha watoto) (Mr. C. Lukolo, farmer 18/2/94).

A closer look at the statements on language use reveals that, in fact, many speakers say that they use both languages in a variety of situations. Any view based on clearly separated domains for minority languages and Swahili, as expressed for example in the official "cultural policy" document, is obviously at odds with the far more complex patterns of overlapping language use that emerges here. What is consistent with the official language policy, however, is the way in which the use of the two languages is framed discursively. The use of Swahili is taken for granted and often presented as the first choice in communicative situations pertaining to the development programme. In contrast, the use of Jita and Kwaya is seen as requiring explanation. Some of the arguments presented in this context include: Not all people may understand everything in Swahili; or the fact

that the programme group is linguistically homogenous, so that nobody is excluded as a result of the use of Jita or Kwaya. Reference is also made to the informal nature of the work done within the programme, implying that the 'official' language Kiswahili is not necessarily required when doing ordinary farm work. In the same vein, it may also be noted that Swahili is simply referred to as 'lugha' (language), but Jita and Kwaya are furnished with attributes that emphasize the official view of their limited function. The most commonly used of these phrases is 'lugha ya nyumbani', (language of the home) and a similar idea is expressed in the term 'lugha ya kienyeji' (indigenous/local language). Finally, the expression 'kilugha' (dialect, slang) has a derogatory connotation. Despite this consistency with the present day political discourse in Tanzania, the women and men interviewed sketch out a pragmatic attitude to linguistic choice, in which the use of all languages at their disposal is conceivable in a wide range of contexts. Considering the complex interplay of factors mentioned – formality, situation, topic, competence of interactive partner and individual preferences – parallel use of both languages, as well as frequent language switching, must be anticipated. The exclusive use of one language, such as the restriction to Swahili in the context of formal meetings, is thus the exception rather than the rule.

Staff: Members of the project team use Swahili as their official working language. They also use English, especially when interacting with foreign co-operation partners, or when preparing written documents for them. In addition, English terms are frequently used for technical specifics, a practice that will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. As is common among qualified professionals in many fields in Tanzania, knowledge of Swahili and English is an indispensable precondition for the job. At the time of research, the Programme Team consisted of three people, the Programme Director, the Agricultural Adviser, and the Social Worker.

The Programme Director was a former teacher and church youth leader with additional training in community development. At the time of research he was 36 years old and employed as a development worker by the Diocese. When asked about his knowledge of languages, he named his first language, then Swahili and English:

> "First, I know my mother tongue, Luo, then I know Swahili, and I have a fair knowledge of English." (Najua lugha ya mama kwanza, Kijaluo, halafu najua

Kiswahili, najua na Kiingereza kiasi) (Mr. L. Nyange, Programme Director, 28/2/94).

Excellent knowledge of Swahili was taken for granted in the context of the programme. And indeed, many Tanzanian professionals who grew up speaking one of the minority languages de facto use Swahili like a first language, especially if they live and work away from their home area. Some hardly use the language they grew up with, speaking Swahili both in public and private contexts. Usually, their children grow up with Swahili as their major language, resulting in a growing number of Swahili first-language speakers in Tanzanian urban areas. The mobility of educated professionals all over Tanzania has significantly contributed to the spread of Standard Swahili all over the country. Although the Programme Director's home area is not far from M. town where he lives now, and his wife also has Luo as her mother tongue, they state that they primarily speak Swahili with their children.

With regard to English, the Programme Director has a good working knowledge – he easily communicates in the language in the various situations needed, whether in the weekly planning meeting, in interaction with foreign project partners, or on trips abroad. Yet he grades his knowledge as 'kiasi' (fair) and has readily participated in English courses as part of his on-the-job-training. He has some of his letters going overseas corrected by people with a better command of the language. This importance given to the correct use of the English language is due to the fact that in development co-operation, career opportunities depend very much on competence in English. Improving proficiency is always an advantage.

As became evident later in the interview, he also has some knowledge of Jita and Haya, the languages spoken in the programme area, as well as Kurya. He acquired these languages in the village where he grew up.

"There are other languages which I understand well, for example Kurya; if a person speaks Kurya, I understand and answer her/him. And then I can understand Kwaya, because I was born there, therefore I can also speak a little Kwaya. I also understand Jita, if a person speaks, I can answer. I understand about half of the words in Jita." (Kuna lugha nyingine ninazoweza nikazisikia vizuri kwa mfano Kikurya; mtu akisema Kikurya namwelewa na nitamjibu. Halafu na Kikwaya naweza nikaelewa kwa sababu nimezaliwa huko, kwa hiyo naweza nikasema na Kikwaya kidogo. Kijita pia nasikia - mtu akisema naweza nikamjibu. Karibu nusu ya maneno ya Kijita naweza nikayasema) (Mr. L. Nyange, Programme Director, 28/2/94)..

Knowledge of minority languages is valued, as it may help to establish contact with people in the village who have difficulties with Swahili.

> "When I am in the villages I use more Swahili, and sometimes I can mix it with indigenous languages, especially when talking to the elderly." (Ninapokuwa vijijini ninatumia Kiswahili zaidi na wakati mwingine naweza nikachanganya na lugha ya kienyeji hasa ninapoongea na wazee) (Mr. L. Nyange, Programme Director, 28/2/94).

Villagers certainly appreciate the fact that an outsider makes an effort to speak their language, and development organizations are aware that this can be an important factor in establishing trust. But this is as far as it goes: Knowledge of these minority languages is not a precondition for the job, nor are there incentives to reward it, and the organization makes no effort to improve its staff's knowledge in that respect. In Tanzania, efforts to develop languages and enhance peoples's competence go towards Swahili and English, and development organizations are no exception. It is therefore not surprising that the Programme Director, who knows several Tanzanian languages, makes little effort to pass on this knowledge to his children, instead speaking Swahili with them.

The Agricultural Adviser is an Austrian development worker who was employed on an international contract by the Austrian partner organization. He was 32 years old, had trained as a teacher and acquired a specialisation in organic agriculture.

In addition to his first language German, he was fluent in English and had a fair knowledge of Kiswahili. Having formerly worked in Papua New Guinea, he also spoke Papua New Guinean Pidgin. Additionally, he mentioned some passive knowledge of French and Spanish.

> "O.K., concerning languages, first of all there is German, my mother tongue, English, I know Pidgin, Pidgin-English and Swahili. I have also learnt but forgotten French, and I once began to speak Spanish." (Okay, Sprachen, das ist einmal Deutsch, meine Muttersprache, Englisch, Pidgin kann ich, Pigdin-Englisch und Kiswahili, vergessen aber gelernt habe ich Französisch und Spanisch habe ich auch einmal angefangen zu reden) (Mr. R. Fischer, Agricultural Advisor, 3/1/94).

Commenting on his everyday use of these languages in the working environment of the programme, he said that he spoke Swahili when in the villages, and Swahili and English in the working environment of the Diocese. In staff discussions, he used Swahili as far as his ability went, switching to English when having difficulties expressing himself.

> "Here in M. I mainly speak two languages, that is Swahili, which I mainly use in the villages, I speak only Swahili in the villages, and I use English and Swahili at the level of the Diocese. [...] In the office we mainly speak Swahili, when I find it difficult, I change to English" (Da in M. spreche im hauptsächlich zwei Sprachen, das ist Kiswahili und das hauptsächlich in den Dörfern, ich rede nur Kiswahili in den Dörfern und Englisch und Kiswahili auf dem Diözesanlevel [...] Im Office (= im Team I.M.) reden wir hauptsächlich Kiswahili, wenn ich mir schwer tue, dann wechsle ich ins Englische (Mr. R. Fischer, Agricultural Advisor, 3/1/94).

It is obvious that Fischer has made efforts to master Swahili and communicate in this language, the main working language of development in Tanzania. As is not unusual for foreign aid workers, the organization employing him had arranged for a Swahili course at the beginning of his work period in Tanzania. Fischer actually spent a lot of time with the farmers on the fields, and he was able to communicate his ideas without an interpreter. Despite all the readiness he shows about adapting to the linguistic situation, his statement is not free from a common bias foreign learners tend to have about Swahili and its communicative potential. On the one hand, he admits that his Swahili competence is limited, as he says that he switches to English when he encounters difficulties in the team. On the other hand, he implies that he knows enough Swahili to discuss all relevant issues in the village in Swahili. One possible implication is that in rural or informal contexts, the language does not need to be much elaborated, and that the expression of more sophisticated ideas in urban or professional contexts is adequately done by switching to English. But such assumptions, which are commonly voiced by many European or North American speakers of Swahili, may actually be a misunderstanding. For Tanzanian professionals, switching from Swahili to English usually constitutes one of several options, and the incidence of switches varies with audience and context. In contrast, in the case of foreign learners, code-switches to English are mostly triggered by their linguistic incompetence in Swahili. Yet instead of being regarded as an individual's lack of competence, this is considered adequate practice which everybody seems to follow, and is even popularly explained away with alleged intrinsic deficiencies of the language. Practices of language use that are experienced in everyday interaction are taken as given and unchangeable, their historic and political contingencies ignored. So although foreign learners of Swahili, especially those working in

development co-operation, often express a positive attitude towards strengthening the position of Swahili or minority languages, they are rarely aware of underlying social and cultural hierarchies created and maintained by prevalent patterns of language use.

The third member of the team, the Social Worker, had joined the team only recently. At the time of the research she was in her mid-twenties and employed by the Diocese. Her first language is Chagga. As in the case of the Programme Director, Swahili was the language she mainly used in work contexts. Although her English was good and she received all her secondary and tertiary education in English, she views her ability rather modestly: "Kiingereza kidogo" (a little English).

> "I understand Swahili, and then I understand a little English and the mother tongue – Chagga. When I am at work, I use Swahili." (Nafahamu Kiswahili halafu nafahamu Kiingereza kidogo na mother tongue - Kichagga. Nikiwa kazini natumia Kiswahili) (Ms. A. Msemwa, Social Worker, 17/2/94).

Like the Programme Director, she has completed an English course as part of her on the job training. In fact, she uses a lot of English at work, too, especially in team meetings, when interacting with Austrian project partners and when writing up protocols or reports. However, she expresses reservations about her English language skills, implying they could be insufficient. She is obviously not concerned about her Swahili competence, which she considers sufficient.

Because their two major working languages are second languages, all three project team members have a principal interest in improving their language skills by learning from each other. Thus, there may be several factors at work that motivate the use of English or Swahili in the interaction among team members. At the same time, this reflects asymmetrical North-South relations in which, despite the prominent role of Swahili in Tanzania, development organizations primarily support their staff in improving their English competence. Despite being the official working language, Swahili does not enjoy a similar effort, for example in the form of advanced courses or terminology development. Usually, aid workers are left to fend for themselves with knowledge acquired from primary education or, in the case of foreigners, short-term courses, experience gained on the job and the occasionally available publication in Swahili. Finally, one can also say that the lack of recognition given to minority languages by the government is mirrored in development organizations: While there may be individual awareness or commitment to using these languages, no formal recognition is

given to those staff members who apply these languages in development work.

The Rice Cultivation Mechanization Programme (RCMP)

The RCMP was initiated in 1985 and based on co-operation between the Ministry of Agriculture in Zanzibar with the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) and the African Development Bank (ADB) as financial donors. The programme focussed on rainfed rice cultivation which has a long tradition on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. Rice is a highly valued staple food that is in great demand, especially in urban areas. It is not difficult to find a market for locally-produced rice – the challenge is to compete with cheap imports. The programme aimed at increasing production by making modern technology accessible to farmers. Know-how, improved seed, fertilizer and mechanical implements were to be made available for sale or rent at subsidized prices. The programme was designed to reach out to peasant farmers in four rural areas (Muanda, Kilombero, Cheju and Pemba).
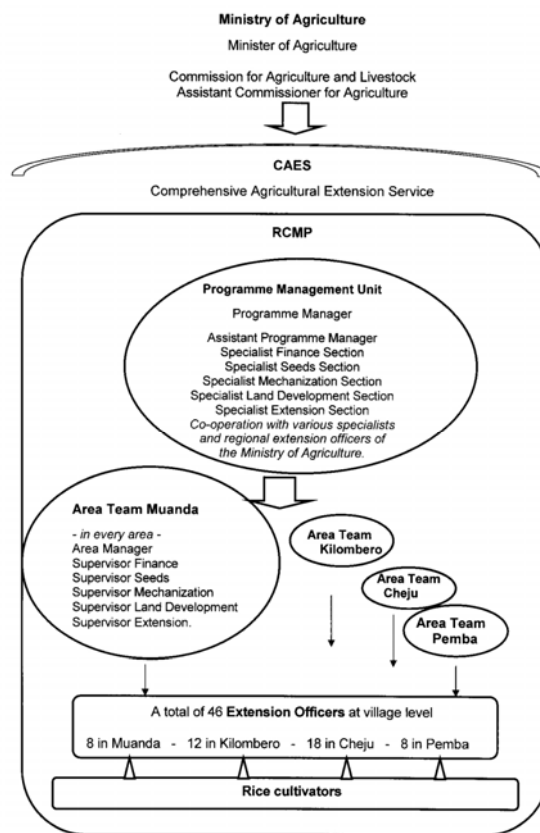

Figure 2: RCMP - Organizational Network

In its organizational set-up, the RCMP was part of the Ministry of Agriculture, its staff being regular employees of the Ministry who had been assigned to the programme. Regarding financial planning and technical implementation, the programme primarily answered to the donors, as it was largely independent of the Ministry. RCMP management had financial resources and implements such as vehicles, motorbikes, tractors and other agricultural machinery at its disposal to which other sections of the Ministry had no access. The programme's staff included a 'Management Unit' comprising 'specialists' in several fields, as well as four subordinate 'Area Teams' with a comparable allocation of professionals, most of whom were university graduates. On a third level, the programme relied on Extension Officers for its everyday implementation. Extension Officers were usually local farmers who had undergone short-term agricultural training. They provided an essential communicative link between the rice cultivators and the technicians.

During the initial programme phase from 1985 to 1990, a team of four engineers from a British consulting firm for agricultural development, comprising a project manager, an extension specialist, an agricultural engineer and a service manager, provided technical assistance. From the beginning onwards, Tanzanian counterparts worked together with them. When the foreign technicians left in 1990, they took over the management of the programme which was to last until 1995. Apart from the central Project Management Unit, the programme had area teams in each of the four fields in which it operated.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the Comprehensive Agricultural Extension Service (CAES) of the Ministry of Agriculture had undergone organizational restructuring as part of an FAO project (Nöst 1997:239). One aspect of the restructuring effort had been to co-ordinate all foreign-funded programmes working with extension agents (Hanak, Nöst and Schicho 1995:33). At the time of research, the process of integrating various programmes working with extension agents was still ongoing. In general, working conditions within the CAES could be characterized by low pay, lack of incentives and scarce means of transport. One major motivation for employees to retain their jobs was the offer of advanced training, which, however, resulted in frequent study leaves that interfered with work efficiency. Despite their often limited experience with conditions relevant to agriculture in Zanzibar, foreign technicians working with the CAES often received salaries that

exceeded those of their Tanzanian colleagues and usually had more attractive working conditions (transport, benefits). At the time of research, monthly salaries for the Tanzanian staff of the RCMP's Programme Management Unit amounted to approximately 40 US$. In interviews, staff members reported that they made their living through their own farming activities rather than their official job.

As pointed out in Chapter 2, participartory approaches such as the PRA have emerged in search of alternatives to the inflexible and hierarchical bureaucracies of agricultural extension common to the state-centred development policy of the 1960s and 1970s. By the 1990s, the Ministry of Agriculture in Zanzibar, like other governmental bodies in recipient countries, had officially adopted participatory approaches in its interaction with peasant farmers. The British consulting firm it worked with proclaimed that its principle was to assist with the design and implementation of locally-owned and delivered development strategies. However, despite this formal commitment, and despite the reforms the Comprehensive Agricultural Extension Service had undergone in the early 1990s, implementing people-centred development within the bureaucratic structure of the Ministry remained a challenge. In particular, discouraging material conditions led to a situation where at times "rather than providing services for clients, [activities] merely serve[d] the reproduction of the bureaucratic system" (Nöst 1997:238).

Due to its specific task and independent funding, the RCMP had developed a separate infrastructure, including its own office space, cars and motorcycles – a vital resource in the working environment of the CAES where "the better part of the [staff's] working hours is spent negotiating transport needed to visit the villages and to attend to planned events"[3] (Hanak, Nöst and Schicho 1995:33). Outside funding had also facilitated the core element of programme activities: the supply of know-how, improved seed, fertilizer and tractor services to the farmers at subsidized rates.

Administering its own budget had given the RCMP a certain autonomy in planning and implementing its activities, and had contributed to a dynamic organizational culture. Frequent interaction with the rice cultivators, such as eliciting their opinions and feeding them back into the planning process,

---

[3] Der Großteil der Arbeitszeit wird der Tätigkeit gewidmet, die Verfügung über ein Transportmittel zu verhandeln, das notwendig ist um die Dörfer aufzusuchen und die geplanten Veranstaltungen abzuhalten.

was part of the organizational self-concept. The RCMP was more effective in realizing the Ministry's commitment to participatory approaches than other programmes or units. At the time of research, the programme was in its final phase. The phasing out of funding, scheduled for 1995, was imminent. For the programme's staff this meant that they would eventually return to the usual difficult working conditions within the Ministry. Regarding the programme itself, the perspective of having to do without external finance raised the question of long-term sustainability. In interviews, rice farmers complained about poverty and harsh living conditions, stressing the importance of government support. They argued that they often did not have the money to buy inputs even at subsidized rates. The issue repeatedly featured in the recorded management team meetings: Would the farmers be able to afford the advanced technology even if they had to pay market rates, and would they be able to maintain higher levels of production? In this critical phase, actors in the Project Management Unit frequently made reference to opinions voiced by rice cultivators in order to emphasize their arguments in management meetings. In commenting on the everyday implementation of participatory practices within the programme, staff members argued that regular meetings with beneficiaries were essential. Technicians assumed that the opportunity to assess and evaluate was available to programme staff and beneficiaries alike, and that the "[the meetings'] intention […] was to examine and consider how we performed in the past season, maybe where we did not do well so that we could adjust ourselves and where we did well, to be able to congratulate ourselves" (madhumuni yake […] ilikuwa ni kutafakari na kuzingatia huu msimu uliomalizika tumekwenda vipi labda wapi hatukufanya vizuri ili tuweze kujirekebisha na wapi tumefanya vizuri kuweza kujipongeza) (Mr M. Ramadhani, 27/7/94). Listening to the peasants' opinion and taking note of their needs was repeatedly emphasized. However, there was no intention of enabling beneficiaries to take part in the planning and decision-making on programme activities.

When asked about the programme's interaction with the Ministry, the Programme Manager emphasized his unrestricted access to high-level meetings. "The Ministry […] usually just calls, invites a large number of actors to these meetings. As a result, you will find that there is a smooth, very good exchange of information in the Ministry" (wizara, […] huwa inawaita, inawaalika watendaji wengi wengi tu katika vikao hivi. Kwa hivyo

utakuta mtiririko wa taarifa ni mwepesi sana ni mzuri katika wizara) (Mr. K. Salum, Programme Manager, 25/07/94). As an autonomous part of Tanzania, Zanzibar has a separate Ministry of Agriculture, whose scope of activities is limited to the islands of Unguja and Pemba. As a result, both formal and informal communication is intense and actors tend to be familiar with each other.

Apart from meetings, formal communication emanates from the Programme Management's duty to report to senior administrators in the Ministry. Activity reports and documents on meetings among the team and with beneficiaries are regularly forwarded. Direct contact between representatives of the Ministry and farmers may also be established in the form of occasional visits by the former in villages.

> "Even the minutes of the meetings we hold with the villagers are forwarded to the Ministry. […] Now they get to understand exactly what we talk with these farmers, which opinions they hold, they get it directly. It is therefore easy for them, if they have a programme of visiting agricultural areas, and talking to the farmers, they already have information about the affairs of the farmers there". (Mr. K. Salum, Programme Manager, 25/07/94).
>
> (Hata dondoo, minutes za mikutano tunayofanya na wakulima tunazipeleka wizarani. [...] Sasa wanapata kuelewa hasa, sisi tunazungumza nini na wakulima hawa, wao mawazo yao yako vipi, wanapata moja kwa moja. Kwahivyo ni rahisi wao kama wanakuwa na programme kutembelea maeneo ya kilimo, na kuzungumza na wakulima, wanakuwa tayari wamekuwa na taarifa kuhusu mambo ya wakulima wale pale)

While the quantity of information provided may be substantial, communicative channels generally follow top-down hierarchies. Managers give out assignments and directives, and expect progress reports in return. As the following quotation from one of the extension supervisors shows, 'up' and 'down' are common notions in describing relationships in the network:

> "Well our usual job is to instruct our Extension Officers, we brief them about the kind of work and how we proceed […] we receive directions from our superiors, they give them to us, and we pass them on to the Extension Officers. And the Extension Officers, [information about] their activities in the fields, their usual work, reaches us in the office, and we send it up. […] Our section manager there receives [the information] from above, passes it on to us, and we hand it down. (L. Yusufu, Area Extension Supervisor, 11/8/1994).
>
> (Aaa kwa kweli kazi zetu za kawaida ni kuwaongoza wale Mabwana Shamba wetu wale tunawafahamisha jinsi ya kazi na utaratibu wetu unavyoenda […] tunapata maagizo kutokana na wakuu wetu pale wanatupa sisi halafu sisi

tunapeleka pale kwa Mabwana Shamba. Na Mabwana Shamba shughuli zao wanazofanya kule mabondeni sasa kazi za kawaida zinatufikia sisi ofisini tunazipeleka juu. […] Mkuu wetu pale kwenye section yetu pale ambaye yeye ndiyo anapewa kutoka juu halafu anatupa sisi tunaziteremsha chini)

Linguistic preferences of individual actors in the RCMP

The analysis of interviews and meetings for this study focuses on data obtained from the RCMP Project Management Unit (for data on other sections of the Ministry of Agriculture see Hanak 1998, Nöst 1997, Hanak, Nöst and Schicho 1995). No questions on language use were included in the interviews carried out with extension officers and peasant farmers, as they seemed to operate in a monolingual Swahili environment. Of the eight staff members in the Programme Management Unit of the RCMP, five were interviewed. These were highly trained specialists in agriculture, project management and the fields of their respective sections (finance, mechanics etc). Most had worked with the Ministry of Agriculture for decades, participating in various short courses or post-graduate courses in the country and abroad. The first language of all members of the Programme Management Unit was Swahili. English was their second language, acquired mainly through secondary and tertiary education as well as on the job training.

> "I understand English, but the mother tongue is Swahili. Then English and Russian. I studied in Russia for 6 years. And a little Arabic." (Ninaelewa Kiingereza, lakini mother tongue ni Kiswahili. Halafu Kiingereza, Kirusi. Nimesoma Urusi 6 years, na Kiarabu kidogo kidogo) (Mr. M. Chumbe, Senior Mechanic, 27/7/94).

> "My original language is Swahili, and I get on with English very well." (Lugha yangu original ni Kiswahili, na Kiingereza ninakipata vizuri sana) (Mr. L. Musa, Accountant, 28/7/94).

The official working language was Swahili. When working with foreigners, English was spoken. Moreover, English was widely used in reports and in communication with the financial donor, the African Development Bank. Reports to the Ministry of Agriculture could also be made in Swahili. As made explicit by the assistant manager, there was an awareness that, even when Swahili was spoken, one or the other English word might be inserted.

> "The official working language here is Swahili, but as we work with foreigners here sometimes we use English. If we are amongst ourselves we do not use English. Except that we know that in conversation it just happens that we insert some words in English." (Lugha rasmi hapa ya kufanyia kazi ni Kiswahili, lakini kwa vile tunafanya kazi na wageni kwahivyo baadhi ya

wakati tunatumia lugha ya Kiingereza. Tukiwa kati yetu hatutumii Kiingereza. Isipokuwa tunajua katika mazungumzo tu hutokezea tena tukaingiza neno moja moja kwa Kiingereza) (Mr. O Ramadhani, Assistant Manager, 27/7/94).

The Accountant described how the official working language changed to English when the British experts were present during the first five years of the programme.

> "Right now, since these foreign experts from the technical assistance, those who came from England, left, we do not use English. When they were here, the language was English only, in the meetings, up to the meetings we used English." (Kwa sasa hivi toka kuondoka wale wataalamu wa kigeni wa technical assistance wale ambao walitoka Uingereza, hatutumii Kiingereza. Walipokuwapo wao ilikuwa lugha yetu ni Kiingereza tu, kwenye mikutano, mpaka kwenye mikutano tulitumia Kiingereza) (Mr. L Musa, Accountant, 28/7/94).

While the official language was Swahili, one engineer pointed out how, de facto, the job required constant switching between Swahili and English. The notion of 'mixing' the two languages frequently occurred in comments on language use.

> "At work I use two languages, I mix […] Swahili and at times English, because often when you work you deal with some foreigners, for example at the project we had technical assistance from England. So, some don't know Swahili, so we speak English with them. And writing reports, we mix Swahili and English reports. So we mix, depending on whom you talk with and where." (Kwenye kazi natumia lugha mbili nachanganya […] Kiswahili na mara nyingine Kiingereza, kwa sababu mara nyingi unapofanya kazi unashughulika na watu wengine wa kigeni kwa mfano katika mradi sisi tulikuwa na technical assistance kutoka Uingereza. Kwa hiyo wengine hawajui Kiswahili kwa hiyo tuzungumza nao Kiingereza. Na kuandika ripoti tunachanganya ripoti ya Kiswahili na ripoti ya Kiingereza. Kwa hiyo tunachanganya kutegemea nani unaongea naye na wapi.) (Mr. M Vuai, agricultural engineer, 7/7/1994).

Zanzibar is one of the original areas of the Swahili people, and all staff members stated that Swahili was their mother tongue. The issue of Tanzanian minority languages was therefore not relevant to the RCMP programme.

Conclusion: Language competence and training in the working environment

The challenge of analyzing statements about linguistic preferences and language use is that speakers do not constantly reflect on the linguistic

varieties they use. As a result, there may be considerable differences between what people think or say they do and what they actually do. It is therefore important to supplement the information provided in the interviews with data on concrete interaction, which will be the focus of the following two chapters. The following issues emerge when one makes a preliminary assessment of the statements made in the interviews:

In the SRAP programme, development workers were offered language courses paid for by the employer which could be attended during working hours. The Tanzanian employees attended advanced courses in English, and the Austrian development worker, who had primarily been employed to work directly with peasants in the villages, completed an extensive basic course in Swahili. Within the team, the Austrian expert stated that he could always resort to English when he felt that his competence in Swahili was insufficient, a practice his Tanzanian colleagues readily accommodated. During short-term visits by foreign experts who usually did not know Swahili, Tanzanian team members were expected to translate for them. No measures, such as, for example, courses, were considered to promote the use of Swahili in higher-level management or technical domains. Nor were there any formal incentives to motivate employees to acquire Kwaya or Jita – efforts in these respects depended entirely on the initiative of individual staff members.

In the RCMP, the British experts who were present during the initial phase of the project relied exclusively on English as their working language. Theirs was a position of higher-level management, and their Tanzanian counterparts in the management section were expected to speak English with them, as well as help out with translations when this was required. The Tanzanian members of the project management unit were university graduates who had received their secondary and at least part of their higher education in English. After the departure of the British experts Swahili became the primary language of interaction in meetings, however staff members commented that they often 'mixed' English and Swahili. Again, there were no measures to promote Swahili in high-level technical or managerial contexts. Given that Zanzibar is one of the home areas of the Swahili people, it would probably not have taken much effort to develop an adequate terminology.

The organizational policies and cultures in the two development networks offer two examples of how, in different ways, linguistic hierarchies are

reinforced and English continues to be unduly privileged. This can not primarily be explained by the fact that development co-operation involves international relations, a domain where the use of English could be expected. Foreign correspondence, reports and interaction with short-term visitors obviously has to be handled in English. But the larger part of work takes place in a Tanzanian, Swahili-speaking environment. Despite the fact that Swahili is the official working language in both the Catholic Diocese of M. and the Ministry of Agriculture in Zanzibar, the dominant position of English seems uncontested – particularly in two aspects.

The first is that Tanzanian development workers communicating among themselves in Swahili report that frequent use of English technical terms is common, a practice that is of course rooted in the Tanzanian educational system. The prominent role of English is, however, also linked to the idea that high-level technological and social progress is the domain of English rather than Swahili. This becomes clear in a widely practiced dual approach: Swahili and to a very limited extent even minority languages may play a role as a means of communication in reaching out and informing beneficiaries, but Swahili is not promoted at the higher levels of development management. This is a pity, as a unique possibility of making higher levels of development management transparent and accessible to popular participation is lost. While staff members are supported in improving their competence in English, no comparable input is given to facilitate the use of Swahili in high-level domains. Blaming the situation entirely on the education sector is problematic, as students and their parents can only be motivated to learn a language they experience as functional in important domains. The development sector could serve as a model in this respect.

The second point concerns the presence of foreign development workers with long-term contracts. A decreasing number of those who work at the 'grass roots' level are encouraged to learn Swahili, however the majority of 'experts' working at higher levels are not required to adapt to their linguistic environment. Instead, Tanzanians are expected to adapt to the needs of (mostly European or North-American) colleagues, whether this means switching to English or acting as interpreters. Tanzania has gone a long way toward establishing an African language in a number of formal working domains. Yet Western experts, who operate in English all over former 'anglophone' Africa, expect to do the same in Tanzania, where

English still has the status of an official language. This raises the question of whether a postcolonial 'recipient state' has any other option than to comply with such expectations. Development experts are a substantial part of the aid industry in which the donors, and not the recipients, determine conditionalities.

Code choice in development programmes works to maintain hierarchies: By preserving English in a high-level position, management units and teams effectively prevent beneficiaries from having access to flows of information and decision-making. The adoption of participatory principles through development organizations has not affected these practices. As pointed out in chapter three, participatory principles are mostly about improving outreach and raising the commitment of target groups, which includes using their language(s) in development interaction. It does not mean that hierarchies and management practices are remodelled, which would entail more innovative linguistic politics than merely retaining colonial patterns of using African languages in rural areas and using English in technological matters and high-level administration.

The issue of minority languages only features in the SRAP programme set in Western Tanzania. The RCMP Zanzibar is in one of the few settings in Tanzania where the the population's first language is Swahili, which also enjoys official status. Some staff members and beneficiaries state that they have made individual efforts to acquire neighbouring minority languages apart from their first languages. In the case of development workers, however, this aspect of their qualification receives informal recognition at best. Fluency in Kwaya and Jita is acknowledged as a means of establishing trust between beneficiaries and staff. There is, however, little consideration of the possibility that using these languages in programme activities might encourage the participation of villagers who would otherwise remain excluded.

Bibliography:

Abdulaziz, Mohammed H. 1971. Tanzania's National Language Policy and the Rise of Swahili Political Culture. In W. H. Whiteley (ed.) Language Use and Social Change. London: Oxford University Press, 160-178.

ANC (African National Congress). 1955. The Freedom Charter. Adopted at the Congress of the People, Kliptown, on 26 June 1955. http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/charter.html, 1/2/2007

Banda, Felix. 2004. Multilingualism and its implications for transformation in the South African workplace: promoting positive difference and closing the gap between theory and practise. In: Pfaffe, Joachim Friedrich (ed). 2004. Making multilingual education a reality for all – operationalizing good intentions. Proceedings of the Third International Conference of the Association for the Development of African Languages in Education, Science and Technology (ADALEST) held at Mangochi, Malawi, 2004, 268-280.

Batibo, Herman. 2006. Marginalisation and empowerment through educational medium. The case of linguistically disadvantaged groups of Botswana and Tanzania. In: Pütz, Martin, Joshua Fishman, JoAnne Neff-van Aertselaer (eds). 2006. Along the Routes to Power: Explorations of the Empowerment through Language. New York, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 261-283.

Bearth, Thomas and Diomandé Fan. 2006. The local language – a neglected resource for sustainable development. In: Ernest W.B. Hess-Lüttich (ed.), Eco-Semiotics. Umwelt- und Entwicklungskommunikation. Tübingen/Basel: Francke, 273-293.

Beck, Rose Marie. 2006. "We speak Otjiherero but we write in English", 'Doing Elite' at the Grassroots (Herero, Namibia). In: Pütz, Martin, Joshua Fishman, JoAnne Neff-van Aertselaer (eds). 2006. Along the Routes to Power: Explorations of the Empowerment through Language. New York, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 305-331.

Beukes, Anne-Marie. 2004. The first ten years of democracy: language policy in South Africa. Paper read at Xth Linguapax Congress on Linguistic Diversity, Sustainability and Peace, 20-23 May, Barcelona.

Bgoya, Walter. 2001. The effect of globalisation in Africa and the choice of language in publishing. International Review of Education No 47/3-4, 282-292.

Blommaert, Jan. 1992. Codeswitching and the exclusivity of social identities: Some data from Campus Kiswahili. In: Eastman, Carol (ed.), Codeswitching. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 57-70.

Blommaert, Jan. 2005b. Situating language rights: English and Swahili in Tanzania revisited. Journal of Sociolinguistics 9/3, 390-417.

Blommaert, Jan. 2006. Language policy and national identity. In: Ricento, Thomas (ed.). 2006. An introduction to language policy: theory and method. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 238-254.

Brock-Utne, Birgit. 2002. Language, democracy and education in Africa. Discussion paper 15. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Calvet, Louis-Jean. 1978. Die Sprachenfresser: ein Versuch über Linguistik und Kolonialismus. Berlin: Arsenal.

Canagarajah, Suresh. 2000. Negotiating ideologies through English: strategies from the periphery. In: Thomas Ricento (ed). 2000. Ideology, Politics, and Language Policies: Focus on English. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 121-132.

Chambers, Robert. 1995. NGOs and development: the primacy of the personal. IDS Working Paper 14. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

Desai, Zubeida. 2001. Multilingualism in South Africa with particular reference to the role of African languages in education. International Review of Education No 47/3-4, 323-339.

Eastman, Carol M. 1991. The Political and Sociolinguistics of Status Planning in Africa. In: Marshall, David F. (ed.) 1991. <u>Focus on Language Planning</u>, Essays in Honour of Joshua Fishman, John Benjamins, 135-152.

Fairclough, Norman. 1995. Critical Discourse Analysis. The Critical Study of Language. London: Longman.

Ferguson, Charles. 1959. Diglossia. In: Word 15, 325-337.

Fishman, Joshua. 1967. Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism. Journal of Social Issues 23, 29-38.

Green, Maia. 2000. Participatory development and the appropriation of agency in Southern Tanzania. Critique of Antropology, 20/1, 67-89.

Hanak, Irmi, Barbara Nöst und Walter Schicho. 1995. Kommunikation und Entwicklung. Forschungsbericht. (Communication and Development. Unpublished Research Report). Wien.

Heine, Bernd. 1979. Sprache, Gesellschaft und Kommunikation in Afrika. Weltforum Verlag: München.

Heugh, Kathleen, 2003. Can authoritarian seperatism give way to linguistic rights? A South African case study. Current issues in language planning, Vol 3/2, 126-145.

Hymes, Dell. 1972. On Communicative Competence. In: Pride, J.B. and J. Holmes (eds) 1972. Sociolinguistics. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 269-93.

IIZ. 1994. Informationsmappe: Das IIZ als Kooperationspartner. Wien IIZ.

Jones, J. 1925. Education in East Africa: A study of East, Central and South Africa by the Second African Education Commission. New York: Phelps Stokes Fund.

Kelsall, Tim and Claire Mercer. 2003. Empowering People? World Vision and transformatory development in Northern Tanzania. Review of African Political Economy 96, 293-304.

Khamisi, Abdu Mtajuka. 1991. Current trends in language standardization in Tanzania. In: Cyffer, Norbert, Klaus Schubert, Hans-Ingolf Weier, Ekkehard Wolff. Language standardization in Africa. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 207-214.

Labov, William, 1970. The Logic of Nonstandard English. in: Alatis (ed.), Report of the Twenty-First Annual Round-Table Meeting on Liguistic and Language in Contact, Washington D.C.

Laitin, David. 1992. Language Repertoires and State Construction in Africa. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Legère, Karsten. 2002. The "Languages of Tanzania" project: background, resources and perspectives. In: Africa & Asia No 2, 163-186, Dept of Oriental and African Languages, Göteborg University.

Legère, Karsten. 2004. "Simu ya mkononi" and "ifungandedzi". Against the myth of African languages lacking terminologies. In: Pfaffe, Joachim Friedrich (ed). 2004. Making multilingual education a reality for all – operationalizing good intentions. Proceedings of the Third International Conference of the Association for the Development of African Languages in Education, Science and Technology (ADALEST) held at Mangochi, Malawi, 2004, 37-58.

Legère, Karsten. 2006a. JK Nyerere of Tanzania and the empowerment of Swahili. In: Pütz, Martin, Joshua Fishman, JoAnne Neff-van Aertselaer (eds). 2006. Along the

Routes to Power: Explorations of the Empowerment through Language. New York, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 373-403.

Legère, Karsten. 2006b. Formal and informal development of the Swahili language: focus on Tanzania. In: Selected proceedings of the 36th Annual Conference of African Linguistics ed. Olaoba Arasanyin and Michael Pemberton, 174-184. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Malekela, George. 2003. English as a medium of instruction in post-primary education in Tanzania: is it a fair policy on the learner? In: Brock-Utne, Birgit, Zubeida Desai and Martha Qorro (eds.). 2003. Language of instruction in Tanzania and South Africa. Dar es Salaam: E & D Publishers, 102-112.

Mazrui, Ali and Alamin Mazrui. 1998. The power of Babel – language and governance in the African experience. Oxford: James Currey.

MEC (Ministry of Education and Culture Tanzania). 1997. Sera ya Utamaduni. Dar-es-Salaam. Ministry of Education and Culture. http://www.tanzania.go.tz/policiesf.html 4/4/2008

Melkote, Srinivas and Leslie Steeves. 2001. Communication for development in the Third World: theory and practice for empowerment. London: SAGE.

Msanjila, Yohana. 2005. Hali ya Kiswahili katika shule za sekondari Tanzania: udhalilishaji wa lugha ya taifa? Swahili Forum 12, 205-218.

Mulokozi, Mugyabuso M. 2002. Kiswahili as a national and international language. Dar-es-Salaam: Institute of Kiswahili Research. accessible at www.helsinki.fi/hum/aakkl/documents/Kiswahili.pdf 6/7/2008

Mutasa, Vidah. 2003. The issue of language of instruction in Tanzania. Brock-Utne, Birgit, Zubeida Desai and Martha Qorro (eds.). 2003. Language of instruction in Tanzania and South Africa. Dar es Salaam: E & D Publishers, 197-202.

Mwinsheikhe, Halima Mohammed. 2003. Using Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in science teaching in Tanzanian secondary schools. In: Brock-Utne, Birgit, Zubeida Desai and Martha Qorro (eds.). 2003. Language of instruction in Tanzania and South Africa. Dar es Salaam: E & D Publishers, 129-148.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o. 1993. Moving the Center – the struggle for cultural freedoms. London: James Currey.

Nöst, Barbara. 1997. Partizipation oder Instrumentalisierung. Das Agricultural Extension Service in Zanzibar. Journal für Entwicklungspolitik 3/97, 237-256.

O'Barr, William. 1976. Language Use abd Language Policy in Tanzania: An Overview. In: William O'Barr and Jean F. O'Barr (eds) Language and Politics, Paris: Mouton, 35-48.

Pennycook, Alastair. 1994. The cultural politics of English as an international language. London: Longman.

Pennycook, Alastair. 1998. English and the Discourses of Colonialism. London: Routledge.

Pennycook, Alastair. 2000. Language, ideology and hindsight: Lessons from colonial language policies. In: Thomas Ricento (ed). 2000. Ideology, Politics, and Language Policies: Focus on English. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 49-66.

Pennycook, Alastair. 2001. Critical applied linguistics: a critical introduction. Mahwah, New Jersey: Erlbaum.

Philippson, Robert and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas. 1995. Language rights in postcolonial Africa. In: Phillipson, Robert and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas. Linguistic human rights – overcoming linguistic discrimination. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 335-346.

Philippson, Robert. 2001. English for globalisation or for the world's people? International Review of Education, 47/3-4, 185-200.

Polomé, Edgar C. 1980. Tanzania: A Socio-Linguistic Perspective. In C. P. Hill and Edgar C. Polomé (eds.) Language in Tanzania. London: Oxford University Press, 103-138.

Puja, Grace Khwaya. 2003. Kiswahili and Higher Education in Tanzania: Reflections based on a sociological study from three Tanzanian university campuses. In: Brock-Utne, Birgit, Zubeida Desai and Martha Qorro (eds.). 2003. Language of instruction in Tanzania and South Africa. Dar es Salaam: E & D Publishers, 113-128.

Qorro, Martha. 2003. Unlocking Language Forts: The Language of Instruction in Post Primary Education in Africa with Special Reference to Tanzania. In Birgit Brock-Utne, Zubeida Desai, and Martha Qorro (eds.) Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa. Dar-es-Salaam E&D Limited, 187-196.

Roy-Campbell, Zaline. 2001a. Empowerment through language. The Tanzanian experience and beyond. Trenton NJ: Africa World Press.

Roy-Campbell, Zaline. 2001b. Globalisation, language and education: a comparative study of the United States and Tanzania. International Review of Education, 47/3-4, 267-282.

Rubagumya, Casmir. 2003. English medium primariy schools in Tanzania: a new 'linguistic market' in education? Brock-Utne, Birgit, Zubeida Desai and Martha Qorro (eds.). 2003. Language of instruction in Tanzania and South Africa. Dar es Salaam: E & D Publishers, 149-169.

Rugemalira, Josephat, Casmir Rubagumya, M.K. Kapinga, Azaveli Lwaitama and J.G.Tetlow. 1990. Reflections on recent developments in language policy in Tanzania In: Rubagumya, Casmir M. (ed.) 1990. Language in education in Africa – a Tanzanian perspective. Clevedon: Multilingual matters, 25-35.

Rugemalira, Josephat. 2005. Theoretical and practical challenges in a Tanzanian English medium primary school. In: Africa & Asia, Department of Oriental and African Languages at Göteborg University, No 5/2005, 66-84.

Stroud, Christopher. 2001. African mother tongues and the politics of language: linguistic citizenship versus linguistic human rights. Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 22/4, 339-355.

Tollefson, James. 2006. Critical theory in language policy. In: Ricento, Thomas (ed.). 2006. An introduction to language policy: theory and method. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 42-59.

UNESCO 2003. Education for a multilingual world. Paris: UNESCO. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001297/129728e.pdf 4/4/2008

Wardhaugh, Ronald. 1992. An introduction to sociolinguistics. Second Edition. Oxford: Blackwell.

Webb, Vic. 2004. The non-promotion of the indigenous languages of Africa: Why? In: Pfaffe, Joachim Friedrich (ed). 2004. Making multilingual education a reality for all – operationalizing good intentions. Proceedings of the Third International

Conference of the Association for the Development of African Languages in Education, Science and Technology (ADALEST) held at Mangochi, Malawi, 2004, 105-116.

Whiteley, Wilfred. 1969. Swahili – the rise of a national language. London: Methuen.

Yahya-Othman, Saida. 1990. When International Languages Clash: The Possible Detrimentral Effects on Development of the Conflict between English and Kiswahili in Tanzania, in: Rubagumya, Casimir M. (ed) 1990. Language in education in Africa: a Tanzanian perspective. Philadelphia: Multilingual matters, 42-53.