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**Attitudes Towards English in Relation to English as a Lingua Franca in the
Tanzanian Context**

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*CD containing interview transcripts attached inside back cover

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Abstract

Current theories about the sociopolitics of the global spread of English diverge in the extent to which they consider English to be 'the language of choice' for its non-native speakers. Some argue that these perceived 'choices' to learn English only serve to perpetuate the dominance and interests of the world's native speaker (inner circle) countries. What seems to be evident however is that, as this group of non-native speakers continues to grow, the future of English may be less likely to be determined by its native speakers. As a result, the English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) field of research – concerned with the relevance of English to communication between its non-native speakers – is gathering increasing interest. Within this ELF field there have, to date, been no studies conducted in Africa, and the focus of his study was therefore to explore teacher attitudes towards English in relation to ELF in the Tanzanian context.

Given the great distance between the researcher and the respondents, the ten teachers identified to take part in the study were interviewed by e-mail. The aim of the study was to explore the nature of attitudes in this context rather than seeking to attain any kind of objectivity, and as such the teachers interviewed varied greatly in terms of their experience, the subjects they taught and their location in Tanzania. What was perhaps most interesting from the findings was that the interviewees seemed to set the target for their students of 'mastering' English, much like the policy in Tanzanian secondary schools where English is the language of instruction in every subject. The findings also suggested that this native speaker benchmark may be largely irrelevant to the future language needs of students in this context, and that student understanding of all subjects may be suffering as a result of Tanzanian misconceptions about English teaching.

The study is able to raise some important issues in relation to the future of English teaching in Tanzania. The main pedagogical implication of the research concerns the apparent need for existing attitudes towards the native speaker variety of English being targeted in this context to be re-evaluated in light of what seem to be the future language needs of its students. This would perhaps call for a reconceptualisation of English to consider the language more in terms of its communicative utility to non-native speakers of the language. Further research is needed to investigate the issues raised in this paper. Such research would need to consider the interrelationship between Kiswahili and English in this context and provide recommendations for changes to the existing Tanzanian language policy, perhaps to include the adoption of a more ELF approach to English teaching.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

The global spread of English has continued to gather pace to the extent that many now estimate non-native speakers of the language to outnumber their native speaker counterparts. Some scholars consider this spread of English to have been sociopolitically designed by, and be to the apparent sole benefit of, the world's native speaker (inner circle) countries. Others argue that this increasing demand for English amongst non-native speakers is the product of their agency individually, and as such the future of the language is said to be becoming less likely to be determined by its native speakers.

This paper, informed by a thorough review of the present literature, is driven by the theory that both of the aforementioned sociopolitical forces play significant roles in the present global status of English, but that the attitudes of individuals in this process have often been underestimated and are in need of further attention. The study is also highly informed by the ever-burgeoning field of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and the approaches to the teaching and use of English which aim to better serve the interests of its now numerically greater group of non-native speakers. What is evident about current ELF research however is that the distinctions drawn in Kachru's three concentric circles model (1992, 356) have perhaps been taken for granted in ELF's focus upon only (what are deemed to be) expanding circle contexts. This has effectively rendered ineligible for ELF research vast swathes of the English-speaking world, where, despite Kachru's claims, English may actually be a foreign language to many and ELF could potentially have much to offer. Africa is one such entirely unexplored continent in the ELF field.

With these issues in mind the following research focused on the Tanzanian context and sought to explore the attitudes of its individuals towards English in relation to the chief concerns of an ELF approach. Tanzania was considered to be an interesting context for this study because its position in Kachru's outer circle (1992, 356) seemed to contradict the claim that English is actually a language foreign to much of the Tanzanian population (Brock-Utne, 2012a, 7). In addition, Tanzania presently operates an English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) language policy in its secondary schools. The increased provision of English of this EMI policy has been the subject of much criticism in the literature given what is deemed to be the detrimental effect it has on teacher-student communication. The unresolved nature of these issues and the seemingly strong attitudes towards how English should be taught in this context warranted further investigation.

According to Jenkins (2007, 148), teachers 'tend to hold the same kinds of prescriptive views of correctness and acceptability [about language] as the rest of the population'. The attitudes of teachers towards English were therefore considered to be a useful starting point in a small-scale exploratory study of the potential for ELF in Tanzania. As the researcher was not able to physically go to Tanzania to collect data, an e-mail interview method was utilised. Following an initial pilot stage study of two teachers which led to important changes being made to the interview questions, a group of ten secondary school teachers from Northern and Eastern regions of Tanzania were interviewed in the main data collection stage. Significantly, this context-specific interview approach was considered to be able to gain more detailed understandings of teacher attitudes than those of similar studies in the past, and the chosen approach was therefore expected to provide a useful basis for further, larger-scale research.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

This chapter will provide a critical overview of some of the key literature in the field in order to locate the study within present theory. The chapter will begin by examining some of the macro theories pertaining to the global spread of English. There will then be a consideration of how English may be reconstituted through the English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) approach in order to relate it more closely with its international uses. Finally, the nature of attitudes towards English will be considered in relation to a context in an as yet unexplored continent in the field of ELF; that of Tanzania in Africa.

2.1 - The Sociopolitics of Global English(es)

It is now widely accepted that the global status of English initially resulted from the vast colonial reach of the British Empire and more recently the world-leading political and economic influences of the United States (Crystal, 1997, 53; Pennycook, 1994, 153; Wright, 2004, 155). Conservative estimates at the turn of the millennium considered approximately one in four of the world's six billion inhabitants to be able to communicate in English at what was adjudged to be at least a 'useful level' (Crystal, 2003, 69). It was also at this time that an increasing amount of attention was beginning to be paid to the fact that English was being spoken by more non-native speakers of the language than their native speaker counterparts (Crystal, 1997, 130; Graddol, 1997, 2; Widdowson, 1994). This has led to traditional ideas about the ownership of English being placed under renewed scrutiny.

There is now a great divergence of opinion with regards to which sociopolitical forces are presently working to sustain the international dominance of English, added to further contentious matters surrounding who should take responsibility for and how we can counteract the alleged global inequalities this dominance seems to cause. These differences of opinion can be best represented in terms of the importance they each accredit to top-down and bottom-up sociopolitical forces. The following sections will discuss the respective merits of each of these theoretical positions.

2.1.1 - Top-down Theories

Phillipson (1992, 2009, 2012) can be said to have provided the most influential top-down theories in relation to the global spread of English. According to Phillipson's seminal, albeit highly contested position, it is claimed that 'the dominance of English is asserted and maintained' by the world's native English speaking core of countries, particularly the UK and the USA (1992, 47). These countries, it is argued, orchestrate processes of linguistic imperialism that are driven by self-interest and lead to severe 'structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages' (ibid). Skutnabb-Kangas, a key proponent of Phillipson's theory, claims that the prevailing discourse of high status languages (English being the prime example) has led to them being 'forced' upon those with lower-status mother tongues (2000, 582). On a related note, questionable core country models and norms of English Language Teaching (ELT) are said by both Phillipson (1992, 2009) and Pennycook (1994, 2000) to have been continually disseminated to those in the 'periphery' as conditions attached to provisions of educational aid. It is argued that the uptake of these core country models generates greater opportunities for native speaker English teachers and lucrative core-country publications of ELT textbooks (Phillipson, 2012, 218-219). Examples of such inequalities have been exposed by, amongst others, Lin et al. (2002, 311), who found a strong preference in South Korean

job advertisements for native speaker English teachers, and Brock-Utne (2010, 639), who denotes the outsourcing of textbook production in post-colonial Africa to British publishing companies. In this school of thought therefore, the continued spread of English is viewed as essentially being a top-down imposition, an expansionist 'English linguistic invasion' (Phillipson, 1992, 7), and those being dominated by it have little option but to passively propagate its commanding position.

It is at this point useful to consider the perhaps overly simplistic nature of the core-periphery distinction central to these top-down theories. As Canagarajah has stated (1999, 43), 'Phillipson's contribution [in particular] suffers as well as gains from being a perspective of and from the center (*sic*)'. It is evident that Phillipson's somewhat ethnocentric notion of a homogenous 'periphery' is problematic considering the complex and multifaceted sociopolitical roles accorded to English in a variety of different contexts around the world. Kachru went some way to illustrating this global diversity in his influential schema of three concentric circles (1992, 356). In his model Kachru draws distinctions between the inner circle, in which English is predominantly spoken as a first language; the outer circle, where non-native Englishes have been institutionalised after extended historical spells of colonisation; and the expanding circle, consisting of countries with no internal or historical links to English (*ibid*). This model has had undoubted significance in the awareness it has raised about the wide variety of ways in which English is utilised by its global speakers. Kachru's categorisation is, however, by no means definitive. A number of critics have argued that the focus on the use of English at the national level detracts attention from significant sociolinguistic complexities within these nations (cf. Bruthiaux, 2003, 165; Ferguson, 2006, 151; Yano, 2001, 122). Furthermore, Kachru's segregation of countries into outer and expanding circle groupings bears a close resemblance to traditional distinctions between ESL (English as a Second Language) and EFL (English as a Foreign Language) models. This is problematic because ESL-EFL distinctions are based upon the political and historical roles accorded to English and are no longer entirely relevant to present-day uses of the language.

An example of this issue could be said to be Kachru's positioning of Tanzania in the outer circle on accounts of the country's past as a British colony and the current status of English in the domains of government and education (1992, 356). This, however, can and does serve to mask the fact that English is not widely spoken in Tanzania outside of these domains, in the everyday lives of its people (Mushi, 1996, 136). Indeed, Schneider (2007, 199; see also Schmeid, 1991, 44) considers this outer circle/ ESL label to overstate the modern-day use of English in Tanzania. Graddol (2006, 85) has argued more broadly that such ESL- EFL traditions are becoming increasingly redundant in the face of 'pedagogic practices [that] have ... evolved to meet the needs of the rather different world in which global English is (now) learned and used'. An example of this evolution can be said to have been the emergence of the transnational English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) approach – a matter to which I will later return.

It is evident that any all-encompassing macro groupings (such as the uses of the terms 'periphery', 'outer circle' and 'expanding circle') in relation to contexts outside the perceived centre or core should be sensitive to micro-level differences and complexities within these contexts. It must be noted that the ensuing use in this paper of Kachru's three-circle terminology is done very much with these limitations in mind.

2.1.2 – Limitations of Top-down Theories

If we relate our discussion back to Phillipson's explanation of the continued global spread of English – that of it being chiefly orchestrated by the UK and USA – some clear limitations become apparent. As Spolsky (2004, 79) has stated, Phillipson's case follows the form of a *cui bono* argument in that it essentially suggests we should 'ask who benefits' in order to 'find out who is responsible for a situation'. It is, however, something of a non sequitur to suggest that English can only be of benefit to countries in the inner circle. According to Tollefson (2000, 10), an explanation for the high demand for English may in fact lie at the level of individual learners and their belief that English can be of instrumental value to them; helping them to 'gain [a] concrete economic advantage'. One could argue that it is to the beliefs of these individual learners that Phillipson's theory fails to give due attention. As Canagarajah (1999, 41) affirms, again in relation to Phillipson; 'what is sorely missed is the individual, the local, the particular'. Ferguson (2006) provides a key analysis of this matter. He argues that 'promotion is not the same as, nor does it entail, the uptake of that which is promoted' (2006, 117). From this point of view individuals are seen as having a significant role themselves in the diffusion of English, one which may or may not necessarily comply with efforts to promote its use.

The aforementioned viewpoints have close links with Dörnyei's theories of personal agency and his 'L2 Motivational Self System' in particular (2005, 105-6). Through this model Dörnyei argues that the future self-image of an individual is always the main motivating factor behind their desire to learn an additional language. This source of language-learning motivation is said to involve the self in two related ways; first, the ideal self-image one associates with proficiency in the additional language in question, and secondly, the attributes one ought to possess in order to achieve that ideal (ibid). Dörnyei refers to these components as the 'Ideal L2 self' and the 'Ought-to L2 self' respectively (ibid). Support for Dörnyei's model can be found in a recent study of Chilean learners of English conducted by Kormos et al. (2011). The findings of this research suggest that 'self-related beliefs play a highly important role in L2-learning motivation', although the general motivational picture was found to be somewhat complicated by external goals and social contextual factors (ibid, 511-513). Nevertheless, these perspectives can be aligned with the more bottom-up theoretical positions related to the global spread of English. It is here that de Swann's (2001) views are particularly significant. De Swann argues that the world language hierarchy, with English at its apex as the most prominent global language, was in fact never to any great extent designed or intended at all. The dominance of English is said to have occurred 'almost entirely as a blind process', one which was and continues to be for the most part an 'unintended consequence of a myriad of individual decisions' (De Swann, 2001, 196). This bottom-up theory provides a very different explanation for the global spread of English than those of a more top-down nature - suggestive that the current status of English can by no means be said to be just the 'simple end result of language management' (Spolsky, 2004, 90).

2.1.3 – Policy and individuals

Having previously attended to the fact that the 'teaching [and learning of] English needs to be understood in terms beyond those of national language policy', that is, within wider sociopolitical spheres of influence (Pennycook, 2000, 97), it is nevertheless evident that language policies at the national level also have some significance in the diffusion of English. Language policies can be

described as not only reflecting national attitudes towards languages but actively creating them. For Tollefson (2000, 16), top-down ideologies about language can be 'so powerful and pervasive' that the beliefs they are founded upon become 'widely accepted as self-evident "truths" or "common sense" and thus [exist] largely outside the realm of explicit debate'. Conversely however, Brutt-Griffler (2002, 63) considers language policies to be 'just as much what speech communities impose on authorities as the obverse'.

Taken together these theories form a more considered two-way perspective that serves to depart from excessively strong notions of linguistic imperialism orchestrated by global centrifugal forces. It becomes apparent that one should recognise both the top-down and bottom-up forces in the continued global spread of English; the respective roles of language promotion and policy but also the agency of individuals (Wright, 2004, 169-170). It is perhaps from this middle ground that matters concerning the sociopolitics of English as a global language can be most considerately and logically addressed.

2.2 - Reconstituting English

The next step, after acknowledging but not overstating the 'significant agency [of] speakers in the periphery' (Ferguson, 2006, 117) - that is, those of the outer and expanding circles - relates to how English may be used as a tool to challenge global inequalities. A key author in this area is Canagarajah. His influential 1999 text (entitled *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in English Teaching*, perhaps in direct relation to Phillipson's theory) proposes an outlook from the perspective of non-inner circle English speakers that intends 'not to *reject* English, but to *reconstitute* it in more inclusive, ethical, and democratic terms' (1999, 2, emphasis in original). Crucially, this view, incidentally supplied from Canagarajah's postcolonial Sri Lankan context, departs from perceptions of English which serve to perpetuate a dependence on 'standard' norms and ideologies from the perceived centre. Both Blommaert (2005, 394) and Ferguson (2006, 146) concur with this perspective, arguing that the English of non-native speakers should be judged endonormatively and in relation to their immediate contexts. What is interesting here is that inner circle contexts, traditionally considered to be the conveyors of a single English standard or variety, are being exposed as 'imagined communities' themselves (Anderson, 1983) in which many varieties of English are actually spoken at regional levels.

These challenges to the perceived hierarchical structure of English resonate with the highly influential critical pedagogy theories of Freire. Freire argued, with specific relation to language teaching, that while ever a language is viewed as 'foreign' and 'imposed' it will violate a learner's entire structure of thinking (1985, 184). More generally speaking Freire was of the view that a solution to oppressive structures can never be provided by simply integrating learners into the existing structure, because 'the more the oppressed can be led to adapt to that situation' – in this case to native speaker ideals – 'the more easily they can be dominated' (2000[1970], 74). It is as an alternative to these native speaker ideals that an English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) approach to the language has emerged. This is the focus of the next section.

2.3 - English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)

As previously stated in section 2.1, the recognition at the turn of the century that non-native speakers of English now outnumber their native speaker counterparts can be said to have formed

the initial basis for the questioning of traditional attitudes about the ownership of the language. This naturally gave rise to an emergent line of research concerned with the fact that native speaker norms are 'no longer communicatively appropriate' to the majority of English speakers (Seidlhofer, 2011, xi). The term most widely associated with these concerns is English as a Lingua Franca (hereafter ELF). The ELF phenomenon in its present incarnation is perhaps best defined by Seidlhofer, who states that it involves 'any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option' (2011, 7).

Terminology and definitions have however been the source of much debate within this now burgeoning field of research, and evidence for this can be found in the existence of another prominent term, that of English as an International Language (EIL), favoured by, amongst others, Sharifian (2009). The ELF-EIL divergence in terminology can be said to have largely resulted from unfounded accusations of ELF referring to a set variety of its own (see Jenkins (2012) for further information) and as a result ELF has emerged as the most robust and favoured term. There are nevertheless a number of ongoing debates within the ELF movement itself. To attend here to an issue of particular relevance to this paper, the point must be raised that the tendency of ELF to be equated with expanding circle uses (as in, Cogo, 2008, 58; Cogo and Dewey, 2012, 19) has failed to give due attention to the limitations of Kachru's model and the low amounts of English spoken in some outer circle contexts (as discussed in section 2.2). It must be acknowledged that ELF use is not 'limited to members of the expanding circle' (Jenkins, 2007, 2), nor for that matter can there ever be any 'single identifiable ELF community' (Mauranen, 2012, 18). Indeed, an over-reliance upon Kachru's model seems to be evident in the apparent neglect of outer circle contexts in ELF empirical research. Admittedly however it is perhaps the fledgling and evolutionary nature of the ELF phenomenon which has led researchers to search for 'pure' ELF discourse not directly confounded in any way by 'non-ELF forms' (Jenkins, 2007, 2).

This need to explore ELF communication in terms of its 'naturally occurring data' can be said to be one of the most important issues faced by ELF researchers (Cogo and Dewey, 2012, 27). The main concern of such research has not been with a view to prescribing a new English target variety but rather to explore how English is 'intersubjectively constructed in each specific context of interaction'¹ (Canagarajah, 2007, 925). With this in mind various large-scale corpus-based investigations have sought to empirically identify features of ELF language in use in order to distinguish non-native speaker communication from inferior notions of 'learner' English or interlanguage. Further empirical evidence in support of the ELF phenomenon could potentially bridge what Seidlhofer (2001) has identified as a 'conceptual gap' - a mismatch between many of the reasons why English is learned and the monolithic types of English which continue to be taught. Indeed, such a 'conceptual rethinking of language', as proposed by ELF scholars, would involve a 'move [...] beyond seeing language forms as fixed and predetermined' to instead consider them as a means to more communicative ends (Cogo and Dewey, 2012, 5). Crucially, this ELF approach to English communication would, it is argued, be more attuned to the instrumental motives which have led the majority of present-day English speakers to learn the language (Prodromou, 2009, 29; see also Giles, 1998, 427). Incidentally, this is supported by the findings of a study by Kormos et al., as previously mentioned in section 2.1.2, which was able to find direct links between the 'learning goal of the surveyed students' and the 'status of English as a lingua franca' (2011, 513).

¹ Canagarajah was here referring to what he terms 'Lingua Franca English' (LFE).

A further pertinent issue in the field of ELF is how to connect these instrumental English language-learner motives with an actual ELF approach in the classroom. According to Jenkins (2012, 492), 'it is for ELT practitioners to decide whether [or] to what extent ELF is relevant to their learners in their [respective] context[s]'. Similarly, Sifakis (2007, 366) and Dewey (2012, 141) have stated that the current lack of any definitive ELF pedagogy places greater responsibilities upon teachers to provide the necessary information to their students about the present-day global realities of the English language. This must be done in such a way that is sensitive to the actual needs of individual learners. For example, Ferguson (2006, 177) claims that learners may consider their future communication needs to be entirely unpredictable, and as such it would be counterproductive to impose upon them an ELF approach to English where it is rejected or even undesirable. One could however argue that for learners to be able to make informed choices they should be provided with all the necessary information about the type of English they would like, and may need, to learn (Jenkins, 2007, 22). An example of this issue is evident in Friedrich's (2002) survey study of Brazilian adult learners of English. In this study the respondents were all in agreement that English is a language of international communication, but, significantly, none of the them were aware of any other varieties of English apart from American and British (ibid, 218). To this lack of widespread awareness of the modern-day plurality of English Dewey (2012) proposes working with teachers, as the most important conveyors of attitudes about languages, in order to explore the contextual feasibility for 'post-normative' pedagogical approaches. The following section therefore provides a critique of some recent studies which have attempted to explore context-specific attitudes towards English in relation to an ELF approach.

2.3.1 - Attitudes towards English and ELF

According to Giles (1998, 425), it is 'the *attitudes* we hold about languages, and the values associated with them [which] influence how much, and what type of, motivation we expend in learning particular language varieties' (emphasis added). Attitudes can be distinguished from beliefs because they involve a rather complex network of subconscious 'evaluative orientation[s] to a social object of some sort' (Garrett, 2010, 20), whereas beliefs concern more 'overt categories and definitions' (Hartley and Preston, 1999, 210; Jenkins, 2007, 106).

Attitudes towards English were the focus of a recent study involving surveys of 108 students and 34 non-native teachers in Finland (Ranta, 2010). Despite the fact that many of the respondents in this context equated an ELF approach to English with the students' actual uses of the language outside the classroom, it was found that English teaching in schools targeted native speaker models. Ranta concluded that there was an obvious disparity between the English used in the 'real world' and that being taught in school (ibid, 175). In another study, carried out by Timmis (2002), questionnaire surveys were utilised to research the attitudes of 400 students and 180 teachers, from a range of unspecified countries, towards the perceived need to conform to native speaker norms. Timmis complemented the questionnaires with 15 interviews. The findings indicated a greater preference amongst students than teachers for native speaker norms, and it was concluded that these preferences may need to be accommodated by the teaching of native speaker English (ibid, 249). A clear failing of this study however, by its own admission, was the fact that the responses from a range of countries were grouped together, even though the issue at hand – attitudes towards varieties of English – 'is especially context-sensitive' (ibid, 242). This sensitivity to context was upheld in a further study by Sifakis and Sougari (2005) in which a series of surveys elicited the views of

English teachers in Greece. Here the vast majority of the 421 teachers surveyed were found to make 'the immediate identification of any language with its native speakers' and exhibited a distinct 'lack of awareness of issues related to the international spread of English' (ibid, 483). The researchers concluded that these teacher assumptions should be challenged to raise awareness of how English actually functions 'in the teachers' immediate surroundings' (ibid, 484).

With reference to this group of studies, and also to the gaps in current research identified by Jenkins (2007, 106-7; see also Giles, 1998, 431-2), there seems to be a clear need for further exploratory research concerned with providing richer understandings of the attitudes of those directly involved in the teaching and learning of English. While Timmis's (2002) study was hindered by its lack of attention to context, the surveys conducted by Ranta (2010) and Sifakis and Sougari (2005), although encompassing large numbers of respondents, were perhaps prevented from addressing the deeper foundations of their attitudes because of the limitations of their chosen survey methods. This has informed both the choice of the interview method in this research (outlined in section 3.4) and the decision to focus on a single context, which will be detailed here.

2.4 - The Tanzanian context

Tanzania, situated on the east coast of Sub-Saharan Africa, is a country adjudged to be sociolinguistically 'caught between ... both transnational and local pressures' (Blommaert, 2005, 390). Whilst Tanzania is highly multilingual, it has, unusually for an African country, one its indigenous languages as the main language of communication. Indeed, some estimate Kiswahili, the country's official language, to be spoken as a first or second language by as much as 95% of the population (De Swaan, 2001, 119). Despite this the country continues to operate an English as Medium of Instruction (EMI) policy in secondary schools, whereas primary schools teach through a Kiswahili medium. These tensions between Tanzania's national (Kiswahili) and international (English) languages make it an interesting context against which to apply current theories about the global spread of the English language.

As previously mentioned in Section 2.2, any positioning of Tanzania in Kachru's outer circle may be profoundly misleading. Although the country was formerly a British colony and has English as one of its official languages, English is in fact widely deemed to be a foreign language in Tanzania and the language is said to be 'hardly ever hear[d] ... outside of formal schooling' (Brock-Utne, 2012b, 23). According to Graddol (2006, 74), it is generally the case that those children 'who come from homes where English is spoken by parents ... gain a head start in English'. The Tanzanian context cannot by any means be said to widely provide such a local knowledge of English. It is therefore, as Phillipson (1992, 24) has stated, to 'confuse social and educational issues' to have an EMI policy in schools where it is largely foreign to the students. Such a policy has parallels with the famous Chomskian notion that it is only possible for learners to attain the status of an 'ideal speaker-listener' through increased and refined native-like linguistic input (Chomsky, 1965, 3). However, in light of the practice required of the child acquirer of a first language, one who, according to Davies (2004, 437), 'spends much of his/her time learning language alone', learners in contexts such as Tanzania are unlikely to ever be supplied with the same amount or quality of input as their native speaker counterparts. Furthermore, Brock-Utne (2013, 95) is of the opinion that 'it is actually an insult to teachers of English to think that anybody (a teacher of Science, Mathematics, History etc.) can also be a teacher of English'. As a result it is unsurprising to find that in the past two decades numerous

researchers have called for a shift to Kiswahili instruction at all levels of education in Tanzania (cf. Alidou, 2004; Brock-Utne, 2007, 2013; Mafu, 2003; Mushi, 1996; Rubagumya, 1991), although regrettably no action at government level has yet taken place. What seems to be evident here is a general failure to give due attention to the two-way relationship between language policy and societal attitudes towards languages (as stated in 2.2, page 3). As argued by Blommaert (2005, 390), ‘the state occupies a crucial place ... between the world system and local forces’. If national language policy is at least in part reflective of individual attitudes towards language then it is with these attitudes we should first engage before proposing any wider changes.

2.4.1 – Attitudes towards English in Tanzania

There has been a distinct lack of empirical research specifically focused upon the attitudes of individuals towards English in Tanzania. In addition, and as one would perhaps expect given the relatively recent emergence of the field, there have been no studies related to the potential for an ELF approach in Tanzania or indeed anywhere in Africa. Despite this there are some findings in the literature of particular relevance to my research which I will outline here.

In a study of Tanzanian language policy by Brock-Utne (2010, 641-2), it was concluded that a strong factor behind the failure to embrace researcher policy recommendations in Tanzania has been ‘the power of misconceptions held by lay people’. Brock-Utne supported this assertion by providing a report of a meeting with a member of the Ministry of Education. In this meeting it was found that the government representative was aware of the failings of the Tanzanian approach to English teaching, but their position involved listening to what was wanted by their constituency, and it was argued that ‘parents want their children to be taught through the medium of English’ (ibid). The reasons for this demand for English were considered by Vavrus (2002) through the form of interviews conducted with students in the Kilimanjaro region of Tanzania who had recently finished secondary school. Many of these students were found to be unemployed but most still reflected positively on the English instruction they received in secondary school. The explanations for this were manifold, but the interviewees all ‘saw English as essential to connecting with the world beyond Tanzania’ (ibid, 388). Significantly, when one former student was asked whose language English is, she replied that “it is an international language” (ibid, 389). There is, however, evidence of Tanzanian teachers directing their students towards native-like English forms rather than more international functions. In classroom observations conducted in the same study, Vavrus recounts an occasion when a teacher physically reprimanded a student in an English class for failing to identify the past continuous tense (ibid, 384). It is apparent, with reference to a paper by Blommaert (2003, 618), that what are considered to be prestigious forms of English in Tanzania ‘would fail to index [the same] elite status and prestige’ amongst native speakers of the language. As such the attitudes of individuals towards English in this context clearly require further investigation.

2.5 – Chapter Summary

This literature review has shown that further research is required in order to serve the need for what Giles has called ‘a fuller picture of the language attitudes landscape’ (1998, 431; also in Jenkins, 2007, 106). Tanzania is unquestionably one context in which attitudes about English need to be further addressed. Research has shown that Tanzanians hold strong views about English, so much so that the language is paradoxically both the medium of instruction in secondary schools and is described as being foreign to much of the population. Attention to the Tanzanian situation may also be able to

offer further challenges to the excessively top-down theories of Phillipson and Kachru, whilst exploring the potential for a reconstitution of English in this as yet unexplored context in the field of ELF.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

This chapter will consider the choices made in the planning and execution of the research. It will first outline the research aims and questions before explaining the processes involved in accessing participants, designing the research instrument, collecting data and analysing the data. Finally, the methodology will be evaluated in terms of its credibility and its respective risks and limitations.

3.1 – Aims of the Research

The central aim of this study was to explore some of the aforementioned areas in the current literature that either remain unresolved (as with issues pertaining to English language policy in Tanzania) or have been entirely neglected (as in the absence of studies considering the potential for an ELF approach in Africa). The research focus was therefore to explore how the current language policy and the attitudes of individuals in this context may be interconnected with a view to providing a basis for further, larger-scale research. It is perhaps evident that the focus of the study concerns theory verification rather than theory generation (Punch, 2009, 360) – that is, my view as researcher, supported by my reading of the literature, suggested a theoretical line of inquiry to be evaluated against the research findings. This position will be discussed further in section 3.2.

In order to achieve its aims the paper will address the following research questions:

- What are the attitudes of Tanzanian teachers towards English and to what extent are these attitudes consistent with the Tanzanian English language policy?
- How could an English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) approach to English in Tanzania better relate to the current language skills of Tanzanian teachers and to the potential future needs of the language for Tanzanian students?

3.2 – Researcher Position

Any formation of research questions and attempts to answer them are inevitably imbued with researcher assumptions about the accessibility of social reality and what is perceived to constitute knowledge (Mack, 2010, 5). These ontological and epistemological assumptions form the philosophical stance of the researcher and can be said to underpin all areas of a research project Savin-Baden and Major (2013, 73). It seems evident to me that my own position can be aligned with that of the interpretivist paradigm in the sense that my interest centres around how ideas about the social world are formed and how these ideas are interpreted by the individuals involved (Robson, 2011, 24). This positions myself, as researcher, as an interested part of the research – a further stage of subjectivity involved in my respondents' interpretations of the social world. These beliefs traditionally belong to the qualitative paradigm, within which it is generally expected that data should serve to generate theories rather than validate pre-existing hypotheses. However, my view of this matter follows that proposed by Punch (2009, 133), who stresses that there is hardly any point in attempting to generate new theories where satisfactory ones already exist. As a result, a large part of my research involved the application of the pre-existing theories outlined in my literature review to an as yet unexplored context, whilst retaining the interpretivist approach of seeking to explore and understand rather than to make any grand claims about generalisability or causation (Thomas, 2009, 77).

3.3 – Research Access

A significant consideration in this research was the need to overcome the great geographical distance between the researcher and the respondents in Tanzania. This was a major influence on the design process because it was impractical for the researcher to physically go to Tanzania to collect the data. Given the additional constraints caused by lack of funding and time, it was decided that a convenience sampling approach would be adopted whereby the most convenient persons would form the group of respondents (Robson, 2011, 275). In this case those persons of most obvious convenience were the teachers in secondary schools based in the surrounding areas of the Non-Government Organisation (NGO) for which I previously worked as a volunteer. I was able to secure assurances from the organisation director that the NGO would identify suitable teachers to participate in my study. It was at this point important to define precisely which teachers would be suitable for my research. The decision was made that, because all secondary school teachers in Tanzania are required by government policy to teach through English, the study would include current secondary school teachers of all subjects and not just those who taught the English language specifically. This was able to open up access to a wider pool of suitable teachers.

In practice however, whilst it became clear that the NGO would provide contact with suitable teachers, the actual number of teachers willing to take part was, initially, far too low. The main reasons for this were not only the costs the teachers would incur by having pay to use the internet each time they needed to respond to an e-mail, but also in the lack of any real incentive for them to give up their time and cooperate in the research project. With this in mind it was decided that small financial incentives (15,000 Tanzanian Shillings per participant/ approximately £6) would be paid to each teacher upon completion of their interviews as remuneration for their time and expenses. From this access was gained to eight teachers willing to take part in the research. In addition, and as a contingency plan to the arrangements with the NGO, advertisements were placed on an internet mailing list for further research participants. Access was then gained to a further four teachers, amounting to twelve teachers in total. These teachers varied greatly in terms of the region they were from in Tanzania, their age, teaching experience and gender. However, in accordance with the ideas of the interpretivist paradigm, it was considered unnecessary 'to fracture the social world [being researched] into these categories' because the aim of the study was to gain greater understandings and not to attempt to attain any kind of objectivity (Thomas, 2009, 75).

3.4 – Research Instrument

A range of factors led to the decision to use the e-mail interview as research instrument for this study. Firstly, the fact that interviews are primarily concerned with, as Arksey and Knight (1999, 15) have noted, 'the world of beliefs and meanings [and] not of actions', this method seemed to be the most suitable for the research questions. In addition, interviews allow for participants to clarify their answers, which can provide a greater depth of meaning than other methods, such as, for example, self-completion questionnaires (Arksey and Knight, 1999, 32). These points resulted in the possibility being explored of interviews being conducted via Skype software. There were however a number of clear disadvantages to this approach in relation to this research context. From my experience Tanzanian culture is, generally-speaking, one in which people do not respond well to being told to be in a prearranged place at a fixed time. A further consideration involved the internet connections in Tanzania, which in some areas are intermittent and could not be relied upon for carrying out an

interview in 'real-time'. It was in this sense that the e-mail interview was considered to be a more viable alternative. The asynchronous communication offered by the e-mail interview allowed the respondents to reply in their own time; when access to the internet was possible and, most importantly, in a way that was not insensitive to their local culture (Miltiades, 2008). E-mail interviews also have the added advantage of allowing the researcher 'to go back to their interviewees for further information or reflections' – potentially providing a further layer of understanding than the conventional interview (Bryman, 2008, 642).

An additional decision was made to have the e-mail interviews follow a semi-structured format. This structure was suitable for my research because, as stated by Bryman (2008, 438), the approach caters for the interviewer 'with a fairly clear focus' at the outset in terms of specific issues that need to be addressed. It was also apparent that semi-structured interviews could help to overcome some of the issues related to the fact that the first language of the interviewees was not English. After the interview schedule was prepared an independent translator was paid to translate the questions into Kiswahili (with minor adjustments made after the pilot study). This was in order to present the interview questions in both languages with a view to the different languages being mutually reinforcing, thus helping to avoid any potential misunderstandings. Furthermore, care was taken to avoid ambiguity, leading questions and assumptive questions in the interviews in order to maximise the engagement of the respondents with the topic (Arksey and Knight, 1999, 94). An example of such an 'assumptive question' was identified in the pilot study and able to be revised (further details in section 3.5).

3.5 – Data Collection Procedure

The procedure of data collection began with a pilot study consisting of e-mail interviews with two teachers in Tanzania. Rather surprisingly, in one of the pilot interviews an English teacher did not understand what was meant by a 'variety of English' (question 5, Appendix A). This was a crucial question in the context of the interview, and, in order to save time later in the interview process, it was decided that the question would be clarified with the addition of example varieties in parentheses (British, American and other). In this sense the pilot served its purpose in illustrating 'some of the inevitable problems in converting [the] design into reality' (Robson, 2011, 405).

Prior to each interview the respondents were required to electronically complete and return an informed consent form (Appendix B). Again, the content of this document was provided in both English and Kiswahili in order to convey the information about the research 'in a meaningful and understandable way' (Thomas, 2009, 150). Perhaps the key ethical concern of this document was to assure the schools and teachers involved that their anonymity would be preserved (Pring, 2000, 150). This was significant because the teachers were being invited to express their views on national language policy, and any criticisms they may have levelled could have potentially caused negative ramifications for their schools.

In the main data collection stage the interview questions followed a considered order and thought process. The importance of the opening interview question was taken into account as one that could be utilised to obtain background information and 'encourage participants to provide information in a low-risk way' (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, 365). Similarly, the first e-mail of the interview would always consist of three out of the five readily prepared questions from the interview schedule (Appendix A) with a view to making the e-mail interview process more interactive.

This interactivity distinguished the method from a survey questionnaire. As Bampton and Cowton (2002, 2) have argued, interactivity in e-mail interviews can be achieved by 'sending some introductory questions and then responding to the replies with further questions [...] rather than sending all the questions at once'. The second (and sometimes third) e-mails were therefore able to seek clarification in order to develop more detailed understandings. An example transcript of one of the interviews and a timeline of the data collection are provided in Appendices C and D respectively.

3.6 – Data Analysis

It was decided that an analytic induction approach to the data analysis would be best suited to the role attributed to theory in this research. Whilst induction is described as being central to any form of data analysis, the analytic induction approach recognises the corresponding need for deduction as part of the process (Punch, 2009, 172). The approach specifically involves 'the collection of data until no cases that are inconsistent with a hypothetical explanation ... of a phenomenon are found' (Bryman, 2009, 539). According to Silverman (2011, 376), in order to conduct this type of analysis both the constant comparison method and a search for deviant cases must be carried out. Silverman adds that theoretical claims become more persuasive with 'evidence from informants' accounts ... and [the consideration] of alternative interpretations' (ibid, 352).

In applying this approach to my data analysis the first step was to arrange the data around the five core questions from the interview schedule (Appendix A). Any other answers elicited during the interviews were matched to the core question with which they broadly shared a theme. The analysis then involved the coding on a sentential level of the respondents' answers. As the chunks of data constituting each code emerged the framework around which they were arranged was revised into sections more representative of the data. The codes were compared in order to enable their reduction into 'more abstract concepts' (Punch, 2009, 182). These concepts would then form the reduced summary of the respondent's answers which would then in turn be compared against the hypothesis. This process of 'systematic interaction between process and ideas' was repeated with each respondent's answers until a more robust theory was able to be formed (Atkinson and Delamont, 2008, 301).

3.7 – Credibility of Research Findings

Credibility has been described, albeit rather vaguely, as a 'trustworthiness criterion' related to the conduct of research 'according to the canons of good practice' (Bryman, 2008, 377). It could therefore be argued that the term subsumes the respective evaluative measures of reliability and validity. Whilst adequate attention to each of these measures is beyond the remit of this paper, their chief concerns can be broadly encapsulated with reference to three particular areas of this research. Firstly, according to Silverman (2011, 365), the e-mail interview method is highly reliable in the sense that the participants effectively do their own transcription, thus aiding the transition from data collection to analysis. This also usefully averts the need for respondent validation of their answers. In another sense however, because of the constraints of the research, no inter-rater reliability checks were able to be carried out on the coding of the data. This is considered by Silverman to be a crucial source of reliability because, as is particularly the case in qualitative research, analysis of the same data can vary greatly between different researchers (ibid). Were it not for the small-scale nature of this research a software data analysis tool such as NVivo could have been utilised to make the analysis less (albeit not completely) susceptible to potential researcher bias. Further assessment of

the data analysis is therefore welcomed (transcripts of all interviews are provided on the attached CD).

Finally, Thomas (2009, 112) stresses the frequent need, where possible, for a triangulation of methods to generate 'alternative kinds of evidence'. Whilst this approach does not guarantee validity it could have added to the credibility of the findings, and the possibility of such triangulation in this research would have been explored were it not rendered impracticable by geographical and temporal constraints. The single interview method is however able to gain credibility from the fact that it overcomes some of the limitations of the surveys conducted in similar studies in the past (outlined in section 2.4).

3.7.1 – Risks and Limitations

In addition to the aforementioned points, many of this study's limitations can be said to have resulted from the remote nature of the relationship with the respondents. Interestingly, an insight into the prejudices of one of the respondents surfaced through their naming of an e-mail document 'mzungu' - meaning 'white man' – despite them having been given no personal information about the researcher other than the UK location. Even with the assistance of the contacts in Tanzania, added to the efforts to convey a sense of rapport in the interview e-mails and the translation of questions into Kiswahili, such geographical distances and preconceptions about the research inevitably impacted on the results.

This distance from the research setting also influenced the sampling approach of the study. Due to a shortage of interviewees there was a need to advertise for participants on an internet mailing list. Contact through a mailing list carried a degree of risk in the sense that the identity of these respondents could not be verified through an NGO, as had otherwise been the case. Indeed, the uncertain nature of interviewee identity and eligibility is always something that should be borne in mind by the researcher when conducting interviews via e-mail (Fontana and Frey, 2008, 151; Hunt and McHale, 2007, 1419). These issues were able to be overcome by liaising with the school headteachers of the respondents, from whom assurances were received that the eligibility requirements were met before the research could proceed.

The lack of participants in the early stage of the project also led to the decision to offer financial incentives to teachers for taking part. This involved an important ethical consideration, particularly given the fact that there has been much debate about potential cases of exploitation in research conducted in developing countries (see Benatar, 2002). With reference to the literature on the topic however, the decision was made that such 'modest financial recompense[s] for time and travel' were appropriate incentives in the circumstances and '[could] not be viewed as constituting coercion' (Benatar, 2002, 1134).

Finally, the small sample-size of the research was an obvious limitation, and the findings would have inevitably benefitted had more teachers been involved. Conversely however, the low number of respondents can be said to have allowed for the fulfilment of one of the research aims, namely; a detailed exploration of teacher attitudes to enable greater understandings. This focus may not have been possible had the sample-size been larger.

3.9 – Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided support for the methodological choices made in the research in order to overcome many of the constraints faced and fulfil the research aims. This was with a view to complementing the research questions with findings which were as credible as possible in the circumstances. These findings are presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 4 – Findings

This chapter will present the responses of the ten teachers interviewed in the research. The findings will be structured according to the four main themes which emerged from the final coding stage of the data analysis, that is, the attitudes of the respondents towards the Tanzanian language policy will first be revealed before the perceived English language skills of the teachers and the future uses for English of the students are outlined. Finally, the chapter will consider the attitudes towards the types of English being taught in Tanzania. Each teacher was allocated a letter (Teacher A, B, etc.) in order for their answers to be considered against their respective profiles (provided in Appendix E).

It is at this at this point useful to reiterate the theory which emerged from the literature review and which will be evaluated against these findings. The theory suggests that individuals - in this case teachers - are implicated themselves in national language policies and, indirectly, in the way English is spread globally, because of the attitudes they hold about the language and the way it should be taught and learned.

4.1 – Attitudes towards Tanzanian Language Policy

All ten teachers were asked how the Tanzanian English Medium of Instruction (hereafter EMI) language policy directs and influences their teaching. This question elicited criticisms of the language policy from all of the teachers. The most common issue raised was the fact that students have general difficulties in understanding English, as evident in the following examples:

(Teacher E) 'Tanzanian English-medium language policy has no mercy on the issue of understanding the lessons from teachers to students'

(H) 'Despite government effort in introducing different policies English as a language is still lagging behind'

4.1.1 – Primary to Secondary Transition

One of the reasons for the difficulties in understanding English was attributed to the transition between primary and secondary school instruction. As previously stated in section 2.5, the Tanzanian language policy stipulates that primary school education must be instructed through Kiswahili, with English being taught only as a subject. In secondary school, beginning at form one and extending into all levels of higher education that follow, English is the medium of instruction. This medium shift was widely cited by the interviewees as a problem of the current policy:

(J) 'some of them in secondary especial form one they can not introduce themselves in English'

(F) 'when the students joined the secondary schools are not able to perform well in English language'

Teachers J and I were specifically asked to clarify their comments in terms of how much students are able to practice their English outside of school, in their everyday lives in Tanzania. Both were in agreement that this is not widely possible:

(J) 'Students have no sufficient time to practice English out of classes'

(I) 'for most students; their every lives outside school do not offer them enough opportunity to practice English'

This point was further affirmed by Teacher E in response to a question about students' future uses of English:

'the problem is, even parents do not know English language, so the problem will continue to increase'

What seems to be evident here is that Tanzanian students do not generally have the necessary foundations in English to enable them to embark upon EMI in secondary schools. Neither the contextual uses of English outside the classroom or the English being taught (as a subject) in primary education were considered to provide sufficient support for the secondary school transition to EMI.

4.1.2 – Pre-Secondary School English

A further issue raised by some of the teachers relates to the perception that the current language policy favours private schools, and, by implication, that it favours those students from richer backgrounds whose parents are able to afford to pay for their private education. Again, the central concern here seems to relate to the quality and amount of English instruction students receive before joining secondary school, as shown in the following examples:

(D) *'The Tanzanian policy about English language unknowingly creates the gap between the poor and the rich because the rich are the ones who afford to pay for private schools where English is well taught'*

(F) *'[in] private schools the students starting to learn the English language at kindergarten, so when the students joined the secondary schools are not able to perform well in English language than those from private schools'*

There seems to be a general link here between the perceived benefits of private education and the apparent advantages of an increased exposure to English. Despite the widespread lack of English proficiency of Tanzanian teachers in government schools (further detailed in section 4.2), a number of the teachers interviewed, possibly influenced by the relative success of private schools, believed that EMI should extend to primary education:

(J) *'they have to learn English even in primary level to be able to study secondary schools subjects'*

(F) *'students should be starting to learn English language when joined standard one'²*

4.1.3 – Kiswahili Medium of Instruction

The aforementioned views favouring an expansion of EMI led to related insights as to why Kiswahili is considered unsuitable as a medium of instruction. Two teachers were specifically asked to clarify their comments about Kiswahili – one in terms of the potential for Kiswahili teaching materials, another in relation to how teachers would react to a change to Kiswahili instruction. Their responses indicate a lack of development of the Kiswahili language:

(D) *'in the scientific field Kiswahili has not provided enough material to quit English'*

(G) *'how are they going to translate the learning materials up to PhD level? Is it possible? On my opinion this is a dream'*

² Standard One = first year of primary school

Interestingly, in a further comment Teacher G indicated a clear correlation between what was described as the 'pro-globalization group' in Tanzania and the need for English instruction:

'[they] oppose this Kiswahili policy by saying that if we change into Kiswahili it means that Tanzanians will not be able to interact/communicate with people from outside Tanzania'

These views seem to equate learning English well with learning all subjects through English. However, as will be demonstrated in the next section, this places great demands on Tanzanian teachers, particularly those who do not specialise in English teaching.

4.2 – English Language Skills of Tanzanian Teachers

The interviewee criticisms of Tanzanian language policy were found to be widely related to the low proficiency in English of many of the teachers. Indeed, the respondents rarely had to be asked directly about teacher proficiency in English, rather, the matter predominantly emerged in response to questions about the influence of the language policy. What seems to be apparent is that Tanzanian teachers, at any level of education, are neither widely comfortable communicating in English nor are they provided with enough support to do so:

(G) *'the level of English of many Teachers is very low, consequently the Teachers can not express/explain the concept/subject matter properly to the Students'*

(C) *'[The language policy could be improved] By inviting the English expert to provide the seminar [...] to English teachers'*

Conversely however, and perhaps rather unsurprisingly, it is argued that classroom interaction increases when Kiswahili is used:

(A) *'teachers and students feel more comfortable, confident and they enjoy their speeches when using Kiswahili'*

(E) *'if the same study will be taught in Swahili or tribal languages, the study will be very understandable and clearly remembered'*

This situation was described as leading to the somewhat inevitable need on the part of the teachers to switch between languages during their lessons. Interestingly, these uses of Kiswahili were found to mainly result from teacher initiative and not as something legislated by the national policy:

(I) *'Most of the times I get students whose mastery of English is not good. So in most times I have to mix English and Kiswahili'*

(A) *'It is very common for the secondary school teachers to make clarifications of their lessons in Kiswahili when we face some difficulty'*

What is apparent here is that teacher recourse to Kiswahili, whilst being described as facilitating student understanding in the classroom, has also been found to be detrimental to the ability of students to answer questions in examinations. Indeed, here it seems the English-only policy is more strictly enforced:

(B) *'My students they are really need English for now and letter , because they are going seat for National examination in English'*

(A) 'Examinations are set in English and students are also supposed to respond in English [...] Kiswahili [is] not encouraged'

Even in cases where teachers may be considered to have the necessary proficiency in English to use it as the sole medium of instruction, it seems that the lack of a corresponding understanding of English on the part of the students necessitates the recourse to Kiswahili in the classroom.

It is now important to consider how the EMI language policy is perceived to relate to the needs of Tanzanian students once they finish secondary school.

4.3 – Future English Uses of Tanzanian Students

All ten teachers were asked what they considered to be their students' future needs and uses of English (see question 3, Appendix A). What was most apparent from the responses was that English serves the general need of connecting Tanzania with the wider world through the means of international communication it offers with foreigners:

(G) 'Communication – English will help [the students] in communicating with foreigners'

(H) 'to communicate a fluent English which will act as a media of communication between [the students] and any other person who may not be in a position to communicate our mother tongue'

There was also a pervasive sense in some of the responses to other interview questions that access to English forms a large part of what prevents Tanzania being isolated from the rest of the world:

(G) 'English is a must. It is the language which cuts across. As Kiswahili is all over Tanzania, English is the Kiswahili of the world'

(G) '[Without English] ultimately Tanzania will isolate itself from the rest of the world hence an island'

Teacher A was specifically asked to elaborate on the perceived need for 'fluency in English'. In the response a lack of fluency in English was equated with having no English at all, and the potential negative implications caused by this for Tanzania were again compared to that of an island-like international disconnection:

'Generally you can see if English won't be used here then Tanzania will be left as an island because it has no other language spoken by its people which can be used internationally'

4.3.1 - Employment

Related to the perceived ability of English to connect Tanzania with the wider world was the important role the interviewees attributed to the language as a potential source of employment. Within this broad area the general trend again emerged of English being used to communicate with non-Tanzanians, particularly in the tourism industry which was widely identified as being a significant route into work in Tanzania:

(C) 'Most of Tanzanians use English for getting better jobs such as in tourism industries'

(I) 'Tourism is vital to the economic development of the nation'

More generally speaking it was common for the teachers to associate English with business activities, a general access to the best jobs and working to promote the interests of the country:

(G) *'Business – English will help my students in doing business with foreign businessmen/women'*

(I) *'To have any chance of getting employed [the students] must be able to speak and write English'*

(C) *'students should learn English to make them offer strong competition in the world business, ie, all spheres of economy'*

What is evident here is that all of these potential sources of employment involve the use of English to communicate internationally. Even in the less common responses which identified intra-national professional uses for English – such as teaching, for example - the nature of their English use would still involve interactions with other (in this case Tanzanian) non-native speakers. Such intra-national English use in Tanzania was also said to be necessary should students pursue further education.

4.3.2 – Further Education

A perceived weakness of Kiswahili, as detailed in Section 4.1.3, was found to be the limited vocabulary the language provides in relation the more advanced concepts encountered and studied in tertiary education. Many of the teachers interviewed were well-aware of the current EMI policy in universities, and this was apparent in their recognition that students would need English for further study:

(B) *'those students who proceeds for further learning they also use English as a media of instruction'*

(D) *'to learn scientific innovations and inventions someone should read English written materials'*

It is indeed difficult to dispute the fact that knowledge of English can provide access to information which is presently unavailable in the Tanzanian national language. In this and the other perceived future student uses of English there emerges a very definite, indisputable need for the language. However, what is important here is which variety of English is being targeted in Tanzania and to what extent it is relevant to these student needs.

4.4 – Attitudes Towards Models or Varieties of English

Nine of the ten respondents were asked the core question from the interview schedule relating to which model or variety of English should be taught in Tanzania (question 5, Appendix A). The only exception to this involved a slight adaptation of the question in order to relate it to an earlier comment made by Teacher H about the type of English students should learn.

All teachers seemed to be in agreement that a monolithic variety of English should be targeted. Only Teacher H did not specifically identify British English as the model students should target, but, their response, provided below, suggests that they also consider the language to have a single norm-based standard:

'To be fluent in English is to be in a position of speaking good English with confidence as you communicate maintaining the tenses and considering the grammatical rules'

The reasons behind the widespread favouring of British English seemed to predominantly stem from what they perceive to be Britain's historical ownership of the language and its colonial ties with Tanzania:

(A) *'I prefer British English to be taught in schools. The reason behind for supporting this is more historical. We Tanzanians, we have very close ties with British systems'*

(I) *'I believe British English should be taught [...] British English is the only English that this nation knows. The British were colonial masters of this nation'*

British English was also described by the teachers in terms of its preferential formal features and the intelligibility of its pronunciation:

(J) *'British pronunciation are easier than American English'*

(F) *'British English it is the best to be taught Tanzanian students, because it's grammar, pronunciations, and vocabularies and written are simple'*

Two teachers, Teachers A and F, were asked to clarify their views by explaining how these formal features are relevant to international communication. The teachers both seemed to believe that all learning of English involved the mastering of exonormative forms:

(A) *'it is my feelings that British English is spoken by the majority of English speakers around the world and hence is more relevant for interaction than other English forms'*

These views were consistent with many of the answers to the question regarding the most important message teachers wished to convey to their students about English (question 4, Appendix A). Detailed analysis of the vocabulary used by the group of teachers, especially in response to this particular question, revealed that the teachers frequently referred to their students' need to *master* English, to speak it *fluently* and to expend great efforts in learning the language.

4.5 – Potential Deviant Case

Overall, the findings suggest that the present EMI language policy in Tanzanian secondary schools may be closely bound up with teacher attitudes about English. The majority of the group of teachers favoured the teaching of British English because of what were mainly historical reasons and its prestigious status. However, when compared against the theory stated at the beginning of the chapter, there were found to be two examples of a potential deviant case involving the influence of top-down sociopolitical forces:

(D) *'most aid and loans are provided or given by English speaking countries or organisation [...] So because we are still in need of improving our economy, learning English language is in large percent a solution to that'*

(G) *[in relation to teacher training] 'the government was advised/pressurized by the foreign Donors to change the language for the Diploma training and from there English became the language of instruction'*

These views, although rare in the context of all of the research findings, suggest there to be some external influences upon Tanzanian language policy which operate outside of the internal attitudes about English held by Tanzanian individuals.

4.6 – Chapter Summary

The findings presented in this chapter lend support for the view that Tanzanian attitudes about English favour both historical norm-based notions of language and traditional ideals related to the 'mastery' and 'fluency' of English. This seems to have a strong influence on the current Tanzanian EMI language policy and, consequently, the learning of all subjects at all levels of education. These desires to 'master' English seem to be out of sync with both the future uses of Tanzanian students and the English language skills of Tanzanian teachers, although they may be partially influenced by external provisions of foreign aid. The findings will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 – Discussion

The previous three chapters have attempted to lay the foundations for the answering of the two research questions designed for this study. This chapter will now discuss each research question, first in relation to the research findings and subsequently with reference to relevant literature. The discussion will then outline the respective pedagogical implications and limitations of the findings before finally proposing areas for further research.

5.1 – What are the attitudes of Tanzanian teachers towards English and to what extent are these attitudes consistent with the Tanzanian English language policy?

5.1.1 – Findings in Relation to Research Question

The most significant finding of the interviews was arguably the perception of many of the teachers that their students need to ‘master’ English by targeting British English forms. All of the teachers were in some way critical of the present EMI language policy and did not consider it to be conducive to this perceived need for their students to master English. Interestingly however, teacher criticisms of the policy generally related to what they considered to be more effective ways of retaining English as the medium of instruction, rather than abolishing it entirely in favour of Kiswahili. Many of the teachers believed that EMI should instead extend to primary level in order to provide better student foundations in the language prior to secondary school.

5.1.2 – Analysis of Findings With Reference to Literature

The equation of a greater amount of linguistic input with the mastery of a language seems to be what is driving both the attitudes of this group of teachers and the current Tanzanian EMI policy. However, to draw from Ferguson’s (2006, 186) views on the matter, it must be remembered that ‘school reflects society and has limited power of itself to change it’. In this study, and as has been stated elsewhere in the literature (Brock-Utne, 2012a, 7), English was found to be a language largely foreign to many Tanzanians. It seems evident that schools are the predominant and sometimes only source of English linguistic input in this context. Therefore, in setting the target of English proficiency at what was described as being a native speaker ‘British English’ level, the teachers interviewed in this study seem to be entering their students into a situation in which they will be, for the most part, destined to fail – a situation where no amount of English input in school will ever match that of their native speaker counterparts against whom they are being judged (Davies, 2004, 437). The policy was also found to be seemingly implicated in some of the internal inequalities in Tanzania. Students from richer backgrounds were said to be able to attend private schools where English is introduced earlier and, as a consequence, their transition to EMI in secondary schools is apparently smoother. There does however seem to be great circularity to the argument that English should be the primary school medium of instruction - at the expense of student understanding in all subjects - only to apparently prepare students for secondary school EMI (and for tertiary education EMI, and so on).

These attitudes resemble extreme examples of what Macaro (2001, 535) calls ‘The Virtual Position’, where language use in the classroom is designed to resemble ‘the target country’ and recourse to the L1 is deemed to have ‘no pedagogical value’. This position has been criticised by Macaro because there have, as yet, been no empirical findings supporting the relationship between L1 exclusion in the classroom and improved language learning. In light of this Macaro (ibid, 544-545)

strongly advises that L2 exclusivity should be avoided 'where learners share the same L1'. What is interesting here is that Macaro's recommendations were in specific reference to the foreign language classroom. In the case of Tanzania, the perceived need to recreate the conditions of the target country – in an apparent attempt to learn the target British English variety – seems to extend the L2-only communication difficulties to the learning of all subjects. This policy seems particularly redundant in Tanzania given that, unlike the majority of African contexts, an indigenous language is spoken by most of the population and was found in this study to be widely utilised to aid understanding. As will be discussed in section 5.2, if a native speaker variety was not being targeted in this context there would potentially be less of a perceived need for the increased exposure to English of the EMI policy.

A further issue raised in the interviews was the unsuitability of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction. As detailed in section 4.1.3, the lack of technical and conceptual terminology in Kiswahili was widely seen to necessitate the EMI policy, with Teacher G in particular describing the translation into Kiswahili of all areas required for instruction to the highest levels of education to be no more than 'a dream'. The first point to make in relation to this matter is that concerns about the media of instruction in university are simply irrelevant to the majority of students in Tanzania. A report of Tanzanian education compiled by Unicef in 2011 states that 'only one-third of adolescents attend secondary school and less than one per cent enrol[...] in higher education' (Unicef, 2011, 4). In addition, the attitudes towards English of the teachers in this study suggest, as has been argued by Ferguson (2006, 185), that the 'attractiveness of English is fuelled by a corresponding unattractiveness of education in indigenous language media'. This point is compounded by the suggestion from some interviewees that the government should invest in English tuition for all teachers in order to improve the implementation of the EMI policy. The continual (re)training of all Tanzanian teachers in English, especially if it were to be provided by 'English experts' (as stated by Teacher C, for example, section 4.2), would seem to have the very effect of perpetuating the dependence that such developing countries as Tanzania are trying to escape from (Canagarajah, 1999, 3). It seems evident that the potentially great expenditure accrued in improving teacher proficiency in English may be better invested in developing Kiswahili into a language that could be a medium of instruction for all levels of education. Whilst this was described as a dream-like scenario by one interviewee, an interesting area for further research may be the analysis of to what extent the prevailing discourse of English has created an unwarranted inferiority complex amongst Tanzanians in relation to their indigenous Kiswahili language.

In overall answer to our first research question therefore, the findings of this study lend general support to the view that Tanzanian teachers and the Tanzanian language policy are both victims of similar misconceptions about the teaching of English. Interestingly however, the view held by most teachers that EMI should extend to all levels of education was found to be much more extreme than that of the current policy. This finding calls into question some excessively top-down theories which seem to overstate the sociopolitical influences of inner circle countries on English teaching globally. For example, two of Phillipson's five fallacies of English language teaching are of particular relevance to the teacher attitudes found in this study (adapted from 1992, 185):

- The earlier English is taught, the better the results (the early start fallacy)
- The more English is taught, the better the results (the maximum exposure fallacy)

Whilst these tenets of ELT may have been 'supplied' and even 'forced' to serve the interests of inner circle countries in the past (Phillipson, 2009, 11; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, 582), the majority of the findings of this study support the view that the Tanzanian EMI policy is now a product of the misconceptions of internal – rather than externally-imposed - attitudes towards English. There were nevertheless two exceptions to this finding. These potentially deviant cases (see section 4.5) suggested a need to preserve inner circle approaches to ELT in order to satisfy foreign donors and their provisions of aid. In another sense, however, these were not strictly deviant cases at all – it was earlier argued (section 2.1.3) that a middle position should be adopted to recognise both top-down and bottom-up sociopolitical forces. From this position it is acknowledged that the global spread of English can work to benefit those countries of the inner circle, but that individuals in the outer and expanding circles have sufficient agency themselves to resist these oppressive structures (Canagarajah, 1999; Freire, 2000[1970]). Therefore, if foreign aid is in any way linked to an imposition of misinformed ELT models, which the aforementioned findings suggest it may be, at least in small part, then it is a matter for Tanzanian educational stakeholders to first recognise these misconceptions about English, and then secondly to seek ways to transform this oppressive structure in which they are able to be dominated (Freire, 2000[1970], 74). These are the matters to which we next turn in answer to the second research question.

5.2 – How could an English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) approach to English better relate to the current language skills of Tanzanian teachers and to the potential future needs of Tanzanian students?

5.2.1 – Findings in Relation to Research Question

To begin with the perceived language skills of Tanzanian teachers, the findings suggest that teacher proficiency in English is not presently at the required levels to support the EMI policy. The teachers interviewed were widely of the belief that the far greater teacher-student understanding of Kiswahili leads to it often being used to clarify points made in English, in spite of their awareness of the fact that students sit English-only examinations where Kiswahili is 'not encouraged' (Teacher A, section 4.2).

Secondly, the perceived future needs for English of Tanzanian students seem, according to this group of teachers, to be entirely based upon instrumental, rather than integrative, language-learning motives. The most significant of these English language needs related to the connection of Tanzania with the 'rest of the world' (Teacher G, section 4.3) and the increased employment opportunities English offers, particularly in tourism and business. A further future need for English widely cited in the interviews was its use at university level where it is the medium of instruction. British English was almost unanimously the chosen variety said to be most suitable for these student needs and uses.

What seems to be apparent from these findings is that the teacher attitudes towards English involve two clear contradictions. The first of these relates to the finding, common in this study, that students are being expected to 'master' English through an increased exposure to the language provided by teachers who, for the most part, can lay no claims to having 'mastered' English (however this may be defined) themselves. A further contradiction is evident in the finding that native-like proficiency in the British English variety is being targeted despite the perception that students will predominantly use English to communicate with other non-native speakers. Even in the internal uses of English in Tanzania, such as the need for the language at university level,

communication will be between Tanzanian non-native speakers of the language, thus again raising the question of how this benchmark of British English fluency is relevant.

5.2.2 – Analysis of Findings With Reference to Literature

At the root of these contradictory attitudes seems to be the implicit view that English as a language should not (or cannot) be judged in relation to the effectiveness of communication it is able to provide, but instead in terms of its adherence to native speaker varieties. However, as stated by Seidlhofer (2011, 16-17), 'it is high time for [...] language teachers to develop fresh ways of thinking critically about what 'English' is, given its changed role and status in the world'. The present-day realities of the global spread of English mean that the teaching of a native speaker variety in outer and expanding circle contexts is by no means a foregone conclusion. None of the teachers interviewed seemed to convey any awareness of this point. The favoured English target for their students was predominantly described in terms of either historical ties to the language or the 'correctness' of its grammatical rules and pronunciation. These views can hardly be said to be the kind of informed choices about the learning of the language proposed by Jenkins (2007, 21) when they are considered against what the teachers perceived to be the future English needs of their students. In this sense the findings were similar to those of Sifakis and Sougari's (2005) study where the Greek teachers surveyed made the 'immediate identification of any language with its native speakers' (483). Conversely, however, the teacher attitudes in Ranta's (2010) research, conducted in Finland, exhibited a much broader conceptualization of English which 'went clearly beyond native speaker varieties', although they still considered these models to provide an important 'yardstick' in the classroom (174).

Parallels can be drawn here with Dörnyei's (2005) 'self-related' theories of language-learning motivation. Dörnyei notes that within the 'possible' and 'ideal-selves' motivational framework there exists the significant corresponding factor of what language learners 'are *afraid* of becoming' (ibid, 98, emphasis in original). With particular reference to the findings outlined in section 4.3, there seems to be a strong sense amongst this group of teachers that Tanzanians may favour native-like forms because of an irrational fear of being left with no proficiency in English at all, and, to incorporate an analogy used by Teachers A and G, a potential 'island'-like disconnection from the rest of the world. This fear seems to be unfounded because there is a great difference between the respective extremes of the 'mastery' and the complete inability to speak English. Crucially, it could be said that it is within these extremes that most global speakers of English have been found to successfully operate through what are essentially ELF uses of the language.

In direct reference to our research question therefore, it seems that an ELF approach may be able to better relate to the current English skills of teachers and the English needs of students in Tanzania than the existing approach. The first step would be to provide teachers with information relating to both the 'sociolinguistic facts of the spread of English around the world' (Jenkins, 2012, 492) and actual examples of the kinds of English likely to be needed by Tanzanian students when they finish school. Such an awareness-raising of teachers could, according to Sifakis (2007, 369) and Dewey (2012), potentially inform more considered student and teacher reflections about how their attitudes towards the teaching of English are relevant to their context-specific language needs. This is, however, not to underestimate how deeply-entrenched some of these attitudes towards English may be. The findings of this study suggest that Tanzania is a context where English language ideas

and ideals have to a large extent been consolidated over time by its British colonial past. Part of the problem in challenging these deeply-entrenched attitudes is related to the fact that, in Tanzania, because of the EMI policy, every secondary school teacher is effectively an English teacher. As a result English may have become so bound-up with other areas of education that some teachers, as our findings have shown, view the two as being almost synonymous and have extremely strong views about English despite not specialising in it as a subject.

The way forward here seems to be for teacher trainers to first engage in direct dialogue with specialist English language teachers in Tanzania about the potential for an ELF approach. These English teachers are likely to be those most attuned to the language needs of their students and the practicalities of catering for these language needs in the classroom. Were these English teachers to be convinced that the targeting of native speaker forms is not entirely necessary for the future uses of their students, the related view that the 'native-like' increased exposure to English of the EMI policy is also unnecessary could potentially begin to gain favour. Greater attention could then be paid to developing a more context-specific English curriculum in Tanzania with a 'focus [...] on communicative strategies, rather than on forms of communication', in which Kiswahili would inevitably play a part (Canagarajah, 2007, 936). Such an approach cannot be forced upon teachers and their students however, and it is ultimately for those involved to make informed choices about to what extent ELF may be of relevance to them (Jenkins, 2007, 22).

5.3 – Pedagogical Implications

Despite the small-scale nature of this research a number of pedagogical implications can be tentatively proposed. The first of these relates to the finding that Tanzanian teachers may be complicit in the Tanzanian language policy because both teachers and policy seem to have similar misconceptions about the way English should be taught. Although this point has been raised in past studies (see Brock-Utne, 2010, 642), what the findings of this research are able to add to the debate is that these misconceptions may be as much to do with the *variety* of English being targeted in Tanzania as the amount of English provided by the EMI policy. It could be argued that any plans to change this policy to one more sensitive to the needs and skills of teachers and students must first address these (seemingly unfounded) desires to 'master' English and the perceived inferiority of Kiswahili. The first implication of the study therefore involves the need for educational stakeholders in Tanzania to challenge their existing attitudes towards English and re-evaluate to what extent such targeting of native-like forms is relevant to Tanzanian students. As stated by Seidlhofer (2011, 16), it seems that non-native speakers 'cannot, by definition, be members of [the] native speaker community [...] no matter how long they study', and in this sense it could be argued that the increased exposure to English of an EMI policy is misinformed.

It is important to note that this study has shown how an ELF approach may be of relevance to contexts in Kachru's outer circle, rather than just those of the expanding circle with which ELF has more commonly been associated. This indicates that there may be potential for more of an ELF-focused pedagogical approach in other outer circle contexts. More specifically, the findings suggest that there may be a general lack of awareness of the legitimacy of non-native speaker forms of English in Tanzania. What was evident from this group of teachers was that Tanzanian students seem likely to use English predominantly as a means of communication with other non-native speakers. The pedagogical implication of this relates to a responsibility on the part of the Tanzanian

government to raise awareness of alternative approaches to English teaching which may have greater relevance to (what the findings suggest to be) the instrumental language-learning motives of Tanzanian students. Although the radical nature of ELF and the present lack of any clear ELF pedagogical guidelines would make such an approach difficult to adopt 'in its entirety', the findings of this study support the premises behind the potential for an ELF approach in Tanzania, and, consequently, Graddol's (2006, 87) claim that 'some of its ideas are likely to influence mainstream teaching [...] practices in the future'.

5.4 - Limitations of Findings

One could argue that the main limitation of the findings was the fact that the interviewees were not specifically asked to convey their thoughts about an ELF approach, as has been recommended by Jenkins (2007, 109). The group of teachers were instead asked about ELF indirectly through questions about some of its central concerns, such as student future uses and the teaching of native speaker varieties. This decision was made with reference to a similar study conducted by Ranta (2010, 161) in which the ELF term was said to be 'avoided intentionally', perhaps, as was the case in this research, to avoid confusion on the part of the respondents. However, the inclusion in this study of three example varieties of English in one interview question (question 5, Appendix A), in a similar ploy to assist interviewee understanding, may have led to the respondents selecting one of these examples even in cases where they were not necessarily aware of any specific variety being targeted. On the other hand, the fact that all of the teachers provided explanations for their choices suggests that they may not have been unduly influenced by the options offered in this particular question.

A further potential limitation of the study was the lack of any real relation in the findings chapter to the respective profiles of the interviewees (Appendix E). This additional layer of analysis proved to be difficult in such a small-scale study because there was a quite clear consensus of opinion between the group of teachers and only two clear examples of a deviant case were able to be identified. This is perhaps part of a more general problem with the analytic induction approach to data analysis and the highly subjective nature of what exactly constitutes a deviant case. Had a larger group of teachers been able to be interviewed there may have been more definite divisions within the findings which may have necessitated a closer attention to the data in relation to interviewee profiles.

5.5 – Areas for Further Research

The first area this study has highlighted for potential further research is the need for a larger-scale investigation of the attitudes towards English of individuals in Tanzania. This would be with a view to providing an even 'fuller picture of the language attitudes landscape' in this context and could include other educational stakeholders such as students and parents (Giles, 1998, 431; Jenkins, 2007, 431-2). Such further studies could perhaps explore attitudes towards ELF more directly and the practicalities which may be involved in the implementation of more 'post-normative' pedagogical approaches (Dewey, 2012). In this there could be an exploration of the materials and training currently provided to Tanzanian teachers and, as was raised by some interviewees in this study, the extent to which existing teaching approaches are dependent on foreign (and specifically inner circle) aid and donors.

The influence of inner circle countries on teaching practices in Tanzania was found in this study to be by no means as prominent in the responses of the interviewees as Phillipson's theories would suggest. The judgment therefore that outer and expanding circle English teaching practices are 'asserted and maintained' by inner circle countries (Phillipson, 1992, 47) seems, according to the research findings, to be far too simplistic, and it may even be an insult to the individuals concerned to suggest that they continue to be dominated in such a way. Similarly, the findings of the study supported the view that Kachru's three concentric circles model overstates the present-day role of English in Tanzania. A potential implication here is that whilst the attempts by Kachru and Phillipson to map the sociopolitics of English as a global language have been highly influential, and must, therefore, be given due consideration, they should not be accredited with the unquestioned status of organising principles. These theories must instead be continually questioned through empirical research in order to allow for greater understandings of how English is actually being taught and learned in different global contexts.

In addition, and perhaps more significantly in terms of the future of education in Tanzania, the findings of this study raised the possibility that attitudes about the high status of English may lead to a corresponding inferiority complex amongst Tanzanians in relation to Kiswahili. This issue seems to be closely linked to the perceived need for an EMI policy in Tanzania. Further research could investigate this potential interrelationship between the attitudes towards these languages and the extent to which such attitudes may influence the political choices of media of instruction in schools. Given that all secondary school classrooms in Tanzania are effectively foreign (English) language classrooms, there is also scope for research concerned with the specific occasions when teachers elect to switch to the L1 in this context. This could provide further general support for the value of the L1 in the language classroom (Macaro, 2001, 545), particularly in contexts such as Tanzania where it is not encouraged.

5.6 – Chapter Summary

This chapter sought to answer the study's two research questions through the form of a discussion with reference to the research findings and relevant literature. The main pedagogical implication of the research arguably concerns the need for existing attitudes towards the native speaker variety of English being targeted in Tanzania to be re-evaluated in relation to the likely future needs of students. One limitation of the study was that the interviewees were not specifically asked about the potential for an ELF approach in this context, and this could be borne in mind in further, larger-scale studies.

Chapter Six – Conclusion

This chapter will restate the rationale and research questions of the study before providing a brief overview of the methodological choices and the findings of the research. The chapter will then reiterate the pedagogical implications and limitations of the findings. Finally, areas for further research will also be restated before the entire paper is summarised with some concluding remarks.

6.1 – Research Rationale

This research stemmed from the theory, driven by the literature review, that individual attitudes towards English play an often underestimated role in the way the language is taught and learned in different global contexts. It was considered that these individuals may, if sufficiently sensitised to current issues concerning the global spread of English, be able to form a significant sociopolitical force in the kind of reconstitution of the language offered by an ELF approach.

There seemed to be a clear need to explore these matters in relation to the Tanzanian context. There had, to the knowledge of the researcher, been no studies conducted in Tanzania or anywhere in Africa related to the potential for an ELF approach. In addition, an EMI policy continues to operate in Tanzanian secondary schools despite the evidence of numerous studies suggesting this to be detrimental to student learning of both English and other subjects.

6.2 – Research Questions, Methodology and Findings

6.2.1 – Research Questions

The following research questions were formulated to explore the issues outlined in section 6.1:

- What are the attitudes of Tanzanian teachers towards English and to what extent are these attitudes consistent with the Tanzanian English language policy?
- How could an English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) approach to English in Tanzania better relate to the current language skills of Tanzanian teachers and to the potential future needs of the language for Tanzanian students?

6.2.2 – Methodology

In order to explore potential answers to these research questions and to provide a basis for further research, a series of e-mail interviews were carried out with ten Tanzanian secondary school teachers. The e-mail interview was a useful instrument in this study because it allowed for long-distance, asynchronous communication in a way which was both practical for the researcher and sensitive to the needs of the respondents. Despite the inevitable limitations of this single method, the chosen approach was able to fulfil the research aims and generate findings which were as credible as was possible in the circumstances.

6.2.3 - Findings

The findings offered support for the theory that the EMI policy and the attitudes of teachers towards English are interconnected in Tanzania, and that both target a native-like ‘mastery’ of the language. The vast majority of teachers favoured the British English model for their students. This seemed to be beyond the language skills of many of the teachers and irrelevant to the perceived future

language needs of their students. The external influence of foreign aid was found to be only one of many factors contributing to these seemingly misconceived attitudes towards English teaching.

6.3 – Pedagogical Implications

The main pedagogical implications of this study related to the apparent need for existing attitudes towards the teaching of English to be re-evaluated in Tanzania. If supported by further findings, there may be just cause on the part of educational stakeholders in this context to consider the implementation of at least some of the principles of an ELF approach, given what would seem to be its greater relevance to the needs of Tanzanian students than the present policy. Furthermore, it may be that challenges to Tanzanian misconceptions about English teaching could instigate some much-needed changes to the present EMI language policy.

6.4 – Limitations

Following the approach of Ranta's (2010) study, the respondents were not questioned directly about the potential for an ELF approach but were instead asked to comment on some of its chief concerns. This made it more difficult to draw causal links between teacher attitudes and ELF in the findings. Furthermore, the inclusion of example English varieties in one of the key interview questions was likely to have influenced the teacher responses, although the teachers did give explanations in support of their choices. Finally, a larger-scale study could have potentially provided greater understandings about the attitudes of the teachers towards English, particularly in relation to their respective profiles.

6.5 – Further Research

Further research is needed in this context to attend to the attitudes towards English of other important educational stakeholders, such as students and parents. A larger-scale investigation of teacher attitudes is also required, perhaps in more direct relation to the potential for an ELF approach. Finally, the interrelationship between attitudes towards Kiswahili and English needs to be further explored with a view to Kiswahili playing a potentially greater role in classroom interaction.

6.6 – Overall Summary

This small-scale study has been able to make valuable preliminary additions to the ongoing debates concerning Tanzanian language policy and the potential for more global ELF approaches to the teaching of the English language. In particular, the finding that all teachers interviewed had a historical norm-based conceptualisation of English suggested there to be a link between the variety and amount of English being taught in this context. The main implication of this is that a reconceptualisation of English in Tanzania, as offered by more of an ELF approach to the language, may be able to better connect English teaching with the potential language needs of Tanzanian students. Much more importantly, however, an increased awareness of the issues involved in the global spread of English could lead to a desire amongst Tanzanian educational stakeholders to change the role of English in secondary schools – a role in which English seems to infringe upon, and be detrimental to, the teaching and learning of all subjects in this context. The Tanzanian context therefore offers an illuminating example of how current attitudes towards English may need to be challenged in order for the language to be of greater utility to the majority of its global speakers. In

the case of Tanzania, further, larger-scale research is needed to support the claims made in this study and to potentially improve education in this developing country.

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Appendix A – Interview Schedule

Please provide as much detail in your answers as possible. Please answer in English only but do not worry about spelling or grammatical errors.

Tafadhali toa maelezo kwa kirefu iwezekanavyo. Tafadhali jibu kwa Kiingereza tu na usiwe na wasiwasi juu ya tahajia za maneno wala makosa ya kisarufi.

1. Please introduce your teaching background and experience of English (Tafadhali eleza usuli na uzoefu wako wa kufundisha Kiingereza)
2. How much does the Tanzanian English-medium language policy direct and influence the way you teach your students?
Ni kwa kiasi gani sera za kufundisha kwa kutumia lugha ya Kiingereza zina ongoza na kushawishi namna unavyofundisha wanafunzi wako?
3. In what situations do you expect your students to need and use English in the future?
Ni katika hali gani unategemea wanafunzi wako watahitaji au watatumia Kiingereza katika siku za mbeleni?
4. What is the most important message you wish to convey to your students about English?
Je, ungependa kueleza wanafunzi wako ujumbe gani ulio na umuhimu wa juu sana juu ya Kiingereza?
5. Which model or variety of English should be taught to students? (eg. British English, American English, other) Why is this? *Ni mfumo gani wa Kiingereza au aina gani ya Kiingereza vinapaswa vifundishwe kwa wanafunzi? (eg. British English, American English, other) Kwa nini hii?*

Informed Consent Form - Fomu ya Idhini Baada ya Kufahamishwa	
<p>Research Rationale</p> <p>This research aims to gain a greater understanding of the attitudes of teachers in Tanzanian secondary schools towards the English language. Analysis of these attitudes is expected to be useful in providing support for a proposal of potential changes to the existing Tanzanian language policy.</p> <p>Urazini wa Utafiti</p> <p>Utafiti huu unalenga kupata uwezo wa kuelewa zaidi mitazamo wa waalimu juu ya lugha ya Kiingereza katika shule za sekondari Tanzania. Uchanganuzi wa mitazamo hii unategemewa kuwa na manufaa katika kutilia mkazo pendekezo la kuweza kuleta mabadiliko katika sera za lugha Tanzania.</p>	
<p>Please tick the box to confirm</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) I have read and understood the information about the research. 2) I have opportunities to ask questions about the research by e-mail. 3) I understand that my name or the name of my school will not be used in any report, publication or presentation, and that every effort will be made to protect my confidentiality. 4) I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. 5) I understand that any information given by me may be used in future articles by the researcher. <p>Tafadhali weka alama katika kiboksi kuthibitisha</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Nimesoma na kuelewa habari juu ya utafiti huu. 2) Nina nafasi ya kuuliza maswali juu ya utafiti kwa njia ya barua pepe. 3) Ninaelewa kwamba jina langu au jina la shule yangu havitatumika katika taarifa, chapisho au maonyesho yoyote na kila juhudi itafanyika kulinda ufaragha wangu. 4) Ninaelewa kwamba kushiriki kwangu ni kwa hiari na kwamba niko huru kujitoka bila kutoa sababu wakati wowote. 5) Ninaelewa kwamba mtafiti anaweza kutumia maelezo yoyote nitakayotoa katika makala siku za mbeleni. <p>I understand all the above criteria and I agree to take part in this research:</p> <p>Ninaelewa vigezo vyote na ninakubali kushiriki katika utafiti huu :</p> <div style="text-align: right;"> <input type="checkbox"/> </div>	
<p>Contact Details of Researcher / Taarifa za Mawasiliano za Mtafiti</p> <p>Name/ Jina: Tom Jameson</p> <p>Email/ Barua pepe: tom.jmsn@hotmail.com</p>	
<p>Signature of Participant/ Saini ya Mshiriki:</p> <p>Signature of Researcher/ Saini ya Mtafiti: <i>Tom Jameson</i></p>	<p>Date/ Tarehe:</p> <p>Date/ Tarehe:</p>

Appendix C – Example Interview Transcript

- E-mail 1

Dear -----,

Thank you for agreeing to take part in my research and returning the consent form. Given your wealth of experience I am sure your insights will be extremely useful for my project. I look forward to receiving them.

Please kindly complete the following 3 initial interview questions.

Interview questions

Please provide as much detail in your answers as possible. Please answer in English only but do not worry about spelling or grammatical errors. *(Tafadhali toa maelezo kwa kirefu iwezekanavyo. Tafadhali jibu kwa Kiingereza tu na usiwe na wasiwasi juu ya tahajia za maneno wala makosa ya kisarufi.)*

- *Please introduce your teaching background and experience of English (Tafadhali eleza usuli na uzoefu wako wa kufundisha Kiingereza)*
- *How much does the Tanzanian English-medium language policy direct and influence the way you teach your students?(Ni kwa kiasi gani sera za kufundisha kwa kutumia lugha ya Kiingereza zina ongoza na kushawishi namna unavyofundisha wanafunzi wako?)*
- *What is the most important message you wish to convey to your students about English? (Je, ungependa kueleza wanafunzi wako ujumbe gani ulio na umuhimu wa juu sana juu ya Kiingereza?)*

This is the end of the first stage of the interview. Please expect to receive a follow-up email with some further questions in the next few days.

Kind regards.

- E-mail 1 response

Dear Tom,

Here is my response of your questions.

Sorry for delaying.

Thanks.

Please introduce your teaching background and experience of English (Tafadhali eleza usuli na uzoefu wako wa kufundisha Kiingereza)

Officially I started teaching in 1994 and for the whole of this time, I have been teaching mathematics in Ordinary level (form 1 to 4). All subjects except Kiswahili are supposed to be taught in English in this level.

Appendix C – Example Interview Transcript

One of the big challenges i have encountered in my teaching work is the language barrier of my students especially the years where i am allocated to teach form one and two. Most of the students who are chosen to join form one are not good in English because in their seven years of primary school they were using Kiswahili as the main language of instruction. In primary schools, all subjects are taught in Kiswahili except English and hence primary pupils use to have very little time to practice English.

On the other hand, even the new teachers are not very good in English. The reason behind for this is that, although it is stated well that the language of instruction in secondary schools and collages will be English, English is only being used in class rooms and sometimes mixed with Kiswahili. It is very common for the secondary school teachers to make clarifications of their lessons in Kiswahili when we face some difficulty areas for three reasons; one is because teachers are not fluent in English and hence we do not have enough vocabularies to explain things in its length and width. Secondly, in the course of teaching some times teachers do not believe that students are following their lessons properly as many of them might be not competent in English. Thirdly, teachers and students feel more comfortable, confident and they enjoy their speeches when using Kiswahili. Normally i do experience very little interaction between teachers and students and among students themselves when everybody is forced to use English all the time in class room or in school in general. It is interesting that if you have let say a meeting and you are running out of time, then solution for this you may decide to conduct it in English. The contributions from students will be little and short and hence time saving.

Most of the time i have realized some students especially form one and two failing their tests and examinations because of not understanding the meaning of some words used in the questions. Once the same questions are asked in Kiswahili, they answer them perfectly.

Through my experience, i have realized that at least the students of form three and above can cope with the English language as their medium of instruction. However, in our schools we have also students who attended their primary education in English medium schools and they used to be very good in form one and form two but at the end when they sit for National examination form four, very little difference in their performance can be noticed between the ones from Kiswahili and English medium schools.

How much does the Tanzanian English-medium language policy direct and influence the way you teach your students? (Ni kwa kiasi gani sera za kufundisha kwa kutumia lugha ya Kiingereza zina ongoza na kushawishi namna unavyofundisha wanafunzi wako?)

The policy of using English as a medium of Instruction in our schools has influenced the way of teaching my students a lot. Because I as a teacher i know that every student in my class knows Kiswahili better than English, and many students are not fluent in English, sometimes i don't use English throughout my lessons. Sometimes i mix up with Kiswahili so that the students can understand the lesson easily. Students themselves, ask questions in Kiswahili knowing that the teacher knows Kiswahili and they can set their questions and be understood well in Kiswahili.

The problem of using English and Kiswahili at the same time can be noticed in examinations. Examinations are set in English and students are also supposed to respond in English. When student knows the answer of a particular question and fail to express his answer in English, he mix up with Kiswahili too which is wrong as Kiswahili not encouraged.

What is the most important message you wish to convey to your students about English? (Je, ungependa kueleza wanafunzi wako ujumbe gani ulio na umuhimu wa juu sana juu ya Kiingereza?)

English language is very important in this time where communication technology has made the world to look as small as a village. English will enable them to interact with most of the people through out the world. Every student has to use the opportunity of learning English while in secondary schools. They have to put all efforts to learn it as well as practicing it so that they become fluent. They should also be aware that failure to speak English will affect their further learning in colleges as the same language is still being used till university level.

- E-mail 2

Dear -----,

Appendix C – Example Interview Transcript

Thank you very much indeed for your responses to my questions. Some of your comments reminded me of the issues I faced when I volunteered as an English teacher in Tanzania myself. You raise some very interesting points.

In order to add greater detail to the interview I would first like to ask you to clarify two of your comments, and then kindly provide an answer to one further question.

Clarification

You stated that students should become fluent in English to be able 'to interact with most of the people throughout the world'.

- To what extent do you think interaction with people around the world would be possible if students did not have fluency in English?

You mentioned the lack of interaction between teachers and students when they are 'forced to use English all the time'.

- Do you think students and parents are in favour of the current English language policy?

Additional question

- *Which model or variety of English should be taught to students? (eg. British English, American English, other) Why is this? (Ni mfumo gani wa Kiingereza au aina gani ya Kiingereza vinapaswa vifundishwe kwa wanafunzi? (eg. British English, American English, other) Kwa nini hii?)*

I look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards.

- E-mail 2 response

You stated that students should become fluent in English to be able 'to interact with most of the people throughout the world'.

- To what extent do you think interaction with people around the world would be possible if students did not have fluency in English?

Particularly for the Tanzanian students, interaction with other people around the world will be very minimal. The reasons for this is because there is no clear policy of our schools and colleges to teach foreign languages. Few schools were teaching French as the only foreign language but since 1990s the number of those schools are decreasing may be because English is becoming more popular as well as the lack of the French teachers. Kiswahili which is spoken by almost every Tanzanian is geographically limited in East and Central Africa. Generally you can see if English won't be used here then Tanzania will be left as an island because it has no other language spoken by its people which can be used internationally. Many countries in the world which were under British colonial power have the same situation like Tanzania as they rely on English as the only International language. Bear in mind that almost three quarters of all colonies were under British. In so doing, I believe English is spoken by the majority of the people from all corners of the world. Other languages like Chinese, French, Arab and Spanish are spoken by many people but not like English. These languages except French are also limited in some geographical areas and not like English. Chinese is mostly for people from

Appendix C – Example Interview Transcript

China, Arab is more limited for people from middle East and Spanish for Latin America. English has quiet different quality as it is spread all over the world. You will also note that even in the ares where these big language are spoken still you can get many people who speak English as their second or third language. Some one who is fluent in English is more confident to move around the world with minor communication limitations compared to the other language speakers. So, i can conclude by saying interactions of people from former British colonies will be very much affected if other languages will be used instead of English because of its world wide use and historical background. On top of that, many of the former British colonies have no their own national language which can be spoken by all people in their own country with except Tanzania whose Kiswahili is spoken through out the country. Many country use more than one language including English because they have no language which can be spoken by all citizens. This is to say that without English teven communication within a country will also be difficulty in some countries. It is very difficulty to imagine the interaction of people without English especially in the former British colonies as they don't use other big international languages. Without English communication will be possible but we shall need time to learn other languages and to start with we shall also need a lot of translators which is also cost fully.

You mentioned the lack of interaction between teachers and students when they are 'forced to use English all the time'.

- Do you think students and parents are in favour of the current English language policy?

In my own opinion, students and parents have different opinions. There some who favour the current policy and some favour the use of Kiswahili. Students who prefer the use of Kiswahili in steady of English seem to be the ones who find difficulty to express themselves in English and finally they perform poorly in their examinations, but still they would like to be able to use it. There many parents who are neutral and others favour the use of English strongly to the extent that they take their children to the private Primary English medium schools so that they can learn English from the early stage. Private Primary English medium schools were allowed in 1990s and its number is increasing every year. Some parents consider the ability of their kids to speak English as one of indicators that they are performing well in school so they insist it. The reason behind is because they know how English influences their studies in secondary school and colleges, as well as in different jobs.

Which model or variety of English should be taught to students? (eg. British English, American English, other) Why is this? (Ni mfumo gani wa Kiingereza au aina gani ya Kiingereza vinapaswa vifundishwe kwa wanafunzi? (eg. British English, American English, other) Kwa nini hii?)

I prefer British English to be taught in schools. The reason behind for supporting this is more historical. We Tanzanians, we have very close ties with British systems. Tanzania was colonized by British and hence we have copied a lot of things from Britain such as education system, legal system, government administration system and many others. It is good to use the same British English like other Commonwealth countries as we use to have the same systems.

- E-mail 3

Dear -----,

Again, thank you for your responses. This will be very useful information for my study.

To complete the interview I would just like to ask one further question:

You stated that British English should be taught to students in Tanzania, and that English is used to communicate with people around the world -

To what extent do you feel British English forms are relevant to interactions involving non-native speakers of English?

This marks the end of the interview. Thank you for your time and cooperation.

Appendix C – Example Interview Transcript

Kind regards.

- E-mail 3 response

Hello Tom,

Thank you. See my response below to your question.

You stated that British English should be taught to students in Tanzania, and that English is used to communicate with people around the world - To what extent do you feel British English forms are relevant to interactions involving non-native speakers of English?

As i said in my previous email, many countries were colonized by British and those countries are non-native speakers of English. English is their second or third language. For instance, many Tanzanians including me, English is my third language after my mother tongue (Chagga) and Kiswahili. Since in most of these countries, British English is mostly used and it is officially taught in schools, it seems to be more relevant for communication particularly in the former British colonies which are many and from all corners of the world. So, it is my feelings that British English is spoken by the majority of English speakers around the world and hence is more relevant for interaction than other English forms.

- E-mail 4

Dear -----,

I would just like to take this opportunity to thank you for your participation in my research. Your responses were always insightful and detailed, and it is clear you put a great deal of time into compiling them. I appreciate this so much.

Kind regards

- E-mail 5

Hi -----,

I hope you are well.

I wondered if it would be possible to ask you one more question as part of your interview? I have realised all of my other interviewees were asked a question you were not, and I would like to give you the opportunity to respond to it.

Kind regards.

- E-mail 5 response

Hi Tom,

I am okay. Dont worry i am ready to for the next question just send it.

- E-mail 6

Thanks -----,

Appendix C – Example Interview Transcript

Some of your previous answers were related to this question but, as I said, I'd like to give you the opportunity to answer it specifically so I have been consistent with the other interviews.

I would like to know:

In what situations do you expect your students to need and use English in the future? (*Ni katika hali gani unategemea wanafunzi wako watahitaji au watatumia Kiingereza katika siku za mbeleni?*)

Kind regards.

- E-mail 6 response

Hello Tom,

According to my views, I think English will be more needed and used by my students in the future than now. Tanzania is one of the members of East African community which currently consists of 5 countries. As it has been in the case of Rwanda that has to teach its children English in schools instead of French in order to cope well with the opportunities of the community, is the same case for Tanzanian students.

Although Kiswahili is spoken by many East African people, English is still used as official language in these countries. In all these countries no one is using Kiswahili as its medium of instruction after primary schools.

East African community has a lot of opportunities such as business and market, education, cooperation of professionals and many others. Any one whom would like to use these opportunities must be able to use English as medium of communication. Due to this situation and the interaction with the rest of the world, the need and use of English will be increasing as time goes so long the interaction is increasing too.

Thanks.

- E-mail 7

Dear -----,

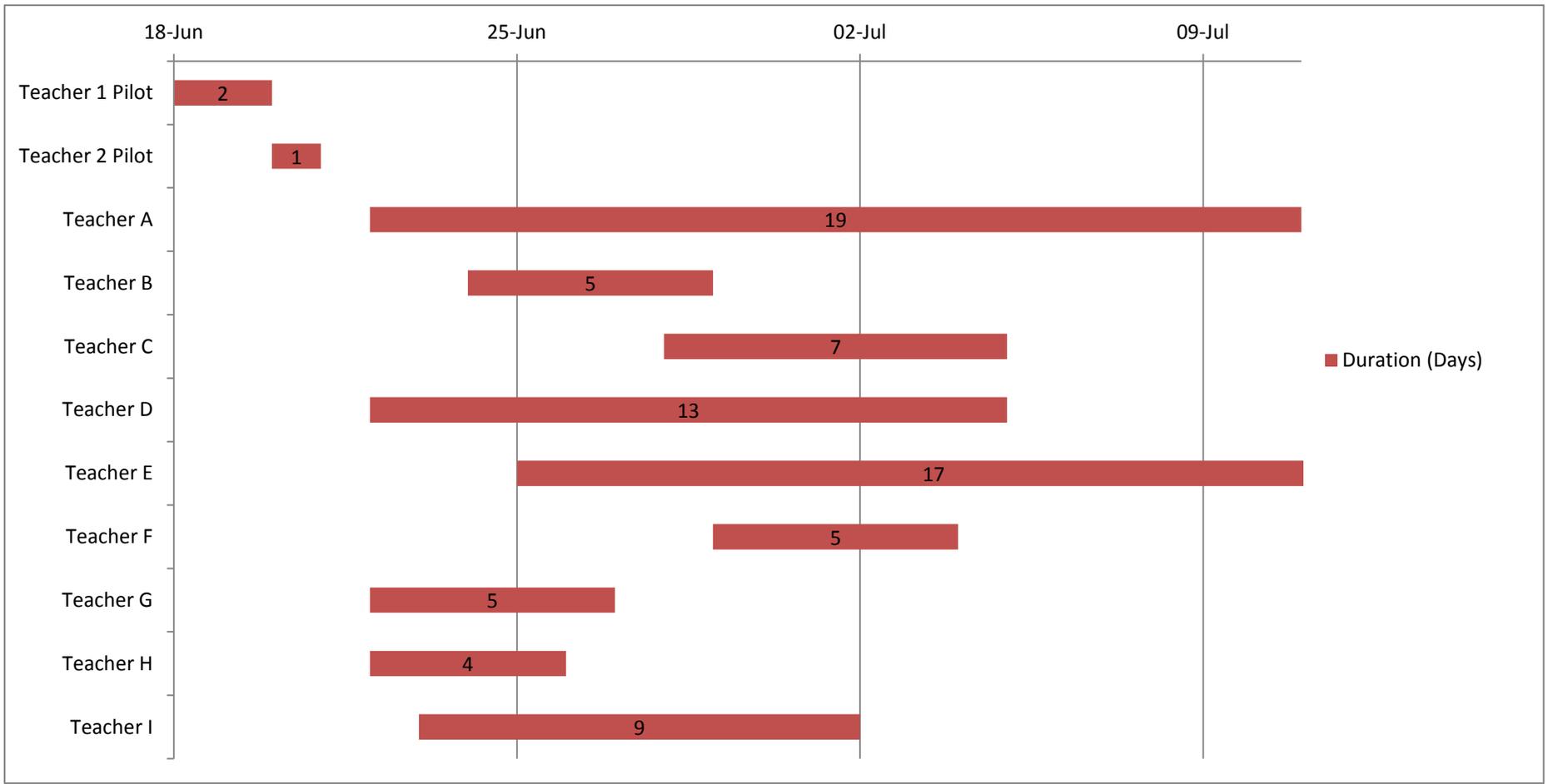
Thank you once again for your cooperation. This marks the end of the interview.

I wish you all the best in all of your future teaching endeavours.

Kind regards.

Appendix D – Timeline of Data Collection

Interview Timeline in Gantt Chart Form



Appendix E – Interviewee Profiles

Teacher A	Mathematics teacher from the Arusha region. Almost twenty years teaching experience.
Teacher B	Five years experience as a teacher. Currently teaching English. Based on the island of Zanzibar.
Teacher C	English teacher with five years experience in government schools. Based in Dar es Salaam.
Teacher D	Teacher of both History and Geography in Dar es Salaam. Ten years teaching experience.
Teacher E	Teacher of both Civics Studies and Kiswahili since 2010. Based in the Kilimanjaro region.
Teacher F	One year experience as a teacher of Languages and Geography in Dar es Salaam.
Teacher G	A teacher of a range of subjects, including English, with over ten years of experience. Currently based in the Arusha region.
Teacher H	Four years of experience as an English language and literature teacher. Based on the island of Zanzibar.
Teacher I	Book-keeping teacher with over twenty years experience. Currently based in Dar es Salaam.
Teacher J	Previously a teacher of History and English literature for eight years. Head-teacher of a school in the Kilimanjaro region for the last three years.