

Local Languages in Schooling as a Right in Education:

A Case Study of Curriculum Reform in Zanzibar

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Abstract

This thesis explores the consequences of linguistic choices for quality education, self-determined development and children's rights in education. The analysis centers on a case study of a curriculum change in Zanzibar in which English has replaced Kiswahili as the language of instruction in the last years of primary school in Mathematics and Science subjects. The case study is grounded in an extensive review of theory and practices on the relationship between language of instruction, learning and rights in education. The research design encompassed several field visits to Zanzibar over a period of three years, and deployed qualitative methods, including observation in classrooms and an extensive set of interviews with policy makers, teachers and Tanzanian academics. The field study researched the reasons behind the curriculum change, the extent to which schools were prepared for the change, and the consequences of the change for the learning environment.

The research findings, presented and discussed in the four papers constituting this thesis, and elaborated in the kappa (extended abstract), address the reasons behind the curriculum change and interrogate the relationship between choice of language, quality teaching (and learning) and children's rights in education. The choice of local language of instruction was found to be critical to the learning environment and to be inextricably linked to rights in education. In making the curriculum change, Zanzibari policy makers have been influenced by the still powerful notion throughout Africa that learning in a Western language will promote development and modernization. This is reinforced in development aid programs directed at the educational sector, many of which encourage and support the use of a non-local language of instruction. However, in the Zanzibari case, neither teacher preparation nor support materials in the form of books, teaching plans and teacher training have been robust enough to support the curriculum change. It was found that teachers are not fluent enough in English to master teaching in accordance with the new curriculum, nor have they been adequately prepared for the change of language. Given the deterioration of the learning environment attributable to the replacement of Kiswahili with English as language of instruction from Standard 5 in Mathematics and Science, and the lack of adequate support for the change, the author's assessment is that the capacity for the curriculum to enable quality learning has been reduced. From the perspective of a rights-capability-based approach, this curriculum change violates Zanzibari children's rights in education. Local languages need to be valued in education in order that children will be prepared for engaging with the world in a language they understand.

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PART I

List of Acronyms

ADEA	Association for the Development of Education in Africa
CASAS	Center for Advanced Study of African Society
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIES	Comparative and International Education Society
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EFA	Education for All
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICT	Information Communication and Technology
IMF	International Monetary Fund
Lingua franca	Languages of wider communication often cross border languages
LoI	Language of Instruction (synonyms: MoI/MoE)
LOITASA	Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa
LWC	Language of wider communication (in many cases local/familiar language)
MECS	Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoEVT	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
NECTA	National Examinations Council of Tanzania
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OSC	Orientation to Secondary Class
RFA	Radio Free Africa
RTD	Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam
SADC	Southern African Development Committee
SPINE	Student Performance in National Examinations

SR1	School in Rural 1
SR2	School in Rural 2
SU1	School in Urban 1
SU2	School in Urban 2
SUZA	State University of Zanzibar
TBC	Tanzania Broadcasting Cooperation
TIE	Tanzania Institute of Education
ToT	Trainer of Teachers College
TVT	Televisheni Ya Taifa
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
USA	United States of America
WCCES	World Congress of Comparative Education Societies
ZABEP	Zanzibar basic education of improvement project
ZEDP	Zanzibar Education Development Plan
ZEMAP	Zanzibar Education Master Plan

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1 Introduction

Language is not Everything in Education, but without Language, Everything is nothing in Education (Quote from E. Wolff, 2006)

The objective of this study has been to critically analyze a recently initiated curriculum change in Zanzibar, which among other changes will replace the current language of instruction (LoI), Kiswahili¹ with English in the subjects of Mathematics and Science from Standard² 5. The focus has been on how the implementation was planned and executed and most importantly what has been the consequences of the change for quality learning and fulfillment of children's rights in education. Local language and local curriculum are two complex intervening variables that are at the core of the achievement of quality education and children's rights in education. There has been a major focus over the past two decades in international and national development programs on making the rights to education a universal human rights. This has been understood to mean access to education. However, not enough attention has been given to the quality of this expanding educational effort. The main contribution of this thesis is to argue that quality learning must be related to educational rights and that quality learning in African countries will not be achieved without curricula that are based on the use of a local LoI. The development of this human rights framework for African education places this thesis squarely on the forefront of Norwegian academic and political agendas on human rights.

In Zanzibar, Kiswahili is understood by the entire population and spoken as mother tongue by the vast majority (Mbaabu, 1996) cf. in *papers II, III and IV*. The language of wider communication (LWC) at all levels is Kiswahili. English is a foreign language that was introduced in Tanzania (then Tanganyika) during the British colonial rule. In spite of a long exposure to English, today only 5% of the population speaks English (Batibo, 1995). In

¹ Kiswahili is the name of the language and the word "Swahili" is an adjective. Thus we have "Swahili" culture and Swahili speakers, but the language is Kiswahili. But in most books written during colonialism, the word "Swahili" is used to refer to the language (Puja, 2003).

² A Standard is equivalent to a grade in American terminology.

primary education, for Standards 1 to 7 Tanzania made a decision in 1967³ (after Independence) to institute Kiswahili as the LoI. Thus the current curriculum change reverses an earlier policy to use Kiswahili throughout primary school.

In 2006, Zanzibar⁴, which has a school system autonomous from that of the Tanzanian mainland, initiated a review of its educational strategy which resulted in a reform of its curriculum. In addition to the change of LoI, from Kiswahili to English in Mathematics and Science subjects from Standard 5, it introduced a new subject, Information, Communication and Technology (ICT) from Standard 5 (in English), as well as language classes in Arabic from Standard 1. Based on an analysis of the early stages of implementation, the collection of papers constituting this thesis presents arguments that the change will in fact reduce learning and teaching capacity and that this constitutes a violation of children's rights in education.

In the remainder of this introductory section, I will state the aims and the research questions which guided the research, followed by a synopsis of each of the four papers that make up the thesis. I then give a summary of geographical and historical information on Zanzibar (Tanzania) that set the stage for the curriculum change and round off the introduction with an outline of the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Aim and Research questions

Many African countries are struggling with the question of whether or to choose a local or foreign language in schools from elementary to university. There is a wealth of evidence, summarized in the literature review in section two, which indicates that using a language any group of learners speaks and understands well improves the quality of their learning. Despite this evidence, Zanzibar is in the process of introducing a foreign language, English, for certain subjects in the final two years of primary school. This raises the following research questions that have been central to the study:

³ On a governmental level, in 1962 Nyerere became the first person to address the Tanzanian parliament in Kiswahili. The use of Kiswahili within parliament was then solidified in 1967 when the Second Vice President announced that Kiswahili was to become the official language within government offices. As the use of Kiswahili became formalised at a governmental level, it was simultaneously being advanced within the education system.

⁴ Tanganyika and Zanzibar united in 1964 to form the United Republic of Tanzania (explained in details below).

- Why has Zanzibar changed its policy of using Kiswahili for the teaching of Science and Mathematics from Standard 5 and implemented English as a LoI?
- How has the change of curriculum been prepared and implemented? Have teachers participated in the implementation design and are they well prepared for the transition to English as a LoI?
- How does this change to a non-local LoI relate to debates on children's rights in education?

The research methodology used to address these questions will be discussed in section four. In brief, this research method is based on a case study of the curriculum transition, the centerpiece of which is a series of field visits to Zanzibar involving observation in schools, and interviews with both policy makers and educators.

1.2 Synopsis of the papers

In *paper I*, my co-authors and I argue that education and development should take place in a broader context of human rights, and we explore the links between areas often dealt with separately, namely, choice of language, education and development. A distinction is made between a right to education and rights in education, the latter being posited as more significant for the challenges Africa faces. We claim that education in transformational rights also contributes to both economic growth and inclusive development. In *paper II*, I argue that many countries in Africa and Asia are facing these same difficult choices regarding LoI. I conduct an analysis of relevant policy documents, exploring the policies and practices of language choice in education in the global context. I give special attention to two countries, Tanzania (with a focus on Zanzibar) and Malaysia. I analyze the reasons behind Zanzibar's retreat from its Kiswahili LoI policy, which is in contrast to Malaysia's decision to reverse its earlier policy of using English for Mathematics and Science subjects and to replace English with Bahasa Malaysia (the Malay language) in 2010. Based on the comparison, this article analyzes the curriculum change in Zanzibar and argues that it could contribute to a loss of Zanzibar's capacity to control its own development and thus to a regression into dependent development. In *paper III*, I provide an overview of the new curriculum policy, and critically

analyze the early phase of the implementation process. The focus is on the first year of implementation in Standards 1 and 2, which took place in 2010-2011. The results suggest that the new curriculum will not contribute to quality learning in primary schools. The analysis in *paper IV* provides a basis for examining how the curriculum in Zanzibar is perceived in schools. It analyzes the ways teachers, academics and government officers interpret and deal with the issues related to quality education within the curriculum development and rights in education.

1.3 Important geographic, demographic and historical background

The United Republic of Tanzania (URT) is situated on the East African seaboard⁵. The islands of Zanzibar⁶ lie about 45 kilometers off the coast of mainland Tanzania, which has its border with Burundi, Congo, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Zambia and Uganda. In 2002, the population of Zanzibar was estimated to be 1, 211, 486 (URT, 2004). The average population density is 350 per square kilometer, which is one of the highest in Africa. Of the total population 57% live in rural areas and over 95% are Muslims by religious affiliation. Other religions include Christianity and Hinduism. The study was carried out on the main island of Zanzibar, called Unguja. In the 2002 census, the population of Unguja was 622,459 (Zanzibar strategy for growth and reduction of poverty, 2007).

Zanzibar and Tanzania have long histories of colonial influence. The present borders of (mainland) Tanzania were drawn up at the Berlin conference in 1884⁷. The territory was declared a German protectorate and named German East Africa. Germany's defeat in World War One led to her losing the territory and from 1919 to 1961, Tanganyika was administrated by Great Britain, first under the mandate from the League of Nations and later as a United Nations trust territory. Tanganyika gained its independence from Britain on December 9th,

⁵ See appendix 1

⁶See appendix 2

⁷ The Berlin Conference (sometimes also referred to as the Congo Conference) took place in Berlin and lasted from November 1884 to February 1885. Organized by the then German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck to draft regulations concerning European colonization and trade in Africa, it resulted in the General Act of the Berlin Conference. It also triggered a rush among European powers to divide the remaining uncolonised areas of Africa up between them.

1961 and Zanzibar was declared independent on December 10th, 1963. Tanganyika and Zanzibar united on April 26th 1964 to form the United Republic of Tanzania. Today, Tanzania is divided into 26 administrative regions, 21 in the mainland and 5 in Zanzibar. In Zanzibar each region has districts, which are sub-divided into constituencies (wards and villages), the latter constituting the basic structure for local government. The Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar has considerable autonomy over its internal affairs administratively, and has its own legislative body and executive functions including its own ministries.

Zanzibar is derived from the Persian word Zangh meaning ‘Negro’ and ‘bar’ is meaning a “coast”. The name also has an Arabic etymology: “Zinj el Barr”, which means the land of the Blacks (Kurtz, 1978 quoted by Ismael, 2005). Many scholars believe that Zanzibar is the birthplace of Kiswahili⁸, which is the lingua franca of Tanzania and East Africa, and the language (mother tongue) of Zanzibar.

1.3.1 Background on Kiswahili the African lingua franca

Efforts to promote Kiswahili began in the 1930s. The first President of Tanzania Julius K. Nyerere initiated efforts to make Kiswahili a pan-Tanzanian language. He faced several dilemmas associated with reunifying African languages. One problem is that cultural subgroups champion their own local languages (mother-tongues) at the expense of a national or regional language (Alidou & Brock-Utne, 2006; Benson, 2010). However, what can be learned from his strategy is that African languages have the same potential to serve as a pan-national language as any other language, and unification can be made to happen if there is political will to create and enforce the necessary policies and strategies. The promotion of Kiswahili had begun in Tanzania long before Nyerere’s efforts. It was given the status of the official language for the inter-territorial East African Language Committee in Tanganyika⁹,

⁸ During an interview in February 2012, with the Vice Chancellor at the State University of Zanzibar (SUZA), my non-formal supervisor and I were told that the Zanzibari Kiswahili is the Oxford of Kiswahili (reference to Oxford English) the purest.

⁹ Tanganyika originally consisted of the British share of the former German colony of German East Africa which the British took under a League of Nations Mandate in 1922, later transformed into a United Nations Trust Territory after the World War II. On 26 April 1964, Tanganyika joined with the islands of Zanzibar to form the the *United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar*, a new state that changed its name to the *United Republic of Tanzania* within a year.

Kenya, and Uganda. The African linguists working at CASAS¹⁰ have suggested writing Kiswahili, KiSwahili in the same way as they write isiXhosa (Brock-Utne, 2005).

In 1967, the Tanzanian constitution was amended and Kiswahili became formalized as the LoI for primary school grades within the education system (Rabin, 2011). Kiswahili has since been used in Tanzania as both official and national language (Habwe, 2009). A competence in English is also important, since English links Tanzania and the rest of the world as the global language of technology, commerce and administration (URT, 2009). Even so, in most official and legal discussions, Kiswahili is the language of choice. Othman (2008, p. 6) a Zanzibari scholar, gives us an example that conveys the tension between English and Kiswahili within the legal system:

I remember an incident in 2007 at the General Meeting of the Zanzibar Law Society where members argued for some time whether the meeting should be conducted in English or Kiswahili. Later the President of the Society ruled that it should be in English since it was the official language of the High Court. Half an hour after the decision was made, nobody was talking in English, and no one protested.

Kiswahili is often used as the intra-family language after marriage in Tanzania. About 80 million people in 14 countries in East and Central Africa speak Kiswahili (Masoto, 2004 in Brock-Utne, 2005). Kiswahili is one of the five official languages of the African Union alongside English, French, Portuguese and Arabic (Brock-Utne, *ibid*). Kiswahili has been occasionally used as working language in United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) meetings as far back as 1986. It was however, never made an official working language of the UN or UNESCO. Othman (2008, p. 7) argues that:

Kiswahili is no longer the language of Tanzania or East Africa; it is the language of the entire African continent, having been adopted by the African Union as one of its official languages. When former Mozambican President, Joaquim Chissano (and not the President of Tanzania, Benjamin Mkapa), addressed the African Heads of State Summit for the first time using Kiswahili, the audience warmly applauded.

Language plays a major role in Tanzania's robust media. Most newspapers in Tanzania are in Kiswahili. The public broadcasting television service *Televisheni ya Taifa* (TVT) or Tanzania Broadcasting Cooperation (TBC) sends most of the programs in Kiswahili. The radio networks of Radio Tanzania Dar-es-Salaam (RTD) are also State-run and use Kiswahili. It is

¹⁰ Center for Advanced Study of African Society in Cape Town.

important to note that from 2007 the Tanzanian State has owned both TVT and RTD. They are both very popular and are both under the umbrella of Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation. However, privately owned media are more important, since they control more than 11 daily newspapers, over 6 television stations and more than 6 FM radio stations. All of these are published or conducted in Kiswahili. One of them, Radio Free Africa (RFA) reaches the Great Lakes Region - the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwanda and even Burundi. This shows the importance of Kiswahili as a cross border language (Press Reference, 2009).

The language dilemma continues to be a subject of intense debate among language and education scholars. Othman (2008, p.6) formulates the central question this way:

Why is a country like Tanzania, which was in the forefront of Africa's liberation struggle, which proclaimed the Arusha Declaration that ushered in its own development path and which in its policy documents and proclamations wanted the people to be the masters of their own destiny, unable to resolve this language problem?

Adama Ouane & Christine Glanz (2006) wrote that Tanzania, in comparison to Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Mali and Zambia was the only of these countries that went beyond experimentation and implemented a policy that promoted the effective use of a national language in formal and non-formal education and administration. Its success can be traced back to Nyerere's concept of "Education for self-reliance" which perceives education as the means for laying the foundations in the present for future development (Nyerere, 1968).

1.3.2 Background on the education system in Zanzibar

Before the arrival of foreigners, Zanzibar had a traditional education system in which transmission of knowledge was informal and cultural (in the sense defined by Freire, 1977). In the 8th century, migrants from Arabia began teaching the Quran and the Arabic language in order to facilitate the spread of Islamic religion. Indian migrants arrived in the 12th century and set up the first formal schools. The Portuguese arrived in the 16th century, bringing with them Christian missionaries who established missionary schools. German missionaries initiated the period of European colonial influence on education in 1830, followed by the British in 1857. Zanzibar became a British protectorate in 1890. In 1920, the colonial authority formulated a plan for public education in which children of Asian, Arabic and African descent were segregated. Those of African descent were not allowed to attend public schools. The Asians and Arabs were offered primary and secondary education for 12 years.

They were also allowed to continue with higher education at the University of Makerere in Uganda. From 1935, Africans were offered primary education, but for only 4 years. In 1964 Tanzania began an expansion of public schooling. After 1964¹¹, all schools were nationalized and free education was offered to all children. In 1964, there were 62 primary schools with an enrolment of 24,334 pupils. There were 4 secondary schools with 734 students, but most of the students were children of government administrators. The first independent government inherited a system consisting of 3 years of pre-primary, 8 years of primary education, 2 years of pre-secondary, 2 years of ordinary secondary and 2 years of advanced secondary education. The 10 years of primary and pre-secondary years were compulsory. Children were selected for ordinary secondary school based on performance: only a few them were selected.

Over the past 46 years, the education system in Zanzibar has gone through various changes. The emphasis has been put on increasing the length of compulsory education. The intention today is that every child should achieve two years of secondary education. The system became one of 3-7-3-2-2; comprising 3 years in pre-primary, 7 years in primary, 3 years in pre-secondary, 2 years in ordinary secondary, 2 years in advanced secondary. In this system, 7 years of primary and 3 years of pre-secondary education were compulsory and offered to every child in Zanzibar.

In the decade from 2001-2010, the Ministry that deals with educational affairs was associated first, with culture and sports and then with vocational training. The Ministry had a very large structure with many administrators compared to other ministries. In the second phase of leadership of President Karume, the structure of the Ministry of Education (MoE) was changed. Cultural and Sports sectors merged with the Ministry of Information. The Ministry has since been renamed as the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT). Vocational training has been given special consideration because of its importance in enabling youth to acquire practical skills for self-employment.

In 2006-2007 the Ministry of Education had a Minister, a Deputy Minister, a Principal Secretary, two commissions, eleven departments with one education and vocational training

¹¹ Most of information below has been retrieved from the '10 years of education development 2000-2010', a Kiswahili document that a policy maker from the Ministry of Educational and Vocational Training (MoEVT) in Zanzibar shared with me during my last visit.

office in Pemba¹². In 2008 and 2009 a second deputy minister was added along with two deputy principal secretaries¹³.

In the period 2001-2010 the Ministry of Education established two systems of education. One was the system of 3-7-3-2-2 as detailed above. Within the three years of pre-secondary education, one year was set aside for preparation: ‘OSC-Orientation to secondary Class’. The OSC is a class to prepare students for learning in English. The background for the class is low English competence, which was affecting students’ academic performance in secondary and higher education (Said, 2003)¹⁴. The OSC was established by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports with the help of various international organizations such as the Aga Kahn Foundation, Official Development Assistance (ODA) and Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and introduced in 1994. Said (2003) argues that it has not been successful in preparing the Zanzibari pupils for study well using English as a LoI. The other system was designed for talented children who did well in grade seven examinations and were selected to join special schools. It was a 3-7-4-2 system.

1.3.3 Background on the change of curriculum

In 2006, a new education policy was approved. The official background for the changes was an evaluation of the 1996 to 2006 Zanzibar Education Master Plan (ZEMAP) Midterm Review (2006), the Education for All (EFA) Assessment (2000) and the Zanzibar Education Sector Review (2003) at the Ministry of Education (MoE), Culture and Sports (MECS) in 2003, which in turn initiated several studies. These concluded that while the educational system had achieved a number of successes, it still had unresolved problems associated with poor quality of teachers, unmanageable class size and inadequate teaching aids and facilities (MECS, 2005) which necessitated reforms. A new educational policy, entitled “Zanzibar

¹² Two councils and two boards were formed with seven sections, which deal with various matters concerning education.

¹³ One deputy minister deals with academics and the other with policy, planning, civil services and administration. A commission was created called the commission for education. There are eleven departments including one education and vocational training office in Pemba and an office of education, culture and sports in Pemba.

¹⁴ This class is also known as a “bridge year”, taking place after the last year of primary school and before starting Form one, the first year of secondary school.

Basic Education Improvement Project” (ZBEIP) a World Bank Group project was approved in 2007, as discussed in *paper III*.

The new policy instituted a system of 2-6-4-2-3+, comprising 2 years in pre-primary, 6 years in primary, 4 years in ordinary secondary, 2 years in advanced secondary, 3+ years of university and other higher learning institutions. The compulsory education includes the pre-primary education, which, together with primary and secondary grades adds up to a total of twelve years of compulsory education. The new education policy embraced the key objectives of access, equity and quality. The stated intention was:

- To enhance quality education in secondary school in order to reduce drop-outs.
- To reinforce local Islam-based culture, and to facilitate global integration through the increased use of English.
- To increase gender parity, since it has been achieved in primary education but not in secondary or in post-secondary, where the level of male enrolment has been much higher than that of females (Zanzibar Education policy, p.9)

The implementation of this policy, which began in 2010, has removed the OSC. Pupils who started Standard one in 2010 are expected to follow the new system of 2-6-4-2-3+.

In addition to the merging of the two educational tracks into one, other major changes in curriculum were written into policy. These include: (a) A reduction of the primary school education from 7 to 6 years; (b) A change of LoI from Kiswahili to English from Standard 5 in the subjects of Mathematics and Science; (c) Introduction of ICT, starting from Standard 5, taught in English; (d) Social studies to be split into three subjects: geography, civics and history from Standard 5; and (e) Continuing to teach Arabic from pre-primary to Standard 3. Other measures associated with the implementation of the policy are the preparation of syllabi, writing of textbooks and teacher training.

In 2010, Zanzibar began implementation of the new policy for Standard 1; however, the implementation for higher Standards will be phased in incrementally until 2015, when the policy is expected to be fully operational for all primary Standards.

1.4 Outline of Part I of the thesis

Part one consists of this introduction (section one). In section two, I undertake a literature review, which encompasses debates on choice of language, education and learning. In section three, I discuss the theoretical framework for the study. In section four, I present the research methodology. In section five, I give my main findings from the research and provide recommendations for policy as well as suggestions for further research.

2 Review of the literature on language policy in African education and its implications for quality learning and identity.

The analysis of the policy change addressed in this thesis builds on a solid foundation of evidence from Africa that learning in a local language is critical to quality learning and important in the reinforcement of cultural identity. In this section, I review and assess the literature on language, learning and identity in Africa. In the next section, I present the theoretical framework for the analysis of why Zanzibar ignored this evidence on the relationship between choice of LoI and quality learning and reversed its policy of using Kiswahili throughout primary education. The third section also provides literature and a theoretical framework for assessing the choice of LoI in a human rights perspective.

2.1 Language imperialism in Africa

In the 18th and 19th centuries, colonial linguists and missionaries recorded African languages and classified them into differing dialects (Prah, 2003; Makalela, 2005). In sub-Saharan Africa, African languages were either related to, or were derivatives of Bantu¹⁵. The shared communicative base was much broader than that assumed by missionaries and language scientists who have written about African languages from the 1830s to the present, for example, missionaries Isaac Hughes (1789-1870), who transcribed seTswana, and Andrew Spaarman (1747-1820) who transcribed isiXhosa in South Africa. These transcriptions led to the linguistic separation of these closely related languages. Leketi Makalela (2005, p. 151) calls this process the “de-Africanisation through displacement of African languages”. Furthermore he argues that “African languages are not so different as to impede communication, as it is canonically assumed” (2005, p. 166) and a harmonization, rather than a segmentation of languages ought to be made. However, he notes that:

¹⁵Kiswahili is a Bantu language, part of a group of African languages. The technical term Bantu, simply meaning "people", was first used by Wilhelm Heinrich Immanuel Bleek (1827–1875), as this is reflected in many of the languages of this group.

The notion of harmonisation is often misinterpreted to mean that some African languages will be killed and that people will lose their languages and identities... But as Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000) rightly put it, this process of harmonisation does not take anything away from the speakers, but rather adds... a core written Standard for literacy, which learners from different languages acquire at school while retaining their home or spoken varieties (2005, p. 168).

If local languages were harmonized, this would help to protect traditions through stories, myths, and songs as discussed in *papers I and II*. Languages with a colonial legacy, such as English, French, Portuguese and Spanish (to a smaller extent) continue to be used as official languages in many developing countries today. Africans were forced to use European languages, and this constituted a form for colonialization of the mind (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1993, 1994). English is a particularly powerful globalizing language that is influencing debates on choice of LoI in many developing countries. Ayo Bamgbose (2003, p. 421) notes that “language has a pecking order and English has the sharpest beak”. It carries with it a cultural context foreign to the local contexts for education (Bamgbose, *ibid*). The use of English embedded in education is a form for dependency (discussed in the next section) through the institution of European languages, metaphors and curricula. The historian from Burkina Faso, Joseph Ki-Zerbo (1990) describes in his book “Educate or Perish” how the colonialists replaced the African educational system with a system designed to serve European needs. In recent years, the use of English as a LoI in postcolonial countries has been a subject of debate and research. Many scholars argue that English intervention in learning promotes and prolongs neo-colonialism and that its expansion should be halted (Mulokozi, 1990; Lwaitama & Rubagumya, 1990; Phillipson, 1992; Brock-Utne, 2000; Hassan, 2003; Mazrui, 2003; Qorro, 2004; Skutnabb-Kangas & Heugh, 2012).

Today, English is used as an official or semi-official language in over 60 countries in the world (Pennycook, 1994), and has a prominent place in a further 20. Globally, it is the main language of books, newspapers, airports and air-traffic control, international business and academic conferences, Science, technology, medicine, diplomacy, sports, international competitions, pop music and advertising (Mazrui, 1997, p. 36/37). Braj Kachru (1986, 1990) describes the spread of English as three concentric circles to explain how the language has been acquired and how it is used. The first inner circle represents its use as a mother tongue or/and a first language. The second circle comprises countries colonized by Britain where English is learned by non-native speakers as a second language in a multilingual setting, as is

the case in Tanzania. The outermost circle consists of countries which dedicate several years in primary and secondary education to the teaching of English as a foreign language, such as Norway and France. Some scholars, namely (Kadeghe, 2003) regard English as a valuable asset for global business and cross-cultural communication. Many language policy makers have adopted this view both in wealthy nations like the United States and Great Britain, where large amounts of 'foreign aid' moneys are spent on promoting English, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa where English is now often the sole official LoI at all levels of education (Mazrui, 2003). These perspectives ignore the issues of quality learning and cultural identity. Robert Phillipson (1992, 2000) argues that this increasing global influence of English constitutes "linguistic imperialism" and counterposes the preservation of native languages as "linguistic human rights" in line with Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) as discussed in *papers III and IV*.

2.2 Evidence that learning in an African language enhances knowledge acquisition and reinforces local identity

African linguists and educationalists such as Babs Fafunwa (1990); Mugyabuso M. Mulokozi (1991); Casimir Rubagumya, (1991); Zaline Roy-Campbell & Martha Qorro (1997); Justinian Galabawa (2002); Ali Mazrui (2003); Azaveli F. Lwaitama (2004); Ayo Bamgbose (2005); Maryam Ismael (2007), Mwajuma Vuzo (2009); Moshi Kimizi (2012), all argue for the advantages of the use of an African language as the LoI. Children taught in any of the language varieties similar to their mother tongue will have better learning comprehension than those taught in an adopted foreign language such as English, and, furthermore mother tongue education leads to more effective teaching of Sciences and Mathematics (Prophet and Dow, 1994; Mwinsheikhe 2002, 2003).

An effective language policy takes care that the languages taught in education reflect everyday communication patterns (Alidou, 2003). According to Brock-Utne (2002, p. 53), it would be demotivating for learners to learn how to read and write in languages that are neither promoted nor used as language in schools. Hardy (1931/132, p. 445 quoted in Brock-Utne, 2002, p. 53) writes that:

The European languages are said to have logic and a level of abstraction that the indigenous languages do not have...Of all the subjects taught in the indigenous schools that of the European language is the one which demands the most time, the most trouble, and which yields the least result.

Scholars such as Sunil Loona (1996); Azaveli F. Lwaitama & Rubagumya (1990); Zubeida Desai (2004); Bamgbose (2005); Kimmo Kosonen (2010); Kathleen Heugh (2011) all conclude from their research that learning in one's mother tongue allows for better learning of all subjects including the learning of a second language. The language that a child masters best is the language used at home and in the local surroundings. However, a choice of language for a local school is complicated by the fact that in many African contexts there are several languages used in the community. There is not always an obvious choice of local language and this has led to many local debates on whether one of the local languages should be used or whether a pan-African language such as Kiswahili should be used as a LoI. The cost of using multiple mother tongues in differing regions is high and there are also debates on whether this separation is feasible. I acknowledge the importance of this debate and the difficulties involved in the choice of a local or pan-African language, but derive from the literature that due to the fluency of Zanzibari and Tanzanians in general in Kiswahili, and because it is a locally constructed language that is related to the vast majority of East African languages, that it is an obvious choice for primary schooling in Zanzibar.

An important issue in choice of a local LoI such as Kiswahili is its reinforcement of local identity. Identity is strongly connected to parents' beliefs, to the language spoken at home and to local culture. The overwhelming message from research in Africa is that using a language that learners use in their everyday lives will improve learning and help to maintain the connection to the local cultural context. The use of a local language in education will contribute to literacy and strengthen cultural identity (Aikman, 1995; Alidou, 2009; Kimizi, 2012). According to Kimizi, the use of a local language as a teaching medium will also affect a child's self-esteem (Kimizi, 2012). This is further discussed in *papers I, II, III and IV*. The learning process can be done effectively only if a child feels that her or his identity is acknowledged. The best learning environment will be created when a child feels that their language has value. If the local language is rejected this is equivalent to the rejection of local identity. Research shows that this sense of rejection is affecting children's sense of identity in several African countries (Mazrui, 2003, Prah & Brock-Utne, 2009; Kimizi, 2012).

Many schools around the world use English as the LoI in the expectation that it will bring better academic success for their students. As Kathy Webley (2006, p. 1) states, “Yet it is now well established that when a child begins learning in his or her first language (also known as a home language or mother tongue) a child is more likely to succeed academically and is better able to learn an additional languages”. Webley, as well as several scholars in the study directed by Ouane and Glanz (2006) leave no doubt that the use of mother tongue facilitates the learning processes in schools.

Scholars such as Qorro (2003), confirm that there is a belief in Tanzania that learning in English will improve the learning of the language; however, she points out that the LoI has another important function, in that concepts are communicated to children in the language they understand best. Bamgbose’s (1976, 1984) study in Nigeria and Bunyi’s (1999) study in Kenya confirm this point, showing that when Science instruction was conducted primarily in English as opposed to a native tongue, students were unable to apply concepts they had learned in class to practical situations at home. Loona (1996, p. 3) reinforces the point on the power of local language to communicate concepts when he writes, “Learning a second language does not imply the development of a totally new perspective, but rather the expansion of perspectives that children already possess”. It is important to make the point that learning in a language and learning a language have two different functions, and to combine these functions will slow and possibly stop the process of learning (Qorro, 2004; Brock-Utne & Lwaitama, 2010) as discussed in *papers II and III*. This difference has to be understood and acknowledged in the curriculum.

2.3 The consequences of non-local Language of Instruction for social inequity

The LOITASA¹⁶ project, based at the University of Oslo, addressed the question of LoI and learning in Tanzania and South Africa. The project compared learning in classrooms that employ a familiar language versus those in which learning takes place in English. The results clearly demonstrated that not only does the use of Kiswahili improve teaching and learning, but also that it has significant subsidiary benefits for the society.

¹⁶Language Of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa (See www.loitasa.org).

In addition to the results from LOITASA and many other studies cited above that English as a LoI hinders educational development at the primary level, there is also evidence that it reinforces social inequity. A result of the transition to English LoI could be a diminution of “cultural capital” in poor and socially excluded groups (Bourdieu, 1977). According to Pierre Bourdieu (ibid) the ability to function well in school and in society will be dependent on certain surrounding factors such as parental education, the number of books in the home, the amount that a child is read to, and the amount that a child is talked to. Loona (1996, p. 6) writes “Children do not arrive at school with equal amounts of knowledge of the world... Differences in experiences in homes and in their daily lives can lead to some children having lesser or greater amounts of knowledge in some knowledge-domains than other children”. Language is used in the learning process inside and outside of the house. Children of elite parents are more likely to have access to English literature and films, and to have travelled, and thus to have been exposed to the use of English in differing contexts. Therefore the use of English as LoI gives advantages to elite families and reinforces disadvantages for others. In effect, the skewed cultural capital will be reinforced and institutionalized in the education system (Loona, 1996; Bourdieu, 1977). As discussed above, cultural context is crucial for learning; however today, the classroom education does not take advantage of the immense learning opportunities available at home, in communities and in workplaces (Samoff, 1999; Erstad et al, 2009; Geo-JaJa & Azaiki, 2010) as discussed in *papers I and IV*.

Martin Carnoy (2007, p. 95) argues, “How much pupils learn in school depends greatly on what concepts they are exposed to, how much time they spend studying these concepts, and how effective their teachers are in communicating them”. A review undertaken by a joint research team from UNESCO and the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) concluded that the interconnectedness between language, communication and effective teaching and learning is generally misunderstood outside expert circles (Ouane and Glanz, 2011). Using a foreign language as a LoI makes the language a barrier rather than an aid for both teachers and students.

James Cooke and Eddie Williams (2002) cite numerous studies (Nkamba & Kanyika, 1998; Williams, 1996; Machingaidze et al., 1998; Nassor & Mohammed, 1998) conducted in several African countries to show that "the vast majority of primary school pupils cannot read adequately in English, the sole official language of instruction" (p. 307). Cooke and Williams go on to state, “If children in developing countries have little exposure to the LoI outside the

school, and if teaching the LoI is ineffective inside the school, then low-quality education is inevitable" (ibid, p. 313). As the majority of these students leave school with no literacy and a low competence with a language they use very little outside the classroom, to propose that receiving their education in English disadvantages them is a severe understatement.

English language education is put further into question when examining the inequities it perpetuates between its immediate benefactors (the relatively wealthy) and those for whom it has no practical use (the severely impoverished). In addition to possessing the means to access larger markets and coveted white-collar jobs, the relatively wealthy urban groups also have better educational opportunities leading to greater levels of English proficiency than the more disadvantaged urban and rural poor are able to acquire. English then becomes an upper-class language, which the poor hold in great esteem but cannot effectively access because of the low quality of their education and their disadvantaged economic status.

2.4 Summary

Qorro (2003) argues that the use of local languages in Africa is the only way to provide a basis for local development on African terms. This is supported by many studies cited above, including the African scholars Rubagumya (2000), Senkoro (2004), Galabawa & Lwaitama, (2005), Ismael (2007), Vuzo (2009), and Kimizi (2012). Based on overwhelming evidence on the importance of using a local language in order to achieve quality learning, reinforce local cultural values and make possible development on local terms, the intriguing question arises as to why Zanzibar has reversed the Tanzanian policy and decided to institute English as the LoI for Science and Mathematics from Standard 5.

3 Theoretical approaches and conceptual framework

The central question that is addressed in the papers assembled for this thesis is why Zanzibar has decided to replace Kiswahili with English as a LoI in Mathematics and Science subjects from Standard 5. This replacement of Kiswahili with English neglects the overwhelming authoritative evidence that children learn better in a local language, reviewed in the previous section.

In framing the theory for analyzing the question of why an African language, Kiswahili is being replaced with English as LoI, I have drawn theoretical inspiration from dependency theory and the world-systems analysis¹⁷ which is multidisciplinary, macro-scale approaches to social analysis and social change developed, among others, by scholars such as Andre Gunder Frank (1966) and Immanuel Wallerstein (1974). I have also drawn on Johan Galtung's (1971) related theory of imperialism, as well as other proponents of this line of thinking, including Alamin Mazrui (1997) and Yash Tandon (2008). Another important theoretical line of inquiry draws on the theory of implementation of curriculum reforms developed by John M. Rogan and Diane J. Grayson (2003), as well as the work of several scholars who have studied the implementation of educational reforms in various African countries (Ishumi, 1985; Psacharopoulos, 1989; Fullan, 1991; Dyer, 1999; Geo-JaJa & Mangum, 2001; O'Sullivan, 2002; Samoff, 2007, Geo-JaJa & Azaiki, 2010). Related theories on the marketization of education as commodification have also been important to the analysis (Carnoy, 1999; Geo-JaJa & Yang, 2003; Samoff, 2007; Armove, 2012; Carney et al., 2012).

Theoretical perspectives on learning and the culture-enabling role of education proposed by Julius K. Nyerere (1968), Paulo Freire (1970) and Amartya Sen (1999) have allowed the aspects of the study which deal with language, identity and capacity to develop. Each of these

¹⁷ Wallerstein (1997, p.4) is careful to note that "World-systems analysis is not a theory but a protest against neglected issues and deceptive epistemologies...It is a call for intellectual change, indeed for 'unthinking' the premises of nineteenth-century social Science...It is an intellectual task that has to be a political task as well, because...I insist... the search for the true and the search for the good is but a single quest" (quoted by Armove, 2009, p. 115)

emphasize in their own way the importance of drawing on local knowledge and local culture in both education and development strategies. These perspectives on the importance of culturally-grounded education, taken together with the evidence presented in the previous section on the links between local LoI and quality learning, together form a basis for the critique of the changes in Zanzibar's curriculum and for developing the argument that using a non-local LoI in primary education is a violation of children's rights in education. In making this human rights argument I draw on Sen's capability approach and Katrine Tomasevski and Ingrid Robeyns's work on the rights-based approach which makes the claim that every child has a right to a quality education. The implications of Zanzibar's choice of a non-local LoI for children's empowerment, their capacity to contribute to Zanzibari (as well as African) development and for their rights to quality education constitute the theoretical core of *papers I, II, III and IV*, which conclude that teaching in a foreign language violates the rights of access of children to quality learning and inhibits their capacity to contribute to African development.

3.1 The choice of a non-local language of instruction in the context of dependent development

Colonial and post-World War II development have promulgated an educational framework for many African countries in which a language of the metropolitan center of the world-system, English, has become the LoI in primary education. In effect, the colonial mind embedded in African education has been perpetuated under the guise of international development. Education has been an export commodity from the center and is accepted in Africa as a result of Western-based ideas of what it means to develop. Dependency theory provides an explanation for this acceptance of Western ideas and practices, and has been important to understanding why the Zanzibari government has reversed its LoI policy for primary schools.

Economists Raul Prebisch and Hans Singer were among the founders of dependency theory in the late 1950s, under the guidance of the Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (Ferraro, 1996). They argued that imbalanced economic power put many developing countries at a disadvantage in their interactions with developed countries (ibid). These standpoints are discussed in *paper I*. Frank (1966), one of the earliest dependency theorists, built on the work of Singer and Prebisch, arguing that an adequate theory

of development is not possible without accounting for how past economic and social history gave rise to present underdevelopment. Furthermore Frank (1966, p. 27) claimed that “our ignorance of the underdeveloped countries’ history leads us to assume that their past and indeed their present resembles earlier stages of the history of the now developed countries”. For further development of these points refer to *paper I*. For the dependency theorists, underdevelopment is a wholly negative condition, which offers no possibility of sustained and autonomous economic activity in a dependent state.

Frank (1966, p. 27) argues that “economic development was neither self-generating nor self-perpetuating” in Africa. I develop the implications for Tanzania of this point in *paper I*. In line with Frank, Wallerstein (1974, 1980) elaborated dependency theory into a global system through his world-systems analysis. Wallerstein was engaged in an attempt to explain how development through global power structures favored the developed centers and why developing countries accepted prescriptions for development that lead to dependent relationships. Wallerstein’s analysis provided a model for understanding the change in the interlocking global system after War World II. He writes of how rich nations of the world (core countries) have forced disadvantageous trade relationships on the poor (the periphery) - what he refers to as ‘unequal exchange’, and points out that these have been mainly advantageous for them. The influence of this power of unequal exchange in language in education is demonstrated in *papers I and II*.

Galtung’s (1971) theory of imperialism also recognizes the power imbalances in inter-global relationships and divides the world into dominant centers and dependent peripheries. He proposes that socio-economic development in periphery nations is heavily affected by their dependence relationship with the center nations (United States and United Kingdom). Alastair Pennycook (1994) analyzes the spread of English using Galtung's (1971) concept of center and periphery. He makes the point that those who are in power in the periphery have strong links with the center since most of them have either been educated in the countries of the center or through one of the languages of the center. Applying these dependency-related theories to Zanzibar (Tanzania) and other African countries, the colonial and post-War development heritage has promulgated a framework of dependent education in which English has infiltrated African educational systems. After decades of exposure to the fallacies of this acquiescence to globalizing English, many developing countries have made efforts to opt out of dependent relationships. However, the notions of progress, advancement and development

that characterized development theory and practices continue to influence African political choices, including those made in the domain of language choice for education. Furthermore, as Cooke & Williams (2002) write "Far from being a source of unity, the use of English in education in many poor countries has become a source of national disunity" (p. 314) and "the use of English to achieve development has significantly contributed to the socioeconomic and political instability of most African countries" (ibid, p. 315). Thus, the popular notion that the promotion of English as the official language of education creates national unity in developing countries is an illusion. While English may indeed have a beneficial role to play in the overall economic and societal development of developing countries, it should not be assumed that English is the solution to any developmental needs. Nor should it be promoted at the expense of much needed language education at the local level (Bruthiaux, 2002).

Language dependency has been perpetuated through development aid subsidies and donations (Samoff, 1999; Geo-JaJa & Azaiki, 2010), offered in the form of scholarships, courses, training, as well as through research cooperation, promotion of textbooks, gifts of books, supplying of teachers and supplying experts in curriculum development and advisory work as discussed in *paper I*. Several examples of how the World Bank Group financial support has been directed towards consolidating European languages in Africa (Mazrui, 1997; Brock-Utne, 2000; Prah, 2003). In the case of Zanzibar, Britain and the USA have provided gifts of books and experts in curriculum as discussed in *papers III and IV*. This type of aid paves the way for intellectual and economic dependence (Buchert, 1994; Mazrui, 2003a).

According to Mazrui (1997, p. 45) "the World Bank and the IMF naturally have a vested interest in this interplay between linguistics and economics". He (ibid) argues that "imperialist control can also be approached from the point of view of language, not as a reservoir of culturally-bound world views, but as an instrument for the communication of ideas" (see paper I). The World Bank Group must acknowledge and account for the failures of development of the post-WWII period. According to Tandon, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has been equally ineffective and "most developing countries do not need it any more" (2008, p. 121). He goes on to claim that IMF's credibility is at its lowest point and that it has "little expertise" as a development institution (2008, p. 121). This claim is further discussed in *papers I & III*.

Tandon (2008) argues that for development to be successful, it must be on the terms of the developing country. Development is "self-defined; it cannot be defined by

outsiders...development is a process of self-empowerment...development is a long process of struggle for liberation from structures of domination and control, including mental constructs and the use of language” (ibid, p. 12-13). This is in opposition to the Western concept of development, which is generally seen as a process of changing, or converting local institutions and values to match those of the West. Furthermore Tandon (2008) claims that it is important to distil from the imperially imposed system of values those which are indeed universal, and recognized in all cultures and civilizations, though in different forms and spiritual languages. There are aspects of cultural values that acquire universal validity and recognition through multicultural interaction and mutual learning in which no culture is superior to others, as discussed in *papers I, II, III and IV*. The imperial project that seeks to impose nationally or regionally specific values, and the thinking of the donors to serve imperial interests, must be distinguished from this broader historical vision. There are good reasons for questioning the true interests and intentions of developed countries in development aid (see *paper I*). In line with Tandon’s arguments, development is Africa’s responsibility and not that of the donors. A new mind-set is needed in which local knowledge and local languages are privileged in development projects.

The changes forced on Africa in the 1980s had dramatic consequences for Tanzania. Liberalization of primary schools began in Tanzania from the mid-1990s and continues today:

Education and Training Policy in 1995 stipulates that all levels of education are open to private actors. From that date, the increase in English-medium primary schools has been spectacular...Tanzania was forced by the World Bank and the IMF into structural adjustment measures like cutting down on public expenditures, including the education sector, the opening up of private schools and the liberalisation of the text-book market (Brock-Utne, 2005, p. 73).

Critics of development aid emphasize the importance of rethinking development and changing educational policies in order to take account of local curriculum with local values, local culture and local languages. This argument is highly relevant for explaining, and restraining, globalizing ideas about education (1980). Furthermore Arnove argues “to take up world-systems analysis as the necessary framework for understanding educational trends around the world, from curriculum reform to the language of instruction and the outcomes of school expansion” (Arnove, 2009, p. 102).

3.2 Development and marketization of education

Education and its globalizing languages have become export commodities from the center. These were readily accepted in Africa due to embedded local associations between development and inculcation of Western ideas of education and development, as discussed in *paper I*. As intimated above, the unequal exchange postulated by dependency and world-systems theories for commodities and trade relationships is highly relevant for understanding the Western influence on African languages and education. Facilitation of the English language in African education provides wealthy “core” societies such as the United States and Britain with a means to exert influence on “peripheral” societies such as Zanzibar. Frank’s (1966) observation is highly relevant to the language debate: generations of scholars from developing countries “face the task of changing this no longer acceptable process of eliminating the miserable reality...by importing sterile stereotypes from the metropolis which do not correspond to their satellite economic reality and do not respond to their liberating political needs” (p. 37). The export of English as LoI is a classic example of a sterile stereotype that does not respond to local needs. This is explored and argued in papers *II, III and IV*.

Mazrui (2002) argues that English (and other European languages in Africa) continue to mesmerize African policy makers. The consequence is that learning continues to be based on Western concepts and thinking, which reinforces the cycle of dependency. Thus, almost all educational policy formulations (which include the role of language in education policies) in the periphery nations emanate from the center nations. Learning continues to be based on Western concepts and thinking, which reinforces dependency (Mazrui, 2003). In *paper II*, I show how the choice of English in education is associated with modernization by both policy makers and the parents of school-aged children. Policy makers rationalize the change of LoI by arguing that they are acquiescing to the demands of parents, who believe that learning in English will equip their children with the capacity to find work in the globalized economy. In Zanzibar, when it comes to choice of LoI, myths such as this one affect both parents and educationalists. They foster the misunderstanding that learning in English will improve English skills without having negative consequences for learning capacity. The work of Roy-Campbell & Qorro (1997) shows that if the LoI is not a language used in everyday life, the ability to develop new perspectives will be inhibited (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Lwaitama,

2004; Kosonen, 2010). In *papers II and III*, I examine how these misplaced beliefs about LoI legitimize the choice of English in Zanzibar.

Another globalizing trend is the marketization of education, manifested in various ways. According to Arnove (2003, 2012), the importation of Western languages and curriculum place emphasis on a homogeneous national curriculum and high-stakes Standardized tests fail to account for the variety of abilities and talent students possess, as discussed in *paper IV*. Stephen Carney et al. (2012) highlight the worldwide dissemination of “progressive” policies such as Standardized curricula, decentralization, devolution and privatization of schools, national educational assessment and internationalization testing, evidence-based education policy, global education policies and practices which became “rationalized myths” (p. 381). The use of English as LoI could also lead to an increase in after school tutoring, which is costly and only affordable to middle and upper income families (see *papers II and III*). According to Bourdieu (1977, p. 89) “the unequal likelihood of extra-curricular work among the different categories of students” can explain why some students do better than others in schoolwork. David P. Baker and Gerald K. LeTendre’s (2005) discuss the emergence of private tutoring as discussed in *paper III*, known as “shadow education” which improves children’s performance within schools, increases academics’ competitiveness, diversifies education opportunities, opens new avenues for peer socialization, and channels private funding to public schools (Carney et al., 2012, p. 382-383).

Children whose parents can afford to pay are more likely to be successful in school and to be rewarded by performing better on tests and other forms of evaluation. Carney et al. (2012, p. 383) discuss the “effect of private tutoring for social stratification, corruption within the educational systems, distortion of mainstream curricula, and deterioration of children’s living conditions due to academic stress”. Furthermore Iveta Silova (2010) points to the increasing inequalities resulting from the hidden privatization of public education on children, families, and societies. Mori and Baker (2010, p. 46) argues that “shadow education can be shown to corrupt the quality and goals of public schooling” and warns that policy makers and education analysts “can easily go astray in interpreting trends in schools...from a purely local or national perspective” (Baker, 2009, p. 961). Consequently, what is often missed in policy makers’ calculations is the common and deeper cultural forces at work behind the peculiar characteristic of a specific problem at a particular time and place. There are a number of cases where the ignorance of these deeper forces has led to surprisingly unsuccessful policy

implementation (Carney et al. 2012, p. 385). They also contribute to what Carney et al. (ibid) describe as “the ‘myth’ of progress” which “seeks inadvertently to re-enchant the world through universal appeals to a normative conception of progress through schooling”. Embedded in these ideas of educational progress are market principles such as efficiency, competition and quantification which Martin Carnoy (1999), Joel Samoff (1999), Rubagumya (2003), Macleans A. Geo-JaJa & Steve Azaiki (2010) write are characteristics of the commodification of education as discussed in *paper I*. Grazia Scoppo (2002) broadens this ‘marketization’ to embrace this assumption that customers, meaning the students and their parents, are the best judges of the value of services rendered and that they should be given the choice among competing institutions (in areas where there are more than one institution). English LoI is commodified and sold as a valuable tool for achieving economic success; however, according to Qorro (2005) in most cases this expectation of added value is an illusion. Furthermore she argues that even with an education, very few people in these societies have the means to access the white-collar jobs or larger markets that require any knowledge of English at all (see *paper II*). The majority of the poor instead participate in their local, informal economies, which can involve 50% of the labor force and account for 40% of the gross domestic product (GDP) in underdeveloped countries (Bruthiaux, 2002, p. 280). English is virtually unused in this massive informal sector, diminishing the economic value of English LoI.

These ideas of English supremacy and commodification of education are moving with development and through other forms of global interaction. Mazrui, (2002), Samoff (2007), Geo-JaJa & Azaiki (2010) demonstrate that intellectual and scholarly dependency in Africa still exists (discussed in *paper I*).

3.3 Implementation of curriculum reforms

In the past few decades, most of sub-Saharan African countries have experienced educational reforms, particularly development of new curricula (Chisholm and Leyendecker, 2008). The implementations have not always been suited to the realities, even if the policies were well thought out. Rogan and Grayson (2003) describe the theory of implementation on three main constructs: the nature of support from both national and international institutions, including the Department of Education, local NGOs and international development agencies as discussed in *papers I and II*; the capacity of the school system (teachers, support materials

and infrastructure) to support the innovation as discussed in *papers III and IV*; and the profile of implementation, including the plan for making the transformation from the old to the new curriculum as discussed in *paper III*.

Curriculum changes which do not prioritize contextual and material support are likely to have poor outcomes (Rogan and Grayson, 2003). Many scholars such as Psacharopoulos (1989), Fullan (1991), Haddad (1995), Dyer (1999), O'Sullivan (2002), Higgins (2004) have looked at reforms in developing countries and concluded that the reforms were rarely effectively implemented and often failed to achieve their objectives. Many mistakes in African implementation get repeated because governments model their changes on previous, faulty changes (see *papers III and IV*). Cumulative and comparative research knowledge and experiences could be used to describe the successes and failures of implementation and contribute to improvements in new efforts. Dyer (1999) argues that the focus in curriculum changes has been on the reforms and not on the implementation process. There is an urgent need to give the process more attention so that methods can be developed to address them. It is obvious that when the changes are not well planned and structured, it will bring strong resistance and unexpected outcomes (Dyer, 1999). In order to adequately implement a new curriculum the focus should be on "how" but most often it is on "what" (Haddad, 1995; Rogan, 2007). Ward Heneveld and Helen Craig (1996) argue that in order to succeed with implementation, the policy makers and planners must take the school realities into account.

Verspoor & Wu (1990), in line with De Feiter et al. (1995) propose a comprehensive model, including accounting for factors related to teachers and their capacities, but this model has been neglected several stages in the planning of the implementation in Zanzibar. A comprehensive approach as discussed in *paper I* can serve as a model to resolve the complexities of moving towards robust educational systems. Attention to the local context is crucial. I have argued in all of the papers that policy makers did not take the language context into consideration in Zanzibar, where English is a foreign language and Kiswahili is the language mastered by all the Zanzibari. The changes in the classroom cannot succeed if the teachers are not involved in the design of the implementation process. Teacher involvement has been underestimated in Africa and this is part of the reason behind a neglect of the problem of teacher competence in English (Qorro, 2003). I have pointed out that this is a major problem in Zanzibar. A number of studies (Lwaitama & Rubagumya, 1990; Ouane, 1990; Heugh, 2004) have analyzed the causes of poor quality learning and they all highlighted

the lack of qualified teachers (especially in rural areas), inadequate planning of head teachers and teachers, large classes, as well as lack of material and absenteeism of teachers and head teachers (Babaci-Wilhite, 2010; 2012).

3.4 Education for self-reliance and liberation

Nyerere provided an alternative to the modernist vision for development in his Arusha Declaration of 1967. Nyerere's theory of self-reliance was developed and applied in Tanzania in the 1960s and 1970s. As outlined above, his theory no longer governs educational policy in Tanzania, but I argue nevertheless that it has relevance today in Tanzania's efforts to achieve equal access and fairness in education. Nyerere's ideas on education for self-reliance for Tanzania not only provided a basis for true Tanzanian development but also provided a model for other countries in the South. Nyerere was an educational visionary who insisted on a rethinking of the relationship between general education and formal schooling. Nyerere wrote that:

We have not until now questioned the basic system of education which we took over at the time of Independence. We have never done that because we have never thought about education except in terms of obtaining teachers, engineers, administrators, etc. Individually and collectively we have in practice thought of education as training for the skills required to earn high salaries in the modern sector of our economy (Nyerere, 1968, p. 267).

His vision of integrating local development and local education was seen as a way of resolving many of the problems of colonization and one-way development. Designing education in a way that accounts for local culture, language and livelihoods would also bring autonomy and pride in the country. Nyerere (1968) was clear on the point that one country should not depend on another to educate its citizens. He advocated that the developing countries of the world should build their own school curricula. This freedom for Tanzania to define its own educational philosophy and system would help Tanzanians to achieve respect and freedom from repression. This would also inspire local pride and cultural learning. He wrote that "Colonial education in this country was therefore not transmitting the values and the knowledge of Tanzania society from one generation to the next" (1968, p. 47), discussed in *paper I*. To motivate the active mind, one has to take into consideration the variations in different societies, differences in knowledge and different ways of teaching to achieve quality education, in which language plays a crucial role. The knowledge one learns in school is only

one contribution to a complete education. Equally important is that educational curricula incorporate the country's own values and traditions. In historical and contemporary Africa, education is not seen as directed towards an economic outcome, but is viewed as a holistic experience that produces both individual and social persons.

Freire's (1970) theory on pedagogy is very relevant to education in the Tanzanian context today, as discussed in *papers I and II*. He raises questions about formal versus informal learning and the role of schooling in education. Furthermore Freire's theories articulate the intimate relationship between education and development, particularly the connection between individual empowerment and democratic ideals, where people use their education to critically analyze and change their conditions. Arnove et al. (2003, p. 329) suggest that Freire's ideas on literacy campaigns and popular education programs be put in place in order to "1) increase access to schooling, 2) democratize school administration, 3) improve instructional quality, 4) expand educational opportunity for working youths and adults, and 5) contribute to the formation of critical and responsible citizens" (2003, P. 329). Lindquist Wong's (1995, quoted in Arnove et al., 2003) overall assessment is that the model of educational reform during Freire's administration was one of the most successful in terms of its process and outcomes because the state and the civil society worked in tandem rather than in opposition. Ira Shor & Freire (1987, p. 2) formulated Freire's conceptualization of education this way: "teaching in a classroom is a very practical activity, even though everything touched on in the classroom is the tip of a theoretical iceberg". The curriculum should aim at furthering local knowledge and reducing the hierarchical nature of teaching. If true openness to knowledge is to be achieved, the idea of the teacher-knows-best and the submissive student must be abandoned. Freire further argues that:

The teacher talks about reality as if it was motionless, static, compartmentalized, and predictable...his task is to "fill" the students with the contents of his narration totality that engendered them and could give them significance. Words are emptied of their concreteness and become a hollow, and alienated verbosity (1993, p. 52).

It is important to impart knowledge in ways that inspire freethinking and empower students. Having students only memorize information by heart in a foreign language should not be the basis for a curriculum. As formulated by Freire (1993, p. 60) "Liberating education consists in acts of cognition, not transfers of information". Every society should liberate its educational system, not by transferring knowledge but by inspiring people to think of ways to achieve a

better life. Even though education encompasses much more than schooling, schooling is nonetheless central to knowledge acquisition and primary schooling was formally accepted as a human right more than 50 years ago (Colclough, 1993). The lives of adults and children everywhere revolve around the school. Noel F. McGinn (1997) argues that teachers and principals should be given more control in curriculum development since learning takes place in schools. This is not the case in Zanzibar as discussed in *papers III and IV*. In most cases “Knowledge is produced in a place far from the students” (Shor & Freire, 1987, p. 8) and students are used to the transfer-of-knowledge with an “official curriculum that asks them to submit to texts, lecture, and tests, to habituate themselves to submitting to authority” (Shor & Freire, 1987, p. 11). Non-local curricula tend to have similar content and structure as discussed in *paper IV*. According to Samoff (2007, p. 60) “effective education reform requires agendas and initiatives with strong local roots”. In studying the ways a curriculum engages with global and local knowledge, John W. Meyer’s (1971, 1992) argument is relevant: an educational curriculum is a global, modernizing institution which expresses an increasingly global culture that is largely independent of national policy. Along the same lines, Michael Young (2008) argues that all too often, curriculum is responding to external political and economic forces rather than to the internal conditions for knowledge acquisition. These theories of Freire, Nyerere, Meyer and Young address “what kinds of knowledge should be the basis of the curriculum and how they can be made accessible to the majority of students” (Young, 2008, p. 11). These perspectives were important in analyzing changes in teaching and learning in Zanzibar. Every continent seems to adapt their education to their cultural context, except Africa, which is still using European languages and European curricula in most of the continent. The teaching of local values and culture can best be facilitated in a dialogue between teacher and students, which is not the case if an unfamiliar language is used in school, as demonstrated in *paper IV*.

3.4.1 Capability approach to development and education

As emphasized in the discussion thus far, the curriculum changes proposed in Zanzibar are grounded in a Western-centered development model for Africa. As discussed in *paper IV*, Sen (1999) argues for a human capability approach to human development and argues that education is essential to the development of children’s capability to engage with their local societies and with the challenges of global integration. Capabilities are based on the functions of doing and being. However, Sen (*ibid*) argues that various functioning outcomes and

achievements exist in a broader normative framework for the evaluation and assessment of the well-being of individuals. The capability approach also provides the possibility to evaluate the importance of education, the design of policies, and proposals about the relationship between formal learning and social change, as well as several aspects of people's well-being such as inequality and poverty. Sen (ibid in line with Nussbaum (1998) argues that a good and just society should expand people's capabilities (see *paper IV*). According to Jean Dreze & Sen (2002) "Education is important in the capability approach for both intrinsic and instrumental reasons"; thus the capability approach acknowledges the multiple roles and functions of education in society. Being knowledgeable and having access to an education that allows a person to flourish is generally argued to be a valuable capability (Alkire, 2002; Nussbaum, 2003; Sen, 2004; Unterhalter, 2003; Robeyns, 2005) and can be crucial for the expansion of other capabilities. Furthermore Geo-JaJa (2011) argues that applying a capability approach to rights in education will expand freedoms of choice and voice in order to stimulate full participation in community decisions. An alternative approach to education aimed at capacity development is described by Geo-JaJa and Azaiki (2010): "In combining different delivery mixes and methodologies, it ensures agency and well-being among the poor and in local institutions; it creates capabilities to improve livelihood functions". This comprehensive approach to education will provide the people with the capacity to develop and contribute to society (Nyerere, 1968; Sen, 1999, 2004; Nussbaum, 2011).

3.5 The rights-based approach to Language of Instruction

Article 26 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (1948) states that everyone has the rights to education. It says little about the nature, kind and quality of education. This thesis brings to the discussion of educational rights the notion of rights in education, which implies that rights are not ensured unless the education offered is of high quality.

Rights and capabilities are often discussed as multi-dimensional models, which can be seen as comprehensive models. As discussed in *paper IV*, the UN called for a mainstreaming of human rights to encourage the government's responsibility to insure the rights-based approach. A right-based approach works to shift the paradigm away from aid and towards moral duty imposed on the world through the international consensus of human rights. The rights-based framework includes the principle that every human being is entitled to decent

education and gives priority to the intrinsic importance of education, implying that governments need to mobilize the resources to offer quality education (UNICEF, 2003, p. 8). Tomasevski (2003) advocates that education should prepare learners for participation: “it should teach the young that all human beings – themselves included – have rights” (2003, p. 33). However, Robeyns (2006) claims that the rights-based discourse runs the risk of reducing rights to legal rights only. She points to Thomas Pogge (2002, p. 52-53) who argues that human rights can be understood as moral rights or as legal rights, that in principal, can co-exist and can be complementary. However he writes that a weakness of this inclusive view is that human rights are whatever governments agree for them to be. Robeyns (2006) argues “the rights-based approach model of education is that, once the government agrees that children should have the rights to be educated, it may see its task as being precisely executing this agreement, and nothing more”. Furthermore she claims that “well-developed rights-based educational policies will state precisely which rights are guaranteed to whom, and what the government has to do to ensure that rights are not only rhetorical, but also effective” (ibid, p. 77). Education has the potential to empower if teaching and learning give nourishment and self-respect that in turn bring confidence to teachers and learners. *Paper IV* shows that the opposite could develop within the new curriculum in Zanzibar. I agree with Robeyns (ibid, p. 77) when she writes that “It will be necessary that the government goes beyond its duties in terms of the rights-based policies, to undertake action to ensure that every child can fully and equally enjoy her rights to education” which implies that teachers are well-trained and well-paid, and teaching material is provided and a good curriculum and pedagogy is developed.

As argued in all papers, and reviewed in the previous section, the choice of the LoI is crucial for learning. Language plays a critical role in cognitive learning and in the development of logic, reason, critical thinking and new knowledge (Lwaitama, 2004; Geo-JaJa, 2006; Bostad, 2012). I have examined in *paper IV* whether the change to English as a LoI in the new primary curriculum of Zanzibar will truly fulfill the intentions of the human rights perspective, and advance the quality of teaching and learning. UNESCO’s convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions emphasizes the importance of linguistic diversity (2005), as discussed in paper IV. Local language should be seen as an intimate part of culture and thus should be designated as a human right in the education sector (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000); see *papers I, III and IV*. Applying the arguments on quality learning and capability approach, education in a local language should be regarded as a human right.

As discussed in *paper IV*, reforms and policies connecting local cultures to education have been neglected in Africa. According to Samoff (2007, p. 60) “effective education reform requires agendas and initiatives with strong local roots”. In other words, indigenous knowledge should be included in the curriculum (Odora, 2002; Semali, 2009; Breidlid, 2009), and indigenous language is critical to the preservation and development of indigenous knowledge as discussed in *paper I*.

Africa will not achieve human rights in education until and unless it acknowledges that local language, identity and culture are to be respected and fulfilled in local curriculum.

3.6 Summary

The central theoretical focus in the study has been on the explanatory power of theories related to development, modernization and human rights to explore the change in LoI and its consequences. The theoretical framework incorporates the importance of local context, using a local language and emphasizing the development of local capacity on local terms. Such a multiple approach emphasizes the importance of indigenous concepts, articulated in their natural environment. Any local curriculum that ignores local languages and contexts risks a loss of learning quality and a violation of children’s rights in education.

4 Research Methodology

The purpose of this section is to make more explicit the methodological approach to the study of the curriculum change in Zanzibar. As will be elaborated below, the centerpiece of the methodology is a case study. In this section I will explain the various stages of the case study and how they relate to the four articles.

4.1 The case study

The case study encompassed several field visits to Zanzibar, interviews with government officials and educational policy makers as well as with teachers and head teachers in four schools. Meredith Gall et al. (2007, p. 447) note that a case study “is an in-depth study of one or more instances of a phenomenon in its real life context that reflects the perspective of the participants involved in the phenomenon”. Furthermore Gary Anderson & Nancy Arsenault (1993, p. 152-160) conceive case studies as primarily engaged with how and why things happen, and as a consequence, give room to examine the realities regarding an event, process or problem about the case. Therefore, case studies are useful not only when the researcher intends to answer “how” and “why” questions but also when the aim is to study “cases” or units of analysis which are already known but where there is a need for explanation of the phenomenon or event (Yin, 2003, p. 6). The case study approach enabled me to gain an immediate and local meaning of the change of curriculum as defined from the points of view of relevant actors (Yin, *ibid*). However, I was aware of the fact that the case study approach would limit my ability to generalize the results, either directly or by implication; one cannot assume that any case is typical of other cases. Nevertheless, the insights gained in case studies such as this one can have an influence on educational policy, practice, and future research (Merriam, 1988).

This case study is based on multiple sources of evidence, with data converging in a triangulating fashion. It benefits from the prior development of the theoretical propositions that have served as a guide for data collection and analysis. One of the strengths of the case study method is precisely that converging lines of inquiry can be developed (Yin, 2009, p. 115). The procedure of triangulation is employed in order to reduce the likelihood of misinterpreting the information collected using any single methodological tool (Bryman, 2004). Basically, triangulation increases the validity of the results (Yin, *ibid*, p. 116). The

multiple methods used in this case study are interviews with key actors, classroom observation, document analysis and repeated visits to Zanzibar to gauge the progress of the preparation for the curriculum implementation. The analysis is built on gathering and interpreting respondents' experiences and their views of the challenges in learning, understanding and teaching English. It has provided an opportunity to explore key actors' insights and opinions on the change of curriculum and more specifically on the change of LoI from Kiswahili to English for certain subjects in the final year of primary school. The case study method enabled a collection of in-depth and detailed information within the Zanzibar educational context. Exploring this context has raised issues related to research ethics (Bryman, 2004; Cozby, 2007). I will address these after detailing the field visits.

4.2 The field visits

The fieldwork was carried out in Stone Town and in rural Unguja, the main island of Zanzibar¹⁸. The government interviews with the MoEVT took place at their offices in Stone Town. This Ministry was also the source of important documentation on the curriculum change. The interviews and documents revealed that the reform was developed by a broad range of policy and educational experts, including the Director for Policy and Planning, the Director for Curriculum, the Directors for Primary and Secondary Education at the MoEVT, as well as tutors from the Education College and representatives of grassroots organizations such as parent-teacher committees. I conducted a number of interviews with educational policy makers and teacher trainers at the Training of Teachers College (T.o.T.), located at the new campus of the State University of Zanzibar (SUZA). The academics interviewed were from SUZA as well as the UNESCO office in Stone Town.

I prepared for the first exploratory field visit in November 2009 by reviewing available literature and documents relevant to the curriculum change. During this visit, I presented my research strategy to the MoEVT and they gave their approval. The Deputy Principal Secretary at the MoEVT was particularly interested in the project because he felt it would yield important information on the implementation of the new policy. Exploratory talks were set up with government officers who introduced me to the research context and provided important background information relevant to my research questions. I was able to develop a clear idea

¹⁸ Unguja and Pemba collectively are called Zanzibar.

on the rationale for the change and on the strategy for implementation. The MoEVT personnel also provided me with the names of potential interviewees at the T. o. T. College as well as an introduction to the head teachers of each school.

The second phase of research consisted of five visits to Zanzibar in the period from February 2010 to February 2012. These involved follow-up meetings at MoEVT and interviews and observations at the schools. I conducted interviews and follow up interviews with government officers, teachers, academics and NGO staff as well as with journalists. My visits also involved observation in classrooms. The spacing of the field visits over a period of almost 3 years allowed for an examination of the progress of the preparations for the implementation over time.

All of the participants who agreed to be interviewed did so with their free consent (Cozby, 2007). Steinar Kvale and Svend Brinkmann (2009) emphasize that one of the tasks in achieving informed consent is to explain the goals of the research in a way that the participants can understand. Following Kvale and Brinkmann (*ibid*), I have attempted to provide information to interviewees in such a way as to achieve a careful balance between detailed over-information and not providing enough information for subjects to grasp the significance of the study. In the situations in which I have observed activities in the classroom, I have asked for permission to do so. I also asked permission to take pictures.

4.3 Literature and Document review

A document review is important because literature, reports, statistics and written policies can contribute to the analysis by augmenting evidence from other sources (Yin, 2003). Important literature and documents relevant for this case study have been carefully analyzed. These include literature in the field of education and international development. Important documents reviewed include the Washington Consensus review, the United Nations, UNESCO and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) declarations, as well as other conventions concerning human rights and reports cited in *papers I and II*. The government reviews of education and curriculum in Zanzibar, which formed a basis for the change of curriculum, were important to the preparation of *papers III and IV*. I have made detailed review of the following policy documents on the curriculum change:

- The new Educational and Training policy that Zanzibar endorsed in 2006, based on an evaluation of the Zanzibar Education Master Plan (ZEMAP) for the years 1996 to 2006.
- The new education policy, entitled “Zanzibar basic education of improvement project” (ZABEIP).
- The SPINE¹⁹ Project.
- The consultancy report made by consultants from the University of Bristol that evaluated the OSC program, abolished in 2010.
- The Zanzibar Education Development Plan (ZEDP).

4.4 The interview samples and the selection process

I have interviewed 10 policy makers, 7 trainers of teachers, 14 NGOs staff and journalists, 7 academics, 4 head teachers and 45 teachers. In total there were *87 participants* and *159 interviews* (50 female and 37 male).

4.4.1 Policy-Makers

I interviewed a selection of policy makers who have been involved in one way or another with the curriculum change. Ten policy makers were interviewed from the MoEVT, the Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE) and the National Examination Council of Tanzania (NECTA) in Tanzania mainland. Some of the interviewees at the MoEVT agreed to return interviews. The government officer in charge of primary education facilitated my visit to the schools I intended to study in Zanzibar, which had been selected purposefully by a lecturer at SUZA. Four government officials involved in the language policy formulation process were interviewed during the first visits to Zanzibar. Two other institutions, TIE and NECTA, were crucial for the study since they provided me with information that proved to be significant,

¹⁹ Student Performance in National Examinations: A Bristol Based Project a study of children in sub-Saharan Africa who demonstrate their subject learning through formal examinations that are in English. In many of these contexts, the children learn Mathematics and Science and other school subjects through two languages, that is their first (home) language as well as their second language.

such as the work of the consultant involved in the evaluation of the studies of the OSC program.

4.4.2 Training of Teachers

Seven teacher-trainers were interviewed at the T. of T. College in order to explore their involvement in designing and implementing the new curriculum. Return interviews were done with all of the teacher trainers. Most of them were involved in the preparations for the curriculum change and had been involved in the SPINE project. An important point was to elicit their opinions on the training process. These interviews sharpened my understanding of the content of the new curriculum and the ways the implementation would be carried out.

4.4.3 Academics and educational officers

I interviewed a total of twenty-one academics and other educational officers. Of these, seven were lecturers at the SUZA and others were members of NGO and international agencies. Return interviews were conducted with four of SUZA lecturers. The educational officers and academics were chosen purposefully according to their fields. These interviews were informal and conversational, but they yielded valuable information (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009).

4.4.4 Selection of schools

The selection of the four schools in Zanzibar was done in collaboration with the MoEVT. Two schools were selected from urban areas (Stone Town) referred to as School Urban 1 (SU1) and School Urban 2 (SU2) and two from rural areas (one in the North and one in the South about 10 km from Stone Town) referred to as School Rural 1 (SR1) and School Rural 2 (SR2). The choice of rural and urban schools was made in order to detect differences attributable to the urban-rural divide. The selected schools have all been part of a program of literacy development in Zanzibar. One of them is an inclusive school (a school including pupils with disabilities) and another one has been a pilot school for the new policy. The schools agreed to participate actively in the study. In *Appendix 8*, I give an overview of numbers of students and Standards in each school. It should be noted that there is a decline in Standard 1 pupils for SU1 because the new curriculum made kindergarten compulsory. Some students have been placed in the new kindergarten class thus reducing the number of pupils in primary grades.

4.4.5 Teachers and Head Teachers

I interviewed the head teacher of each of the four schools and forty-five teachers of the subjects English, Mathematics, Science and Kiswahili. I conducted return interviews with some of them. Interviews were set up with each of the school's teachers and with a sample of sixteen teachers: four from each of the four schools, in four different subjects, Kiswahili, English, Mathematics and Science. The head teachers organized several group interviews with teachers from different levels. I interviewed Standard 1 teachers in 2010, Standard 2 teachers in 2011 and Standard 3 teachers in 2012. Communication has been maintained with the urban head teachers between the periods of fieldwork through emails. This communication has been important to the research because it kept the study in focus and facilitated preparation for my forthcoming visits (Silverman, 2011).

4.5 Conduct of the interviews

I developed several types of interview guides, one for government officials and training of teachers (see *Appendix 4*), one for teachers and head teachers (see *Appendix 5*) and I have asked many of the same questions of the academics in order to ensure consistency (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). The interview guide provided me with a framework for the interview, yet gave me the freedom to cover and explore new aspects of the subject. Translations of the interview guides into Kiswahili were made prior to the interview (see *Appendices 6 and 7*).

I began each interview by introducing myself, the project and my research aims. I then began with questions close to the informant's current experience and expertise (Patton, 2002), followed by questions eliciting greater detail (Brenner, 2006). The lecturer from SUZA who selected the schools accompanied me at some of the interviews. His introduction in Kiswahili made the informants comfortable, because he had worked with the schools earlier. In introducing the interview, I emphasized that the information was intended to be used to improve teaching and help children to learn better. I tried to be as neutral as possible towards the respondents' ideas and to encourage them to have the confidence to say what they truly meant (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Several of the teachers were interviewed more than once, because they moved from Standard 1 to Standard 2 and from Standard 2 to Standard 3. Teachers who did not move to Standard 2 were only interviewed once. The responses of teachers to interview questions during the first year and third year interviews were often very

different, and my assessment is that the responses during the latter interviews were more honest and more accurately reflected their views. This illustrates the importance of return visits for obtaining valid information.

Most of the interviews were recorded, and by recording them I captured details which were not obvious in the verbal exchange. The transcripts of the recorded semi-structured interviews were essential to the analysis because they provided nuances that did not come through from interviews recorded by hand. I did not digitally record interviews with the government officials. I wanted to insure that informants would not conceal information because of worries about having a recording of the interview. I often experienced that valuable information came out when the official interview was over and my notebook was set aside. Goffman (1959) points to the importance of this form for 'off stage' information, gathered when respondents relax and speak more freely.

I found that after I had established a sense of trust with teachers, several opened up and informed me that they did not feel prepared to start the implementation. They pointed to the lack of support in the form of books and other support materials, which they regarded as crucial to quality teaching and learning in accordance with the new curriculum. The trust and free flow of information with teachers could not have been achieved through the use of quantitative methods. Teachers also revealed their worries about the forthcoming exams, which will assess knowledge gathered through the new curriculum. The teachers were so concerned that they asked me to insist that the MoEVT deliver the needed books. I did this during my last visit.

I have categorized and tabulated some of the information collected from interviews in tables and graphs (See *Appendices 9 & 10*). This categorization and tabulation of the collected information from interviews was important to the analysis behind *papers II, III and IV*.

4.6 Observations

My observation of classroom activities and teacher-student interaction in the schools was crucial for my assessment of the achievement of quality learning through the classroom context. A distinction has to be drawn between participant and non-participant observation, with the differences elicited in what Atkinson and Hammersley (2008) suggest is a four-fold typology: complete observer, observer as participant, participant as observer and complete

participant. Moreover, it has been argued that all social research is a form of participant observation, since we cannot study the social world without being part of that world (Hammersley, *ibid*).

I gave particular attention to which language was used in various classroom situations and how this affected student interest, participation and comprehension. I made a note of the learning materials that were available in classrooms, the way they were being used, and how material resources affected the learning process. I observed the classroom conditions such as noise levels and physical conditions of the building and how these affected the teaching and the quality of the learning environment. These observations were very important to my analysis and gave me a holistic overview of the learning context. Among other important findings, the observation revealed that the teachers were heavily relying on the curriculum guidebook, often reading from it verbatim in order to ensure that they taught according to the new curriculum.

The times for observations were synchronized according to the Standard taught (i.e 1, 2, 3) as well as between the four schools, which had different teaching times, some conducted in the morning and others as afternoon sessions. Field notes were written and transcribed each day. These helped to ensure reliability by providing the opportunity to weigh the interview results against new insights and information gathered in informal settings (Patton, 2002). The combination of observations and interviews enabled me to achieve a detailed contextualization of the classroom interaction. The observation enabled me to understand more clearly that the language of interaction was not English. In most situations, teachers refused to answer my questions in English. They clearly preferred to express themselves in Kiswahili, and this included the English teachers.

4.7 Data analyses and interpretation procedure

As discussed above, a triangulation of different methods has been important to my analyses of the preparation for and implementation of the curriculum change. The interviews and the notes from observations were analyzed using coding, providing a basis for the comparison and interpretation of significant pieces of data (Silverman, 2011). Interview guides provided a framework for the interviews, but I also used them to sort out and categorize information, some of which is presented in tabular form (see *Appendix 9*). The tables and graphs

highlighted differences between urban and rural schools (see *Appendices 9 & 10*). The tabular analysis shows clearly that the teachers did not feel comfortable with the curriculum and they did not believe that the new curriculum will truly advance the quality of teaching and learning.

The sequence of visits over time has been crucial to developing analytical insights. The implementation of the curriculum change is a work in progress and the methodological lens has benefited from intervening at differing points in the process. It has also contributed to the differing perspectives in each article, which have been developed and sharpened through presentations of the material at conferences and through feedback from the blind peer review of the papers and articles.

4.8 Validity and Reliability

The aim of this study was to gather valid, contextually grounded knowledge. A problem with qualitative interviewing is the risk that people will not answer truthfully, but will rather give answers that put them in a good light or answer what they think the researcher will want to hear (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009); in order to correct for this, I have asked the same questions at differing times in the interviews using different wording (Silverman, 2011); for example, what do you think about this change? What should have been changed that was not changed? Was there a need to change the curriculum?

An important issue in securing validity is a well-prepared researcher (Kvale and Brinkmann, *ibid*). One of the issues I was careful about was grounding my research questions in current theory and previous results (Kirk and Miller, 1986). I was thoroughly prepared for the interviews, having put a lot of work into interview guides and into gaining familiarity with the contexts around the interview setting and the interview respondents. I have been very careful in the formulation of questions to ensure that interviewees understand what was being asked. I also discussed the interview questions to be addressed to teachers with my “non-formal” Norwegian Supervisors before departure and with lecturers at SUZA.

Triangulation contributes to the validity of findings. It is sometimes referred to as convergent validity (Brock-Utne, 1996). Bryman (2004) and Yin (2003) argue that keeping a record of all information that has been gathered contributes to the reliability of the research findings. In the case of my study, I have kept careful records of all interview transcripts, field notes and other

factual records (Silverman, 2011). I have classified the repetitions and emphasized them in my analysis.

Finally, using local sources of knowledge is important for achieving validity. Relying on African research, interviewing local academics and observing the local setting as was the case in this study gives, as Brock-Utne (1996, p. 608) writes, “legitimacy to the experiences of African researches as the most valid knowledge there is of African living and African education”.

4.9 Language issues in the field research

The interactions with local language instructors in schools turned out to be an important source of information on language issues in Tanzania. The lecturer of SUZA who selected the schools came with me in order to translate both my questions and the responses when he had the time to do so. Otherwise, I have used other English speaking teachers as translators in situations when the interviewed teacher could not speak English. They were asked to be as neutral as possible and to translate as exactly as possible the questions and responses (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Since the Kiswahili responses were sometimes understandable (I took some Kiswahili courses prior to my departure) I could occasionally detect a tendency for the translator to introduce his/her own opinions. In these cases, questions were reformulated in order to reconfirm responses (Kvale and Brinkmann, *ibid*). On one occasion one of my non-formal Norwegian Supervisors who speaks Kiswahili expressed an interest in accompanying me in one of the schools. She kindly proposed to act as my interpreter for several teachers and she was surprised to note that even with the teacher of English, translation was necessary as the answers were given in Kiswahili.

4.10 Ethical Considerations

I obtained a research permit prepared by the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) and approved by the Permanent Secretary at the Chief Minister’s Officer of Zanzibar Revolutionary Government. Another important ethical issue concerns confidentiality (Bryman, 2004). I have been careful about mentioning only the names of those who gave me the permission to do so. I decided not to give the names of the schools in order to ensure privacy and anonymity (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). All participants were informed about

the intentions of my project prior to their involvement. They were informed of their rights to withdraw from participation at any time (Ryen, 2004). I asked the participants to check all of the quotations I selected for use in the articles in order to give the interview respondents the opportunity to read through them and to correct misunderstandings or inappropriate statements (Silverman, 2011). I have not changed all the grammatical errors in their responses as I wanted to allow a free flow of information.

Another important ethical concern was to respect local researchers and local knowledge (Ryen, *ibid*). Since I returned to the field several times, I developed a good relationship with some of the key participants of the study. I have sent them drafts of papers for their comments, and have provided them with copies of the articles. I have given textbooks to each of the schools to acknowledge their time and willingness to support my studies. I believe that I have given voice to the informants in my articles and have done justice to their contributions by placing them in their proper historical, political and cultural contexts (Ryen, *ibid*). One government officer asked that he be provided with a copy of my thesis in order that the Ministry can benefit from my analysis of the curriculum changes. I intend to comply with this request.

5 Summary of papers and discussion of findings

This summary sets out to give a brief presentation of each of the papers that make up the thesis (part II) and to highlight the important findings from the study. It also clarifies the contribution of these papers to the field of research in education and development.

5.1 Paper I- Education and Language: A human right for sustainable development in Africa

The paper was published in a blind peer-reviewed journal *International Review of Education* (Babaci-Wilhite et al. 2012). I was the first author on this paper. My co-authors were the Nigerian educational economist Macleans A. Geo-JaJa, Professor of Economics and Education at Brigham Young University (USA) and Professor Lou, the Vice president of Zhejiang Normal University (China), Professor of Education and part-time doctoral tutor in Shandong Normal University.

In this paper, we argue that education is critical to development and that both education and development should accommodate the broader context of human rights. We explore the links between languages, education and development in Africa and we draw on experiences from Tanzania (Zanzibar) and Nigeria. Education, with its transformational objectives, contributes to both economic growth and inclusive development. We argue that colonial curricula and language, which continue to dominate African education, are agents of cultural destruction as well as instruments of the so-called “civilizing” mission of the North. These forms of Northern influence are threats to education rights. Through a review of literature and specific cases, we give evidence that the choice of local LoI has a positive effect on the multi-dimensionalities of poverty. We draw out the distinction between rights to education versus rights in education and argue that quality education is crucial to rights in education. Lastly, we argue that the commodification of the knowledge sector, which can be traced back to the Washington Consensus, has inhibited human development, exacerbated income poverty and become a threat to human rights. We suggest that the politics of proactive emancipation and self-empowering education reside within a localized and ‘indigenized’ context.

We conclude that the use of a local curriculum and a local LoI are critical to bringing African development on African terms and that indigenous knowledge, including local languages is indispensable for inclusive development. We argue that linguistic and cultural rights should be integral to education systems as they are critical to freedom and social justice.

5.2 Paper II- Debates on the use of global versus local language in education

This paper is in press in a book edited by Diane Brook Napier and Suzanne Majhanovich (Babaci-Wilhite, 2012a). An earlier version was presented as a paper at the World Congress of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES) at Boğaziçi University in Istanbul, Turkey (June 16, 2010).

In this paper, I review and assess the debates on LoI and their consequences for quality of learning and cultural identity. This paper and the research behind it shape the platform for my case study of the curriculum change in Zanzibar. The scope is global, but gives special attention to two countries, Tanzania and Malaysia. I compare the recent changes in LoI in Zanzibar and Malaysia, in the light of the results of fieldwork in Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar and a review of the literature and official documents on the debates on choice of LoI in Malaysia. The cross-national comparison allows for an analysis of why some Asian and African countries continue using colonial languages in their educational systems, while others have chosen a local LoI. I examine the implications of the choice of LoI for local identity, work prospects and participation in the global economy.

The paper reveals that English and French remain as LoIs from early grades in primary school in most African countries. Tanzania is one of the few exceptions on the African continent, because it made an early choice to use Kiswahili as the LoI in primary grades. However, this policy has been contested for many years, partly due to pressure from bilateral donors. Zanzibar recently decided to reverse its Kiswahili policy for primary grades and to use English in Mathematics and Science subjects in the final two years of primary education. Malaysia made a similar decision in 2003. It replaced Bahasa Malaysia with English for Mathematics and Science subjects; however, a few years later Malaysia reversed this policy and reinstated Bahasa Malaysia, based on a government evaluation.

This paper analyzes these debates and reversals of LoI policy and their consequences for quality learning and cultural identity. It presents an overwhelming research evidence that children learn best in a local LoI. The paper addresses the question of why Zanzibar is seemingly ignoring both research and examples such as that of Malaysia and many of the developed countries such as Japan. It suggests that this change of policy will inhibit the full realization of Zanzibari children's right in education, a point developed further in subsequent papers.

5.3 Paper III- The rationale behind the curriculum change in Zanzibar

This paper is in press as a chapter in a recent book from the LOITASA project (Babaci-Wilhite, 2012b). Prior to the written publication, the paper was presented as a research paper at the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) conference in Montreal on May 3, 2010.

This paper is a critical analysis of the reasons behind the changes in the primary school curriculum in Zanzibar. The new policy will change important aspects of curriculum in primary and secondary education. The LoI for the final grades of primary education will be changed to English in Mathematics and Science subjects. I begin with a review of evidence from educational and pedagogical research on the effects of the choice of language on cognitive and learning processes, cultural identity and the politics of development. Specifically, I examine how the decisions to use English as LoI from Standard 5 were made, how they are being implemented and the preparedness of schools and teachers to implement the changes in the early phase of the implementation process.

I found that one of the purposes of the curriculum change was, in the minds of educational policy makers, to enhance quality education in secondary school and to decrease dropouts (only 50, 3% of eligible children were enrolled in secondary school in 2006 while 100% were enrolled in primary school). However, according to interviews with local academics, the assessment of past problems and future solutions was based on an incomplete analysis, giving most attention to the wishes of parents, who confuse 'learning English' with learning in English. In addition, the analysis behind the change gave too little attention to the views of teachers and to the quality of their interaction with students in the classroom. An important

finding from interviews with teachers was that they were deficient in English skills. Even English teachers (i.e. teachers of the English language) had difficulties communicating in English. Many teachers related that they felt that teaching and learning in English was an overwhelming challenge. All of the Mathematics and Science teachers interviewed disagreed with the curricular change requiring Mathematics and Science to be taught in English. They believe that the principles of Mathematics can be better explained with reference to local context and they showed me concrete examples such as the dimensioning of school gardens.

The analysis in the paper provides a basis for examining how the curriculum in Zanzibar is perceived and used in school, and the ways that local people and governments interpret and deal with the issues related to learning processes within the curriculum development.

5.4 Paper IV- A right based approach to Zanzibar's language-in-education policy

This paper is in press as an article in the first Special Issue of the journal *World Studies in Education* (Babaci-Wilhite, 2012c). Prior to publication, the paper was presented as a research paper at the CIES conference in San Juan, Puerto Rico (USA) in April 25th, 2012.

In this paper, I analyze how education policies in Zanzibar are being implemented and their consequences for quality teaching and learning. I further develop the rights-based approach to language policy in education. I develop the argument that the use of a local language and a locally-based curriculum are rights in education and use this as a basis for an analysis of the politics of language within the recent process of curriculum change in Zanzibar. The analysis is grounded in educational and pedagogical research, where the principal emphasis has been on the politics of development, and the ways that local people and governments interpret and deal with the issues related to teaching and learning processes within curriculum development.

I explore the dilemma of maintaining local contexts for learning as African countries attempt to educate their citizens to be competitive in an increasingly globalizing economy. At the center of this debate between local and global influences on curriculum is the issue of LoI. There are widespread and indisputable findings that the use of a local LoI promotes deeper understanding of both local and global issues; in short, both a local curriculum and a local language are essential for quality learning and should be regarded as an implicit right in

education. I critically examine the arguments for considering a local LoI as a right in education and the reasons behind lack of acknowledgement of these rights in Africa. The paper draws on research in Zanzibar, focusing on four primary schools where I have interviewed teachers and observed students in order to have a feel for how teaching and learning will take place within the new curriculum.

This paper contributes to the emerging theory relating choice of LoI to knowledge acquisition and use of local languages as a human right. The reality is that today in many countries in Africa, the choice of language-in-education policy disregards both the Science and the rights of language choice by implementing a non-local, non-indigenous language (English) as the LoI in schools where English (or French) is being promoted as a LoI in the name of global integration.

5.5 Discussion of findings

Reforms in Africa are being undertaken on the basis of an unrealistic agenda that is incorporating Western curriculum and using Western languages. The reasons for this have to do with misplaced associations of development with modernization, where emulation of Western development and Western educational systems are regarded as the way forward for Africa. Scientifically speaking, this does not form a basis for capability-based educational development, nor does it bring social justice and quality in education. It is time to recognize the wealth of African knowledge and to promote its languages in education. This would make a significant contribution to African development on its own terms and for the benefit of the majority of Africans.

There is no doubt that Zanzibar is in need of education reforms to improve quality learning. However, in the light of research on African educational systems and on the experiences of Tanzania and other countries, the substitution of a local with a foreign LoI cannot contribute to improved learning. There is a substantial body of research, which shows that students learn more quickly and effectively when taught in a familiar language than when first taught in a foreign language. Zanzibar needs educational reforms but, unfortunately, she has mistakenly mixed up increased use of English LoI with improved educational performance.

Throughout the fieldwork, the teachers spoke freely and assisted me with detailed information. The findings from these interviews are represented in tables and graphs in

Appendices 9 and 10. Some teachers and head teachers communicated with me by email, expanding on their views on the curriculum changes. The majority of the teachers acknowledge that the use of local languages accelerates reading, writing and learning. The trajectory chosen by Zanzibar, with a return to the use of English in the final years of primary has not been well enough prepared. The data show that teachers do not master English well enough to teach in English, the program for improving their English is insufficient and they do not have proper support materials for teaching in English.

An inadequate preparation for the curriculum change has been a challenge as many of the teachers were not familiar with the reasons for the intended curriculum changes, nor have teachers been involved in any significant way in the decision processes on the change or on how it would be implemented. The majority of the teachers who took part in this study believed that the training was seriously inadequate. They were not satisfied with the in-service training they have received prior to the implementation of the curriculum. The duration of the preparation was too short to cover all aspects of the new curriculum; and so many were confused and unconvinced about the quality of the training. Even the teacher trainers were not adequately knowledgeable about the new curriculum. The teachers had only received the teacher guidebook and were impatiently awaiting the other supporting books that had been expected by the beginning of the third year but had not as yet been received. The delay in getting support materials created difficulties in making adjustments to teaching plans according to the new curriculum. Results indicating the teachers' skepticism with the capacity of the new curriculum to improve the quality of learning are described in *Appendices 9 and 10*. These results were important to the analysis behind *papers II, III and IV*.

Interviews with teachers revealed that they are losing their confidence, as the new curriculum does not reflect the reality on the ground and the preparation is not robust enough. The teachers were much more enthusiastic at the beginning of the implementation but that enthusiasm has waned as they have experienced the weak preparation and support (see the graphs in *Appendix 10*). Their discomfort with the new curriculum and the increased use of English has affected teacher motivation and well-being, which is crucial for the success of the implementation. This was brought home to me during my interviews when the teachers had difficulties expressing themselves in English.

Perhaps the most important finding from this thesis is that change to a foreign LoI will impair students learning capacity and therefore reduce the quality of education. A quality education

should be regarded as a human right. Fundamental freedom and quality education will not be achieved through the medium of a foreign LoI. This change constitutes a violation of children's rights in education as discussed in all of the papers and fully argued in *paper IV*. Based on the declaration of human rights, children have the rights to be educated in a way which contributes to their capacity for individual development. Every Zanzibari child should have the rights to express himself/herself in a language s/he masters best; only then can democracy be achieved. The Zanzibari government has the responsibility to ensure this language right in education, as should all African governments. The analysis and results of this thesis can form the basis for a renewal of debates in Zanzibar on an educational policy that ensures every child's rights to quality education.

I hope that this study can contribute to a better understanding among policy in connection with these LoI issues, and to an increasing awareness of the rights and optimal teaching-learning environment that maximizes the performance of children and teachers within the context of their rights in education.

5.6 Contributions of the study

The most significant contribution of this thesis is in demonstrating the links between language choice, quality learning and rights in education. Using a local ('indigenous') language satisfies the rights criteria of availability, accessibility, acceptability and adaptability. These should be common to education in all its forms and at all levels. In general terms, quality education corresponds to basic education as set out in the World Declaration on Education for All, but must also ensure human rights through localizing education in local language and context. It should take account of the educational, cultural and social background of the students concerned. It demands flexible curricula and varied delivery systems to respond to opportunities of communities and the needs of students in different social and cultural settings (Dewey, 1938; Bostad & Løvlie, 2012). In many African countries, the goal of rights to education is becoming increasingly remote, let alone that of rights in education. Development aid has to be integrated with human rights principles to meet the demands of rights in education. With this understanding and with the awareness of the education challenges of nations and millions of people throughout Africa, implying that the lack of the rights in education remains a distant goal, a rights-capability based approach to education becomes imperative in order to overcome obstacles. As Sen (1992, 1999) states, the motive of aid

should not be just to increase the economic growth or to accelerate adaptation towards the global North but rather to spread freedom to the unfree.

The two complex intervening variables of local language and local curriculum are at the core of human rights, namely quality education and rights in education as discussed in *papers I and IV*. The rights-capability-based approach therefore becomes imperative for rights in education (Geo-JaJa, 2011). Local languages need to be valued and to be preserved, and children need to be prepared for the world in a language that promotes understanding. The adherence to human rights requires changing not only laws but also cultural practices and economic systems (Robeyns, 2006). Development needs a new face in which local technologies, including those used in education are given priority. An important educational technology is the production of books. Textbooks and teaching materials can be produced inexpensively if the knowledge and the production are local, as discussed in the *papers II and III*. Many literacy classes in Africa use African languages in literacy work, something that is commendable, but as Brock-Utne (2005) states, people once literate may forget how to read simply because they do not have access to reading materials. Production of books and other support materials is thus of particular importance and yet it is currently a growing problem. There is also the question of which language books are to be written in? How can we achieve effective learning outcomes by using a language that is only spoken well by a minority within the population? It is obvious that the learner will understand best in the local LoI, a choice that is now not available, as discussed in *papers I to IV*.

Even if the promotion of English is the goal of education for many of these countries, the fact that local LoI would produce better results in the eventual acquisition of English should, logically, inform decisions in the language policy in education. Therefore, as government officials continue to make decisions based on political popularity (on ‘populism’) rather than seeking optimal learning environments, then attempts to make changes at the policy level are unlikely to succeed without the support of the communities themselves (Mazrui, 2003).

Despite the scientifically-based evidence, however, English as a LoI continues to be required at all educational levels in many developing nations and remains the focus of many language ‘aid’ programs implemented by countries such as the United States and United Kingdom (Samoff, 2009). Therefore, language educators working in developmental contexts ought to question language policies and seek to inform other educators, policy makers, and community members of more viable educational alternatives to the current, blind-faith reliance on

English. Equally important, the political motives of government officials in these countries must be questioned.

My findings encourage us also to ask why wealthy donor nations such as the United States spend large amounts of 'foreign aid' money on the promotion of English in developing countries instead of using it for funding basic literacy acquisition in local dialects and generating quality educational materials in native languages. A possible way further could be to encourage a wide-scale educational campaign to inform developing communities of how language choice in education can affect personal and economic development. For, in order to make any change possible, one would need to question both the causes and the effects of such harmful language and educational policies at every level, from government officials and policy makers down to the poorest participants in education.

The spread of English is closely tied to the forces of globalization. The languages of economically dominant countries tend to have a readily acceptable and more powerful if unquestioned place in the world than those of the lesser-developed countries. English acquires value and becomes an economic tool. Instead of focusing on improved quality, much attention has been given to reducing the cost of education per student at all levels by increasing class size as advised by the World Bank Group, whose economists claim that the student/teacher ratio does not affect learning in the interval between 20 and 45 students per teacher. The implication of this - that one teacher may teach 45 students at a time with the same quality as if the numbers of students were only 20 - is highly questionable, as discussed in *papers I, II, III and IV*. The teachers in Zanzibar argued that their job requires people who teach lovingly, so that the children would also love learning, be motivated to learn with interest and enjoy schooling. In order to do that one needs to motivate the teachers first with inadequate facilities to perform well in the classrooms. Therefore the success of implementing a new curriculum reform will depend on the extent to which policy makers and planners take school realities into account (Heneveld and Craig, 1996). As shown in the case of Zanzibar the policy seems to have been driven by political imperatives which had little to do with classroom realities. Ensuring that aid as well as international partnerships results in quality education requires the designing of more innovative frameworks that fit the uniqueness and realities of localities. These are some of the roadblocks and challenges that squarely face donor efforts in the way to facilitate the provision of rights, efficiency and efficacy in education (Babaci-Wilhite & Geo-JaJa, 2011). Policy makers are in a position to work towards a high quality education for all as

part of a more comprehensive right-based approach, that we owe to children in order to achieve social justice in the society and in the world.

There is a dire need for new thinking about African education and its role in development, in short an educational transformation in Africa, based on cooperation and sharing of expertise within the continent. This is in line with the 1997 SADC (Southern African Development Community) Protocol on Education (SADC, 1997), which prioritized teacher education and sharing of expertise within the region. This sharing can facilitate cross-national learning and better decisions, acceleration of the pace of changes at lower costs and the most effective use of expertise on the continent. This in turn can bring about educational systems that are better suited to African learning environments and are contextualized in Africa's development needs. Furthermore, the dominating discourse associating incorporation of Western knowledge with educational advancement has become embedded in much of African thinking concerning the future of teaching and learning. Should the government in Zanzibar persist in changing the LoI, notwithstanding evidence presented in most of the articles in this thesis, it is likely that this will lead to a deterioration of the learning pace and efficiency.

The new curriculum encourages use of new teaching and learning materials and, yet these were not provided by the third year of the implementation of the new curriculum. An even greater shortage of reading materials in the rural primary schools is likely to be the challenge for teachers and head teachers as they set about implementing the new curriculum along with the change in the LoI. Greater distribution of teaching materials will certainly improve the learning environment, but my analysis of the situation shows that it will not lead to a full realization of children's capacity to learn and develop.

5.7 Implications for future research

One important issue for future research is the cost effectiveness of the use of a local LoI in education. The cost of producing support materials and books has been posed as a major cost barrier, but several studies show that books in Kiswahili can be more easily produced at a reasonable cost (Heugh, 2004, 2006; Kosonen, 2010). This may be a problem in some African countries that have no single widely understood African language, where the cost of production materials in multiple mother tongues would necessarily be prohibitive. Of course, this is not the case with Zanzibar, a monolingual island where Kiswahili is the language of all

Zanzibari. My findings are consistent with Obanya (1999) and Bamgbose (2000), who analyzed the costs and funding strategies associated with the use of a local LoI and concluded that the cost argument is based on a fundamental fear of change. This cost issue needs to be explored and tested in Zanzibar, taking into account the need for a considerable investment in order to improve teachers' language proficiency and the overall quality of education in a non-local LoI, as discussed in *papers I to IV*.

Another important issue for further research is the education sector in development aid and the extent to which it is possible to incorporate a new framework that includes support for local languages and a locally-based curriculum within the framework of human rights.

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Appendices

Appendix 1.



Source: <https://www.google.no/search?hl=en&q=map+of+tanzania&meta=>

Appendix 2.



Source: http://Fil:Map_of_Zanzibar_Archipelago-no.svg

Appendix 3.



UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM
OFFICE OF THE VICE-CHANCELLOR
P.O. BOX 35091 ♦ DAR ES SALAAM ♦ TANZANIA

Ref.No: AB3/12(B)
Date: 9th November, 2010
To: The Permanent Secretary,
Chief Minister's Officer,
The Zanzibar Revolutionary Government,
ZANZIBAR.

UNIVERSITY STAFF AND STUDENTS RESEARCH CLEARANCE

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you **Ms Zehlia Babaci-Wilhite** who is a bonafide student of the University of Dar es Salaam and who is at the moment conducting research. Our staff members and students undertake research activities every year especially during the long vacation.

In accordance with a government circular letter Ref. No. MPEC/R/10/1 dated 4th July, 1980 the Vice-Chancellor was empowered to issue research clearances to the staff and students of the University of Dar es Salaam on behalf of the government and the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology, a successor organization to UTAFITI.

I therefore request you to grant the above-mentioned member of our University community any help that may facilitate her to achieve research objectives. What is required is your permission for her to see and talk to the leaders and members of your institutions in connection with her research.

The title of the research in question is "**Comparison between Some Private and Some Government Primary Schools in Tanzania**".

The period for which this permission has been granted is **11th November, 2010 to 21st November, 2010** and will cover the following areas/offices: **Zanzibar**.

Should some of these areas/offices be restricted, you are requested to kindly advise her as to which alternative areas/offices could be visited. In case you may require further information, please contact the Directorate of Research, Tel. 2410500-8 Ext. 2037 or 2410743.


/ Prof. Rwekaza S. Mukandala
VICE-CHANCELLOR

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UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM

OFFICE OF THE VICE-CHANCELLOR
P.O. BOX 35091 ♦ DAR ES SALAAM ♦ TANZANIA

Ref. No: AB3/3(B)
Date: 21st January, 2011
To: The Permanent Secretary,
Chief Minister's Officer,
The Zanzibar Revolutionary Government,
ZANZIBAR.

UNIVERSITY STAFF AND STUDENTS RESEARCH CLEARANCE

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you **Ms Zehlia Babaci-Wilhite** who is a bonafide student of the University of Dar es Salaam and who is at the moment conducting research. Our staff members and students undertake research activities every year especially during the long vacation.

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I therefore request you to grant the above-mentioned member of our University community any help that may facilitate her to achieve research objectives. What is required is your permission for her to see and talk to the leaders and members of your institutions in connection with her research.

The title of the research in question is **"Comparison between Some Private and Some Government Primary Schools in Tanzania"**.

The period for which this permission has been granted is **11th April, 2011 to 22nd April, 2011** and will cover the following areas/offices: **Zanzibar.**

Should some of these areas/offices be restricted, you are requested to kindly advise her as to which alternative areas/offices could be visited. In case you may require further information, please contact the Directorate of Research, Tel. 2410500-8 Ext. 2087 or 2410743.


Prof. Rwekaza S. Mukandala
VICE-CHANCELLOR

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UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM
OFFICE OF THE VICE-CHANCELLOR
P.O. BOX 35091 ♦ DAR ES SALAAM ♦ TANZANIA

Ref. No: AB3/12(B)
Date: 18th May, 2011
To: The Permanent Secretary,
Chief Minister's Office,
Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar.

UNIVERSITY STAFF AND STUDENTS RESEARCH CLEARANCE

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you **Ms Zehlia Babaci Wilhite** who is a bonafide staff of the University of Dar es Salaam and who is at the moment conducting research. Our staff members and students undertake research activities every year especially during the long vacation.

In accordance with a government circular letter Ref.No.MPEC/R/10/1 dated 4th July, 1980 the Vice-Chancellor was empowered to issue research clearances to the staff and students of the University of Dar es Salaam on behalf of the government and the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology, a successor organization to UTAFITI.

I therefore request you to grant the above-mentioned member of our University community any help that may facilitate her to achieve research objectives. What is required is your permission for her to see and talk to the leaders and members of your institutions in connection with her research.

The title of the research in question is "**The Implementation for the Primary School Curriculum**".

The period for which this permission has been granted is **23rd May, 2011 to 29th May, 2011** and will cover the following areas/offices: **Pemba**.

Should some of these areas/offices be restricted, you are requested to kindly advise her as to which alternative areas/offices could be visited. In case you may require further information, please contact the Directorate of Research and Publications, Tel. 2410500-8 Ext. 2087 or 2410743.


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UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM
OFFICE OF THE VICE-CHANCELLOR
P.O. BOX 35091 ♦ DAR ES SALAAM ♦ TANZANIA

Ref. No: AB3/12(B)
Date: 24th January, 2011
To: The Permanent Secretary,
Chief Minister's Office,
Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar.

UNIVERSITY STAFF AND STUDENTS RESEARCH CLEARANCE

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you **Ms Zehlia Babaci-Wilhite** who is a bonafide staff of the University of Dar es Salaam and who is at the moment conducting research. Our staff members and students undertake research activities every year especially during the long vacation.

In accordance with a government circular letter Ref.No.MPEC/R/10/1 dated 4th July, 1980 the Vice-Chancellor was empowered to issue research clearances to the staff and students of the University of Dar es Salaam on behalf of the government and the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology, a successor organization to UTAFITI.

I therefore request you to grant the above-mentioned member of our University community any help that may facilitate her to achieve research objectives. What is required is your permission for her to see and talk to the leaders and members of your institutions in connection with her research.

The title of the research in question is "**Curriculum for Strengthening Both Local Identity and Global Competitiveness**".

The period for which this permission has been granted is **20th October, 2011** to **2nd December, 2011** and will cover the following areas/offices: **Zanzibar**.

Should some of these areas/offices be restricted, you are requested to kindly advise her as to which alternative areas/offices could be visited. In case you may require further information, please contact the Directorate of Research and Publications, Tel. 2410500-8 Ext. 2087 or 2410743.


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Appendix 4.

Interview guide for Government officials and Training of Teachers

1. The new curriculum has change in primary schools. Why is the curriculum being changed? What do you think about this change?
2. What is the reasoning behind the change?
3. Concerning the language change. The Language of Instruction has been changed in Sciences and Mathematics from Kiswahili to English from Standard 5. Why is this happening?
4. What role do you think the language of instruction plays in the learning process?
5. Are the teachers and students well prepared for this change in teaching through English as a LoI in Sciences and Mathematics and learning? What has been done to prepare them?
6. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the preparation for this significant change?
7. Do you think that these changes in the new curriculum will truly advance the quality of teaching and learning?
8. Will they contribute to equal access to a quality education?
9. Research shows that children learn better in a local LoI. Some claim that teaching in a language children do not understand is a violation of Human rights. How do you respond to this?
10. What role does the government play in providing adequate support materials?

Appendix 5.

Interview guide for teachers and head teachers

1. The new curriculum has changed. Why do you think the curriculum changes have been made? What do you think about this change?
2. What should have been changed that was not?
3. What are the characteristics of a good school for you?
4. What could be done to improve the learning process?
5. What are the biggest problems that a child can encounter in her/his learning process?
6. What role do you think the language of instruction plays in the learning process?
7. What do you think that switching from Kiswahili to English in Sciences and Mathematics will mean for learning these subjects?
8. Are the teachers and students well prepared for this change in teaching through English as a LoI in Sciences and Mathematics? What have been the main strategies in the preparation?
9. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the preparation for this significant change?
10. Do you think that these changes in the new curriculum will truly advance the quality of teaching and learning?
11. What role does the government play in providing adequate support materials?
12. Are the schools facilities conducive to good learning?

Appendix 6.

Interview guide for Government officials and Training of Teachers translated in Kiswahili

- 1- The new curriculum has change in primary schools. Why is the curriculum being changed? What do you think about this change?

Mtaala mpya umebadilika. Unafikiri ni kwanini mtaala umebadilishwa? Unafikiria nini kuhusu badiliko hili?

- 2- What is the reasoning behind the change?

Je kuna hoja gani nyuma ya mabadiliko?

- 3- Concerning the language change. The Language of Instruction has been changed in Sciences and Mathematics from Kiswahili to English from Standard 5. Why is this happening?

Kuhusu mabadiliko ya lugha. Lugha ya kufundishia imebadilishwa katika Sayansi na Hisabati kutoka Kiswahili kwenda Kiingereza kuanzia darasa la 5. Kwa nini haya yanatokea?

- 4- What role do you think the language of instruction plays in the learning process?

Unafikiri lugha ya kufundishia ina jukumu gani katika mchakato wa kujifunza?

- 5- Are the teachers and students well prepared for this change in teaching through English as a LoI in Sciences and Mathematics and learning? What has been done to prepare them?

Walimu na wanafunzi wameandaliwa vizuri katika badiliko la kufundisha kwa kutumia kiingereza kama lugha ya kufundishia sayansi na hesabu? Ni kitu gani kimefanyika katika kuwaandaa?

- 6- What are the strengths and weaknesses of the preparation for this significant change?

upi ubora na mapungufu ya maandalizi ya mabadiliko haya?

7- Do you think that these changes in the new curriculum will truly advance the quality of teaching and learning?

Unafikiri mabadiliko haya ya mtaala mpya yatainua kiukweli ubora wa ufundishaji na ujifunzaji?

8- Will they contribute to equal access to a quality education?

Je yatachangia usawa katika kupata elimu bora?

9- Research shows that children learn better in a local LoI. Some claim that teaching in a language children do not understand is a violation of Human rights. How do you respond to this?

Utafiti unaonyesha kwamba watoto hujifunza vyema katika lugha ya kienyeji ikitumika kufundishia. Wengine wanadai ufundishaji katika lugha ambayo watoto hawailewi ni uvunjaji wa haki za binadamu. Nini mwitikio wako katika hili?

10- What role does the government play in providing adequate support materials?

Ni jukumu gani serikali inajihusisha katika kutoa vifaa vya kutosha?

Appendix 7.

Interview guide for teachers and head teachers translated in Kiswahili

1. The new curriculum has changed. Why do you think the curriculum changes have been made? What do you think about this change?

mpya umebadilika. Unafikiri ni kwanini mtaala umebadilishwa? Unafikiria nini kuhusu badiliko hili?

2. What should have been changed that was not?

Nini kimebadilishwa ambacho hakikupaswa kubadilishwa?

3. What are the characteristics of a good school for you?

Nini sifa za shule bora kwako wewe?

4. What could be done to improve the learning process?

Nini kifanyike ili kuboresha mchakato wa kujifunza?

5. What are the biggest problems that a child can encounter in her/his learning process?

Ni matatizo makubwa yapi ambayo mtoto anaweza kuyapata katika mchakato wa kujifunza?

6. What role do you think the language of instruction plays in the learning process?

Unafikiri lugha ya kufundishia ina jukumu gani katika mchakato wa kujifunza?

7. What do you think that switching from Kiswahili to English in Sciences and Mathematics will mean for learning these subjects?

Unafikiria nini kuhusu kubadilisha lugha kutoka Kiswahili kwenda kiingereza katika hesabu na sayansi kutamaanisha katika kujifunza masomo haya?

8. Are the teachers and students well prepared for this change in teaching through English as a LoI in Sciences and Mathematics? What have been the main strategies in the preparation?

Walimu na wanafunzi wameandaliwa vizuri katika badiliko la kufundisha kwa kutumia kiingereza kama lugha ya kufundishia sayansi na hesabu? Ni mkakati upi umefanyika katika matayarisho.

9. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the preparation for this significant change?

ni upi ubora na mapungufu ya maandalizi ya mabadiliko haya?

10. Do you think that these changes in the new curriculum will truly advance the quality of teaching and learning?

Unafikiri mabadiliko haya ya mtaala mpya yatainua kiukweli ubora wa ufundishaji na ujifunzaji?

11. What role does the government play in providing adequate support materials?

Ni jukumu gani serikali inajihusisha katika kutoa vifaa vya kutosha?

12. Are the schools facilities conducive to good learning?

Vifaa vya shule ni vizuri kwa kujifunza vyema?

Appendix 8.

Basic information on the selected schools

<i>Standard</i>		<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>School 1 (urban) SU1</i>	<i>Nr. of classes</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
	<i>Nr. of students/class</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>81</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>78</i>
<i>School 2 (urban) SU2</i>	<i>Nr. of classes</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>4</i>
	<i>Nr. of students/class</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>70</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>65</i>
<i>School 1 (rural) SR1</i>	<i>Nr. of classes</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>
	<i>Nr. of students/class</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>76</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>75</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>52</i>
<i>School 2 (rural) SR2</i>	<i>Nr. of classes</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>
	<i>Nr. of students/class</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>32</i>
<i>Total</i>	<i>Nr. of classes</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>10</i>
	<i>Nr. of students/class</i>	<i>630</i>	<i>665</i>	<i>565</i>	<i>643</i>	<i>658</i>	<i>602</i>	<i>630</i>

Appendix 9.

Tables of comparison of responses from interviewees:

1. The new curriculum has changed. What do you think about this change?

<i>Answers</i>	<i>Positive</i>				<i>Negative</i>				<i>No answer</i>				<i>Total</i>
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
Years of the interviews*	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	-
Government officials	5	4	2	1	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	16
Academics	0	0	0	0	7	5	2	2	0	0	0	0	16
Trainers of teachers (ToT)	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	13
Teachers in urban	5	5	3	3	5	5	7	10	0	0	0	3	46
Teachers in rural	3	2	2	1	6	6	8	9	1	2	1	3	44
Others	2	1	1	0	5	6	6	3	0	0	0	0	24
Total	18	13	9	6	25	24	24	26	3	3	2	6	159

*1= 2009; 2=2010; 3=2011; 4=2012

2. Do you think that these changes in the new curriculum will truly advance the quality of teaching and learning?

<i>Answers</i>	<i>Yes</i>				<i>No</i>				<i>Neutral</i>				<i>Total</i>
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
Years of the interviews	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	-
Government officials	4	4	1	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	16
Academics	0	0	0	0	7	5	2	2	0	0	0	0	16
Trainers of teachers (ToT)	2	1	0	0	3	2	2	2	0	0	1	0	13
Teachers in urban	3	2	2	2	7	8	8	12	0	0	0	2	46

Teachers in rural	0	0	0	0	8	9	9	10	2	1	2	3	44
Others	2	0	0	0	3	5	6	3	2	2	1	0	24
Total	11	7	3	3	31	30	27	29	4	3	5	6	159

3. Are the teachers and students well prepared for this change in teaching and learning through English as a LoI in Sciences and Mathematics?

<i>Answers</i>	<i>Yes</i>				<i>No</i>				<i>Neutral</i>				<i>Total</i>
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	-
Years of the interviews													
Government officials	5	3	1	1	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	16
Academics	0	0	0	0	7	5	2	1	0	0	0	1	16
Trainers of teachers (ToT)	3	1	1	0	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	13
Teachers in urban area	4	2	2	2	6	8	8	9	0	0	0	5	46
Teachers in rural area	0	0	0	0	10	10	11	13	0	0	0	0	44
Others	0	0	0	0	2	4	4	2	5	3	3	1	24
Total	12	6	4	3	29	31	28	28	5	3	3	5	159

4. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the preparation for this significant change?

<i>Answers</i>	<i>Weaknesses</i>
Government officials	No books
Academics	No quality learning
Trainers of teachers (ToT)	No books, not enough hours of training, not all teachers are trained, preparation for St. 5 too early (teacher may forget)
Teachers in urban area	No books, not enough hours of training
Teachers in rural area	No books, no quality learning, not enough hours of training
Others	No quality learning

*All the categories gave the same answer for the strengths: Teacher training

5. Change over time in the assessment of the importance of the language of instruction in the learning process

<i>Answers</i>	<i>Important</i>			
Years of the interviews	1	2	3	4
Government officials	6	5	2	2
Academics	7	7	2	4
Trainers of teachers (ToT)	5	3	-	-
Teachers in urban	10	10	10	16
Teachers in rural	10	10	15	13
Others	5	4	3	4
Total	43	39	32	39

6. What role does the government play in providing adequate support materials?

<i>Answers</i>	<i>Positive</i>	<i>Negative</i>
Government officials	Building schools, providing computers, Training teachers	Lack of books and materials, qualified teachers in English and ICT
Academics	Extra qualifications and courses for teachers	No books
Trainers of teachers (ToT)	Training teachers	No books
Head masters	Training teachers	No books
Teacher in urban	Training teachers, guide book to teachers, affiliation of nurseries to primary schools, for primary schools of a new syllabus	No books, no teaching aids, not enough training, no policy
Teacher in rural	Training teachers, guide book to teachers, Nurseries and for primary schools of a new syllabus	No books, no food, no drink, no separate toilettes, no transport provided, no teaching aids, not enough training, no policy

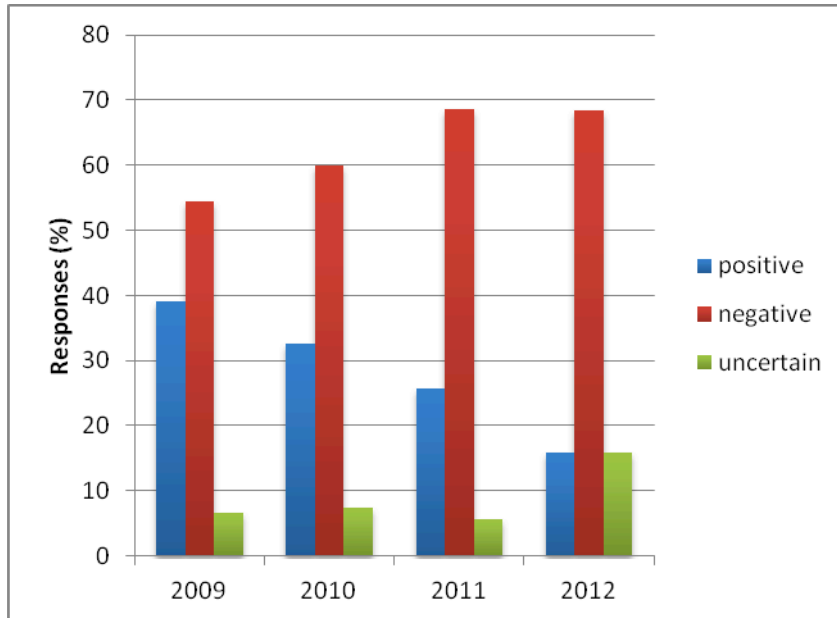
*No neutral answers * Responses collected over the period of 4 years were similar therefore combine here.

Appendix 10.

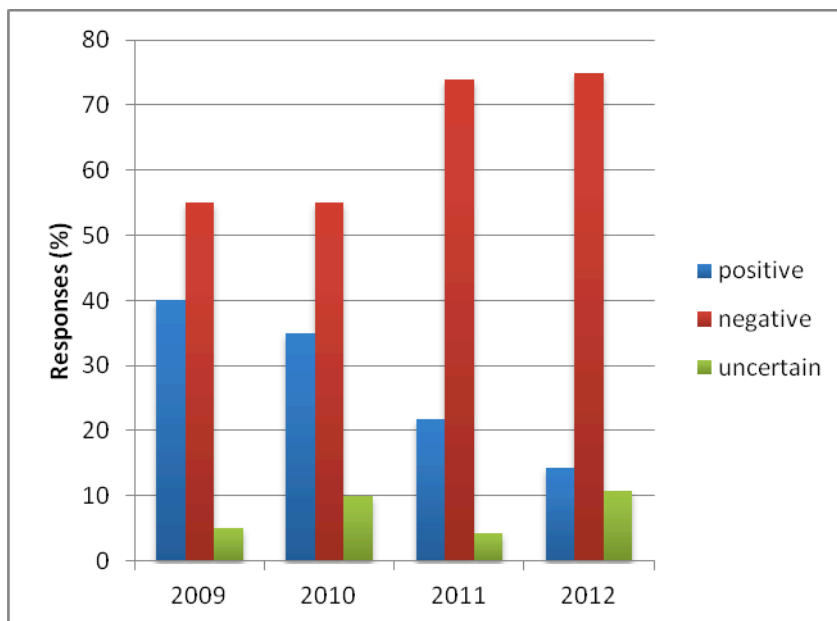
COMPARISON OF RESPONSES FROM INTERVIEWEES:

1. *The new curriculum has changed. What do you think about this change?*

General attitude of all categories

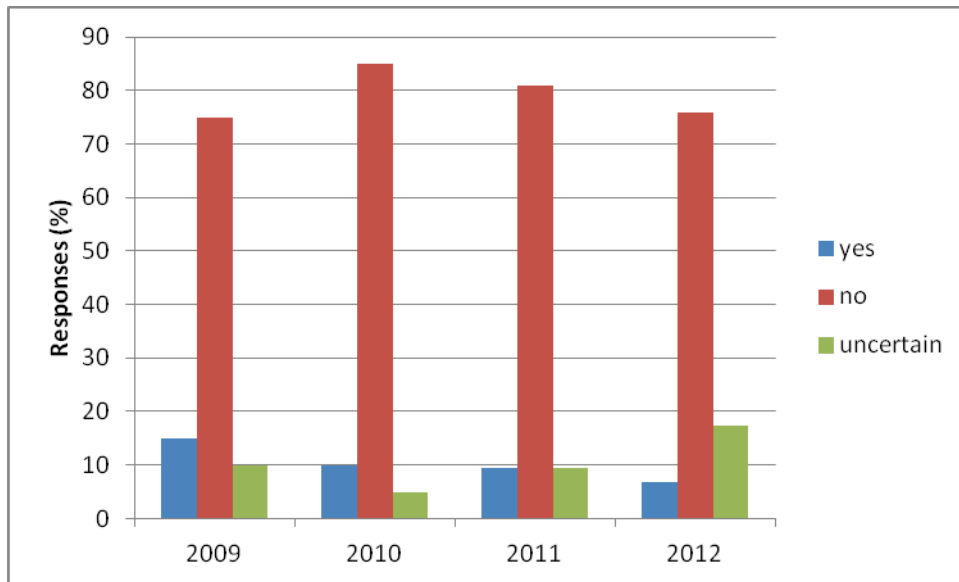


1a. Urban and rural **teachers only**

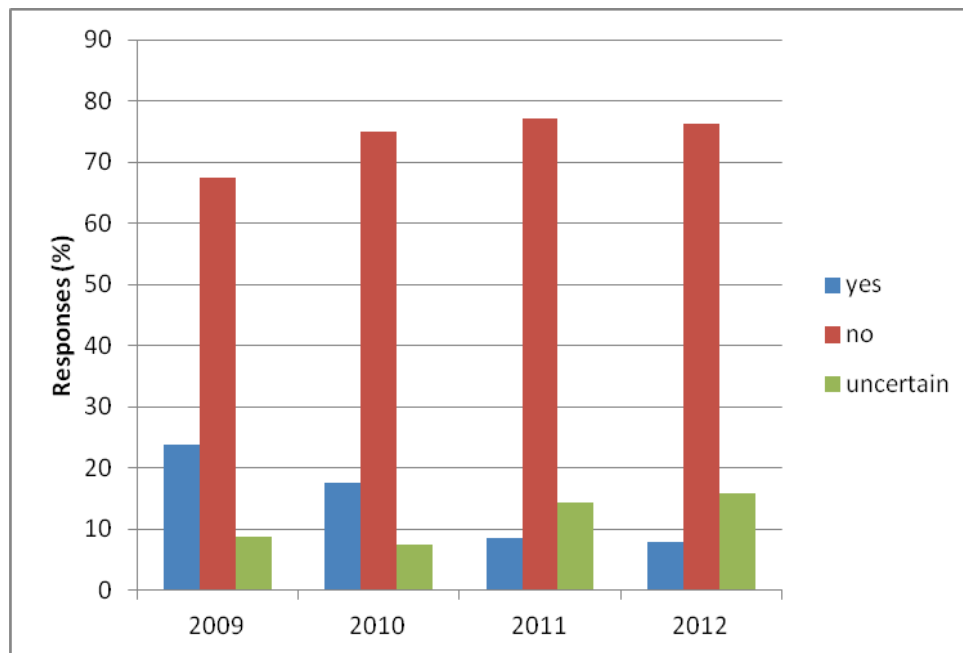


2. Do you think that these changes in the new curriculum will truly advance the quality of teaching and learning?

General attitude of all categories responses to the question

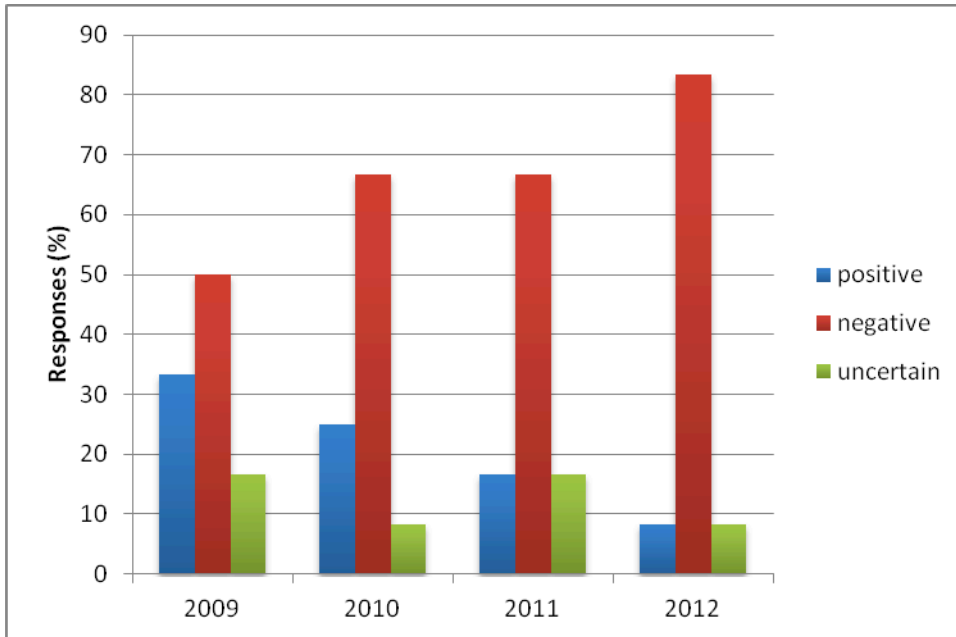


2a. Urban and rural teachers only

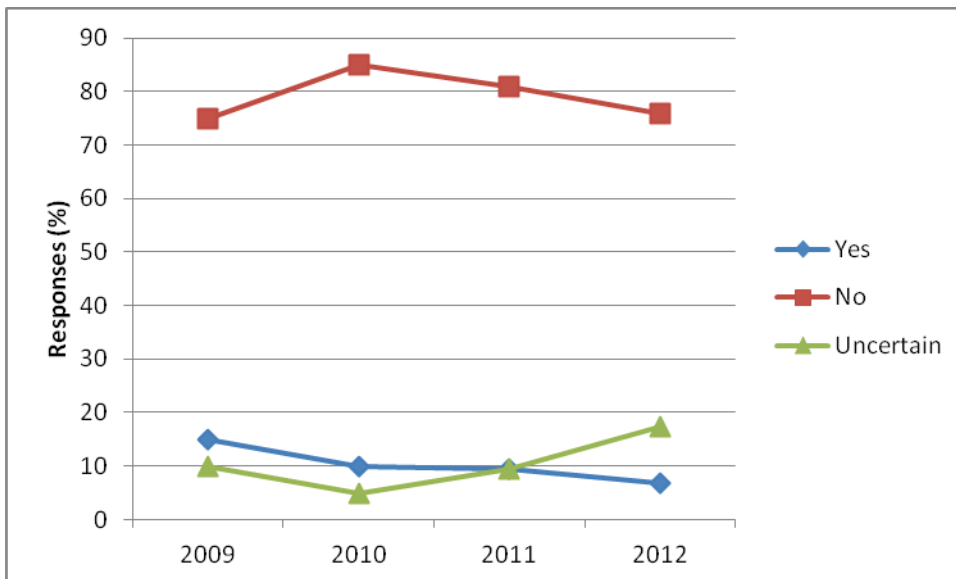


3. Are the teachers and students well prepared for this change in teaching and learning through English as a LoI in Science and Mathematics?

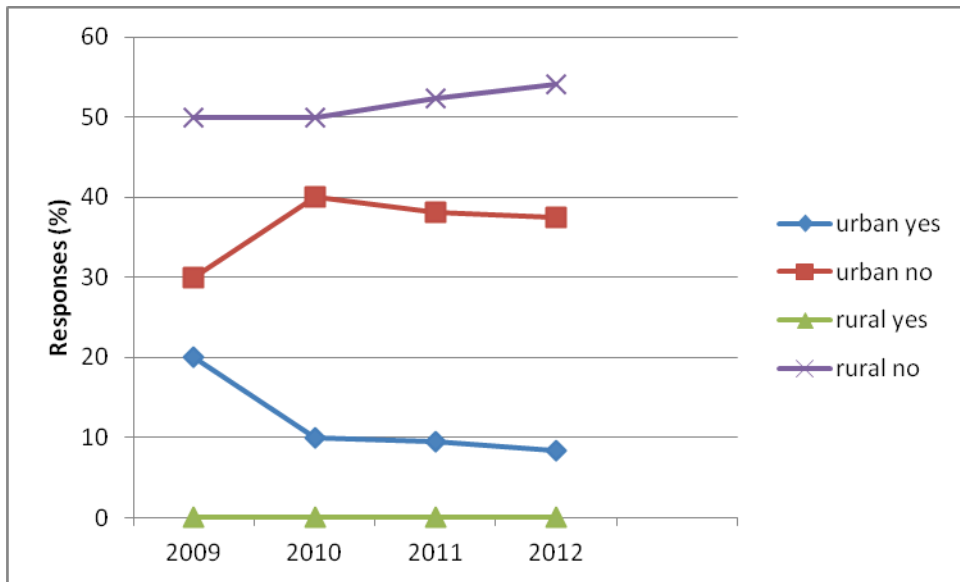
General attitude of all categories responses to the question



3a. All categories responses to the question



3b. Urban and rural teachers only



PART II

Errata

I really appreciate the committee's thorough reading of the manuscript and the identification of errors. The alterations to the text are listed below in original and corrected version.

<i>Page</i>	<i>Original text</i>	<i>Corrected text</i>
Abstract	"in the last year"	"in the last years"
Abstract and Pages 1, 3, 22, 35, 33, 55, 49, 52, 55 and 56	"right in education" needs to be changed throughout in Part I to "rightS in education"	"rights in education"
Page 3	Insert "a" before "right to education."	"a" inserted "a right to education"
List of Acronyms	In list of Acronyms LoI: "synonyms" is misspelled.	"synonyms" instead of "synonymes"
Page 10	change "syllabus" to "syllabi."	"syllabi" instead of "syllabus"
Page 17	Change added an apostrophe to "Bamgbose" to read "Bamgbose:s."	The apostrophe has been change from Bamgbose to Bamgbose's
Page 21	Change "Paolo" to "Paulo."	Paolo has been changed to Paulo
Page 27	Add the word "fail" after "Standardized tests."	The word "fail" after "Standardized tests" has been added
Page 31	Change "Arnove (2003)" to Arnove et al. (2003)."	"Arnove (2003)" has been changed to Arnove et al. (2003)."
Page 31	On line 23, change "Nyerere's administration" to "Freire's administration."	On line 23, "Nyerere's administration" has been changed to "Freire's administration."
Page 31	On line 25, change "Nyerere's conceptualization to "Freire's conceptualization."	On line 25, "Nyerere's conceptualization has been changed to "Freire's conceptualization."
Page 46	Change "Norwegian Supervisor" to "Norwegian SupervisorS."	"Norwegian Supervisor" has been changed to "Norwegian Supervisors."
Page 51	Change "decision to use English as LoI" to "decisions to use English as LoI."	"decision to use English as LoI" has been changed to "decisions to use English as LoI."
Page 54	On line 4, change "final year" to "final years."	On line 4, "final year" has been changed to "final

		years."
Page 54	On line 5, add the word "enough" after "well" to read "well enough."	On line 5, the word "enough" has been added after "well" to read "well enough."
Page 54	On 6 lines from the bottom, the statement (see the graphs in Appendix 7 - there are no graphs in Appendix 7. To what graphs is Ms. Babaci-Wilhite referring?	The graph referred was in Appendix 10. The change has been made to Appendix 10.
Page 61	The reference to Arnove R. F. (2003) on p. 31 needs to be completed in this way: "Arnove, R.F., Franz, S., Mollis, M.,&Torres, C.A.Education in Latin America: Dependency, Underdevelopment, and Inequality. In Arnove, R.F.&Torres (Eds.), Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Pp. 313-337.	The reference to Arnove R. F. (2003) on p. 31 has been completed in this way: "Arnove, R.F., Franz, S., Mollis, M.,&Torres, C.A.Education in Latin America: Dependency, Underdevelopment, and Inequality. In Arnove, R.F.&Torres (Eds.), Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Pp. 313-337.