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ABSTRACT

This study compares the English and Swahili language texts used in the primary grades in Kenya and Tanzania in order to ascertain the role of language in determining the content of instruction and to relate the content of these texts to significant characteristics of governmental educational policy and the values underlying them. The introductory section is a general discussion of the political implications of language policies in multilingual nations and the problems resulting from attempts to institute instruction in the mother tongue. The design of the ensuing study is based on two major assumptions: (1) that educational policy and school texts are good indicators of societal "core" values and future orientations; and (2) that salient policy features and values will likely be translated into school texts. Content analysis is used to examine data from four sets of instructional contexts: Kenya/English, Kenya/Swahili, Tanzania/English, and Tanzania/Swahili. The findings are organized around the following broad categories: daily life, Africanization, bases for legitimating knowledge, self-help, egalitarianism, value of education, work emphasis, national integration, rural development, African traditions, and cooperative behavior. The subsequent discussion focuses on cross-national contexts (that is, English medium and Swahili medium perspectives irrespective of national boundaries) and within-nation contexts (relating to salient policy features in each country. Six statistical tables are appended, along with footnotes and a list of government and party official documents and school texts from each country. (TE)

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Number Eighteen

COMPARATIVE EDUCATION CENTER

FACULTY OF EDUCATIONAL STUDIES
STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT BUFFALO

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FOREWORD

There has been a great deal of research since the 1960s on the emergent school systems of sub-Saharan Africa. That research, for the most part, has focused on patterns of school expansion and attempts to relate that expansion to nation-building, social equity, and to economic modernization. Some of the scholarship has sought to find ways to distribute education more equitably; other has focused on ways in which education could relate more closely to the job market and to the dissemination of technology. While this research has told us much about who goes to school and the somewhat dubious fit between education and social equality, national integration and modernization, most research has treated the schools as the proverbial black box. Emphasis has been on the outcomes of education, not on what is taught and learned in schools. Research often has assumed that the content of education reflects national policy. Dennis Mbuyi's study of school texts in Kenya and Tanzania is one of the few that seeks to ask what schools purport to teach and whether that has anything to do with national policy goals. As such, it makes a major contribution to the study of African educational systems.

While Dr. Mbuyi's study focuses on the translation of educational policies into school texts, his work also addresses the issue of the language of education. There has been a considerable body of research which argues that linguistic medium is the most important element of curriculum. Dennis Mbuyi's study compares the English and Swahili language texts in use in the primary grades in Kenya and Tanzania and asks if language is the key element in determining the content of instruction.

Dennis Mbuyi began this study as a doctoral student in the Comparative Education Center at SUNY/Buffalo. We are delighted to be able to present his

research as the 18th in the Comparative Education Center's Special Studies Series.

Gail P. Kelly
Associate Director

BEYOND POLICY AND LANGUAGE CHOICE: Analysis of Texts in four Instructional Contexts in East Africa

Dennis M. Mbuyi

Introduction*

Language policies and strategies for implementing mother tongue education that African governments have adopted over the past three decades remain largely problematic. This study, of English and Swahili texts in use in Kenyan and Tanzanian primary schools, attempts to show that simply asking questions about whether to teach in mother tongues or colonial languages tends to mask the broader and yet most significant questions of the relevance of educational content. The monograph looks at both national policy and linguistic medium and compares and contrasts the articulation of national goals into these textbooks.

While the centrality of language in the whole network of communication systems we use is generally well recognized, there are, nonetheless, significant divergences in perceptions surrounding the nature and role of language and its relationship to culture and thought.[1] It is also a fact that in multilingual societies all over the world language policy is usually a controversial issue and a potential threat as it might lead to explosive tensions and disrupt political systems that have failed to resolve the conflict between language groups.[2]

Many third world nations, especially in Asia and Africa, are characterized by multilingualism largely inherited from their colonial experience. In the early independence years, they were confronted with a painful language policy dilemma over the selection of national languages and/or media of instruction.[3]

*I am grateful to Gail P. Kelly and Philip G. Altbach for generous encouragement and constructive commentary on earlier drafts.

Much of the complexity and confusion over language problems stems naturally from this multilingualism but also from the diversity of 'expert opinion' which has frequently provided partial, inconclusive or greatly divergent answers.

The roots of the linguistic diversity in the African context are historically traced back to the colonial conquest and partition of the continent when the present geographical boundaries were drawn, but with only few of them along traditional ethno-linguistic lines.[4] Thus, obvious economic and administrative considerations have led to the adoption of the former colonial languages as official or national languages in the new multilingual nations. However, for a number of the new leaders such language policies carry with them the seeds of destruction for a genuine concept of independence and cultural autonomy. To be sure, the debate over which languages (local or colonial) should be adopted as official or national media of communication is yet to be settled.

Language policies in the new multilingual nations have been subjugated to two major conflicting demands or needs: (1) goals of cultural identity, and (2) economic expediency as represented by the status quo of colonial languages. Regardless of the type of considerations behind the practicality of the continued use of colonial languages, such policies do raise some crucial questions with respect to the so-called 'colonialist dogma' (equating colonial languages with civilization and modernity) and the 'fitness' of local languages to replace colonial languages (capacity to carry modern and scientific concepts).[5]

On the educational level, the fact remains that there are still fundamental differences in what is perceived to be merits/demerits over the use of African or European languages (or both) in the current web of multilingualism. Research on these topics has remained of little help to policymakers as there is no conclusive evidence on which to base a more comprehensible theory. Conflicting

interpretations and claims are drawn, largely on the basis of ideology or political orientation, about advantages and disadvantages of one policy or the other.[6]

When educational achievements and services are to be viewed from the perspective of the role national cultures and languages could and should play in a system of education genuinely directed toward socioeconomic and cultural development, the argument in favor of African languages (rather than colonial ones) becomes almost irresistible. The pitfall, under these circumstances, remains the danger of adopting 'mother tongue education' divorced from concern with the content of education.[7]

While the concept of 'mother tongue education', based on the principle of 'linguistic self-determination' and strongly endorsed by UNESCO, has restored interest in minorities languages it leads unavoidably into enormous problems of implementation in many third world countries.[8] The costs involved in transforming each and every existing local language into a medium of instruction in order to preserve the psychological and pedagogical needs of children are staggering, and more importantly, the ends may be questionable as the use of the local language is usually limited (confined) to the early elementary years of schooling.[9] A real danger represented by 'mother tongue' ideologies lies in that governments or educational authorities will mistake the mere adoption of mother tongue education for a panacea for the myriad problems that face their educational systems. Too much emphasis already seems to have been placed on 'mother tongue education' and the whole movement is likely bound to deflect energies and monies that could be used creatively to seek much needed and appropriate 'remedies' elsewhere. Policymakers should come to the realization that merely changing the medium of instruction will not necessarily bring about a significant difference in the curriculum, nor will it improve automatically the problem of the curriculum's relevance to local needs so crucial in many

third world nations. It is equally indispensable to stress the urgency involved in tackling language policy matters and resist the temptation of frequent oscillations from one policy to another. This could prove to be detrimental for a more permanent development in many crucial functions of the school such as, for example, qualification of teachers, methods of instruction, balancing of curricula and timetables, sequencing of other subjects, etc.[10]

Absent from both hypothetical and empirically substantiated claims drawn from mother tongue education, colonial languages or bilingual-education findings is clearly a concern with content. It may be argued that the rationale behind all this theorizing and writing about the controversial nature of language matters in third world nations is grounded in the assumption that the choice of a medium of instruction can be divorced meaningfully from content issues. The study reported here, in contrast, was designed to consider curricular content and the relation between linguistic medium, curricular context and social policy.

Although it may be only commonsensical to assume that mother tongue medium-textbooks will be more relevant to the local needs and teach more about the local culture[11], it has never been proven conclusively that 'language switch' is the factor responsible for making the curriculum relevant. And mother tongue education per se may or may not amount to much in determining the content of education.[12]

On the other hand, there has developed in recent years widespread recognition that curricular content and orientations are mainly determined by a particular model of development in a given society.[13] In this view, the curriculum core of the schools (reference to values and forms of knowledge) is shaped or molded by social and educational policies. Educational policy is used here following Ballinger (1966) and refers specifically to the 7th broad type so

as to underscore the linkage between educational system and fabric of society. The emphasis is put accordingly on the 'normative' nature of policies as well as the 'value base' underlying them; and makes it easier to conceive them as being the 'vital link' between a given society (the environment of a curriculum system) and a given educational system. The socio-political sensitivities of education, in general, and the curriculum system, in particular, may not be quite obvious in certain political systems. However, they are present in both decentralized and highly centralized educational systems in the world.[14]

There exists an extensive body of research and theorizing in sociology of education that explores the complex and yet significant relationships between society and/or culture and education. The variety of studies concerned here corresponds, in fact, to a variety of views on the functions/roles of education vis-a-vis society and are essentially determined by a given world view and ideological orientation which is inherent within each theoretical perspective.[15] It is, however, equally evident that much of this research tradition shares a common denominator despite divergences referred to above. And this is the realization that schools, in the final analysis, are shaped by and reflect societal/cultural characteristics, needs, views, etc. Whether viewed from a 'conflict' or 'functional' theory, schools are instruments of society regardless of whose interests/needs are served and regardless of how society is defined.[16]

While many studies in this tradition do focus on society and education relationships, their central concern has remained confined almost exclusively to macro-level type of analysis. They focus on the functions of institutions; rarely do they directly study what is taking place within the classroom itself or the curriculum core per se (materials taught, teaching and learning processes, classroom interactions, etc.).[17] Again this study builds upon this tradition and has attempted to bridge the gap between macro- and micro-

frameworks. Language policies and practices and their relation to social realities are examined here through school textbooks.

There is a well established tradition of research that uses textbooks as a way of analyzing curriculum.[18] One of the underlying tenets in this tradition is that textbooks are good indicators of 'core values' in which the country's leadership wishes to inculcate its younger generations. They are conceived as defining attitudes, social mores, expectations, values, behavior patterns, etc., that are 'congruent' to the 'ideal citizen' as defined by the leadership's world view and ideological orientation.[19] Studies of textbooks thus assume some kind of linkage between policy and content, although the relationship may not always be a perfect one. While it is obvious that textbooks constitute just one 'element within the school environment', it is, however, equally important to stress the crucial role they play in the African context. Textbooks, in fact, do play a crucial function in the whole process of teaching and learning in many parts on the continent. Indeed, given the conditions of schooling which put heavy emphasis almost exclusively on the expository method, children have no other option than learn by rote. Knowledge packaged into "facts" is taken to be contained in textbooks and transmitted by teachers who tend to view these same textbooks as reflecting the beginning and ending of the entire human stock of accumulated 'facts'.[20] Textbooks are also characterized by 'uniformity of message' throughout national school systems and their availability is increasingly taken to be the most consistent and positive 'determinant of academic achievement'.[21] There are some limitations in using texts to analyze "school" knowledge. Such an analysis does not deal with the values that children internalize from schooling.[22]

The approach used to carry out this study is clearly eclectic as it draws on research in the traditions of linguistic and sociology of knowledge. The design

and nature of data are based on two major assumptions: (1) that educational policy and school texts are good indicators of societal "core" values and future orientations, and (2) that salient policy features and values will likely be translated into school texts. East Africa, in the case of Kenya and Tanzania, affords us the opportunity to examine a contrasting sample with respect to models of development and educational policies. Indeed, official policy statements, in the two nations, suggest very different conceptions of social and educational policies. The language situation in both nations also provides interesting parallels in that despite, linguistic diversity (colonial, regional, and local languages), Swahili has definitely been chosen as the national language. English, the former colonial language has, nevertheless, retained its influence and official status. In both nations, elementary grade children are exposed to English-medium as well as Swahili-medium textbooks.

Language policies and practices and their relation to social realities are examined here through the analysis of elementary textbooks. Content analysis was used to examine data derived from 4 sets of instructional contexts: Kenya/English, Kenya/Swahili, Tanzania/English, Tanzania/Swahili. In each case, it has been possible to examine and relate significant or known characteristics of government educational policy and the values underlying them to similarities/differences in both English and Swahili texts in within- and cross-national settings.

The findings have been organized around the following broad categories: Daily Life, Africanization, Bases for Legitimating Knowledge, Self-Help, Egalitarianism, Value of Education, Work Emphasis, National Integration, Rural Development, African Traditions and Cooperative Behavior.[23] Textual materials from all four instructional contexts, carried stories, poems, and a wide range of reading materials usually related to the surrounding realities and everyday activities of people (in both urban and rural environments) as well as

historical accounts, etc. They also carried selections about traditional knowledge (beliefs, attitudes, practices). In short, "messages" carried involved a rich mix of topics ranging from purely informational to behavioral ones.

The discussion of each major theme identified in the four sets was done both via distribution and frequency of themes as well as via the kind of treatment (negative/positive) accorded these themes. Overall, a careful attempt was made to identify patterns of images emerging throughout the sets in order to determine the nature of "messages" implied in the texts. Ultimately, it was hoped that by assessing the extent to which certain emphases or concerns were articulated, in terms of both information conveyed and attitudes encouraged or discouraged and through what was perceived to be good or bad behavior, one shall be able to compare "messages" and salient policy features and values.[24]

The discussion which follows is organized around (1) cross-national contexts (that is, English-medium and Swahili-medium perspectives and ignoring national boundaries); (2) within-national contexts (that is, around a clustering of some salient policy features in each country). Will emphases identified in the texts best explained because of, or regardless of, language medium or policy considerations? Before proceeding, however, with the findings on texts, the following section will first outline the ideological differences between the two nations (through stated policy and what they have actually done in education since independence).

Background Notes

The outline on the differences in government educational policies and the values underlying them is crucial here since we are concerned with whether these values are translated into school texts in the four instructional contexts mentioned earlier. The focus on the post-independence period while germane

here, should not be taken as suggesting that the other periods (the pre- and colonial-periods) do not provide meaningful backgrounds to contemporary social and educational policies in both countries.[25] The focus on the post-independence period may be justified on many grounds. Despite many obvious elements of continuity between the colonial- or post-independence periods and regardless of any interpretation of the nature of 'formal independence' in Africa, the post-colonial state is different from the previous colonial state in one crucial aspect an indigenous leadership now has more direct control over the state.[26]

Another important characteristic of this same period is the new leadership's full recognition and use of education as an instrument of social change. The doctrine of the economics of education is fully predominant and explicit in the operating principles of the new ministries of education is the strong faith in the powers of education. Education is perceived, almost without any reservation, to be the 'precursor' of development. And many "nation-builders" are convinced that a society and its economy can be transformed through education.[27] The whole notion of "nation-building" requires the new leadership to create an entirely new set of values and new cultures. Broadly, the task would consist in giving new identities, new loyalties, or just rediscovering an identity which colonialism by oppression or by assimilation had tended to destroy or falsify. Viewed from this perspective, the new leadership becomes central to any understanding of the directions and options taken since their respective country's attainment of formal independence. The major question asked in this paper focuses on the reality and central role of the "nation-state" and its "indigenous inheritors" as it has to do with whether different sets of government policies result in different educational experiences.

Problems of resources and constraints of underdevelopment had, undeniably, a great impact on postindependence educational policy and led inevitably to the

setting up of 'priorities' in both countries' efforts to plan education. During their first decade of independence, Kenya and Tanzania emerged from the same colonial culture and prior to 1967 pursued very similar educational policies built upon the foundations of their inherited colonial legacy.[28] The first measures to be taken were directed at eradicating the segregated racial systems of education of British colonialization in East Africa.[29] Both countries adopted a "manpower planning perspective" and as a result tended to favor the expansion of post-primary and technical education at the expense of mass primary education. The view that primary education was essentially nonproductive, except as a "pool of recruitment" for secondary and technical levels was bound to create tensions in the two countries. Especially, when these policy decisions were taken right after the end of colonialism and in opposition to most parents' aspirations for their children's education.

Similarity may also be found in how the two countries responded to the pressures over "localization".[30] At independence, many important posts were still held by expatriates and the only 'adequate' way to localize these posts was through education and training. However, as things stood the inherited educational systems were simply not equipped to satisfy the needs for middle- and high-level manpower. And, to further complicate the situation, the chosen "route" (education and training) meant a long-term solution and obviously not appropriate to respond to immediate pressures of African populations with respect to "localization".[31] In the case of Tanzania, the leadership faced a difficult dilemma by subscribing to the manpower policy. Implicitly, this jeopardized the mere foundations of any "egalitarian socialist society" for the sake of economic development.[32]

A similar emphasis in policies, in the mid-sixties, is clearly perceptible in the area of "Africanization" of curricular content. Efforts to

bring the curriculum closer to 'African culture and needs' have remained a constant theme in both nations, although it is not always clear what exactly is meant by the concept of the "Africanization" of the school.[33] Whatever forms "Africanization" took in Kenya and Tanzania in the early 1960s, the Africanization did not shake up the structure and content of schooling.[34] Attempts at Africanization were noticeable only in adaptations of such subjects as history, geography and citizenship as well as some superficial revisions of textbooks.

The major barrier to any meaningful Africanization remained the fact that the whole educational system in Kenya and Tanzania was geared to the requirements of preparing students to "British-oriented" examinations and matriculation to "British-oriented" universities.[35] Of greater significance in restricting any real measure of Africanization of content, more so in the case of Kenya than Tanzania, have been the language policy dilemma and frequent oscillations that have characterized this policy. Decisions concerning what roles will be assigned to the former colonial-language and/or African mother tongues both in schools and the society at large are highly and politically sensitive. Obviously, they are particularly quite important to any curriculum arrangement as well as its relevance.

Both Kenya and Tanzania are characterized by a diversity of mother tongues. In both nations, the 'trilingual' pattern prevails and consists broadly of (1) English, the former colonial language; (2) Swahili, an African lingua franca; and (3) local mother tongues.[36] African languages in the two countries belong to 4 or 5 major linguistic groupings: Bantu, Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic or Para-Nilotic, Khoisan and Cushitic

In Kenya, among the predominant mother tongues (both numerically and politically) are the Kikuyu, Kamba, Luyia, etc. Some 66% of the population (it is estimated) speak a mother tongue from the Bantu grouping, thus making this

family of languages the most predominant. The Nilotic branch comprises 15% of the population (the Masai belong to this group), 16% of the population speak a Para Nilotic language while the remaining 3% speak a Cushitic language. Swahili which is a Bantu language originated from the coastal area and is widely spread. It is estimated that some 70 or 75% of Kenya's population speak the language compared, for example, to only 20% for Kikuyu the most dominant of Kenya's mother tongues.[37]

In Tanzania, the Bantu branch is equally predominant as it includes around a hundred languages compared to only twenty non-Bantu mother-tongues. Some of Tanzania's important mother tongues are: Sukuma, Nyamwenzi, Haya, Chigga, etc., among the Bantu family and Masai among the non-Bantu branch. In Tanzania, unlike neighboring Kenya, while the total number of all mother tongues is relatively higher the number of native speakers of each language is, by contrast, very low For example, Sukuma the most predominant of Tanzania's language is spoken only by an estimated 10% of the population. In fact, the leading cluster of 15 languages comprises only 35% of the population while the remaining 65% are shared by some 89 mother tongues. The spread of Swahili, as a lingua franca, is quite extensive in Tanzania, around 90% of the population.[38]

One important aspect in this context and relevant to both countries is the development of Swahili as an African lingua franca and its perception as "nobody's language" in the broader web of each nation's multilingualism.[39] Against this backdrop, it is interesting to observe that language policy took divergent turns following each country's formal independence. Kenya, unlike Tanzania, opted for English, the former colonial language, as the exclusive medium of instruction through all levels of schooling. On a more broader socio-political context, English has been the national and official language of the land.[40] Irrespective of any clarification over whose nation, culture, and needs

"Africanization" is to proceed, one might still raise the question of whether "Africanization" can be achieved while leaving untouched the basis itself of the colonial system of education that is, the colonial language as a medium of instruction.[41] With regard to language policy, in the early years of independence, Tanzania's leadership decided to use Swahili (rather than English) as a tool of political and socio-economic integration.[42] Swahili was given national language status while English remained the official language. This policy did not always reflect a coherent strategy free from ambiguities and hesitations, especially, in the school context. Indeed, with the emergence of a dual type of education (brought about by integrative measures taken soon after independence), the division of roles between English and Swahili led to an educational system divided between English-medium and Swahili-medium schools. (This applied to elementary schools only. Secondary levels were exclusively English-medium). Coupled with the problem of school fee differentials the situation led inevitably to the emergence of a hierarchy between the two systems of elementary schools with the result that access to English-medium schools (which were indeed expensive) were restricted to high income families.[43] The political implications resulting from this two-stream educational system for Tanzania threatened to undermine the foundations of the new society.[44] What many consider to be a purposeful use of Swahili as a social and political instrument by Tanzania's leadership had to await until 1967 when the language was finally promoted to the status of both national and official language of the land.[45]

It is significant to stress the fact that, despite some differences in the colonial settings of the two East African states and the contrast between their respective process leading to formal independence, both states share the same colonial culture.[46] Faced with similar cultural legacy of colonialism, the

strategies and order of priorities, in the early years of independence, in both countries were largely similar with respect to social and educational policies.

With the Arusha Declaration of 1967 in Tanzania, growing divergences in social, political and educational policies became evident and differentiate sharply Tanzania from Kenya.[47] With Arusha, the leadership in Tanzania expressed their commitment to build a new society based on socialism rather than capitalism. Consequently, the building of this new nation would require the development of alternative policies focusing on egalitarianism, cooperative ownership of the means of production, self-reliance (agriculture and rural development), democratic participation, and eventual socialism. Starting in 1967 Tanzania has adopted strategies and order of priorities aimed at breaking away from capitalist forms of growth and taken steps to counter the residual effects of the colonial legacy. Government efforts have been directed to the development of educational programs designed to promote a "mass approach" that would give the majority a basic education (as opposed to an "elitist" education). Equally significant are efforts to integrate this type of education into an economic strategy aimed at productive rural living.[48]

By contrast, the Kenya's leadership did not feel the need to search for an 'alternative model'. The building of the new society was to proceed through capitalist forms of growth, and accordingly strategies and priorities have been along essentially traditional lines (that is, within the inherited 'colonial model').

While Tanzania has attempted, after 1967, to integrate social planning, manpower and economic activities, Kenya has not attempted such a comprehensive approach during the first decade of independence. For sure, there has been a great deal of discussion and concern over the desirability of a more comprehensive integration of these areas, but the implementation is yet to take place.[49] Despite the adoption of the manpower policy, (which gave the highest

priority to the expansion of opportunities for secondary education at the expense of mass primary education, Universal Primary Education (UPE) was still considered to be a major preoccupation in Kenya.

Complexities involved in educational reforms, the long-run solutions, far away from satisfying immediate parental pressures for more education, led inevitably to the emergence of Harambee schools, with all the intricacies they brought in for policymaking in Kenya. Indeed, the leadership viewed these schools as representing a double threat, in that they were likely to disrupt the government manpower strategy and increase unemployment; they were also likely to produce "strong local and tribal feelings" and undermine "nationhood".[50] Because of the political sensitivities involved here, the government remained ambivalent with respect to Harambee schools during the first decade of independence. In fact, the ambiguities in relation to these community "self-help" schools remained until the 1974-78 Development Plan (When it was then decided to provide some financial aid and an adequate preparation for the Kenya Junior Secondary Examinations).

With the difficulties involved in achieving a single and fully integrated educational system, out of the inherited racially segregated systems, it was not until 1967 that a unified syllabus was made available in Kenya. According to the unified syllabus, primary schools were viewed largely as providing a "fundamental education" (in relation to literacy, numeracy, manual dexterity and general knowledge of the world). The focus on general education was intended to reconcile the conflicting needs/requirements of the small minority who did go on to further education, and the majority of pupils who did not go beyond elementary school.[51] With regard to secondary education, it has been mainly characterized by the "ideology of expansion". There has been very little 'Africanization' of the curriculum.[52] Absent from all this period are efforts

aimed at radical and substantive changes in the curriculum. Questions were rarely asked about the nature itself of the educational process in Kenya. The translation of policy into school practice has been negatively affected by the lack of coordination and coherent division of labor among various units charged with the responsibility of education and curriculum development. The lack of a more closely controlled and integrated policy for curriculum research and development has had detrimental consequences in Kenya.[53] The 'Africanization' of the curriculum in Harambee schools fared no better. More concerned with "expansion", they remained obsessed with academic-type education and resisted any attempt to broaden their curricula (such as including greater emphasis on the practical needs of a largely rural economy).

A new awareness over the need for qualitative changes has become unmistakably apparent following the Kericho Conference.[54] The eventual shift in priorities and strategies would likely take into consideration rural development as an alternative approach to the predominant urban and modern formal sector bias. Greater emphasis on the creation of various income earning opportunities would likely emerge in the general context of raising living conditions in villages.

Given the web and intricacies of the linguistic diversity (multilingualism) in Sub-Sahara Africa, one of the major and pressing issues has been the controversy over the choice of a medium (or media) of instruction. Should the medium of instruction be the mother tongue or African language; or should it be a colonial/world language? What are the advantages/disadvantages of following a curriculum in the mother tongue or the world language? Is the continued use of European languages in African education an example of neocolonialism, or merely an efficient and convenient means to better educate students?[55] For sure, a number of considerations have led African nations, in the post-independence period, to adopt language policies based essentially on their own political

ideology or willingness to view (positively/negatively) the implications to be drawn from chosen language policy. While sociolinguistic factors have almost nothing to do with current language policies[56] the inability of research to resolve unequivocally issues involved in the choice of African languages versus European languages has not benefited policymaking in this area. Overall, strategies for implementing African languages in Sub-Sahara African education have remain problematic and a real difficult challenge. This situation has been detrimental for a more permanent national development and stability in curriculum objectives by subjugating language policies to frequent oscillations.[57]

Language policy history in Kenya seems to be marked by these 'frequent-oscillations'. Based largely on efficiency grounds, English was chosen as the exclusive medium of instruction in the early years of independence. While this policy was clear and consistent, it did not last long. In 1970 Swahili was declared official language, but nothing of "substance" has been done to implement the policy.[58] On the educational level, there has been some discussion to return to African languages, at least, for the first three years of primary education.[59] As for Tanzania, language policy has been clear and consistent since 1967. The leadership opted for Swahili as the exclusive medium through all primary schools while English remained, still the medium for the majority of subjects at the secondary level. The promotion of Swahili in the country has been justified on political and cultural grounds. Policy making in Tanzania after 1967 has been significantly influenced by the philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR). A major shift has been perceptible, for example, in the content of the curriculum which reflects greater emphasis on rural training and political education. Decisions were made to reorient and

redesign primary schools and make them an integral part of the new Ujamaa Villages.[60]

There is also a stark difference in the perceived "value of education", in the post-Arusha period, between Kenya and Tanzania. While education is viewed, essentially, in terms of its potential contribution to the promotion of "socialism" (that is, its assumed capacity to foster such virtues as self-sacrifice, social duty, and a more positive identification with Tanzania leadership's goals and policies, etc.); education in Kenya is, mainly, considered as the "most accessible route to individual social and economic advancement."[61] On the broader socio-economic level, differences between the two nations could be found, with respect to policies aimed at reducing the "elite-mass gap" in salaries and privileges. In Tanzania, unlike in Kenya, these measures tended to reflect the leadership's concerns to achieve some degree of "egalitarianism" by preventing the emergence of an "excessively large technocratic elite".[62] In Kenya, on the other hand, differences on individual privileges and salaries are considered to be "necessary forms of incentive" and justified on the ground that they "reflect differences in achievement and in the individual's contribution to society."[63]

In sum, faced with similar problems of resources and the overall constraints of underdevelopment, educational policymaking in both countries (starting in the mid-1960s) has been marked by notable and sharp differences. The responsiveness of education to political and economic requirements tended to vary largely as a function of their respective chosen "model of development" and the leadership's commitment/determination to free policymaking from the burden inherited from the colonial past. Policymaking remains a dynamic process and not immune to ambivalences and/or ambiguities.[64] Following is a summary of salient values in the two nations.

1. Kenya's Policy.

Predominant features of Kenya's stated policy (social and educational) may be reduced to the following values and goals: nationhood and stability, rapid national growth and efficiency of institutions, top priority to education (schools are highly selective whose main function is to identify and reward talents; also viewed primarily as the best "access route" for the advancement of individual, society and economy), assumed role and rural development (stress on agricultural production and the informal sector of the economy to generate increased self-employment opportunities in the countryside), concerns to build the new society based upon "African Traditions" (taken here to mean political democracy and mutual social responsibility).

2. Tanzania's Policy.

Tanzania's stated policy is characterized mostly by the following values and goals: social transformation based upon "socialism", rural development (based upon collective agriculture and communal villages/Ujamaa, fundamental reorientation of education (schools viewed, primarily, as contributing to bringing about social transformation by fostering a sense of social duty and primacy of a rural and peasant environment, top priority to cooperative, rather than individualistic behavior and form of production.

What do the Kenyan and Tanzanian sets of texts, both English and Swahili, reveal in terms of translating national values and goals? What are the educational "messages" presented to Kenyan and Tanzanian pupils and are these messages consistent with each country's stated policy? On another level, the study asks to what extent will similarities/differences in content be distributed as a result, or regardless, of the linguistic medium? In other words, will the reasons for the distribution of dominant themes (images) lie in- or out-side the linguistic medium?

The remainder of this monograph analyses texts in use in the schools to answer these questions. The analysis in the following section is done, first of all, by language because of the implicit design of the study that draws on the hypothesis of linguistic relativity (the study incorporated two languages), English and Swahili, that differ markedly). Indeed, consistent with the hypothesis, cross-nation pairings of the four cells are expected to exhibit strong similarities by language (English/English and Swahili/Swahili). In other words, ignoring national boundaries and national goals.

1. ENGLISH-MEDIUM SETS. (Cross-Nation Contexts)

When the findings are looked at from the English language perspective, two contrasting patterns of images emerge differentiated not only quantitatively, but also from the differences in treatment (negative/positive stress) identified in the majority of the categories and dimensions used in this study.[65]

Overall, Kenyan English language materials tended to emphasize the following categories and dimensions: Urban Life, Ethnic/Tribal, Books and Schools, Personal Ethic and Self-Advancement. By contrast, Tanzanian English language materials stressed the following: Rural Life, Nation, World, Independence and collective-Efforts, Europe and Social Ethic. (See Table 1 for the respective emphases involved.)

DAILY LIFE

English language materials for Kenya place heavy stress on urban life as opposed to rural life which is devoted little attention. By contrast, similar materials in Tanzania have tended to under-emphasize urban life and instead stressed rural life. There is also considerable variation in th way English language texts in the two countries present "Daily Life" in urban and rural settings. The presentation of urban life receives far much positive coverage in Kenya than it does in Tanzania. By contrast, an inverse treatment is well evident in the case of rural life which is portrayed appealingly in the

Tanzanian texts,[66] while being depicted mostly in negative terms in the Kenyan texts.[67]

The Kenyan texts tended to focus on a spectrum of attractive objects that make the lure of urban areas almost irresistible, especially, in the light of hardships and miserable living conditions shown in the texts to be associated with rural areas in Kenya. Furthermore, in Kenyan texts, rural dwellers are portrayed as objects of despair and hopelessness. By contrast, Tanzanian texts under-emphasize life in urban areas and focused instead on efforts by villagers to bring development, in the forms of various social amenities, to rural areas. Villagers themselves are shown to be the major actors in rural development (generally, based on a life of collective agriculture). In fact, a number of stories involving rural life emphasize local self-initiatives and the peasants' sense of independence as well as a strong attachment to cooperative forms of action. There seems to be in the Tanzanian English-medium texts a deliberate attempt aimed at rehabilitating the image of rural life and the peasants.

The message is clear and would tend to fit the official stated concern which emphasizes the goals of Ujamaa and rural development. By contrast, the images of rural life in the Kenyan English-medium texts reveal a view of it as backward and an altogether undesirable habitat. Thus the message here appears to conflict with official statements on the importance of rural development, since no congruent emphases seem reflected in these texts.

AFRICANIZATION

The presentation of "Africanization" in the two English-medium sets is also different along most of the dimensions of this category. The emphasis placed on "Family", "Ethnic/Tribal" dimensions in the two sets is greater in the Kenyan than in the Tanzanian texts. (Compare 8% to 3% and 7% to 1.5%, respectively for "Family" and "Ethnic/Tribal" in Kenya and Tanzania). Indeed, the Kenyan texts

in their presentation of "Family" have tended to favor a clear-cut orientation towards a "nuclear" rather than an "extended" type-of family.[68] By contrast, the Tanzanian texts tended to favor the opposite orientation, towards the "extended" family. And usually, the concept is used in a broader sense as the presentation of family relationships or activities is used to convey the importance of Ujamaa by attempting to fit it within the new image of solidarity that the Tanzanian leadership is striving to foster.[69]

The "nuclear" family remains the predominant feature in the Kenyan texts. Parents and children, for example, are portrayed together in many stories as they engage in a number of activities. In some instances "extended" family members are introduced in the texts, but only to identify them as "outsiders" and thus make clear the demarcation between the two types of family.[70] Comparing the relative attention given to the "family" in the two sets, its incidence is far greater in the Kenyan rather than in the Tanzanian English-medium texts. The predominance of "nuclear" and the corresponding presentation of this type of family as the "ideal" model is also evident in the Kenyan texts. By contrast, the Tanzanian texts use the concept of the "extended" family not necessarily as a unit of activities in the convential sense, but rather as a way of teaching, in a meaningful fashion, a new sense of "brotherhood" or Ujamaa.

ETHNIC/TRIBAL

Here again, a clear contrast is evident not only as measured by frequency of occurrence, but also in the differential treatment (positive/negative) stress of this theme in the two sets of texts. The incidence is greater in the Kenyan texts. (See Table 1 for proportions.) The few stories in the Tanzanian texts where this theme is implied dealt essentially with past or traditional knowledge. However, a lesson or message is usually drawn and extended to contemporary matters, especially, to focus on "national" integration.[71]

The treatment of "Ethnic/Tribal" is presented differently in the Kenyan texts as the ethnic group or tribe is usually conceived to be an important unit of activities in the texts.[72] It is used to identify and differentiate one such self-contained "unit" from other similar "units" on a variety of levels (culture, language, habitat, beliefs, education,...)

The comparison between the treatment of "ethnic" and "tribal" aspects in the two sets raises the inevitable question about the potential danger implied in any type of dual development of loyalties, in this case, between traditional (associated with ethnic/tribal) and national (associated with the nation-state) loyalties. The issue remains, of course, one of achieving or at least attempting to achieve a balance between the two.

The Tanzanian texts seem to have avoided altogether the difficult dilemma by de-emphasizing images of "ethnic or tribal" identities and by focusing only on creating new identities and loyalties based on the nation-state. The Kenyan texts, by contrast, do not seem to present a clear-cut image in this respect, as both ethnic/tribal and nation dimensions are accorded almost the same amount of attention in English-medium texts (See Table 1).

In any case, these images which tend to suggest some kind of "tribal citizenship" appear to be in conflict with official policy which stresses strongly "national" integration.[73]

NATION AND OTHER COUNTRIES

The respective emphases placed on Nation, Europe and World are greater in the Tanzanian than in the Kenyan texts (See Table 1). The treatment tended to differ significantly in the two sets of texts, and with respect to the three dimensions involved here.

NATION

The presentation of "Nation" in the Kenyan texts is clearly limited to a small range of topics and symbols. Examples where concerns with "national"

integration have been identified include stories describing the country's geographical features, wildlife and game reserves as well as economic activities. One important theme associated with "Nation" in the Kenyan texts is concerned with the capacity of the country to generate wealth. This type of preoccupation is rarely reflected in the Tanzanian texts. In contrast, the latter texts present various aspects connected with "national" integration and whose examples include a variety of political symbols, ranging from such conventional symbols as the flag and the anthem to the more localized such as political parties. But among the most emphasized are certainly those focusing on the contribution of farmers in the building of the nation. The children are also directed, through this patriotic education, to an awareness of building a nation based on "rural socialism."

In the Tanzanian texts, it is clear that the leadership's preoccupation with building a "socialist" nation is well translated in the texts. Kenyan texts, on the other hand, rarely refer to the people who are supposed to be involved in this process of "national" integration.

OTHER COUNTRIES

The presentation of other countries, Europe in particular, also differs significantly in the respective emphases placed on them in the two sets of English-medium texts. The greater incidence recorded in the Tanzanian texts is due to the heavy concentration on themes related to the colonial experiences of Tanzania with her two colonial "masters", Germany and Britain.

The treatment is usually concerned or linked to themes of oppression, exploitation, and other injustices characteristic of the colonial regime. In contrast, there is no reflection of these themes in the Kenyan texts.

SELF-HELP

Also characterized by considerable variation is the way in which English language texts seem to encourage attitudes related especially to notions of "subordination" and "collective efforts" in the two countries.

The whole notion of subordination, taken to imply a lack of a sense of independence, initiative and creativity, is completely absent from the Tanzanian texts. By contrast, it has been identified in a number of stories in the Kenyan texts (3.9%). Usually, the context where this concept is implied tended to be associated with peasants.

In these stories peasants are repeatedly portrayed as being passive, submissive, and mostly depended on others (perceived to be major actors). On the other hand, the incidence of "collective efforts" is greater in the Tanzanian texts (4.6% against 1%) and the treatment of these themes tended to focus primarily on cooperative forms of living and working under Ujamaa and the benefits derived from such forms of organization. Usually, the presentation of "collective efforts" is linked to the peasants' sense of independence and participation. Repeatedly stressed is the message that success and survival is a direct result of collective endeavors by peasants themselves (using local resources and initiative).[76]

The emphasis and differential treatment of "collective efforts" in the two countries seem to reflect somewhat contrasting orientations toward collective and individual activities.

The focus on collective efforts in Tanzania may be conceived as part of Ujamaa, that is, aimed at a broader social transformation based on a life of collective agriculture. By contrast, Kenyan texts paid little attention to collective efforts as stories about participation or team work are virtually non-existent. In one story, for example, where team work is implied, the whole

story centers around a rescue mission to save some mountain climber.[77] Thus collective efforts do not seem to play any significant part in the Kenyan texts.

EGALITARIANISM

A clear contrast between the two sets of texts is evident in this category and involves both frequencies and treatment along the two dimensions of this category ("Social Ethic" and "Personal Ethic"). With "Social Ethic," the incidence is greater in Tanzanian texts (4.3%) than in Kenyan texts (merely 0.4%). The incidence of the category "Personal Ethic" is greater in Kenyan texts (5.5%) contrasted with only 1% recorded in Tanzanian texts.

The treatment of themes of "egalitarianism" in Tanzanian texts tended to reflect a consistent pattern of images aimed at teaching the virtues of cooperation, appreciation and respect of others based on "what they are and not on what they have."[78] The presentation of "Social Ethic" in Tanzanian texts, taken together with the virtual absence of "Personal Ethic" appears to direct the children's attention to the leadership's broader program of socialist transformation.

In contrast, the dominant feature of the Kenyan texts has remained their focus on "Personal Ethic." Much of the treatment accorded to these themes stresses the importance of individual entrepreneurial endeavors and striving to wealth or status. Some stories where this theme of "Personal Ethic" is involved, even praise individual ingenuity or skill to realize profits regardless of the means employed or people being hurt in the process.[79]

Given the absence of "Social Ethic" and the corresponding emphasis placed on "Personal Ethic" in Kenyan texts, this might be taken as exemplifying Kenya's leadership faith in the preeminence of the individual over the group. Also, of considerable difference between Kenyan and Tanzanian texts are attitudes towards types of social relations encouraged in each country. While Tanzanian texts

seem to discourage any kind of social differentiation, or a life based on the privileges of the few, Kenyan texts, on the other hand, have not hesitated to portray the rich as the "ideal" model while the poor receives a less than sympathetic treatment in some stories.[80]

2. SWAHILI-MEDIUM SETS.

Shifting from English to Swahili materials, the same pattern of huge contrasts is evident between the two countries. Usually, the inverse relationship consists, as noted earlier, in what was emphasized in one context ending up by being de-emphasized in another, or vice-versa.

Overall, Swahili-medium materials in Kenya stressed the following categories: Nation, Urban Life, Family, Books/Schools, Africa, Europe and Ethnic/Tribal. On the other hand, Tanzanian texts, with the notable exception of "Nation" (equally emphasized in both texts), tended to pay more attention to the following: Collective Efforts and Independence, Elders, Rural Life, Europe, World, Africa and Social Ethic.

DAILY LIFE

Swahili-medium texts in Kenya pay much higher attention to urban life than do similar materials in Tanzania (compare 14% to 4%). And inversely, rural life, receives very little attention in Kenyan texts (2%) while the incidence of similar materials is clearly higher in Tanzanian texts (7.2%). There is also considerable variation in the way Swahili-medium materials in the two countries portray "Daily Life" in urban and rural settings. With the higher incidence of rural life in Tanzania, there is also a highly positive stress on the treatment of rural realities which remains, when compared to Kenyan texts, clearly unmatched. The treatment of Tanzania has favored to focus, in particular, on a variety of improvements taking place in the countryside. These may include such things as road construction, farming innovations, food and water supplies,

nutrition, sanitation, education, etc. Throughout the Tanzanian texts, it appears that every opportunity is taken to demonstrate and illustrate how effective peasants' participation under Ujamaa can be at improving living standards in the villages.[81]

In contrast, Swahili language texts in Kenya tended to under-emphasize rural realities and instead stressed the imperfections of the countryside. Many stories describe rural life in terms of the natural disasters that afflict rural areas (floods, droughts, famines), if not in terms of all kind of shortages of commodities that villagers have to contend with.[82] Further, while activities associated with farming, in general, are shown as being the most common and desirable in Tanzanian texts,[83] by contrast, they are seen negatively in the Kenyan texts as they are usually associated with miserable lifestyles.[84] The presentation of urban life stressed the attractions and attractiveness of urban areas in Kenya.

As in English language texts, modern buildings, stores, boulevards, parks, cars, ... remained the dominant features in stories about urban life in Kenyan Swahili texts. While the message in the case of Tanzania may be taken as an attempt to change the perception of Tanzanians about the rural sector, some ambivalence is apparent in Kenya. At one level, the leadership tends to stress the necessity for rural development as an important aspect of economic life in Kenya.[85] At the same time, however, no discernable emphasis can be found in the Swahili texts that would explicitly promote the valuing of Kenyan rural society. Thus the children seem to be directed to urban life rather than towards village life in Kenya.

AFRICANIZATION

Among the various dimensions under this category, the contrast is especially evident in the way Swahili language texts in the two countries present materials dealing with "Family", "Ethnic/Tribal", and "Europe". The incidence in the two

first cases is greater in Kenyan texts while the order of priorities is clearly reversed with respect to the presentation of "Europe" (See Table 1).

FAMILY

This is the most privileged unit of activities in Kenyan texts. Indeed, the majority of stories is set around a family backdrop and involves two main families (the Suleiman's and the Juma's). The presentation also favors almost exclusively nuclear- over extended-families. Different members are shown within tne context of their family roles. By contrast, Tanzanian Swahili texts have clearly under-emphasized materials dealing with "Family," and family viewed as a unity of activities has been used only in very few stories. But even then, the concept implied is that of the "extended" family and members are shown in a broader spectrum of other social roles (farmers, Party officials, judges, chiefs, etc.) instead of being introduced only embedded in their family roles (father, mother, siblings, uncles, aunts, etc.). For example, in the story of Mzee Masulya, he is not only introduced in the text as father but also as a provincial TANU official and a brave farmer.[86]

When the Kenyan texts treat the family, they always use it as an important unit of activities involving usually a monogamous family. By contrast, when the Tanzanian texts treat the family, they tend to link it to some larger concerns and thus tend to use it merely as a backdrop. This treatment has decreased considerably the overall impact of family in the Tanzanian texts.

ETHNIC/TRIBAL

As can be seen in Table 1, stories involving ethnic or tribal aspects are virtually non-existent in Tanzanian Swahili texts; by contrast, they are well represented in Kenyan Swahili language texts. The treatment of "Ethnic/Tribal" has focused mainly on the colonial penetration as experienced by various ethnic or tribal groupings in Kenya. And unlike similar Kenyan materials in English,

the introduction of colonial themes here provides the opportunity to broaden the "tribal" setting into an awareness of the larger context of the "nation-state."[87] Especially stressed in this context are acts of resistance or defiance to colonial rule, lack of cohesion among tribes in pre-colonial Kenya, praise for the anti-colonial movement and the role of Kenyatta within the nationalist struggle.

It is only in one story that the ethnic or tribal setting is shown primarily as a cultural unit of activities. This is well evident in the story of chief Lyongo, with the celebration of the saga of this legendary Swahili hero.[88] Overall, the treatment in Kenyan Swahili texts seems to emphasize loyalty to the "nation-state" and not to some "tribal citizenship."

EUROPE

Table 1 shows clearly that the incidence of "Europe" is by far greater in Tanzanian Swahili language texts (compare 10% against 1%). The few examples identified in the Kenyan texts are scattered references to one or several European countries. On the other hand, the higher concentration of "Europe" in Tanzanian Swahili texts involves mostly colonial settings (Arab, German and British). The treatment tended to focus especially on themes of oppression, exploitation and injustices characteristic of the colonial situation in Tanzania. Usually, these colonial settings are contrasted to the goodness and beneficial ways of life in pre- or post-colonial times.[89]

Anti-colonial sentiments are clearly suggested here as numerous stories describe, with some resentment, the way in which natives were assigned degrading roles within the colonial society, or the cruelty of colonial "masters" in cracking down on freedom movements. This stress on "Europe" is also used to convey the significance of the new regime's program to build a society far removed from the colonial model.

NATION

As noted earlier, this is obviously one notable exception to the identified trend of an inverse relationship between the two countries. Indeed, both Kenyan and Tanzanian Swahili language texts have placed a heavy emphasis on the treatment of "Nation." Table 1 indicates the respective proportion of materials dealing with "Nation" to be 19.5% and 24.0% in Kenya and Tanzania, respectively. It is the highest incidence in each case. Broadly, the focus also seems to take similar rather than divergent stress as many of the conventional political symbols are shown to be equally emphasized in both countries. Examples in each case include such items as: national flag, national anthem, national leaders, the government, anti-colonial movement national heroes,...

Tanzanian Swahili texts, however, differ to some extent in that they included (in addition to the above symbols) some others, reflecting explicitly a "local color". The latter involved specifically a commitment to government policies (self-reliance, Ujamaa, etc.) One story, for example, describes what is perceived to be a heroic act on the part of a young man who died during a march of support to the Arusha Declaration.[90] In the story, commitment to the leadership's political stand is explicitly suggested, even at the cost of self-sacrifice as the message states: "...this death teaches us youngsters of Tanzania to be ready to die in the name of our nation, because faith without actions is useless." In contrast, this kind of stress is totally absent from the Kenyan texts. Also absent from the spectrum of political symbols in Kenyan texts is the mention of any political parties as opposed to the inclusion of TANU is Tanzanian Swahili texts in the treatment of "Nation".

BASES FOR LEGITIMATING KNOWLEDGE

There is also a marked difference in the way Swahili language texts in the two countries present "Elders/Community" and "Books/Schools" as sources of knowledge. As shown in Table 1, the incidence with respect to "Elders" is

greater in Tanzanian texts, while it is greater in Kenyan texts with respect to "Books." Actually, stories devoted to "Elders/Community" in Tanzanian texts take up 8% as opposed to only 3.5% for similar materials in Kenyan texts. On the other hand, Swahili materials dealing with "Books/Schools" amount to 9% as opposed to only 3% in Tanzanian texts.

"Elders" as sources of knowledge are used quite extensively in Tanzanian texts. They are shown in a variety of situations where it is suggested explicitly that these are in fact important sources of knowledge,[91] even if in many of these stories it is also implied that they are illiterate. Settings usually connected to "Elders" include historical or biographical materials emphasizing such things as: respect for each human being, sharing of property, communal living and working, obligation to work, exploitation and oppression, functioning of certain institutions, etc. One common denominator with respect to "Elders" in Tanzanian Swahili texts seems to be the perception of the significance of their role as living "reference books" and their capacity to bridge the past and the present (touchstones to the past).

Taken together with the relatively low emphasis on "books/schools," this may be an indication about "rehabilitation" efforts aimed at making elders and the community worthwhile referents of knowledge in Tanzania. In contrast, Kenyan Swahili texts have, instead, shown "books and schools", in a much more positive light, as they appear to suggest that "bookish" knowledge is more important than people, especially if they (people) happened to be illiterate.

However, unlike the English language texts which stress books per se as sources of knowledge, Kenyan Swahili texts have tended to emphasize the role of the teacher in numerous school settings. In other stories, the importance of the teacher as a source of knowledge reaches even beyond the school setting as the teacher is also expected to set standards for the community at large

(parents). On the other hand, the treatment of "Elders/Community" in Kenyan Swahili texts has focused on considering them as "unquestionable" sources of knowledge by suggesting a blind faith in elders' authority.[92] Comparing the respective emphasis accorded "elders/community" and "teachers/schools" in Kenyan Swahili texts, a potential conflict seems to emerge. In other words, since there appears to be no demarcation as to the possible "domains" of knowledge for both sources and given that the two sources hold (generally) different value-systems, this might create some problem for children. Indeed, the requirements of conformism or blind faith would tend to conflict with those appropriate to maintain a spirit of initiative, creativity or spontaneity. Obviously, it is assumed here that the teacher and the school setting are grounded in a value-system emphasizing "modern" or western values (reference to methods of investigation) and that elders/community, by contrast, reflect "traditional" or conservative values rooted in cultures not very fond of "abstractions."

Although in Tanzanian texts, "books/schools" are clearly under-emphasized, the importance of the teacher is underscored in the few instances where this theme is treated. And the dualism school-community, noted above, may be discernible. However, nothing seems to overshadow the importance of "elders" over "books".

SELF-HELP

The way in which themes related to "Self-Help" are treated presents also a clear contrast between the two countries. Actually, the incidence is greater in the Tanzanian texts with respect to "Independence" and "Collective Efforts". The few stories in which these themes are implied in Kenyan Swahili texts stress, for example, in the case of "Independence," the individual level, in other words, acts of independence and responsibility intended to benefit the individual himself as opposed to the community. Much of the stress appears to be encouraging attitudes directed to children's self-initiated responsibility in

situations where material rewards are at stake.[93] In the case of "Collective Efforts," Kenyan Swahili texts have tended to emphasize especially Harambee type activities (taken to mean, the capacity or willingness of individuals to contribute in the form of monetary resources to community projects) as opposed to cooperative activities involving both working and living conditions. In contrast, Tanzanian Swahili texts when dealing with "independence" have stressed especially the virtues of self-initiated acts and responsibility at the community level. And even when individual acts of independence and responsibility are described, they are usually shown as benefiting the community at large, or at least denoting a kind of "altruistic caring." The predominant feature here remains the welfare of the community; and in this context, the texts suggest it explicitly: no one is too young to make his/her contribution to the community welfare.[94]

Generally, notions of independence and responsibility are linked in Tanzanian texts to those of collective efforts. Stories involving collective efforts have focused on participation and teamwork by portraying them as indispensable ingredients for progress. Unlike the Kenyan texts, the treatment of "Collective Efforts" in Tanzanian texts appears to be part of the broader program associated with Ujamaa. In both stories using school and community settings, the message on the advantages shown as deriving from living and working together remains consistent and highly valued in Tanzania.

EGALITARIANISM

Once again, there is significant variation in the way Swahili language texts in the two countries present "Egalitarianism" in its dual sub-categories. As shown in Table 1, the incidence is higher with respect to "Social Ethic" in Tanzanian texts. On the other hand, the incidence with respect to "Personal

Ethic" is greater in Kenyan texts. There is also considerable variation in the treatment of themes related to "Egalitarianism" in the two sets of texts.

SOCIAL ETHIC

Tanzanian Swahili texts have attempted through the presentation of themes related to "Social Ethic" to re-emphasize the virtues of living and working together as important means to undermine the potential danger of social differentiation and exploitation in the society.[95] The message also stresses the teaching of a collective ethic in order to diffuse any temptation for what is perceived to be exploitative tendencies in society and thus portrayed negatively in the texts. Settings in which these themes are implied usually include past colonial policies and practices contrasted to the new regime's moves intended to counteract the former in the building of a "new society."[96]

The focus may vary from land distribution and inequality (WALOWEZI)[97] to exploitation of the workers and ownership of the means of production (CHAMA CHA WAFANYAKAZI)[98] to the government policy on socialism as set in the Arusha Declaration (SIASA YA NCHI YETU).[99] Overall, the message rejects unequivocally all kinds of individual and entrepreneurial activities because they are viewed as leading to social differentiation which would stand in the way of a real socialist equality.

PERSONAL ETHIC

In contrast, the treatment in Kenya Swahili texts has focused on themes related to "Personal Ethic" emphasizing individual entrepreneurial endeavors to create personal success and economic gain. And like the treatment of similar materials in Kenyan English language texts, some stories in Swahili texts have even suggested explicitly the importance of this kind of individual striving for wealth and status regardless of the means employed to achieve one's goals.[100]

Also stressed in the treatment of "Egalitarianism" in Kenyan Swahili texts is the difference between attitudes towards rich and poor groups. Stories where

this theme is implied include school settings in which the main actors are children[101] and usually tend to introduce the rich as the "ideal" social group. This is evident in a number of contexts in which rich people are favorably depicted, exclusively on the basis of their social status or wealth. While social differentiation and striving for personal wealth and status are discouraged in one nation (Tanzania), they are, by contrast encouraged and abundantly tolerated throughout the texts of another nation (Kenya).

2. CLUSTERS OF DOMINANT GOALS/VALUES (Within-Nation Contexts).

This section will look at the findings from a different perspective involving, this time, a clustering of three major values/goals as identified in each Government's stated policy. Rather than using the organization by category and language-medium, the section will examine the sets with a view to establishing possible translations of national policy into texts. What do the Kenyan and Tanzanian sets, both English and Swahili, reveal in terms of congruence and/or incongruence of their messages in relation to the expected emphases from the three clusters? The clusters here include: National Integration, Rural Development, African Traditions and Cooperative Behavior. However, it should be noted that parallel organization of these clusters does not necessarily imply parallel emphases in each national context.

KENYA

NATIONAL INTEGRATION

What kinds of consistencies and/or inconsistencies are reflected in both Kenya/English and Kenya/Swahili sets with respect to themes related to "nationhood"? Significant differences do, in fact, exist not only quantitatively but also qualitatively in the treatment of materials dealing with "national integration". There is clearly a less emphasis placed upon themes of "nationhood" per se in English-medium handling, except the fact that the focus

has been confined largely to physical geographical features and economic aspects of the nation.

While English materials emphasized the importance of 'national resources' shown as essential for the survival and improvement of the quality of life in Kenya, Swahili materials focused on entirely different aspects of "nationhood". These included what might be considered primarily as civic or patriotic themes (stressing conventional symbols of the nation as well as its leaders). Moreover, they paid much attention to themes related to the anti-colonial movement and struggle for independence.

The portrayal of the "father of the nation", for example in "BABA WATAIFA"[102] could hardly be found in English-medium sets. The story discusses aspects of the anti-colonial struggle in Kenya and underscores the 'unique' contribution of President Kenyatta in the country's achievement of political independence and binding together of all the tribes that make up the nation of Kenya. Clearly Swahili texts suggested a 'social collective identity' by emphasizing patriotic behavior and loyalty to the nation and Government (taken here as embodying the virtues of the "nation" and therefore requiring devotion and allegiance on the same footing as the nation per se).

By contrast, English materials accorded the highest priority to the presentation of themes dealing essentially with the capacity of the "nation" to generate wealth. Indeed, English texts seem narrowly concerned mainly with natural resources, game reserves and tourist industry as these economic aspects are shown to be major determinants of "development."

The role of Kenyans themselves tended to be overlooked despite the fact that they are the ones supposed to exploit and use these natural resources and thus also major contributors to national development. The treatment of "ethnic and tribal" aspects showed the same variation in the texts along the lines of the medium of the sets and reinforced this partial reflection of expected

consistencies. The presentation of themes related to Kenyan ethnic and tribal groups was done differently in English and Swahili materials. In English, the ethnic grouping was shown to be an important culture unit by itself, that is usually without any linkage to the nation as a whole. By contrast, similar materials in Swahili tended to focus on various ethnic or tribal past colonial experiences and at the same time, attempted to broaden the narrow tribal setting into an awareness of the "social collective identity" and stressed the crucial need for national cohesion.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT

With the assumed stress on agricultural activities and the role of rural development for national development, one would reasonably have expected greater depiction of rural life and occupations as well as greater emulation of these activities to be reflected in Kenyan texts (both English and Swahili). But did this occur?

Overall treatment of rural life has been explicitly under-emphasized throughout Kenyan texts. But more important and with far reaching implications has been the general negative portrayal of the countryside. The major focus of both English- and Swahili-medium materials in Kenya consisted of images where villages were shown largely as natural disaster prone-areas. For example, both sets of English and Swahili are full of stories dealing with miserable living conditions, floods, droughts, people starving and dying on the land, or at best struggling to meet mere subsistence needs in a harsh environment.[103] The overall negative and gloomy picture that emerged with respect to rural life would suggest a clear case of inconsistencies in translating stated values into school realities. The emphasis in the treatment of themes related to "rural development" (in both languages) was unmistakably on the lack of social amenities and infrastructure (health, education, water supply, roads,

transportation, good nutrition, etc.). On the other hand, urban life and urban comforts emerged consistently as the "ideal type." Not only were rural areas negatively portrayed, but the bulk of rural people themselves were shown caught in the vicious circle of natural disasters, poverty, ignorance and lack of motivation to change their own environments.

Some stories went even further and ridiculed them and presented them as a "diffused collectivity" whose naivete is easily exploited, and whose loss of authority and credibility is shown in the texts to extend even to their own children.[104] As for rural careers, they were usually shown to be associated with miserable lifestyles. Agriculture was hardly suggested in the texts as one of the country's fundamental activities, and least of all an activity upon which the economy relies to increase self-employment. Similarly, there seemed to be no attempt suggested in the texts to discourage negative attitudes generally associated with manual labor itself.

In sharp contrast with the leadership's assumed significance of rural life, it was, in fact, the treatment of urban life and the "modern" sector of the economy that remained the norms and most desirable types of life shown in the texts.

AFRICAN TRADITIONS[105]

Implied is this broad notion of "African Traditions" is mainly the African "extended" family kind of "mutual social responsibility" seen as stressing both collective efforts and sharing. Searching for the translation of values that might reflect these "traditions" will include looking at the presentation of themes related to "family", "elders", "egalitarianism", and "collective efforts." The treatment of the family in Kenyan texts has, in contrast to the assumed importance of "African traditions," favored the Western "nuclear" family over the "extended" family. In many stories, African "extended" family was shown as dying out and being supplanted by the "nuclear" family which was

conceived generally as a viable unit of activities (and reflected usually urban "middle class" lifestyles).

The presentation of "elders" primarily as sources of knowledge in the texts appeared to reflect a mixed image, especially, in situations where their role was held to be important and a blind faith in their authority demanded from children. Overall, however, elders played a lesser role, especially, as compared to the greater attention accorded academic learning (that is, specifically, teachers and bookish knowledge in the texts). Indeed, when viewed from this comparative perspective, the impact of elders decreased greatly in the Kenyan texts as much of the basic behavior, values, norms of human relations, or other cultural traditions tended to be taken up by the "nuclear" family (parents) or teachers and schools. And with the notable dualism which characterizes the school and the community in many African contexts, one can hardly expect an awareness of "African traditions" to be clearly suggested in these texts with, for example, the kind of treatment accorded "elders" and "traditional knowledge" in Kenyan materials.

Along these same lines of "African traditions," a peculiar ambivalence seemed to characterize the treatment of "collective efforts and sharing" in the texts. While the leadership stresses the necessity for "social mutual responsibility" perceived as an important social value underlying the nation's "cultural" heritage, there were nevertheless no explicit suggestions in the texts on the significance of participation and sharing. For sure, there were some rare stories describing Harambee-type projects to build a Secondary school in some village. In contrast, texts stressed individualistic tendencies both in situations involving what was perceived to be proper patterns of behavior and valuing of education, especially, where a direct relationship between schooling and high material rewards was suggested in the stories.

TANZANIA

NATIONAL INTEGRATION

'National Integration' in Tanzania is primarily seen as involving both a rejection of the colonial model (that is, a capitalist society stressing individualistic 'instincts' and connected to unjust prevailing social conditions) and at the same time, 'building' the new nation with a radically different set of values and goals based on Ujamaa or 'socialism'.

Also stressed in the "building" of the new society is the value of education, especially, in promoting nationalism, a sense of social duty and responsibility as well as a rejection of social differentiation. What do the texts reveal in this area? The primacy of nationalism is well evident in Tanzanian texts with the highest ranking of themes related to the "nation" (See Table 1). The majority of stories where this theme was implied suggested explicitly a clear image of the "social collective identity" and which tended to reflect, with a remarkable degree of consistency, the new regime's political and economic orientations. Examples included such fundamental values (of the projected new society) as Ujamaa, rural development, self-reliance, sharing, a rejection of status differentiation and active participation in social life.[106]

And typically stressed throughout the texts, under the treatment of "nation", is the well acknowledged contribution of peasant farmers in the "building" of the new society. They were shown in numerous stories to be at the center of the program of social transformation. In fact, the treatment of peasants under themes related to "nation" marked a break with the usual negative image (stereotype) of countrymen, as neglected or considered of no account in many places and thus may be taken as signalling a departure from the past. Also to be incorporated under "nation" would be the treatment accorded themes related to the colonial experience (especially under "Europe").

These themes, generally, reflected a strong resentment directed against colonial domination and the kind of social relations it brought into existence. By stressing the negative attitudes associated with this colonial experience, the texts appeared to be reinforcing a rather consistent "message" on the assumed significance of the alternative model (values and goals) that the new leadership in Tanzania has adopted with its programs of radical social transformation.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The presentation of themes related to rural life in Tanzanian sets, both English and Swahili, has generally tended to reflect the leadership's faith in uplifting not only the productive capacity and motivation of villagers, but more important appeared to suggest a strong desire to eradicate, at least to reduce, negative attitudes usually associated with farming and living conditions in the countryside. Rural development activities, especially, collective agriculture and other related activities were shown to be the most common and desirable for both youth and adult members. Many stories were noticeable in their explicit suggestions to encourage youths in staying (or returning) in the village so that they could contribute directly to the improvement of standards of living in rural areas.[107]

The same message on the importance and significance of rural life and farming, in particular, to national development was equally reflected in the texts. And unlike the treatment accorded villagers in Kenyan texts, peasant farmers in Tanzanian texts were highly regarded and their positive contribution well assumed in uplifting their own quality of life.

While there seemed to be a less clear indication about the general change in the pattern of occupations, inherited from the colonial model and stressing urban "modern" sector occupation, one specific rural career (farming) was explicitly suggested as the most desirable in Tanzanian texts. Nowhere in these texts were

negative attitudes toward farming reflected. Overall, the primacy of the needs of a rural and peasant environment appeared to be clearly articulated in Tanzanian texts.

COOPERATIVE BEHAVIOR

A considerable degree of consistency between stated policy and explicit suggestions in the sets of texts is well evident with respect to the importance of "cooperative behavior" and form of production in Tanzania. Numerous stories involving rural and self-help settings have tended to emphasize the virtues of cooperation within the new Ujamaa villages. Throughout the Tanzanian sets, villagers were shown in a variety of situations as they were engaged in a number of 'development' projects or activities. The projects or activities were generally intended to provide the community with such amenities as schools, clinics, clean water, fisheries, roads, buses, etc.[108]

In addition, villagers were positively portrayed while performing these tasks cooperatively and for the benefit of the community as a whole.

Assumed benefits of cooperative behavior and form of production were also well illustrated in the texts and a direct link of cause-effect was usually drawn between the adoption of collective forms of living and working and resulting improvement in the village living conditions. In contrast to this positive treatment accorded cooperative behavior, individualistic tendencies, taken together, were held in the texts to be the wrong and undesirable forms of behavior under Ujamaa. The value of success and progress, it was stressed in the texts, was clearly a function of living and working together rather than seeking individual advancement.

The bias in favor of collective endeavors was reflected widely in the Tanzanian texts, as these types of activities were shown in a variety of settings to have better survival potential and greater level of productive

capacity. Further, the texts were quite explicit in their rejection of individualistic tendencies and attempted instead to encourage positive attitudes toward cooperative behavior and form of production. This would again appear to be consistent with views reflected in Tanzania's stated policy.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

What can be said about the extent to which stated policy has been articulated into the 4 sets of texts presented above? Both approaches (that is, cross-nation and within-nation contexts) yield one major outcome. Indeed, what emerges is a huge and rather consistent pattern of divergences between Kenya and Tanzania, with respect to what is, what is not, emphasized in the sets as well as the degree of consistency in the translation of policy and ideology into texts. While explicit expected consistencies exist in one national setting (Tanzania), there is, by contrast a rather mixed image, a less clear and consistent indication of such consistencies in the other national setting (Kenya).

Overall, emphases identified in the Tanzanian sets exemplified a clearly strong measure of consistency between the leadership's values and goals and their articulation into texts. On the other hand, Kenyan sets showed not only a weak and less clear measure of consistency in their translations, but exhibited in addition a rather high degree of conflicting values to the known Government policy and/or ideology. This is well illustrated with respect to themes related, for example, to urban life and academic knowledge. While emphases of urban life in the sets directed Kenyan children's attention away from rural realities, the same kind of contradiction holds in the case of academic knowledge. Indeed, emphases of "bookish knowledge" with what they implied in exclusions of other referents to knowledge strongly suggested a tendency to foster a value-system that is likely to view farming and other occupations connected with agricultural life as undesirable and/or inferior occupations that

might lead inevitably to miserable lifestyles. Again, these cases of conflict are in sharp contrast to the orientation identified in the country and which stresses rural development and the creation of various income earning opportunities in rural Kenya as well as the Government's emphasis on African Traditions.

Another important finding that emerges is that largely the language medium of the educational materials did not seem to significantly affect content. In other words, convergences and divergences of translations of policy and ideology were essentially along the lines of cross-national settings (Kenya versus Tanzania) rather than within-nation contexts (English-medium versus Swahili-medium sets).

A further point emerging with some clarity concerns language policy making itself. Broadly, what is suggested here is the fact that the significance of the use of language in education lies not only with the mere formation of such policy, but more important with its eventual implementation. And the implementation phase cannot be divorced from curriculum aspects. In other words, a meaningful implementation of local or regional languages in education is likely to be reinforced in the presence of other measures tied in with curriculum development. Merely changing the language of instruction does not necessarily bring about a difference in the actual language and cultural content.

Generally, the literature on bilingualism and multilingualism is quite extensive and still growing both at the world and African levels. However, this research tradition has remained inconclusive with respect to its relevance to educational decision making.[109] In other words, it has not contributed a great deal to our knowledge and appreciation of the advantages or disadvantages of a given approach in the school environment.

The dilemma of language policy in post-independent Africa is extremely difficult and understandably has been devoted lots of attention, especially after the UNESCO's monograph which, clearly, favored 'mother-tongue education'.[110] However, because of lack of a sufficient knowledge-base required for the development of 'sound educational policies' (or despite it), decisions about various curriculum arrangements have been based on practical and political considerations. In this context and 15 years later, Whiteley's assertion to the effect that sociolinguistic factors have almost nothing to do with language policies on the continent is still valid.[111]

The contemporary preoccupation with curricula relevance has led to a growing awareness about the importance of 'linguistic self-determination' and the ideologies of mother tongue education. While the principle of mother tongue education may be justified on many grounds, it leads unavoidably (especially, when defined in UNESCO's terms implying the use of each and every existing local language as medium) into enormous and insurmountable problems of implementation in many African contexts. A potentially great problem with mother tongue education, as currently conceived, that is, confined to lower elementary grades and divorced from any serious considerations with content, is the danger that political and educational authorities will mistake the mere language 'switch' to be the key to many problems of quality and relevance that face their educational systems. Too much emphasis already seems to have been placed on mother tongue education, irrespective of any long range goal or objective; and the whole movement could well deflect energies, abilities and monies that could be used creatively to search for much needed and appropriate 'remedies' elsewhere.[112]

In any case, as discussed above, this study failed to show up huge and consistent differences along the lines of Swahili versus English. It would seem logical then to suggest that the larger problem involves linking 'language switch' to some radical curriculum innovations if any real measure of

'Africanization' is desired or intended with the adoption of the language policy. In other words, what is implied here is the need to tie together decisions concerning what roles will be assigned to local, regional or colonial languages with the development of new curricula and methods. The curricula would consist of well thought out selection and organization of content as well as learning experiences. Without getting into detail of the concept of 'Africanization' itself, it should be stressed here that both content and learning experiences are to be, in essence, in tune not only with environmental realities, but equally in tune with the society's long view on the role cultures and languages are expected to play in the broader context.[113] This would translate to include a system of education genuinely aiming at achieving some measure of socioeconomic and cultural development.

With respect to the literature on textbooks, especially, the tradition that uses political socialization frameworks, the established pattern has largely been "congruence" in the linkage between stated policy (values, goals, world view) and its possible projection into content. In one case, this study tends to fit the "congruence" pattern with data from Tanzania. Yet the case of Kenya appears to deviate from that pattern as the 'core values' are clearly less articulated into the texts, and thereby exhibit more ' congruence". However, taken as a whole, data from both Kenya and Tanzania do show some similarity with Solomon's study (1965). Indeed, Solomon similarly found in his study of two sets of Chinese elementary readers produced by Republican-Nationalists and Communists (1920 & 1960) that only one set (Communists) clearly translated the leadership's values and goals. The Nationalist set, on the other hand, failed to project a "well formed image" of the leadership's options. However, these Chinese data were drawn from a single country and used one language in the two sets. The difference between the two sets was explained in terms of the

Nationalists inability to define "a new future" and to stress "the excitement of learning" in nation building tasks.

Too few analyses of texts have been made in the African context, nonetheless, two studies present some interest here, especially, as they both relate to the relative impact of African-medium versus Colonial-medium on content. The two studies (Okonkwo, 1978; Nwagbaroacha, 1973) strongly favored mother tongue education and are clearly at variance with the present study as they tend to suggest that the 'switch' to African languages necessarily brings about improvements in relevance to local needs.

Okonkwo's design, however, was confined to a single country (Nigeria) and the consideration of linguistic elements between Igbo and English. It did not include policy or political aspects and their possible projection into texts. Differences found between elementary texts published from 1957 to 1976 were attributed to "a situation of relative linguistic and cultural untranslatability" between the two languages. Nwagbaroacha on his part, while mainly concerned with the development of social studies curriculum, reached the same conclusion as to the superiority or advantages of local languages over colonial ones. Thus colonial languages are taken as defying 'Africanization' of educational content; conversely, mother tongues are bound to transmit values closer to the "African community personality" and fundamental African traditions. In this line of research, language is suggested to be the major factor in affecting content. But unless one subscribes, for example, to Whorf's linguistic relativity (by stressing the gulf between 'aspects of reality' that are devoted relative attention in local or colonial languages), the major argument will remain weak as it is not made clear why language per se accounts for the observed variations in content. Variations which could possibly be accounted for by a number of other factors as well and irrespective, largely, of language.[114]

One should note here the obvious advantages that comparative perspectives would bring to the study of all these areas concerned with language policy and its relative impact on content. for one, comparative frameworks are likely to be helpful by providing a larger database to identify, with some measure of validity, various variables that might be at work in shaping educational content. (Reference is made to the potential capacity of comparative methods to offer a means to disentangle claims that can be generalized validly). Indeed, as it has been shown, for example, in the comparisons of four instructional contexts in the present study, the examination of similarities/differences from the pairing of sets of texts would have been possible otherwise. Also the existence of common language problems on the continent would certainly suggest the need for comparative studies on the research 'agenda' as well as some awareness of the usefulness of the knowledge-base in the whole process of policymaking in these areas.[115]

In the cases of Kenya and Tanzania, this study has shown that the reasons for the observed distribution of themes rested 'outside linguistics'. It would be interesting to see what results comparable studies of different contexts may yield. It also appears that any attempt to account adequately for variations between Kenya and Tanzania has got to search equally beyond the confines of a 'narrowly' defined educational policymaking. This would imply a rather broader political context that includes aspects of given "models of development".[116]

Because of the limitations inherent in the design of the study, it is only possible to speculate on why 'translations' are likely to occur in a given context. It is reasonable to assume that a good measure of both translation and consistency is likely to be reflected in a national setting where there are fewer deeper ambiguities and contradictions. Tanzania, for example, exhibited an explicit and well articulated set of social and educational policies. By contrast, Kenya exemplified a good case of loosely

articulated and vague social and educational policies. This apparent contrast may rather possibly be responsible in allowing differences in the way general philosophy, goals and objectives are transformed, at the curriculum level, into detailed content objectives.

Broadly, a case might be made that discussions over mother tongue education have tended too often to mask and obscure the more fundamental issues, such as the inability or unwillingness to use 'curriculum innovations' as a 'sound' means to tackle the glaring inadequacies of inherited colonial educational systems. Indeed, despite the growing evidence on the importance of curriculum development potentialities as a method in solving educational problems, it has not been used 'adequately' in many parts of the continent.[117]

Finally, the problem of content and its relevance to the local socio-economic environment is clearly more complex to be resolved by 'language switch' alone. It seems significant to underscore here the importance of exploring content of curricula and textbooks because this line of research is likely to bring about a fuller understanding of educational content. The resulting knowledge base and awareness would definitely be a positive development for policymakers everywhere, and a genuine contribution to African pedagogical culture.

TABLE 1

OVERALL COMPARATIVE PERCENTAGES FROM THE
FOUR INSTRUCTIONAL CONTEXTS: K/E, K/S, T/E, T/S

	KENYA		TANZANIA	
	English	Swahili	English	Swahili
Daily Life				
Urban	13.96	14.10	6.32	3.68
Rural	8.11	2.01	16.15	7.25
	22.07	16.11	22.47	10.93
Africanization				
Family	7.97	9.92	2.94	3.37
Ethnic/Tribal	6.83	4.65	1.54	0.10
Nation	6.41	19.53	15.44	23.92
East Africa	2.42	1.86	1.54	1.94
Africa (Continent)	2.42	4.65	5.47	4.39
Europe	1.28	5.27	5.33	9.61
World	5.27	3.87	8.98	5.93
	32.60	49.75	41.24	49.26
Bases for Legitimating Knowledge				
Elders/Community	2.99	3.56	1.68	7.77
Children	3.13	3.72	2.38	2.96
Books/Schools	8.54	8.83	3.65	3.06
Environment	1.99	2.79	2.10	2.14
Mass Media	4.13	3.10	4.21	1.43
	20.78	22.0	14.02	17.36
Self-Help				
Independence/Responsibility	4.98	2.63	6.46	7.15
Subordination	3.87	0.15	----	----
Collective Efforts	1.13	1.86	4.63	8.79
	9.38	4.64	11.09	15.94
Egalitarianism				
Social Ethic	0.42	0.77	4.35	4.90
Personal Ethic	5.55	3.25	1.12	0.40
	5.97	4.02	5.47	5.30
Value of Education				
Common Good	0.56	0.77	2.52	0.40
Self-Advancement	4.70	1.08	0.42	----
	5.26	1.85	2.94	0.40
Work Emphasis* (involving modern sector/ urban and rural/traditional sector)	3.84	1.55	2.66	0.71
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 2

KENYA: ENGLISH-MEDIUM TEXTS

	Major Themes		Minor Themes		TOTAL
Daily Life					
Urban	18	16.2	80	13.5	98
Rural	6	5.4	51	8.6	57
	24	21.6	131	22.1	155
Africanization					
Family	3	2.7	53	9.0	56
Ethnic/Tribal	1	0.9	47	8.0	48
Nation	1	0.9	44	7.4	45
East Africa	----	----	17	2.9	17
Africa (Continent)	----	----	17	2.9	17
Europe	----	----	9	1.5	9
World	----	----	37	6.3	37
	5	4.5	224	38.0	229
Bases for Legitimating Knowledge					
Elders/Community	1	0.9	20	3.4	21
Children	2	1.8	20	3.4	22
Books/Schools	10	9.0	50	8.5	60
Environment	5	4.5	9	1.5	14
Mass Media	3	2.7	26	4.4	29
	21	18.9	125	21.2	146
Self-Help					
Independence/Responsibility	8	7.2	27	4.6	35
Subordination	4	3.6	19	3.2	23
Collective Efforts	2	1.8	6	1.0	8
	14	12.6	52	8.8	66
Egalitarianism					
Social Ethic	----	----	3	0.5	3
Personal Ethic	11	10.0	28	4.7	39
	11	10.0	31	5.2	42
Value of Education					
Common Good	1	0.9	3	0.5	4
Self-Advancement	8	7.2	25	4.2	33
	9	8.1	28	4.7	37
Work Emphasis*	27	24.3			
TOTAL	111	100.0	591	100.0	

*Only occupations counted as dominant themes have been included in the occupations shown under the designation "Work Emphasis" in Tables 1 through 5.

TABLE 3

TANZANIA: ENGLISH-MEDIUM TEXTS

	Major Themes		Minor Themes		TOTAL
Daily Life					
Urban	4	4.2	41	6.6	45
Rural	17	17.7	98	15.9	115
	21	21.9	139	22.5	160
Africanization					
Family	1	1.0	20	3.2	21
Ethnic/Tribal	----		11	1.8	11
Nation	----		110	17.8	110
East Africa	----		11	1.8	11
Africa (Continent)	----		39	6.3	39
Europe	----		38	6.2	38
World	----		64	10.4	64
	1	1.0	293	47.5	2,4
Bases for Legitimating Knowledge					
Elders/Community	9	9.4	3	0.5	12
Children	7	7.3	10	1.6	17
Books/Schools	4	4.2	22	3.6	26
Environment	3	3.1	12	2.0	15
Mass Media	3	3.1	27	4.4	30
	26	27.1	74	12.1	100
Self-Help					
Independence/Responsibility	8	8.3	38	6.2	46
Subordination	----	----	----	----	----
Collective Efforts	7	7.3	26	4.2	33
	15	15.6	64	10.4	79
Egalitarianism					
Social Ethic	8	8.3	23	3.7	31
Personal Ethic	----	----	8	1.3	8
	8	8.3	31	5.0	39
Value of Education					
Common Good	5	5.2	13	2.1	18
Self-Advancement	1	1.0	2	0.3	3
	6	6.2	15	2.4	21
Work Emphasis*	19	19.8			
TOTAL	96	100.0	616	100.0	

TABLE 4

KENYA: SWAHILI-MEDIUM TEXTS

	Major Themes		Minor Themes		TOTAL
Daily Life					
Urban	8	9.8	83	14.7	91
Rural	2	2.4	11	2.0	13
	10	12.2	94	16.7	104
Africanization					
Family	5	6.1	59	10.5	64
Ethnic/Tribal	4	4.9	26	4.6	30
Nation	5	6.1	121	21.5	126
East Africa	----	----	12	2.1	12
Africa (Continent)	1	1.2	29	5.1	30
Europe	----	----	34	6.0	34
World	----	----	25	4.4	25
	15	18.3	306	54.2	321
Bases for Legitimating Knowledge					
Elders/Community	5	6.1	18	3.2	23
Children	6	7.3	18	3.2	24
Books/Schools	11	13.4	46	8.2	57
Environment	5	6.1	13	2.3	18
Mass Media	5	6.1	15	2.7	20
	32	39.0	110	19.6	142
Self-Help					
Independence/Responsibility	4	4.9	13	2.3	17
Subordination	----	----	1	0.2	1
Collective Efforts	4	4.9	8	1.4	12
	8	9.8	22	3.9	30
Egalitarianism					
Social Ethic	1	1.2	4	0.7	5
Personal Ethic	4	4.9	17	3.0	21
	5	6.1	21	3.7	26
Value of Education					
Common Good	----	----	5	0.9	5
Self-Advancement	2	2.4	5	0.9	7
			10	1.8	12
Work Emphasis*	10	12.2			
TOTAL	82	100.0	563	100.0	

TABLE 5

TANZANIA: SWAHILI-MEDIUM TEXTS

	Major Themes		Minor Themes		TOTAL
Daily Life					
Urban	1	1.2	35	3.9	36
Rural	4	5.0	67	7.5	71
	5	6.2	102	11.4	106
Africanization					
Family	----	----	33	3.7	33
Ethnic/Tribal	----	----	1	0.1	1
Nation	13	16.3	221	24.6	234
East Africa	----	----	19	2.1	19
Africa (Continent)	2	2.5	41	4.6	43
Europe	----	----	94	10.5	94
World	1	1.3	57	6.3	58
	16	20.1	466	51.9	482
Bases for Legitimating Knowledge					
Elders/Community	12	15.0	64	7.1	76
Children	5	6.3	24	2.7	29
Books/Schools	3	3.8	27	3.0	30
Environment	7	8.8	14	1.6	21
Mass Media	2	2.5	12	1.3	14
	29	36.4	141	15.7	170
Self-Help					
Independence/Responsibility	8	10.0	62	7.0	70
Subordination	----	----	----	----	----
Collective Efforts	8	10.0	78	8.7	86
	16	20.0	140	15.7	156
Egalitarianism					
Social Ethic	7	8.7	41	4.6	48
Personal Ethic	----	----	4	0.5	4
	7	8.7	45	5.1	52
Value of Education					
Common Good	----	----	4	0.5	4
Self-Advancement	----	----	----	----	----
			4	0.5	4
Work Emphasis*	7	8.7			
TOTAL	80	100.0	898	100.0	

TABLE 6

COMPARISON OF POPULATION, EDUCATION EXPENDITURE & ENROLLMENT IN KENYA & TANZANIA

	KENYA	TANZANIA
Estimated Population 1975	13.3 million	15.3 million
Ministry of Education Recurrent Estimates 1976-1977	Ken/Shs. 1396 million	Tan/Shs. 967.8 million
Primary School Enrollment 1976	3.3 million	2.06 million
Secondary School Enrollment 1975 (Maintained & Unaided Schools)	225,100	53,257
University Enrollment 1975-76 (Undergraduate Kenya & Tanzania Students at the universities of Nairobi & Dar es Salaam)	3,976	1,728

Source: Stabler, 1979: p. 39.

FOOTNOTES

The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes:

NCEOP: Kenya. National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies Report (Gachati's Report).

ETS: English for Tanzanian Schools (Longman Tanzania Ltd.).

SAFARI: The Safari Upper Primary English Course Textbooks (Kenya Institute of Education/Kenyatta Foundation).

TUJIFUNZE: Tujifunze Lugha Yetu (Tanzania Swahili language sets/Wizara ya Elimu ya Taifa)

MASOMO: Masomo ya Kiswahili (Kenya Swahili language sets/Kenyatta Foundation).

1. See, for example, Eric H. Lenneberg, "The Biological Foundations of Language" in M. Lester, ed., Readings in Applied Transformational Grammar (New York: Holt, 1970); W. G. Moulton, "The Nature of Language" Daedalus (Summer 1973).

2. Few exceptions of harmonious relations between different language groups are to be noted in the cases of Switzerland, Alsace-Lorraine, and North Schleswig. Multilingualism may be taken either in its etymological sense, that is, plurality of languages, or with the meaning of lack of linguistic homogeneity.

3. See, for example, W. H. Whiteley, "Language Policies of Independent African States" in T. A. Sebeok, ed., Current Trends in Linguistics Volume 7, (The Hague: Mouton, 1971).

4. Some sources have suggested a pre-colonial origin to this multilingualism. See P. Alexandre, "Multilingualism" in T. A. Sebeok, Ibid., pp. 654-663.

5. The argument here doesn't refer to the problems of establishing appropriate learning materials in local languages, but rather uses the notion of some kind of 'inherent' superiority of colonial languages over 'primitive' languages. See, for example, L. J. Calvet, Linguistique et colonialisme (Paris: Payot, 1974).

6. See, for example, C. B. Paulston "Bilingual/ icultural Education" in Lee S. Shulman, ed., Review of Research in Education, no. 6, AERA, Peacock 1978, pp. 186-228.

7. See, for example, M. Sza-, Education and The American Indian (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1974).

8. See, for example, W. E. Bull, "The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education" in D. Hymes, ed., Language in Culture and Society (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), pp. 527-533.

9. The use of local languages in the early years of formal schooling is justified on the grounds that literacy is most readily acquired in the language the pupil already speaks; and that competence in a second language would be easier if he/she is already literate in the local language. However, there is no conclusive evidence to support this 'bridge theory'. See, for example, P. L. Engle, The use of Vernacular Languages in Education, (Arlington, VA: CAL, 1975).

10. See, for example, G. E. Perren, "Education Through a Second Language: An African Dilemma" in R. Jolly, ed., Education in Africa (Nairobi, Kenya: EAPH, 1969), pp. 197-207.

11. See, for example, C. Okonkwo, "Language in Education: An African Case" Unpublished Ph.D. Disseratation, SUNYAB, 1978.

12. However, studies that draw on the Sapir/Whorf theory of 'linguistic Determinism' have suggested language as the major factor in affecting content. See D. Laitin, Politics, Language and Thought: The Somali Experience (the University of Chicago Press, 1977).

13. For an amplication of this notion of 'models of development' and Education, see especially, B. Williamson, Education, Social Structures and Development (New York: Holmes/Meire, 1979).

14. See, for example, W. L. Boyd, "The Changing Politics of Curriculum-Policy-Making for American Schools" Review of Educational Research, 48, no. 4 (Fall 1978), pp. 577-628.

15. See, for example, R. G. Paulston, Conflicting Theories of Social and Educational Change: A Typological Review (Pittsburgh, PA: University Center for International Studies, 1976).

16. This proposition makes sense only when the stress is put on the analysis (common to these studies) of social, historical, political, economic forces in society and the assumption that without this type of analysis, it would be impossible to reach a correct understanding of the functioning of education.

17. Recent moves away from the macro-concerns have been perceptible in the sociology of education. See, for example, J. Karabel and A. H. Halsey, eds., Power and Ideology in Education (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

18. See C. P. Ridley, P. H. B. Godwin and D. J. Doolin, The Making of a Model Citizen in Communist China (Stanford: The Hoover Press, 1971); R. W. Wilson, Learning to be Chinese: The Political Socialization of Children in Taiwan (Cambridge, Mass: The M.I.T. Press, 1970); J. W. Elder, "The Decolonization of Educational Culture: The Case of India" Comparative Education Review, 15, no. 2 (1971), pp. 5-23. Roberta Martin, "The Socialization of Children in China and on Taiwan: An Analysis of Elementary School Textbooks" The China Quarterly, no. 62 (June 1979), etc.

19. See, for example, Robert LeVine, "Political Socialization and Culture Change" in Clifford Geertz, ed., Old Societies and New States (New York: Glencoe, 1963), pp. 280-303.

'Congruence' and 'incongruence' refer to the nature of "mes ages" diffused by socialization agents either non-conflicting or conflicting. The contrast may involve values of the culture/society at large and those stressed by the culture of the classroom.

20. Texts become then "the sole determiners of all that is taught... they define the curriculum and control the teaching" See Peter Ladefoged, Ruth Glick and Clive Criper, Language in Uganda (Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 104.

21. Despite this, they remain (next to trained teachers) the most costly item required for 'a minimal standard of education', and their availability quite inadequate in many developing countries. See Education: Sector Policy Paper (Washington: World Bank, 1980).

22. Some studies seem to indicate a discrepancy between official policy and content aspects and suggest the distorsions to be caused by affinities and antagonisms of people involved in both designing and teaching the curriculum. And this 'actor factor' determines much of the relationship between policy and transmission. See, for example, G. Kelly, "Franco-Vietnamese Schools: 1918-1938" Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1975.

23. Categories were constructed following and as a result of, a careful examination of stated policy and what the Kenyan and Tanzanian governments have actually done in education in the post-independence period. In other words, the categories are justified in terms of their relation to differences/similarities in policy and ideology between the two nations.

It should, however, be noted that no reliability checks were carried out in this categorization.

24. The language component incorporated into the design of the study represented an important concern. It was intended to assess (though indirectly and using a different set of variables from the original model) the applicability of the linguistic relativity theory, with respect to the notion that a shift in language entails a corresponding change in the world view (Sapir, 1958; Whorf, 1956). One could then formulate the proposition that English-medium and Swahili-medium contents will carry different "messages" irrespective of policy considerations.

25. Personally, I tend to favor "organic continuities" with respect to the history of education in Africa. Consequently, I tend to view the contemporary educational scene on the continent as being the product not only of its colonial history, but also of its pre-colonial history.

26. See, for example, Yves Benot, Ideologies des independances africaines (Paris: Maspere, 1973).

27. Despite the fact that little evidence can actually be found in the political socialization or development literature to fully support the leadership's recognition and use of education as an instrument of 'radical' social change. And more significant, without (usually) taking into consideration the nature itself of the post-colonial state and its economy of underdevelopment. See, for example, B. Williamson, op. cit.; K. Prewitt and Okello-Oculi, "Political Socialization and Political Education in the New Nations" in R. Sigel, ed., Learning About Politics, (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. 607-621; C. Leys, Underdevelopment in Kenya (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975).

28. While an argument can be made stressing significant differences in the colonial settings of Kenya and Tanzania (mainland) on the grounds that one was a "colony and protectorate" and the other a "Trust Territory" I would still maintain that the effects of British rule in East Africa were essentially similar regardless of the often assumed contrast between "Indirect Rule" and "Trust Administration".

29. See Stabler, Education Since Uhuru (Middleton, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1969); Also E. Stabler, "Kenya and Tanzania: Strategies and Realities in Education and Development", African Affairs 78, no. 310 (1979): 33-56; J. Cameron and W. A. Dodd, Society, Schools and Progress in Tanzania (Elmsford, New York: Pergamon Press, 1970).

30. That is, to replace expatriates by Africans in high- and middle-level positions in the civil service, parastatal bodies as well as the private sector.

31. Inevitably, expectations were frustrated following decisions taken to choose 'education and training' as the only adequate solution to achieve any real measure of localization. Those who were counting on 'short-term' changes, with the attainment of independence, were dischanted with all those long-run solutions.

32. For a fuller discussion of the dilemma and choice made by the Tanzanian leadership, see D. Morrison, Education and Politics in Africa: The Tanzanian Case (Nairobi: Heineman, 1976).

33. This is another vague but cherished concept in African and/or Africanist milieu. With respect to "Africanization" of the curriculum, it is not usually clear what is meant by the concept. Beside the relevance factor to the local environment, how does one separate in knowledge what is purely related to "africaness" from what is purely universal or colonial? More important, no attempt is made in this discourse to clarify on whose nation, culture, needs, "Africanization" is to proceed. For some insights on this topic, see B. Davidson, Let Freedom Come: Africa in Modern History (USA: Atlantic Monthly Press Books, 1978). See also, F. Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth (New York: Grove Press, 1968).

34. Obviously, one should take into consideration the complexities involved in any attempts with educational reforms and the long-term solutions for implementation. For a fuller discussion of the limitations and shortcomings in changing the curricula at this period, see Morrison, op. cit.; Cameron and Dodd, op. cit.; Stabler, op. cit.; J. R. Sheffield Education in Kenya: An Historical Study (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973).

35. See, for example, A. L. Gillette, Beyond the Non-Formal Fashion (Amherst, Mass.: Center for International Education, 1977).

36. See, for example, A. Molnos, Language Problems in Africa. A Bibliography (1946-1967) and Summary of the present situation with special reference to Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda (Nairobi: EARIC, 1969).

37. See T. P. Gorman, "A Survey of Educational Language Attainment Among Secondary School Entrants in Kenya" Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1971.

38. Molnos, op. cit.

39. Swahili--which is the Arabic term for coast -- was spoken long before the arrival of the white man along the coastal areas and the islands of Pemba and Zanzibar. The history of this Bantu language distinguishes itself from other local languages. It spread by trade, political relations, and personal contacts and German rule, in Tanganika, was quite supportive of its 'potentialities' as a teaching language. See, for example, C. M. Scotton, op. cit., on the development of Swahili as a lingua franca in East Africa.

40. This status remained unchallenged until 1970 when the ruling party of Kenya (KANU) declared that Swahili should become an official language, at least equal in status to English. For an amplification of ambiguity and disparity of language policy in Kenya, see C. M. Scotton "Language in East Africa: Linguistics Patterns and Political Ideologies in J. A. Fishman, ed. Advances in the Study of Societal Multilingualism (The Hague: Mouton, 1978), pp. 719-759.

41. See Abdou Moumouni, Education in Africa (New York: Praeger, 1968).

42. In relation to this choice, Scotton, op. cit. p. 730, argues forcibly that it was more than a simple 'nationalist gesture' because it represented what she considers to be a "purposeful use" of language as a social and political instrument. In the case of Tanzania, Swahili meant a break with the 'individualistically oriented' competitive educational system of the capitalistic world and its language, English.

43. In order to resolve the problem posed by school fee differentials the Government decided in 1963 to abolish fees in all aided secondary schools. However, primary schools as well as private schools were not affected and this situation went on until 1973. On this topic, see M. Mbilinyi, ed., WHO Goes to School in East Africa (Dar es Salaam: University of Dar es Salaam, 1976); M. Mbilinyi, "History of Formal Schooling in Tanzania" in H. Hirzen and V. H. Hundsdorfer, eds., Education for Liberation and Development (Hamburg: Unesco, 1979), pp 76-87.

44. Indeed, this situation has been the source of some unexpected problems in the short-run by creating an even greater linguistic "gulf" than had previously existed. English-medium instruction (both primary and post-primary) continued to 'lend an alien atmosphere' to education still characterized by "elitism" and quite remote from the concerns of the "masses". See, for example, D. R. Morrison, op. cit., for a fuller discussion on this dilemma.

45. See C. M. Scotton, op. cit., p. 730.

46. With respect to education, for example, the same colonial dogmas underlined the racial segregation. Indeed, the same assumptions about assumed racial "innate intellectual differences" between white and 'dark' peoples were used to develop and justify segregated educational systems for Europeans, Asians and Africans everywhere in East Africa. See the Gachathi's National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies Report (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1977).

47. See E. Stabler (1979), op. cit., p. 33.

48. See, for example, J. R. Sheffield, op. cit.; see also, J. D. Barkan and J. J. Okumu, eds., Politics and Public Policy in Kenya and Tanzania (New York: Praeger, 1979).

49. See Kenya Education Commission Report (Ominde) (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1964/1965).

50. Ibid., pp. 21-25. The warnings against the danger perceived in Harambee Schools are clearly articulated in the Ominde Report.

51. See Sheffield, op. cit., p. 95.

52. Gillette, op. cit., p. 52.

53. See, for example, E. O'Connor, "Contrasts in Educational Development in Kenya and Tanzania" African Affairs 73 (1974): pp. 76-84.

54. The move toward "rural development" as a viable alternative is well articulated in the Kericho Report. On this topic, see Sheffield, op. cit. See also Kenya Development Plan, 1974-1978 (Nairobi: Government Printer) for signs of growing awareness toward substantive change in education.

55. See, for example, Van den Berghe, "European Languages and Black Mandarins", Transition 7, no. 34 (1967): 19-23.

56. W. H. Whiteley, op. cit.

57. See G. E. Perren, "Education Through a Second Language: An African Dilemma" in R. Jolly, ed., Education in Africa (Nairobi: East African Publishing House), pp. 197-207.

58. See C. M. Scotton, op. cit., pp. 722-723.

59. NCEOP, op. cit., pp. 54-55 Recommendations 101 and 102, (specifically).

60. The solution chosen, for example, to handle reforms at the primary school level reflects definitely the influence of Education for Self-Reliance on policy. Primary education was made to be a complete education, no longer conceived to be a preparation for secondary schools, or for employment in the modern sector of the economy. The new focus was put on developing skills that would enable primary school leavers to live cooperatively in the new villages. For a fuller discussion on the topic see Morrison, op. cit.

61. See D. Court, "The Education System as a Response to Inequality in Tanzania and Kenya", The Journal of Modern African Studies 14, no. 4 (1976): 661-690.

62. Ibid., p. 667.

63. For insights in differences pertaining to matters dealing with privileges and salaries in the two nations, see the Ndegwa Report (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1971) and the TANU Guidelines, Mwongozo (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1971).

64. However, of critical importance in this respect, are the chosen models of development, as Williamson, op. cit., p. 209, aptly points out: "Different types of society allow different kinds of development to take place and societies differ radically in their capacity to overcome the constraints of the past and conceive of new options for the future..."

65. See Introduction and footnote no. 23, for category selection and rationale used in the analysis.

66. See, for example, "Adult Education" ETS 5, pp. 24-29; Also, "The Farmer from Standard 7" ETS 7, pp. 82-87.

67. See "A Reward for Courage" Safari 2, pp. 225-228; or "Drought Report" Safari 4, pp. 47-50.

68. See "Stone Soup" Safari 3, pp. 94-98.

69. See "The Success of Kazimoto" ETS 6, pp. 61-65.

70. This is well illustrated in "Stone Soup" op. cit.

71. See, for example, "The Stolen Herd" ETS 7, pp. 59-64.

72. See "Traditional Education" Safari 4, pp. 93-95; also "Government Must Supply Water to Masai" Ibid., pp. 107.

73. The theme of "nationhood" has remained constant in Kenya since the early years of independence and well articulated in both main Education reports, Ominde Report (1964) and Gachathi Report (1977).

4. See, for example, "Kenya's Resources" Safari 4, pp. 196-198; also "Honey for Money" Ibid., pp. 114-115.

75. See, for example, "So Simple" Safari 3, pp. 50-53.

76. A good illustration can be found in "The Village Youth Club" ETS 7, pp. 50-53.

77. See "Mountain Rescue" Safari 4, pp. 160-162.

78. See, for example, "Nyangasi The Boaster" ETS 6, pp. 117-122.

79. Good illustrations of this can be found in "The House Painter's Assistant" Safari 3, pp. 268-270; also "Sungura/The Hare" Safari 2, pp. 62-64.

80. See, for example, "The Poor Man" Safari 4, p. 60.

81. See, for example, "Adult Education," op. cit.; "Our Bus", ETS 5, pp. 58-62; "Usia wa Mzee Jabiri" Tujifunze 8, pp. 32-34.

82. Examples may include "Njaa Kuu" Masomo 4, pp. 74-78; and "Gharika", Ibid., pp. 63-68.

83. See, for example, "Mali Ya Asili", Tujifunze 7, pp. 48-51.

84. See, for example, "Starting A Fortune" Safari 3, pp. 79-82; also "Njaa Kuu", op. cit.

85. A good case of discontinuity between official stated goals (see the Kericho Report, for the earlier articulation in 1967) and school 'messages' carried by the texts, which stressed advantages of living in urbar areas.

86. See "Mzee Masuja", Tujifunze 7, pp. 27-30.

87. See, for example, "Kenya Huru" Masomo 4, pp. 103-108.

88. See "Fumu Liyongo", Safari 4, pp. 180-187.

89. See, for example, "Mapinduzi Ya Unguja" Tujifunze 7, pp. 121-127.

90. See "Mashujaa Wa Azimio" Tujifunze 8, pp. 26-28.

91. See, for example, "Umoja ni Nguvu" Tujifunze 7, pp. 1-5; also "Usia Wa Mzee Jabiri", op. cit.

92. See, for example, "Kutii Wakuu", Masomo 4, pp. 79-83.

93. See, for example, "Safari Ya Gari La Moshi" Masomo 3, pp. 61-66.

94. A good illustration can be found in "Ufugaji Wa Samaki" Tujifunze 8, pp 35-37.

95. See, for example, "Siasa Ya Nchi Yetu" Tujifunze 7, pp. 68-71.

96. See, for example, "Chama Cha Wafanya-Kazi" Tujifunze 8, pp. 42-44

97. See "Walowezi", Tujifunze 8, pp. 40-41.

98. See "Chama Cha Wafanyakazi", op. cit.

99. See "Siasa Ya Nchi Yetu", op. cit.

100. See "Sungura", op. cit.

101. See, for example, "Mchezo Mkali Sana", op. cit.

102. See Masomo, Book 4, pp. 118-124.

103. See, for example, Safari 2, pp. 225-228; Safari 4, pp. 47-50; Masomo 4, pp. 63-68; Ibid., pp. 74-78.

104. See, for example, Safari 4 pp. 74-79; Safari 3, pp. 50-53.

105. What is implied in this broad notion of 'African Traditions' is mainly the African 'extended family' kind of mutual social responsibility and conceived as stressing both collective efforts and sharing in the community. For a Kenyan definition, see NCEOP, (1977) op. cit.

106. See, for example, ETS, Book 5, pp. 64-68; pp. 92-96; pp. 126-132; Tujifunze, Book 7, pp. 1-3; Tujifunze, Book 8, pp. 26-28; Ibid., pp. 61-63.

107. See, for example, "The Farmer from Standard 7" ETS, Book 7, pp. 82-87.

108. See, for example, ETS, op. cit., pp. 24-29; Tujifunze 8, op. cit., pp. 32-34.

109. See, for example, M. Ramirez, R. Macauley, A. Gonzales, B. Cox, M. Perez Bilingual Education Series: 5 (Arlington, VA: CAL).

110. Ayo Bamgbose, ed., Enseignement et langue maternelle en afriqueen occidentale (Paris: Les presses de l'Unesco, 1976);

Unesco, L'emploi des langues vernaculaires dans l'enseignement Monographies sur l'education de base (Paris: Unesco, 1953).

111. See W. H. Whiteley (1971) op. cit.; Also P. Van den Berghe, op. cit., p. "European Languags and Black Mandarins" Transition vol. 7, no. 34 (1967), pp. 19-23.

112. One good example of some 'obsession' to which mother tongue ideologie can lead is to be found in the development of the 'Rivers Readers Project' in Nigeria. See Kay Williamson, "Le project 'livres de lecture' de l'Etat des rivieres au Nigeria" in Bamgbose, ed., op. cit., pp. 121-137.

In respect to this type of ventures, one may still question the whole line of thinking behind a project to develop textbooks in more than 20 mother tongues when the long terms 'ends' are not clearly articulated and the use of these texts limited (only) to the early elementary years (bridge approach) and while there is no concern about further development of these local languages.

113. See, for example, J. O. Nwagbaraocha, "Africanization of Social Studies Curriculum" Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation Harvard University, 1973. Too often the concept of Africanization has led to lots of confusion over what is perceived to be 'essence' of African traditional values. Nwagbaraocha defines this essence in terms of the "community personality" and processed to assume that modern African realities have to bear necessarily much resemblance to past traditions. I would argue that this type of identification is misleading as it fails to acknowledge the distance or anachronism that separates some of these traditions from most of the economic and political realities prevalent in post independent Africa.

114. See, for example, J. Carroll, Language and Thought (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1964) on the fact that the linguistic relativity has received little 'convincing' evidence.

115. See The World Bank, op. cit., p. 54.

116. 'Models of Development' as defined by B. Williamson (1979) op. cit. With respect to the impact of political decision makers in both Kenya and Tanzania see, for example, D. Court and K. Kinyanjui, "Development Policy and Educational Opportunity: The Experience of Kenya and Tanzania" in G. Carron and Ta Ngoc Chau, eds., Regional Disparities in Educational Development: Diagnosis and Policies for Reduction (Paris: Unesco, IIEP, 1980), pp. 317-409 Court and Kinyanjui point out the fact that the most significant developments (in education) in both countries originated "outside the development plans of the Ministry of Education" and that decisions which led to these developments were "clearly acts of political faith and party commitment..." p. 401.

117. See The World Bank, op. cit., p. 33.

ANNEX

GOVERNMENT AND PARTY OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS AND SCHOOL TEXTS

1. Kenya

Kenya. African Socialism and Its Applications to Planning in Kenya. Nairobi: Government Printer, 1965.

Kenya. Kenya Education Commission Report: Part I. Nairobi: Government Printer, 1964.

Kenya. Kenya Education Commission Report: Part II. Nairobi: Government Printer, 1965.

Kenya. Development Plan 1964-1970. Nairobi: Government Printer, 1964.

Kenya. Ministry of Economic Planning and Development. High Level Manpower Requirements and Resources in Kenya, 1964-1970. Nairobi: Government Printer, 1965.

Kenya. Report of the Commission of Inquiry (Public Service Structure and Remuneration Commission (Ndegwa) Nairobi: Government Printer, 1965.

Kenya. Ministry of Education. A Study of Curriculum Development in Kenya. (Bessey). Nairobi: Government Printer, 1972.

Kenya. On Employment. Nairobi: Government Printer, Sessional Paper #10, 1973.

Kenya. Development Plan 1974-1978. Nairobi: Government Printer, 1974.

Kenya. Annual Reports of the Ministry of Education (1971 to 1975). Nairobi: Government Printer, 1971-1975.

Kenya. Report of the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies. (Gachathi). Nairobi: Government Printer, 1977.

Curriculum Guide Vol. 1 and Curriculum Guide Vol. 2. Ministry of Education. Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 1973.

Kenya Syllabus for Primary Schools (Kiswahili and English). Ministry of Education. Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 1975, 1977.

Mambo ni Mazuri (F. Dumila, ed.) Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 1972.

Masomo ya Kiswahili (Book 1) KIE, Ministry of Education. Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 1977 (1st ed. 1971).

Masomo ya Kiswahili (Book 2) CDRC, Ministry of Education. Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 1977.

Masomo ya Kiswahili (Book 3) KIE, Ministry of Education. Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 1977 (1st ed. 1968).

Masomo ya Kiswahili (Book 4) KIE, Ministry of Education. Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 1977 (1st ed. 1969).

Safari (English Course) Children's and Teacher's Books 1. KIE, Ministry of Education. Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 1977.

Safari (English Course) Chidren's and Teacher's Books 2. KIE, Ministry of Education. Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 1977.

Safari (English Course) Chidren's and Teacher's Books 3. KIE, Ministry of Education. Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 1977.

Safari (English Course) Chidren's and Teacher's Books 4. KIE, Ministry of Education. Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 1977.

Starting to Read. Ministry of Education. Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 1969.

Wasifuwa Kenyatta. (F. Dumila, ed.) Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 1971.

2. Tanzania

Nyerere, J. K. The Arusha Declaration Ten Years After. Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1977.

TANU. The Arusha Declaration. Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967.

TANU. "The Directive on the Implementation of Education for Self-Reliance. (The Musoma Resolutions)." Papers in Education and Development #3. University of Dar es Salaam, 1976.

Tanganika. The Education Ordinance, 1961. (No. 37 of 1961) Regulations. Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1962.

Tanzania. Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1964-1969. Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1964.

Tanzania. Annual Report of the Ministry of Education 1966. Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967.

Tanzania. Tanzania Second Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1969-1974. Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1969/1970.

Tanzania. "The Education Act, 1969 (No. 13 of 1969)" Bill Supplement to the Gazette of the United Republic of Tanzania L. (Nov. 1969) #51. Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1969.

Tanzania. "An Act to Provide for the Registration of Villages, the Administration of Registered Villages and Designation of Ujamaa Villages." Acts Supplement to the Gazette of the United Republic of Tanzania LVI (Aug. 1975).

Tanzania. The Economic Survey 1973-1974. Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1975.

English for Tanzanian Schools (2 Vol.). Pupils' Book 5. Teacher's Book 5. Ministry of National Education. Dar es Salaam: Longman Tanzania, Ltd., 1973.

English for Tanzanian Schools (2 Vol.). Pupils' Book 6. Teacher's Book 6. Dar es Salaam: Longmans of Tanzania, Ltd., 1966 and 1967.

English for Tanzanian Schools (2 Vol.). Pupils' Book 7. Teacher's Book 7. Dar es Salaam: Longman Tanzania Ltd., 1967 and 1968.

English for Tanzanian Schools (2 Vol.). Pupils' Book 1. Teacher's Book 1. Ministry of National Education. Dar es Salaam: Longman Tanzania Ltd., 1970.

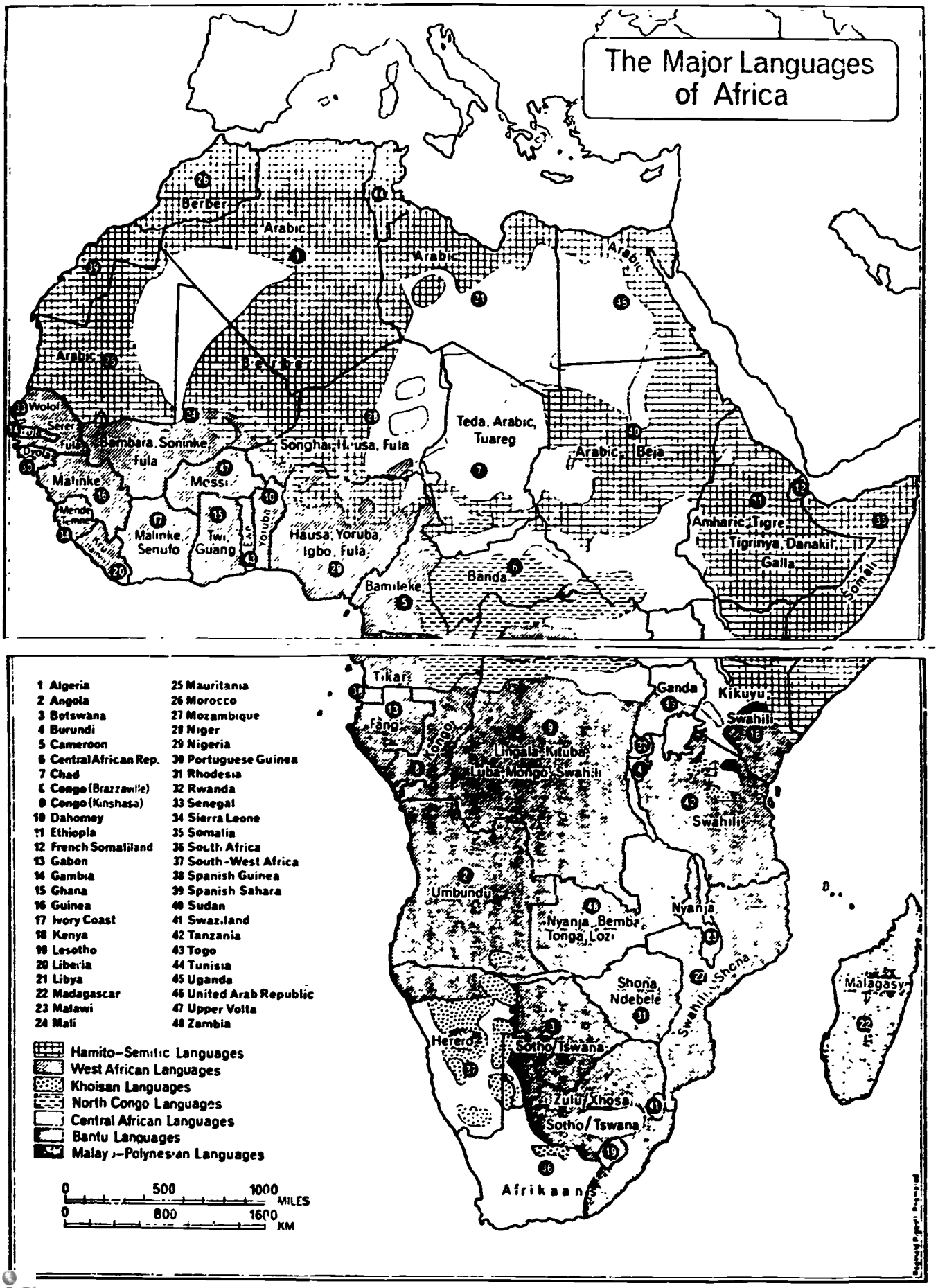
Tanzania. Wizara ya Elimu ya Taifa. Muhtasari ya Mafundisho ya shule za msingi (Madarasa I-VII) Dar es Salaam: Printpack/MTUU, 1976.

Tujifunze lugha yetu Kitabu cha 5. Dar es Salaam: Wizara ya Elimu ya Taifa, 1971.

Tujifunze lugha Yetu Kitabu cha 7. Wizara ya Elimu ya Taifa. Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Pubishing House Ltd., 1971.

Tujifunze lugha Yetu Kitabu cha 8. Wizara ya Elimu ya Taifa. Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Pubishing House Ltd., 1974.

Tujifunze lugha Yetu Kitabu cha Tisa. Wizara ya Elimu ya Taifa. Dar es Salaam: Printpak/MTUU, 1975.



Source: Dakin, Tiffen and Widdowson, (1968).