The Dilemma of Language in Education Policies in Ghana and Tanzania

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines language policies of Ghana and Tanzania (former British Colonies) since independence. The view that language use in education is a problem for African countries is evident in the ever changing language in education policies in many African countries. Because of the inevitable multilingual situation in many African countries, there are unavoidable challenges in their quest to adopt a language policy that works for the entire country since it is not practical to adopt all the languages spoken in the country as Media of Instruction. Ghana is not immune to this challenge and has fallen victim to this tendency to change the language in education policy from time to time in an attempt to adopt a satisfactory policy which would yield the intended results. Tanzania, however, is one of the few African countries that have found a sustainable language in education policy since independence. Nonetheless, it has its fair share of challenges as a consequence of the perceived competition between Kiswahili and English as official languages. The paper discusses the challenges that both Ghana and Tanzania face against

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the background of colonization. The paper also offers a discussion on possible future perspectives for the two countries.

Key Words
Language in education policy, medium of instruction, local language, indigenous language, mother tongue,

1. Introduction

Among the many post-colonial challenges that African countries face is the lack of a coherent language policy. It is not so much that Africa would not have had a language problem if there had not been colonialism, but colonial interference complicated Africa's ability to diffuse their language problems. Of the 6,909 languages of the world, approximately 30%, (about 2,092), are spoken in Africa (Ethnologue 2009). Of these approximately 79 (excluding English and two sign languages) are spoken in Ghana and 129 in Tanzania (Ethnologue 2009). While many countries, including Ghana, have failed to select a local language as a National Language, there are some that were bold, right after independence, to declare a local language as national language. Tanzania selected Kiswahili (the most widely spoken language both at the national and local levels) to be the national language (Kropp Dakubu 2013).

Where one language was insufficient, multiple languages were selected. This is true about the Democratic Republic of Congo and South Africa which have declared several local languages as national languages (Hunt-Johnson, gse.upenn.edu/wpel/s…2n2 Hunt-Johnson.pdf; Bokamba 2008). In the case of Tanzania, for Kiswahili to be elevated to the status of a national language, it had to go through rigorous processes of development. Its acquired status, namely the most developed African language, is meritorious, considering that several African countries have

yet to adopt a language, local or foreign, to be their national language. Instead, many of these countries have adopted an official language which is often the language imposed by colonialism (English, French, or Portuguese). Bokamba (2008) estimates that 35 out of the 55 African countries have maintained colonial languages as official and administrative languages.

The institutionalization of official languages has serious implications when it comes to dealing with language in education policies. Consequently, problems that emanate from such policies have remained persistent in Africa over the years with no ending in sight. Like many other African countries, Ghana selected the language of its former colonial master, namely English, as its official language. Countries that had more than one colonial legacy ended up with more than one colonial language as official language. A good example is Cameroon which was colonized by both the French and the British. Consequently they ended up with two official languages, English and French (Ayafor 2005). This is a result of the ambiguous nature of the state of affairs the colonized were confronted with because when it was decided that the African must be offered formal education, the major and disconcerting question was, in whose language; the colonial master's or the African's?

The state of limbo that these countries found themselves in created the problems of language in education policies that eventually became the inherited legacy for the newly independent African countries. As a result many African nations have been unable to emerge from the inherited legacies and continue to be in a maze as they try to establish and implement the most suitable Language in Education Policies (LEPs) for their peculiar situations. This search for ideal policies in several African countries such as Ghana, South Africa and Uganda, to name only a few, has resulted in frequent changes in the existing LEPs.

It is without doubt that one of the key pointers to the challenges is the highly multilingual situations in many African countries. Although

the theory is that the best language choice for the purpose of education at least at the early stages of language development is the mother tongue (Anyidoho 2009), the inability for countries to deal with the diverse issues associated with the intense multilingual situation in their respective countries poses a challenge to the success of any policy. This notwithstanding, South Africa's 1996 constitution names eleven indigenous languages including English as official languages. Interestingly, Ghana fits the South African case because it is facing the same dilemma in the choice of a national language/official language. Faced with this dilemma, Ghana has had several changes in its LEP since independence. Nevertheless these changes have not resolved the problems associated with LEP. Furthermore, this policy is not unique to Ghana or any other country because even in the case of Tanzania, one of the few African nations that have had a stable language in education policy since independence has not been free of challenges associated with the implementation of its LEP.

In the next section, we will undertake a comparative analysis of the colonial and the post-independence LEPs of Ghana and Tanzania. We therefore plan to do the following: (a) offer an appraisal of the colonial educational policies of the two countries; (b) discuss and compare the two countries' post-colonial eras; (c) examine the peculiar challenges that each country face; and (d) offer concluding remarks and propose future strategies for the way forward for the two countries.

2. Colonial educational policies in Ghana and Tanzania

It is evident that European missionaries to Africa contributed to the development of indigenous African languages, especially, in education. They were indeed the pioneers of formal education in many parts of Africa. This was true of European missionaries to Ghana and Tanzania. The colonial administrations later took over the education of the African with assistance

from the missions that had already established mission schools. The common theory is that the arrival of missionaries to Africa was a preamble to colonialism (Kusimba 1999).

Ghana

In Ghana, the European missionaries who contributed to the provision of formal education to Ghanaians by establishing mission schools from the 1830s were namely the Wesley and Basel missions (Eyiah 2004). This initiative was continued by the colonial administration which started to establish schools for formal education after the mid-nineteenth century. The first of such was the Colonial School at the Cape Coast Castle, the seat of the British colonial administration. The school produced the first generation of English language educated Ghanaians (Eyiah 2004). English was established as medium of instruction in these schools by the Wesley Mission, now Methodist Church (Obeng 1997; Dzameshie 1988). However, the Basel Mission (Now Presbyterian Church) placed more value on the local languages to the extent that their schools were branded not progressive. They used Akwapim Twi and Ga, the local languages in the areas where they set up their mission schools (Eastern and Greater Accra regions). The Bremen Mission also worked in the Ewe speaking area, now the Volta region and selected the Ewe language to be used in their schools. (Obeng 1997; Owu-Ewie 2006; Anyidoho and Kropp Dakubu 2008).

It can be argued then that from the onset of the British colonial period, the objective was to establish English to emphasize its superiority to the local languages. As such the English language was highly valued and promoted to the detriment of the indigenous Ghanaian languages. The establishment of English as the language of education was strategic for the colonial administration and stakeholders, because they needed to develop a native workforce that was critical to the sustainability of the colonial administration. The ability to read and write English was essential to foster

good communication (Dzameshie 1988). Owu-Ewie (2006) and Dzameshie (1988), indicate that despite this high value that was placed on English, some attention was given to Ghanaian languages in education later by the colonial government. According to Anyidoho and Kropp Dakubu (2008), by 1890, some of the few educated elites (Nationalists) such as John Mensah Sarbah and J. E. Casely-Hayford protested against the use of English only in some of the schools in the Fante area (Central Region) and tried to set up their own schools with the aim of promoting the use of local languages in education. However they were not successful in this endeavour because, the people themselves preferred an education that would earn them white collar jobs with the colonial administration (Anyidoho and Kropp-Dakubu 2008). They felt that the more knowledgeable they were in English the better the prospects for gaining employment.

Mfum-Mensah (2005) points out that the notion behind the colonial administration's preference for English only education and the Christian missionaries' preference for Ghanaian languages was the need to achieve success in their own objectives for educating the Ghanaian. While the colonial master needed educated Ghanaians to take up junior positions within the colonial administration, the missionaries needed converts, to occupy positions in the mission and the success of the missions was very much dependent on their ability to communicate with their converts (in their own language) who would in turn communicate the gospel to other natives. (Mfum-Mensah 2005).

Prior to the colonial administration's official take-over of formal education, the Phelpes-Stokes Commission was set up in 1920 by the then Governor of the Gold Coast, Gordon Guggisberg to make recommendations towards the improvement of education. The committee recommended that because of its importance, the English language should be introduced as early as possible as the medium of instruction. However indigenous languages should be used as medium of instruction (MOI) in lower primary (1-3) and English as MOI in upper primary (4-6)

(Dzamashie 1988; Mfum-Mensah 2005; Anyidoho and Kropp-Dakubu 2008).

That the recommendations of the committee were accepted by the colonial government is evident in the place given to indigenous languages in language policy in education throughout the British colonial administration (Dzamashie 1988).

Dzameshie (1988), citing Gbedemah (1975), states that the nationalists movement that arose in the then Gold Coast shortly after the second world war, expressed their misgivings about the standard of education. They also accused the colonial government of attempting to undermine the Africans by giving them inferior education through the local languages. It seems in response to the sentiment expressed; the Accelerated Development Plan of 1951, a plan that was recommended by yet another committee was implemented. The committee was set up to investigate the possibility of an English only education at all levels. However its recommendation was synonymous with that of the Phelpes-Stokes Commission. In addition, local languages were to be taught as subjects from primary four.

Tanzania

Similarly, in Tanzania, Western education was pioneered by Christian missionaries. The first missionary school was set up in Tanganyika by the Holy Ghost Fathers at Bagamoyo in 1862 (Ishimu and Maliyamkono, 2003). By the time the German colonialists took up responsibility for their territory in East Africa in the 1890s, Kiswahili had already acquired the status of a lingua franca in the East African coastal area and interior (through the expansion of trade between the coastal people and the people from the interior) and the missionaries had already established some schools. They took advantage of the extremely widespread status of Kiswahili and adopted it as the colonial administrative language (Maxon 1994).

They set up training institutions which used Kiswahili as the medium of instruction to train local people to take up positions of junior administrators within their administration. They also provided financial support to the mission schools. In both the mission schools and the colonial schools, Kiswahili was used as the medium of instruction. By 1903 about twenty four government and mission schools had been established.

The British took over the sphere of influence from the Germans (German East Africa Protectorate) after the First World War and although they continued to use Kiswahili more or less as the administrative language, English, nevertheless, was adopted as the language of communication in the legislature and judiciary and the MOI in the lower primary school was either Kiswahili or vernacular. At the upper primary and higher level, the MOI was English (Mazrui & Mazrui 1995).

In Tanzania the British administration intended to put measures in place to ensure that Kiswahili was elevated enough to eventually take over some of the functions assumed by English both in the colonial administration and higher education. It demonstrated its commitment to the development of Kiswahili by commissioning the Inter-territorial (Swahili) Language Committee (ILC) which was established in 1929 first of all, to standardize the Kiswahili language for the purpose of education and secondly to ensure that the standard was adhered to, particularly by publishers of formal educational material (Whiteley 1969; Mbaabu 1991). Unlike the Germans who pursued a Kiswahili only policy, the British created parallel paths for English and Kiswahili. They introduced the English language to the Africans and promoted it considerably in the backdrop of the wisdom they had already seen in promoting the Kiswahili language at the same time. Several conferences were held to discuss issues of language and education, especially, the choice of MOI. The options were local languages, Kiswahili and English. The debate went on for some time, but eventually Kiswahili was established as the MOI in primary education. Unlike the Ghanaian situation, throughout the whole colonial period, Kiswahili was

used as the MOI in lower primary education. However by independence there were Kiswahili medium, English Medium and Asian Vernacular medium primary schools in Tanzania. In Schools where Kiswahili was not the MOI, it was a taught subject (Roy-Campbell 1992) cited in Mazrui and Mazrui (1995).

Ghana and Tanzania Compared

As noted earlier, there were efforts on the Ghana side, specifically from Mensah Sarbah and his colleagues to establish schools that would use indigenous languages as a MOI instead of English. There was some momentum to support this initiative from the fact that the Basel Schools had decided to use local languages as MOI in addition to teaching English at their schools. Mensah Sarbah and his colleagues could have forged an alliance with the Basel Schools to push for the recognition of the importance of the use of local languages in formal education. The interesting question to answer here is why and how did Tanzania manage to integrate Kiswahili in formal education but Ghana was not able to take a similar decision but rather resorted to the use of English.

To explain this, first, we have to consider the fact that the linguistic landscape in Ghana was different from that of Tanzania. The historical background shows that Kiswahili had been placed in an opportune place for it to be considered by missionaries, the colonial administration, and the local administrative support groups. Consequently, Kiswahili was not confined to one specific tribe or local area. In Ghana, as noted earlier, Mensah Sarbah and his colleagues received resistance from the local communities.

As in Tanzania, the missionaries in Ghana preferred the local languages in the schools because they were interested in preparing local staff who would assume church responsibilities and the running of the various missionary activities. By contrast, the colonial administration in Ghana

preferred English to prepare future workforce for the administration. In Tanzania, however, particularly during the German administration, Kiswahili was allowed to play a role in the preparation of local manpower.

Kiswahili had additional advantages that were enhanced by its spread beyond its normal boundaries. The spread into the hinterland and beyond the national borders allowed for its rapid development that was necessary for the requirements for instruction in the schools.

3. Post-colonial language in education policies

Since both the colonial language and African languages played a role in education during the colonial period, on the eve of independence, many African countries found themselves saddled with the colonial language and local languages. As pointed out earlier, the dilemma of the colonial languages versus the local language has remained in the aftermath of colonialism and Africa has not been able to resolve it effectively. The problem has been the selection of a language within the socio-cultural and educational set up in a particular country. Tanzania had political stability with the establishment of a one-party state by her first President, Julius Nyerere. This contributed to the stability of the language policy. In contrast, Ghana's post-independence era was characterised by political instability, which impacted negatively on language policy, since several change of governments were accompanied by some changes in LEP.

In the next two sub sections, each country's policies from independence to the present are discussed.

Post-colonial LEP in Ghana

In 1957, the year in which Ghana gained independence from Britain, a minority recommendation, that advocated for an English only education

was accepted and adopted. Hence English became the sole MOI at all levels of education except primary one. There was no significant change in this policy until 1967 when the National Liberation Council (NLC) took over from the Nkrumah government. From 1967 to 1974, there were slight changes made as the administration went back and forth in the bid to establish the place of the English language vis-à-vis local languages within the educational system.

The next significant change in LEP took place in 1974, under the military administration of the National Redemption Council. It declared that the MOI was to be a Ghanaian language that was prevalent in the particular local area, while English was to be studied as a subject from primary 1-3. From primary 4, English was to replace the Ghanaian language as MOI and the Ghanaian language was then to be taught as a subject (Andoh-Kumi 1999). This policy did not see any significant changes, despite the several successions of governments; the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (1978-1979), Peoples National Party (1979-1981), Provisional National Democratic Council (1981-1992) and the National Democratic Congress (1992-2000). Nevertheless, there was a significant revision of the entire educational system in which the General Certificate of Education (GCE) Ordinary and Advance Level examinations were replaced by the Junior and Senior Secondary school system with the Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) and the West African Senior School Certificate Examination (WASSCE) and currently there is a slight modification, Junior High School has replaced Junior Secondary and Senior High School Senior Secondary School. In 2002, a new LEP was adopted by the sitting government of the time, the National Patriotic Party. This was an English only policy under which English was made the sole MOI at all levels of Education, but a Ghanaian language was taught as a subject from primary one to the Junior High school level. Several reasons were given by the minister of education for the change in policy. Some of the reasons included the challenges that faced the previous policy and

some constituted the advantages of using English as MOI and the fear that the selection of a particular indigenous language may result in violence (Bodomo et al. 2009). Additionally, there was anticipated level of difficulty in deciding which of the 79 languages should be selected (Anyidoho and Kropp Dakubu 2008).

The biggest challenge for Ghana was the highly multilingual nature of the Ghanaian society. To date only ten out of the 79 languages have been endorsed for use in educational activities in the ten regions of Ghana by the Ministry of Education. This means that the local language of a particular municipality is the preferred language for the schools in that area. We can clearly anticipate the challenge this poses, especially, to students who do not speak that particular local language and yet are required to embrace it for instruction. This is a problem that is inevitable in communities that are very heterogeneous. It would require both the community and the students to acquire competence in the L1of that municipality for educational purposes.

Another challenge is the lack of trained multilingual teachers with linguistic proficiency in the local languages of instruction in the particular municipality. As reported by Andoh-Kumi (1999), there are cases where some of the teachers do not to have the needed proficiency in the predominant language spoken there. The lack of linguistically diverse educational material (i.e. material in the local language) is also a big challenge facing the teachers. Consequently, the instructors are faced with the problem of having to resort to English teaching materials even though they are teaching in the local language. The books that are often available for use in the schools are language instruction books that are written in the local languages. The textbooks as well as library books for other subjects such as mathematics, science, etc are usually in English. The outcomes are obvious, a high percentage of children who lack the needed language proficiency to fully understand what is going on in the classroom, let alone the ability to read, write, understand, and communicate effectively in the English language

during and after they are through with the primary education. Scholars, who have researched this subject, note that the advantage of the English only policy is that English is the lingua franca for many people, the ordained official language, and also MOI, at the secondary and tertiary levels. It is important, therefore, that students acquire the right level of competence before they exit primary school. Thus the advocacy is that the earlier English is introduced in the education system, the better its benefit to MOI at later stages.

Anyidoho and Kropp Dakubu (2008), report that the Education Reform Review Committee was set up in 2004, to review the 2002 policy. The committee made some recommendations that were accepted by the government in a white paper on the committee's report. However, the government did not make public the fact that its position on the English only MOI had changed slightly. The recommendations that were accepted were that:

(a) Mother tongue (children's first home language) and English should be the MOI at kindergarten and primary level.
(b) Where teachers and learning materials are available and the linguistic composition of classes is fairly uniform, the children's first language must be used as the dominant MOI in kindergarten and lower primary" (2008: 50).

It seems that the setting up of the Education Review Committee and the subsequent modification to the English only policy was necessitated by the immense protests and criticisms from academics and other individuals and groups such as the Northern Network for Education Development, an initiative of Civil society, with over 100 members made up of NGOs, Private Individuals and Institutions.

From the account above, it is very clear that to a large extent throughout Ghana's history of formal education (colonial period to the present) the various LEPs have been bilingual in nature. In other words, either local languages or English are used as MOI at different points in the educational

system. The problem over the years has been the mechanism to facilitate the creation of a balance between the two so as to ensure that competence and proficiency in both English and the local languages is achieved. Although the government has received a lot of criticism from academics for introducing an English only policy, there is concrete evidence that attest to the fact that apart from the reasons put out by the government, the English only policy is preferred by the majority of stakeholders of education in Ghana, namely parents, children, and teachers (Andoh-Kumi 1999; Mfum-Mensah 2005; Bodomo et al. 2009). Furthermore, the various changes in policies over the years are indicators of the fact that the various policies have not yielded the expected results.

What the average Ghanaian expects is that by the end of primary education, children would be proficient in English, simply because the furtherance of one's studies beyond the primary school level is very much dependent on ones proficiency in reading and writing the English language since the MOI for higher education is English.

Experts in bilingual education have demonstrated that, the bilingual approach of education in which the mother tongue is used in the early years of education helps children to understand the subjects and also helps them acquire the L2 (in the case of Ghana, English) better (Krashen 1991; Owu-Ewie 2006; Anyidoho 2009). The attempt to encourage mother tongue MOI is often seen as an attempt to suppress rather than liberate; this has been the case from the colonial period. Sometimes, it is because the advantage of L1 MOI is not explained to them. Also a further complication as explained in Bodomo et al. (2009) is that some children are unable to acquire either L1 of their parents in cases where the parents speak different L1s and are forced to use English as the language of the home. Never the less, the education of all stakeholders of education on the advantages of L1 MOI is important (Bodomo et al. 2009). It is important to note that the LEPs prescribed by the government, apply to only government assisted schools. There are hundreds of private primary schools in Ghana, especially

in the urban areas tagged 'international' whose MOI is English.

Post-colonial LEP in Tanzania

After independence in 1961, Tanzania continued with the colonial policy of Kiswahili as MOI in primary (1-4) and English in middle school (5-8). When middle school was abolished, in 1967, and primary education was re-defined as (1-7), Nyerere's administration instituted Kiswahili as the MOI for primary school education. Note that 1967 was also the launch of the famous Arusha Declaration and the point at which Kiswahili was established as the national language and therefore, officially made the MOI of all government sponsored primary schools under the adoption of the Education for Self-Reliance Policy. English continued to be the MOI in secondary and tertiary education.

Work was undertaken by various Language Policy Agencies set up by the government, such as the then Institute of Kiswahili Research (IKR) (now Institute of Kiswahili Studies) and National Swahili Council (NSC) to chart out and to ensure the implementation of Kiswahili as MOI at the secondary and tertiary levels of education. This implementation of Kiswahili as MOI was to begin in 1971; however, this did not happen. (Blommeart 1997). In 1982, a Presidential Commission on Education set up by the President to review the LEP in its report, recommended implementation of the policy of Kiswahili as the sole MOI at all levels of Education in 1985 (Lwaitama and Rugemalira 1990 cited in Sa 2007; Rwezaura 1993; Kiango 2005). This policy however, never saw the 'light of day'. There are several factors that account for the inability/reluctance, on the part of government and policy makers, to implement this policy despite the fact that all necessary preparations were made (Dzahene-Quarshie 2009b). Consequently, Tanzania has not seen any change in its language policy since her Independence. To date, the MOI at the primary level remains to be Kiswahili while English (Kiswahili for special studies)

assumes its major role in secondary and tertiary education,.

The assertion that the late President Nyerere advocated for a Kiswahili only policy in education is not quite accurate because his strongest advocacy was the development of a bilingual Tanzania. He embraced a balanced bilingual Tanzanian society with respect to Kiswahili and English, a consequence of the increased pressure to give in to the World Bank /IMF requirements for structural adjustment (Dzahene-Quarshie 2009b).

There have emerged two main views expressed by stakeholders concerning the choice of LEP. Some advocate Kiswahili as MOI and others prefer English (Brock-Utne 2002). The growth in preference for English MOI is evidenced in the rate at which English medium private primary schools have mushroomed all over the urban centres in the country in the last decade (Dzahene-Quarshie 2009a). There are a couple of motivations for an English MOI: (1) high failure rates in English and other subjects in national examinations; (2) the globalization of English. These two aspects have become the main reasons that some stakeholders prefer English over Kiswahili.

Clearly, there are challenges with the implementation of the bilingual LEP in Tanzania which need to be resolved. The failure of the Kiswahili MOI policy would negatively impact aspirants in other African countries who would like to use Tanzania as an example of success to elevate local languages to MOIs.

4. Similarities and differences in the LEPs of the two countries

Both Ghana and Tanzania manifests a form of bilingual education policy. However, they are distinct in various ways. While Ghana advocates for an Early Exit-Transition Bilingual Education (ETBE), Tanzania prefers a Late Exit-Transition Bilingual Education (LTBE). These two models

of bilingual education are also commonly used by several countries in Africa. In the ETBE, L1 is used as MOI in the first few years of primary education and English takes over later as was practised in Ghana until 2002. In the LTBE, L1 is used as MOI for a longer period and English takes over (throughout primary education) and L2 takes over (throughout secondary education) as practised in Tanzania presently. The main difference between the two countries' policies is the choice of local language in education. Although both countries are highly multilingual, in fact in terms of number, Tanzania is even more highly multilingual than Ghana with 129 languages, the advantage it has over Ghana is the success in promoting and developing Kiswahili to the extent that almost the entire population speaks it either as an L1 or L2. It is also the national and official language. In this sense it can be argued that the society, to some extent, can be regarded as monolingual. This simplifies their language problems because the major competition is between English and Kiswahili. In contrast, linguistic homogeneity is relatively minimal in Ghana, especially in urban areas. Consequently, implementing a local language MOI at any level often poses a challenge. The converging point for the two countries, as perceived by the majority of stakeholders, is the inability of the educational system to produce students who are reasonably bilingual in English and the local language.

5. The Challenges of LEPs in Ghana and Tanzania

As noted above, despite the differences in linguistic landscapes and LEPs of the two countries, both countries face serious problems as demonstrated by high failure rates in English as well as other non-language subjects at various levels of the education system.

In Tanzania the main problem is the transition between the MOI in Primary and Secondary education. Students are often not able to acquire

appreciable proficiency in English to prepare them adequately for an English MOI at the secondary school level. As a result of this and in anticipation for their children's success in English and further education, many parents resort to sending their children to private English medium primary schools.

Ghana experiences similar outcomes. Already some scholars and other stakeholders have come out to condemn the change in policy and the debate continues. Owu Ewie (2006) argues that the "English Only" option is not a better option for Ghana. He contends that the Late-Exit Bilingual model of education can be effective if it is implemented in the right way. In response to the current language crisis in Tanzania several scholars Rubagumya (1991), and Brock-Utne (2002) have advocated for a monolingual model in which Kiswahili would be the sole MOI throughout the education system as a possible solution.

However, there are others who advocate for a monolingual L2 (English Only) model for Tanzania. The assumption is that an early introduction of English as MOI will ensure appreciable proficiency by the secondary school level. A bilingual model has also been viewed as a possible solution by Sa (2007); and Vavrus (2002). Rubagumya (2002) suggests that an 'additive bilingualism' would be a more helpful option. Among other reasons given as justification for these views is the fact that English is not delivering and most Tanzanians would not advance beyond Primary level and therefore may not need to use English at all after school, a view that was also upheld by President Nyerere earlier on. Nevertheless, the fact that they may be out of school does not mean they may not need English.

6. The Way Forward

Based on the foregoing discussion, the way forward is to take time and analyse the problems that hinder the effectiveness of the current policies and make the necessary adjustments to ensure a good balance between

the use of Kiswahili and English (Dzahene-Quarshie 2009b). In our view, apart from addressing problems that stem from the lack of adequate resources in the Teaching of English, poor teaching methods and poorly trained teachers which result in high levels of incompetence, there is need to create a sustainable model that is implementable. Considering that the LTBE is supposed to prevent a sharp transition between the two levels in order to produce balanced bilingual students, the Tanzanian policy has not been able to achieve that. An implementable model would resolve this dilemma.

The LTBE model that Owu-Ewie (2006) proposes for the Ghanaian dilemma promises to yield better results, especially in the Tanzanian situation where although Kiswahili is L2 for most speakers, the overall proficiency is as good if not better than that of their L1. In other words, because Tanzania has embraced Kiswahili to the extent that it could be referred to as reasonably monolingual, it would, and to some extent, be easier to deal with its dilemma than Ghana which is a typical multilingual society with a complex language ecology as described in Bodomo et al (2009).

Despite the challenges that the LEPs of both countries face, we believe they can learn valuable lessons from each other. The English only LEP for both countries may not be the solution to their dilemma. Although the perception is that the source of the problem could be the inappropriateness of the LEPs, we believe that the root cause of the problem may be the failure to implement the policies in a manner that will allow sustainable success. The policies should not be politically motivated but should embrace constructive advice, academic ideas, and support from education scholars. These should include teachers who are in the trenches ‘day in and day out’; experts in education administration, stakeholders (industry and businesses) and the government. All the expertise might not reside in the two countries. Even if it did, it would be highly advisable to attract expertise from countries that have succeeded in overcoming the linguistic colonial legacy. These include countries like Japan, India, and China, to name

only a few.

Tanzania is making small steps by publishing texts books of the various subjects; mathematics, science, etc in Kiswahili. This is a step Ghana has yet to take. Teaching in the local language when the books are in English creates additional responsibility and a burden on the teachers to translate the teaching materials for the students.

Some scholars have also pointed out that the dilemma is exacerbated by harsh economic realities; a lack of adequate human and material resources needed in the teaching of English and other subjects, poor teaching methods and levels of teacher incompetence. So, although the model of LEP needs immediate attention, governments need to commit adequate resources to education to address the dilemma. Generally education receives very little funding compared to other services funded by African government. A successful and sustainable LEP cannot be implemented without adequate funding. It may take a linguistic patriot or revolutionist, the likes of Nkrumah or Nyerere to effect such a change. It seems that the African governments of today lack the passion to "take the bull by the horns" in addressing the LEP problems plaguing many African countries. Rather many leaders take the "easier way out" by ignoring the dilemma and accepting the status quo.

7. Conclusion

The paper has attempted to demonstrate that though Ghana and Tanzania had similar colonial experiences in terms of LEPs, after gaining independence, they adopted somehow different language policies, that is national, official and educational policies. We have also pointed out that an issue that is common to the two countries is the challenge of successful implementation of their LEPs and the inability to yield the expected result. We have indicated that there are lessons that can be drawn from the

experiences of each of these countries as they both continue to seek lasting solutions to the shortcomings of their LEPs. We noted that both countries suffered and continue to suffer from inheriting a colonial legacy that had both the colonial language and local African languages playing a role in Education. The dilemma of deciding between colonial languages and the local languages and their roles in LEP is an aftermath of colonialism that Africa has been unable to effectively resolve.

It is, therefore important to encourage leaders and the citizens of the two countries not to succumb to the pressure of de-emphasizing the role of local languages in the education system by promoting English medium schools or English as the only medium of instruction. Crystal (2005:508-514) enumerates the risks of accepting one language, namely English, to serve the world. These include the risk of monopoly by one language whose manipulative tendencies may lead to the marginalization and eventual language death of other less prestigious languages.

These risks are real for Africa but at different degrees in each of the fifty five countries. The risks are extenuated depending on the level of dependency on foreign languages for communication, education, and trade. Tanzania's risk is minimal compared to Ghana, but it could rise if drastic measures are not taken to slow down the mushrooming of English medium schools (elementary through high school).

Additionally, Schmied (1991) discusses the Status of English in Africa. He correctly observes that there are persistent inequities in practice and application of resources available to L-2 English speakers. Specifically African scholars face sociolinguistic or grammatical problems as they try to express their ideas in English in an English only academy. Furthermore, despite the claim for global English, many written works in English around the globe remain unpublished due to sociolinguistic stereo-typing of both the authors and the texts. Thus, those who believe that English will propel their success to the world stage need reminding that while there is some truth to it such truth is also coloured by these inequities. Not every citizen

will emerge as an example of how English made it better for them or how the local language(s) made it worse for them. Personal, cultural, and national identities are best preserved through one's language(s) and culture(s).

We noted that Ghana and Tanzania could learn from countries which emerged from colonialism like India, China, and Japan who were able to put in place highly effective local language policies. The lack of political-will that the model countries mentioned above have has been one of the major obstacles for Ghana and Tanzania and many other African countries in shaking off the colonial legacy. Other successful countries include Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Norway, and Finland etc.) that have been able to implement local language MOI policies successfully and have succeeded in achieving proficiency in English even though it is taught as a subject throughout primary and secondary education. Clearly these countries have invested heavily in the development of a sustainable MOI while recognizing the importance of English as an international language. English is emphasized in higher education while local languages assume a major role in primary and secondary education. Countries like these fit the example of needed outside and successful expertise for Ghana and Tanzania. Both countries could learn a lot from them and without doubt these countries are big on giving international funding support for education in developing and underdeveloped nations. The most valuable aid would be their scholarly and administrative expertise.

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