EXPLORING INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE AMONG

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHERS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN

TANZANIA: A POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVE

UPENDO PAUL BISWALO

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores intercultural communicative competence (ICC) (that is ability to interact and communicate across cultures) from the perspectives of six teachers of English in the three secondary schools in the Dodoma Municipality in Tanzania. It also explores colonial legacies and power relations surrounding the constructions of English language teaching (ELT) practices in Tanzania.

The study is underpinned by postcolonial theory and Southern theory as theoretical approaches, and uses Foucauldian discourse analysis as the methodological framework. Tanzania inherited the British colonial system after independence and, therefore, postcolonial theory in this study is used to identify the effects of colonialism, particularly in ELT practices in Tanzania. Postcolonial theory provides a framework for understanding the complex context in which the research took place. English, which was imposed on Tanzania during the colonial period, is now both a compulsory subject and the medium of instruction (the MOI) in secondary education. Foucauldian discourse analysis is employed in this study as a methodological approach for exploring and analysing the concept of power relations surrounding ELT practices in Tanzania. As a theoretical tool, Foucauldian discourse analysis is useful because it provided me with a lens to understand the complexities of power relations within ELT practices in Tanzania. Southern theory is employed to extend current understandings of ICC and to suggest ways of making ICC more responsive to Southern contexts.

This post-structural and postcolonial work involved two phases of data collection and analysis. In phase one, I analysed the government documents— the policy and the syllabus— while in phase two the data from semi-structured interviews and stimulated recall with teachers, and my reflective diary were analysed. The findings indicate that despite its important role in effective communication and interaction in

this global age, teachers who participated in this study seemed to be unaware of ICC. Secondly, the findings reveal some evidence of colonial legacies which were inherent in ELT practices in English language classrooms in Tanzania. Thirdly, the thesis reveals the discursive effects of the Ministry of Education's power in shaping the ELT curriculum in Tanzania. This results in the generation of multiple and complex subjectivities for teachers. Finally, the study demonstrates the ways in which Western theories need to be re-read and extended through postcolonial theory in order to understand ELT in Southern contexts.

The thesis generates and contributes knowledge to the area of ELT in secondary schools in Tanzania by emphasising the importance of students gaining ICC for effective global interaction and communication. It also presents a unique contribution to the scholarship of ICC by proposing Southern theory to explore how people in the Southern contexts, such as Tanzania, interact across cultures. Lastly, the study contributes to the theoretical and methodological frameworks in the studies of ELT in non-Western contexts. A combined approach that uses Foucauldian analysis as well as postcolonial theory is unusual in this field. The study also has implications for teachers and policy makers for the development of both teachers' and learners' ICC for effective communication and interaction with other speakers of English globally.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my Heavenly father, Almighty God. You made a way where there seemed to be no way!

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AU	African Union
CC	Communicative Competence
DoDMC	Dodoma Director of the Municipal Council
EAC	East African Community
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ELT	English Language Teaching
ELTSP	English Language Teaching Support Project
EMSs	English Medium primary Schools
ESL	English as a Second Language
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICC	Intercultural Communicative Competence
MOI	Medium of Instruction
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
RP	Received Pronunciation
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
TIE	Tanzania Institute of Education
TV	Television
UK	United Kingdom
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
US	United States
VUW	Victoria University of Wellington

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and the need for ICC in Tanzania

Over the last few decades, developing learners' intercultural communicative competence (ICC) (Byram, 1997; Sercu, 2006) has been given a strong emphasis, and is becoming increasingly significant in English language teaching (ELT) practices globally. This is because the world today increasingly fosters interdependence and interconnectedness (Portera, 2014). Therefore, how people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds can effectively communicate with each other using English—a global language (Baker, 2011, 2012; Ciprianová & Vančo, 2010) — is becoming both a vital and challenging issue. Today, ICC is considered to be the key to successful intercultural communication (Huang, 2014). Therefore, if ICC is included within ELT practices in secondary schools in Tanzania, students may be able to learn and use English for effective communication and interaction with other speakers of English worldwide.

This study argues that ELT should prepare students for interaction in a global community. This implies that ELT needs to develop students with knowledge of the different cultures of other speakers of English globally, which would, in turn, help students to understand commonalities and differences in their own cultures and the cultures of other people, and to develop multiple perspectives (Byram, Gribkova, & Starkey, 2002). The awareness of other people's cultures will assist students to live in harmony in this diverse world. To allow students to gain ICC within English language instruction, it is imperative that teachers become aware of this competence in order to implement it in the classroom (Byram et al., 2002). In this study, I regard ICC as a Western concept since it originates from the West, particularly the USA and the UK (Kim & Hubbard, 2007).

However, despite its important role in communication in this global age, ICC is not a familiar concept within ELT practices in the United Republic of Tanzania (henceforth, Tanzania). ICC is not explicitly explained in either of the relevant government documents—the policy and the syllabus—and thus is yet to be officially introduced within ELT practices in Tanzanian secondary schools. Although ICC is not an explicit feature in ELT practices in Tanzanian secondary schools, I wanted to explore its significance since it allows people of different languages and cultures to interact effectively by using English. One of the objectives of teaching English in secondary schools in Tanzania is "to communicate effectively with other speakers of English both inside and outside the country" (United Republic of Tanzania (URT), 2010, p. v). This statement implies that the government of Tanzania is keen to produce graduates who will be able to interact in both local and global contexts. However, how this is achieved in the classroom is unknown since the term ICC is absent from the syllabus. Hence, as a university staff member interested in education in Tanzania, when I considered the importance of ICC in this global age, I was inspired to investigate this from the perspectives of teachers of English in their classroom settings. I wanted to understand how teachers in secondary schools perceived ICC and whether they modelled this competence in their classrooms.

This thesis explores the constructions of ELT and ICC from the perspectives of six teachers of English in the three secondary schools in the Dodoma Municipality in Tanzania. As a multidisciplinary qualitative research, this study is informed by three theoretical approaches: postcolonial theory, Foucauldian discourse analysis, and Southern theory. These theoretical approaches are further explored and discussed in Chapter Three. This study also involved the analysis of key documents, semi-structured interviews with teachers, stimulated recall with teachers, and a reflective diary. These data collection methods and analysis are further explored and discussed in Chapter Four. Using a postcolonial lens, the study investigates how teachers of English conceptualize ICC, and whether they teach it in the classroom. It also explores power relations surrounding ELT practice in secondary schools in Tanzania. The study focuses on teachers' subjectivities and the effects of such subjectivities on students'

learning in the classroom. However, it does not consider students' subjectivities. In the next section I present a description of my position and motivation for this area of study. Then I describe the research context and background. In this section, I present a geographical and historical overview of Tanzania, followed by the history of ELT and education in Tanzania. A section on the education system in Tanzania is presented next, followed by the status of English in Tanzania today. Then I give the rationale for the study. A section on research questions is presented next, followed by a section on the significance of the study. The last section is an overview of the thesis chapters.

1.2 My position and motivation for the study

This section provides information about my interest in ICC as a reflection of my own experiences as a multicultural and multilingual learner of English, a secondary school teacher of English, an intercultural educator, and a researcher in the area of ICC. These experiences are the basis of my understandings referred to in my interpretation and discussion of my participants' views and their experiences of ICC in English language classrooms (from Chapters Five to Nine).

I am a Tanzanian and a speaker of two vernaculars—Kijita and Kingoni, from my father and my mother respectively—plus Kiswahili, the country's national language. This is a feature of the majority of Tanzanian students who come from 120 plus vernaculars (see section 1.3 below). My background experiences as a multicultural person motivated me to do this study on ICC and its implications for students when learning English in schools. Also, as both a learner of English and a multicultural person, I encountered challenges during my secondary school education. The emphasis was on the grammar rules of the language, and vocabulary. I had no chance to draw on my cultural background experiences when learning English. After graduation from university, I was qualified to teach English at secondary schools in Tanzania. I taught English for five years. In 2006, I was awarded a Fulbright Foreign Language Teaching Assistantship (FLTA) to the United States of America to teach Kiswahili and Tanzanian culture to American college students. I was positioned at Smith College in Massachusetts. Living and studying in a Western context (the US), I

came into contact with other speakers of English from different parts of the world. There were times when I felt out of place, not knowing how to respond to the situations I faced. There were times when misunderstandings and miscommunications were evident when I was interacting with my students. These experiences stimulated my curiosity about other people's cultures and the importance of gaining ICC to minimise misunderstandings or miscommunications that might happen when people of different languages and cultures interact with English. My experiences of teaching the American college students led me to develop my passion for learning about other people's cultures. I came to learn that both grammatical competence and intercultural competence are needed for successful communication with other speakers of English globally.

My decision to explore ICC within ELT enabled me to challenge and question the traditional ELT practices in Tanzania where the focus is mostly in the form of language and grammatical skills. This study about ICC challenges the notion of linguistic competence alone as adequate in a world where communication in the English language involves people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds as I have highlighted above. Therefore, I decided to conduct research in this area because ICC is particularly relevant in a globalised world (Huang, 2014; Mirzaei & Forouzandeh, 2013).

Thus, my decision to explore the concept of ICC within ELT practice in a Tanzanian context was primarily inspired by my educational and professional experiences as both a Fulbright scholar and a Master's student in the US from 2006-2008. My own experience of communicating with other speakers of English motivated me to learn how students in secondary schools in Tanzania are prepared for communication with other speakers of English from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. I was determined to see that students in secondary schools in Tanzania are prepared for effective communication and interaction within Tanzania and throughout Africa and beyond. I also decided to investigate the area of ICC in ELT in Tanzania to assist my growth both personally as well as professionally.

Furthermore, Tanzania's Development Vision 2025 (URT, 1997) was pivotal in my motivation to conduct a study in the area of ICC. The country's Development Vision aims to prepare graduates who will effectively compete in the global economy by 2025. This Development Vision aims to move the country from a poverty level to the middle class level by this date. The Development Vision states that:

> Tanzania envisages to be a nation whose people are ingrained with a developmental mind-set and competitive spirit … Tanzania would brace itself to attain creativity, innovativeness, and a high level of quality education in order to respond to development challenges and effectively compete regionally and internationally. (URT, 1997, p. 4)

This document claims that education will play a pivotal role in bringing about social and economic transformation in Tanzania, especially in producing graduates who will compete, both at a national and global level by 2025. Similarly, Swilla (2009) argues that "all Tanzanian children must be assisted to acquire an education that allows them to compete for education and employment opportunities in an increasingly competitive world" (p. 13). To participate effectively in globalisation, Tanzanians will need to interact and communicate with other speakers of English, many of whom come from different languages and cultures globally. The country's Vision 2025, therefore, indirectly articulates the need for ICC within a Tanzanian context. However, how Tanzanian secondary school students in English classes are prepared to participate effectively in globalisation is still unknown. Thus, this study aims to address this gap. The study also addresses other gaps such as the lack of critical interrogation of ICC as a Western concept, and the operations of power in constructions of ICC globally and within Tanzania.

In summary, my study investigates how English language teachers' perspectives and pedagogical approaches facilitate students gaining ICC for both local and global interactions and communications. This thesis seeks to analyse the concept of ICC and the key role it might play in a postcolonial Tanzania.

1.3 Research context

Tanzania is the context of this research. Tanzania is situated on the East Coast of Africa. According to the national census of 2012, Tanzania had a population of 44 million people (URT, 2012). Tanzania gained independence from the British colonial administration on December 9th, 1961 (Qorro, 2013).

Tanzania is a multilingual society with more than 120 spoken indigenous languages (Qorro, 2013), plus Kiswahili, which is the country's national language. Each of the more than 120 indigenous languages belongs to one or more tribal group/culture. Thus, it may be argued that Tanzania is both a multilingual and multicultural society. Before independence, Tanzania was a multilingual society without a common language (Biswalo, 2010). During the fight for independence, Kiswahili was used as a tool to unite and mobilise people from different ethnic groups in different parts of the country, because it was the language that was understood by the majority of people. Immediately after independence, the government strategically decided to promote Kiswahili, a language spoken by the majority by then, in order to facilitate nation building. In 1962, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania, declared Kiswahili the national language, and the official language of the parliament, and for the first time, he addressed the parliament in Kiswahili (Mulokozi, 2001). In 1967, Kiswahili was made the country's official language and the language of instruction in primary schools (Swilla, 2009). However, Tanzania maintained English as the medium of instruction (the MOI) in secondary and post-secondary education levels. In Tanzania today, Kiswahili is used by the majority of the population, and is considered as a lingua franca of the country (Qorro, 2013). It is the language of communication in the parliament, lower courts of law, and most government businesses (Neke, 2005). It is also the language of the local media — TV and radio.

Regionally, Tanzania is a member country of the East African Community (EAC). The EAC comprises countries such as Uganda, Kenya, Burundi, Rwanda, and Tanzania. English is the only official language in this organisation. Tanzania is also a member

country of the African Union, and Southern African Development Community; English is one of the official languages in these organisations (Swilla, 2009). The next section describes the history of ELT and education in Tanzania.

1.3.1 The history of ELT and education in Tanzania

During the British colonial period in Tanzania (1918-1961), English was the official language. It was the MOI after primary education. Qorro (2013) notes that, "the English language was introduced in Tanzania by the British during the colonial administration and was made the main prerequisite for the acquisition of formal education at the post-primary education level and for employment in white collar jobs" (p. 31). Qorro's assertion is supported by Swilla (2009), who argues that during British colonial rule, a small number of African people were trained purposely to serve in the colonial administration. During this period, the English language was given high status, and very few spoke English because few went to secondary school (Rubagumya, 1991). This suggests that colonial education was designed for the interests and survival of the colonial administration, and not necessarily for the benefit of the Tanzanians. In summary, during the British colonial period in Tanzania, English was used as an instrument of power.

After independence, Tanzania inherited the colonial education system, maintaining English as the MOI for post-primary education levels (Swilla 2009). This perpetuated the colonial legacy (Bwenge, 2012). According to Bwenge, the elites who benefited from colonial education played a significant role in maintaining English as the MOI for post-primary education. Bwenge's assertion is supported by Qorro (2013) who argues that the current language policy is a continuation of the colonial legacy, and is in the interests of the former colonisers. Qorro (2013) argues that "most policy makers in Tanzania are a product of the same education system that has all along emphasised the superiority of English over African languages" (p. 39). Qorro commented that, "the former colonial powers, in this case Britain, are likely to be behind the choice of English as LOI [language of instruction]" (p. 40). Although Tanzania gained independence in 1961, the former colonial ruler (Britain) appears to

continue exercising its power over Tanzania by maintaining its language for post-primary education.

Furthermore, the research conducted in Tanzania by the British researchers Criper and Dodd (1984) found that the level of English language proficiency in Tanzanian secondary schools was insufficient for the teaching and learning of other secondary school subjects. Despite this, these researchers recommended that English continue to be the MOI, and that the regulation to 'speak English only' should be revived. This clearly shows how English scholars perpetuate the power of the English language in Tanzania.

Additionally, Qorro (2013) critiques the Overseas Development Assistance (ODA), which funded the English Language Teaching Support Project (ELTSP) from 1986-1996 in Tanzania on the condition that English remained the language of instruction in post-primary education. In this project, funded by the British government, the English language syllabus and textbooks used were Western oriented, which further perpetuated the colonial legacy. Since students' languages and cultures were not included in learning, it is clear that students were disconnected from their cultures by having to learn only about Western cultures. This also suggests that the use of English in educational institutions in Tanzania determines foreign aid and donor funds (Neke, 2005).

There may also be commercial interests in the continued use of English as the MOI (Bgoya, 2001). British publishers benefit from publishing educational textbooks for a large market in Africa – especially in the former British colonies such as Tanzania. Bgoya's claim is congruent with Phillipson's (1992) work. Phillipson explains that there are economic and cultural powers in the world that place English with a higher status than other languages. For instance, Phillipson gives an example of how the business world, headed by English-speaking North America, has propagated the idea that English is the international language of business. Given this, it can be argued that

the continued use of English as the MOI at the post-primary education levels in Tanzania serves the interests of the former colonial powers and not those of all Tanzanians, particularly because the majority of students do not understand the language. This study, among other things, argues that it is high time for Africans, in particular Tanzanians, to restore what was lost during colonialism, including their languages and cultures. May (2005) argues that maintaining students' languages and cultures in their education is important because it allows them to learn successfully. This in turn, will facilitate in gaining ICC because the knowledge of the first language and culture is important for becoming intercultural speakers as further elaborated in Chapter Two.

1.3.2 Education system in Tanzania

In Tanzania, Kiswahili is the MOI for primary education (i.e., the first seven years of education), while English is taught as a subject. Students start standard one at the age of 7 years, and since primary education is seven years, most students enter secondary education at the age of 14. As English is not intensively taught at the primary education level, many students may finish their primary education with low proficiency in the English language. Secondary education in Tanzania refers to post-primary formal education offered to learners who have successfully completed seven years of formal primary education. It is four years in duration (Forms 1-4), followed by high school (Forms 5 & 6) for two years. After high school, students who gain good qualifications undertake further study at higher education institutions, including universities and colleges.

English language plays a pivotal role at the secondary education level in Tanzania. English is taught as a subject at the secondary education level, and also, it is the MOI. Studies conducted in Tanzania show that the shift of the MOI from Kiswahili to English in secondary education has brought a lot of confusion to students and acts as a barrier to learning because the language is not familiar to them (Brock-Utne 2002, 2006; Mwinsheikke, 2003; Qorro, 2006; Senkoro, 2005). These students, according to Qorro (2013), "face serious difficulties using English knowledge in all subjects

taught in English during the four years of secondary education" (p. 31). Qorro argues that English is spoken by a small population of Tanzanians, while the majority use Kiswahili. As the lingua franca of the country, Kiswahili is the national language and most students use it in their everyday life communications. English is mostly confined to the classroom for students. Thus, because English is not the home language for the majority of students, many find it hard to learn and use because the language does not link directly to their everyday life experiences. It could be argued that the education system in Tanzania inhibits students speaking their home or national languages by having them "speak English only" (Qorro, 2013, p. 40). Brock-Utne's (2012) study emphasises the importance of students' first languages in learning at school. Brock-Utne says that children learn better when they understand what the teacher is saying. Brock-Utne's assertion seems to critique the use of the former colonial language to teach students. She comments that the increased privatisation of education in Africa has led to elite schools for children of the rich, where the language of instruction is the language of the former coloniser. These schools are better resourced, and only rich parents can afford to send their children to them (Vuzo, 2010).

Although English has been maintained as the MOI in secondary schools in Tanzania, several studies indicate that the level of proficiency is very low, to the extent that some scholars suggest that replacing English with Kiswahili would benefit students intellectually more than maintaining the status quo (Brock-Utne, 2002, 2012; Roy-Campbell & Qorro, 1997). Neke (2005) adds that the use of English as the MOI acts as a barrier rather than a bridge to learning, and this contributes to the low quality of education, which has negative implications for development.

In summary, this section has described the education system in Tanzania. It has shown how competence in the grammar skills of the English language is important for students to learn other subjects, because it is the MOI. On the other hand, this section has shown the dilemmas many students face in secondary school education

because they are not familiar with the English language. The following section describes the status and position of English in Tanzania today.

1.3.3 The status and position of English in Tanzania today

In Tanzania, English is the second official language alongside Kiswahili. Apart from being the MOI at the post-primary education level, English is also the language of higher courts of law, legal documents, and ordinances, international business, banking, and the language of medical diagnosis and dispensing (Neke, 2005). The forces of globalisation have facilitated the construction of different discourses associated with English in a Tanzanian context. The government of Tanzania views English as the language of education, international business, science and technology (URT, 1995). English is also viewed as the language of great opportunities (Swilla, 2009). This suggests that if Tanzanians have access to English, it will put the country into a competitive position. Proficiency in English is necessary for any high-ranking job, and also, is regarded as the gateway to social and economic rewards (Neke, 2005; Swilla, 2009). Swilla (2009) notes "proficiency in English is a crucial qualification in securing well-paid employment within Tanzania, the sub-region and beyond" (p. 9). These statements indicate that English in Tanzania is positioned as having higher status than Kiswahili, the national language of the country.

Moreover, due to colonial legacies that positioned English as culturally superior, Tanzanians came to believe that without English, there would be no development, and thus many English Medium primary Schools (EMSs) were established around the country, particularly in the 1990s (Bwenge, 2012). These EMSs enabled rich people to send their children to these schools believing that after graduation, their children would occupy good positions in the labour market (Bwenge, 2012). The greater majority of Tanzanians, however, send their children to Kiswahili medium schools because they cannot afford the costs of the EMSs.

This section has highlighted the status and position of English in a postcolonial Tanzania today, the next section describes the rationale for this study.

1.4 Rationale for the study

There are a number of reasons why this is an important topic to research. Firstly, although studies on ICC have been widely researched and practised in different parts of the world, most of these studies focused on learners developing the knowledge of their first language and culture, before learning a second/foreign language and its culture (Bennett, Bennett, & Allan, 2003; Byram et al., 2002). This emphasis put culture at the core of language instruction (Lafayette, 2003; Peck, 1998). Moreover, most of the ICC studies based on the English language were conducted by native speakers of English, and the cultures of the English speaking countries such as the US and the UK, were considered as models. My study, however, takes a new approach by focusing on English as a world lingua franca (Baker, 2012), reflecting the complexities of English today as the English language that now belongs to anyone who uses it (Holliday, 2005).

Therefore, this study advocates the inclusion of learners' cultures and backgrounds in learning English, as Alptekin (2002) recommends. Kachru (2006) explains that English is spoken by people from Inner Circle countries, such as the US, the UK, Australia, Canada, and Aotearoa/New Zealand as the first language, and in the Outer Circle countries such as Tanzania, India, the Philippines, and Nigeria as a second language. It is also spoken by the people from the Expanding Circle countries, such as Japan and Korea as a foreign language.

Secondly, in Tanzania, most studies about English language teaching focus on teachers' and students' low proficiency in the language due to insufficient and possibly inappropriate textbooks and instructional materials, and poor methods of teaching English (Mtei, 1995). Other studies focus on the choice of using English as a medium of instruction in secondary schools, and how this affects students' learning

(Brock-Utne, 2002, 2006; Mwinsheikke, 2003; Qorro, 2006, 2013). Because ICC is still a new concept in many English language programmes today, research on ICC is limited (Huang, 2014), and this is especially so in African contexts. In fact, there appears to be no empirical research evidence examining ICC in a secondary school setting in Tanzania. By considering the importance of gaining ICC for effective communication in this globalised world, this study aims to shed light in this area, and to add to the body of knowledge about the teaching and learning of English in Tanzania, and in Africa more generally.

Thirdly, the study aims to propose suggestions and recommendations for teachers and policy makers in order to make positive change in the area of ELT practice, particularly at the secondary education level in Tanzania and in other African countries. Such changes will allow students to gain ICC for effective interaction and communication with other speakers of English globally (Baker, 2011), thus meeting the country's Development Vision of participating effectively in the global economy by 2025.

Lastly, as noted above, based on my own interest, and need for knowledge about how people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds could effectively interact using the English language, motivated me to conduct this study. The study, thus, has helped me enrich my professional knowledge. The findings can be applied to my own teaching practices for better learning outcomes for my students in terms of developing ICC for interaction with people of other cultures.

Therefore, I argue that in order to effectively implement ICC in Tanzanian classrooms, it is necessary to interrogate its Western origins and biases and actively appropriate and Southernise the concept rather than merely taking the Western approach as superior and then imposing it in Tanzania. From this review, a number of research questions were developed to explore current gaps in international understandings of ICC and ELT. The next section presents research questions for this study.

1.5 Research questions

This study explores the constructions of ELT and ICC from the perspectives of six teachers of English language in the three secondary schools in the Dodoma region in Tanzania. It is also aimed at exposing power relations and the effect of this power in ELT practices. Additionally, it explores colonial legacies inherent within ELT practices. Therefore, the overarching question is:

> *How do secondary school teachers, as members of an 'Outer Circle' nation, subvert or move within and beyond the prevailing colonial legacies shaping ICC and ELT in Tanzania?*

The key aspects needed to answer this question are:

1. What are the prevailing legacies of teaching English in Tanzania?

2. What role might ICC play in subverting or moving within and beyond these prevailing legacies?

3. What role might the English syllabus and Tanzania Education and Training Policy, play in shaping teachers' approaches to ELT?

4. How do English teachers' practices subvert, move within or beyond these legacies?

5. How do teachers' constructions of the context of teaching English in Tanzania shape their view of teaching ICC?

1.6 Significance of the study

This study is significant for the Tanzanian government and education system as it sheds light on the realities of English today, its global and local power in the Tanzanian context, and the ways in which it has increasingly become important in global communication. Thus, my research has implications for both local and international audiences in terms of its potential to:

a. Inform policy makers about the realities of English today in Southern contexts where English is used to prepare students for effective interactions and

communications within and outside the country. This study will therefore provide insights into ELT in Tanzania by introducing the concept of ICC;

b. Add valuable knowledge to the scholarship of ICC globally by exploring teachers' understanding of ICC in secondary schools in Tanzania. In this way, the study will contribute to the international body of knowledge on the studies of ICC from an African perspective. The study will also give insights on how ICC could be localised and be useful in non-Western contexts, such as Tanzania;

c. Contribute to theoretical and methodological frameworks in the field of ELT. The uses postcolonial theory and Foucauldian discourse analysis as theoretical and methodological frameworks respectively. It extends the works of postcolonial theorists such as Pennycook (1994) and wa Thiong'o (1986) to investigate the studies of teaching English to postcolonial nations.

1.7 Overview of the thesis chapters

Chapter Two presents both theoretical and empirical literature on the studies of ICC. I begin the chapter by presenting the history of ICC. Then, I define and contextualise the concept of ICC. Other aspects in this chapter include: the positioning of ICC as a western construct, and thus, both a solution and a problem; teaching for ICC; and localising ICC in a Tanzanian context. In Chapter Three, I present theoretical approaches to this study: postcolonial theory; Foucauldian discourse analysis; and Southern theory. Chapter Four outlines the research design and methodology for this study, including data collection methods and analysis. It details the advantages and disadvantages of multiple case study, and the selection and recruitment of participants. It also addresses ethical considerations of the study. Chapters Five to Ten present the research data and discussion. My data analysis uncovered three key themes: constructions of ELT and ICC in documents and by teachers (Chapter Five); teacher subjectivities (Chapter Six); and teacher constructions of students (Chapter Seven). Chapter Eight presents teachers' constructions about English and evidence of colonial legacies surrounding ELT practices. Chapter Nine presents an argument about why Foucault is both sufficient and insufficient to really understand the

constructions of ICC in Southern contexts. In this chapter, I also bring in postcolonial theories to explore the constructions of ELT in Tanzania through a postcolonial lens. Chapter Ten theorises ICC in the context of a Southern context. In this chapter I discuss the usefulness of using Southern theory to explore how people in the Southern contexts could interact and communicate across cultures. This chapter also discusses the argument of localising Western knowledge and theories of ICC in Southern contexts. Chapter Ten also presents an African perspective to suggest the ways people in African contexts interact and communicate inter-culturally. Chapter Eleven concludes the study. First, it presents the study objectives, theoretical approaches and methodology used. Then, it summarises the key findings and also outlines relationships among these findings in order to construct holistic knowledge about the issue under study. Furthermore, it presents study contributions and implications, and proposes recommendations about changes that need to be made in the context of ELT in Tanzania for both teachers and policy makers. This chapter also suggests further research to extend the scope of the present study, as well as to gain deeper insights into the issue of addressing ICC in language education. The chapter ends with a concluding statement.

To conclude, this thesis argues that developing students' ICC in this globalised era is vital. However, because ICC is a Western construct, it is both a problem and a solution when it is introduced in Southern contexts. The next chapter, then, defines and contextualises the term ICC from a postcolonial perspective.

CHAPTER TWO

DEFINING AND CONTEXTUALISING ICC: A POSTCOLONIAL

PERSPECTIVE

2.0   Introduction

This thesis explores the constructions of ELT and ICC from the perspectives of six teachers of English in three secondary schools in the Dodoma region of Tanzania. It investigates how these teachers understand ICC, and whether they model this competence in their English language classrooms. Guided by postcolonial theory, this study also seeks to explore the colonial legacies inherent within ELT practices in secondary schools in Tanzania. By using Foucauldian discourse analysis, the study also aims to expose power relations surrounding ELT practices in Tanzania.

This chapter explores the literature of ICC through a postcolonial perspective and is presented as follows: First, I present the discussion on the notion of culture as I have approached it in this study. This discussion is important because it lays the foundation for the discussion of ICC in the whole thesis. Then I present the history of ICC, where I discuss ICC as a paradigm shift from the traditional ELT, based on the models and approaches of English speaking countries, in particular, the UK and the US. I define and contextualise ICC, and discuss the features and significance of it. I then present a section on globalisation with its link to English and ICC, which is followed by a section on the global spread of English and its implications for ELT. The section on the global spread of English is important to understand the constructions of ICC as a new approach to ELT. The section also shows how Western approaches and knowledge dominate the theories and knowledge of ELT globally. A discussion on the discourse of ICC as a Western construct is followed by a section in which I problematise ICC. A description of ICC in English language classrooms is presented and discussed. In this section I discuss two aspects: teachers' awareness of ICC and instructional materials, and pedagogical approaches. A section on the usefulness of ICC in Tanzania is presented. In this section, I show how ICC can fit in the context of

Tanzania. Then I discuss a section on deficit theorising. Finally, I present and discuss the most significant studies related to the context of ICC.

2.1 The concept of culture in ELT and ICC

Culture is a complex concept, and has been varyingly understood in relation to English language teaching and learning. For instance, Kramsh (1998) asserts that language and culture are inextricably related. Kramsh's assertion agrees with Peck (1998) who notes that without the study of the target culture, teaching or learning a second language is inaccurate and incomplete. Holliday (2009) describes how the teaching of English and its culture was focused on the British or American pronunciation and culture, which resulted in global inequality. This study argues that due to the complexity of English today, teaching English with American or British culture seems inappropriate because it does not acknowledge diversity within, and movement across cultures (Kohler, 2015), and this is problematic. This study, however, takes the notion of culture beyond the national paradigm (Risager, 2007), and argues that in order to interact and communicate effectively with other speakers of English around the globe, gaining ICC is necessary.

Therefore, in order to demonstrate the complex issues that might arise when people of different cultures interact with the English language, first, it is necessary to define the term culture and how it has been interpreted for the context of this study.

McLaren (1998) states that:

> Culture is a human phenomenon; it is the way we are, both physically and mentally. It is both a state in which each of us exists and a process which changes constantly according to the individual, the time, and the place. This combined state and process called culture affects us all as we respond to others, to events, and to the environment. (p. 14)

Other scholars such as Gutierrez and Rogoff (2003) have used the term 'cultural community' referring to it as "a coordinated group of people with some traditions and understandings in common, extending over several generations, with varied roles and practices and continual change among participants as well as transformation in the community's practices" (p. 21).

The definitions above suggest that culture is a complex phenomenon because it is constantly changing, and for this reason, people learn culture throughout their lives. The notion that culture is constantly changing also reflects Hall's (1996) concept of identification when he describes it as "a construction, a process never completed—always 'in process" (p. 16). In this study, culture is viewed as dynamic, multi-layered, and a changing concept. Spencer-Oatey (2008, cited in Spencer-Oatey & Franklin, 2009) acknowledges these features of culture, explaining:

> Culture is a fuzzy set of basic of assumptions and values, orientations to life, beliefs, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shared by a group of people, and that influence (but do not determine) each member's behaviour and his/ her interpretation of the 'meaning' of other people's behaviour. (p. 15)

The definition of culture above seems to suggest that in the classroom, students may see and perceive the behaviour of other people through their own cultural frame. This implies that culture influences the way they make meaning and interpret things (Magyar & Robinson-Pant, 2011).

Similarly, Patel, Li and Sooknanan (2011) commented that "people from different cultures and societies construct and perceive reality differently because of differences in their upbringing, education, and political and social contexts" (p. 26). This suggests that problems in intercultural communication are highly likely to occur because of these differences. Ntuli (2012) argues that "we should strive to better understand, tolerate and respect one another's cultures and differences" (p. 29). This

study argues that understanding and respecting cultural differences is important for effective communication with people of other cultures.

Another view of culture is: "culture is located in the daily lived experiences of individuals as they participate in processes of creating, communicating and making sense of their social system" (Geertz, 1973, as cited in Cohler, 2015, p. 21). In this view, culture is seen to be "dynamic, multifaceted and dialogic; continually being created and contested through the actions of individuals in their daily lives" (Bhabha, 1994, cited in Cohler, 2015, p. 21). This view of culture seems to be most closely associated with ICC because it allows learners to negotiate meaning, and be able to move between cultures (Kohler, 2015). This study argues that negotiating meaning, understanding and respecting the other is necessary for effective intercultural communication.

Thompson (2009) argued that:

> When we interact with other people… we bring with us a whole range of values, beliefs and assumptions. …the way I relate to people will owe much to my gender, my ethnic group, my class background and so on. These factors, in turn, will interact significantly with the equivalent factors for the persons concerned. (p. 91)

For this reason, this study takes the views of culture being 'a dynamic and a changing concept' (McLaren, 1998), and also, culture as 'values, beliefs, social norms or customs of individuals' that differentiate one group from another (Patel et al., 2011). It should also be noted that this study is not about discovering the differences, but about understanding, appreciating and respecting the differences when interacting and communicating with other speakers of English around the globe, who also have their own languages and cultures. This is in congruence with Kelly's (2009) work, explaining:

Language learning then appears as a way of improving mutual understanding. We may not fully understand one another and perhaps we do not always want to. However, with good will we can understand and work better with each other. Intercultural communication has the potential to promote a greater respect for different ways of being. (p. 17)

The next section, then, presents the history of ICC.

2.2 The history of ICC

The history of ICC can be traced back to when Hymes (1972) introduced the notion of Communicative Competence (CC) (Huang, 2014). Hymes defined CC as knowledge of both rules of grammar and rules of language use appropriate to a given context. The introduction of the notion of CC by Hymes was seen as a reaction to Chomsky's (1965) concept of linguistic competence (Hismanoglu, 2011). Hymes (1972) argued that learning a second language involves not only mastering the linguistic competence (i.e., knowing the grammar rules of the language), but also the ability to use the language appropriately in the cultural context. Basically, the notion of CC emphasised the importance of sociocultural knowledge—knowing when and what to speak, and with whom. Hymes's conceptualisation of CC has been further developed by researchers such as Canale and Swain (1980). The model by Canale and Swain proposes three components of communicative competence: grammatical (i.e., knowledge of the language code), sociolinguistic (i.e., knowledge of the sociocultural rules of use in a particular context), and strategic (i.e., knowledge of how to use communication strategies to handle breakdowns in communication). However, since materials and models of CC assumed a target of native speaker-like proficiency in English, this creates a problem, particularly in this global era when communication through English involves both native and non-native speakers of English. Similarly, Byram et al. (2013, p. 251) have argued that due to globalisation, new technologies and mass economic and refugee migration, the focus on sociolinguistic appropriateness and politeness is inadequate. It could therefore be argued that the emergence of ICC challenged the "prevailing native speaker norm that was assumed in CC" (Cohler, 2015, p. 27). Today, English is used as a means of negotiating meaning

during communication between people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

One of the most significant changes over the past few decades has been the integration of cultural dimensions in language teaching studies (Byram, 1997). This, to a great extent, has transformed traditional teaching, which historically has focused on the developing of linguistic skills. Today English has become the global language, as it dominates all spheres of world communication including education, business, and technology (East, 2008). English has become the world's lingua franca because of its large number of non-native speakers (Kachru, 2006), and it is used in many different cultural contexts (Baker, 2012). Therefore, developing ICC is needed for successful communication and interactions with people of other languages and cultures (Baker, 2012).

Byram and colleagues (2013, p. 251) used the term "the cultural turn" to explain how ELT has undergone changes since the emergence of communicative competence in the 1970s. The authors argued that globalisation processes and new technologies have made the teaching of language, which focuses on native speaker norms of sociolinguistic appropriateness and politeness, inadequate for today's communication purposes. They believed that ICC has refined the notion of what it is to be competent for communication with speakers of different languages and with speakers using a lingua franca, such as English.

Communicative competence emphasised that in order for a person to be proficient in English, one has to approach as closely as possible the native speaker's communicative competence (Ciprianová & Vančo 2010). This is in line with Holliday (2009), who described how the teaching of English was focused on British or American pronunciation, and that the culture of the language was also associated with these two nations. CC focused on understanding particular cultures and countries such as the USA and the UK and their associated sociocultural norms

(Baker, 2012). This "appropriateness" or "correctness" of language use positioned the native speaker as the norm in ELT, thus marginalising the sociolinguistic and pragmatic conversions of non-native English speaking communities (Ciprianová & Vančo, 2010). Also, when the notion of native speaker is seen as 'norm', May (2011) argues that learners who have bi/multilingual repertoires are likely to be ignored or perceived "in explicitly deficit terms" (p. 233). ICC, therefore, challenges this notion of using native speaker English as a model arguing that, due to complexities of English today, using the dominant models such as the US and the UK is inappropriate (Alptekin, 2002; Baker, 2011; Holliday, 2005; Nault, 2006). Alptekin's (2002) shows that people who speak English as their non-native language outnumber native speakers. Alptekin saw that much of today's communication involves non-native speaker with non-native speaker interactions. Due to this, Alptekin asks:

> How relevant, then, are the conventions of British politeness or American informality to the Japanese and Turks, say, when doing business in English? How relevant is the importance of Anglo-American eye contact, or the socially acceptable distance for conversation as properties of meaningful communication to Finnish and Italian academicians exchanging ideas in a professional meeting? (p. 61)

This is one of the limitations of CC in meeting today's communication needs for speakers and users of English. This is because a learner of English could not be expected to have knowledge of all the different cultural contexts of communication they may encounter, hence the suggestion in my study that teaching materials should not be limited to English speakers' cultures alone, but should include students' cultures and other cultures around the world (Lopez, 2011) to enable students to critically analyse the similarities and differences between cultures. The explanations above have laid the foundation of my argument as to why ICC is important in today's world.

2.3   Understanding ICC

Huang (2014) observes that "there is no universally agreed-upon definition of intercultural communicative competence" (p. 97). Despite ICC being widespread in

many English language classrooms globally, there is still a lack of agreement on what constitutes the essential components of ICC (Kim & Hubbard, 2007). Mirzaei and Forouzandeh (2013) argued that despite realisation of its importance in communication and interaction with people of other cultures, "its definition, dimensions, and assessment have been disputable and thorny" (p. 303). The components of ICC are open to discussion (Huang, 2014). The term is still widely contested, and has multiple synonyms. Further, the concept of ICC has had a troubled and controversial history (Baker, 2011). Although there is still lack of agreement on what constitutes the essential components of ICC, however, this thesis is grounded in the specific skills and characteristics such as those explained in section 2.3.2 below. The next section provides some definitions of ICC.

2.3.1 Definitions of ICC

Scholars view ICC differently, according to their theoretical orientations and interests. Some scholars have used terms such as intercultural communication competence, intercultural competence, intercultural awareness, intercultural communicative competence, and so forth in their works to present their arguments. In this thesis, to be consistent, I use the term "intercultural communicative competence"—ICC, in presenting my own discussion and argument.

I will define ICC as the ability to use English language to communicate and interact effectively with other speakers of English from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. This follows Byram's (1997) definition of ICC. Byram defined ICC as "the ability to communicate and interact across cultural boundaries" (p. 7). For the purpose of my study, I have chosen Byram's definition of ICC because of its foundational and influential position in studies of ICC. Recent work has extended Byram's (1997) work but this definition is fundamental. It is suits this study because this research is underpinned by the motivation to equip students in Tanzanian secondary schools not only with English linguistic competence, but also with skills that will enable them to value, accept, and appreciate other people's languages and cultures regardless of social characteristics, life styles, world view, religion, and race.

Initially, Byram's work was influential in many language classrooms globally. However, Byram's definition has been extended by Byram et al. (2002) who defined it as "the ability to ensure a shared understanding by people of different social identities, and the ability to interact with people as complex human beings with multiple identities and their own individuality" (p. 10). Byram and colleagues saw that interacting with people of other cultures involves understanding that these people have their own cultural values and beliefs, and therefore, sensitivity is needed to ensure mutual understanding between interlocutors.

Wiseman (2002), on the other hand, has extended Byram's definition and defined it as "the knowledge, motivation, and skills to interact effectively and appropriately with members of different cultures" (p. 208). Wiseman considers the aspect of 'appropriateness' as important when communicating with people of other cultures. Wiseman's definition of ICC aligns with Bennett, et al. (2003) who viewed ICC as "the general ability to transcend ethnocentrism, appreciate other cultures, and generate appropriate behaviour in one or more different cultures" (p. 237). Bennett and colleagues believe that appreciating other people's cultures is important for interacting with people of other cultures. More recently, Bennett (2011) specified the skills in ICC as "a set of cognitive, affective, and behavioural skills and characteristics that support effective and appropriate interaction in a variety of cultural contexts" (p. 3). Bennett claims that cognitive skills are comprised of: "cultural self-awareness, culture-general knowledge, culture-specific knowledge, and interaction analysis. Affective skills comprise: curiosity, cognitive flexibility, motivation, and open-mindedness; while behavioural skills include: relationship building skills, behavioural skills (listening, problem solving), empathy, and information gathering skills" (p. 3). Generally, ICC is viewed as "the communicative proficiency to interact appropriately with people from other cultures" (Mirzaei & Forouzandeh, 2013, p. 301). All the above definitions emphasise the importance of acknowledging and appreciating other people's cultures. I argue here that in this era of globalisation, language education needs to address learners' development of ICC

(Baker, 2011; Byram, 1997; Sercu, 2006) for successful intercultural communication and interactions (Byram, 1997). Summarising this, Byram and colleagues (2002) have observed:

> Developing intercultural competence in language teaching involves recognizing that the aims are: to prepare learners for interaction with people of other cultures; to enable them to understand and accept people from other cultures as individuals with other distinctive perspectives, values and behaviours; and to help them see that such interaction is an enriching experience. (p. 6)

The significance of these skills of ICC is further described in the next section.

2.3.2 Characteristics and significance of ICC

In a globalised world, communication and interaction through English language involves people of different languages and cultures, and therefore, understanding of cultural contexts and communicative practices to successfully communicate across diverse cultures is important (Baker, 2012). In order to interact and communicate effectively with other speakers of English around the globe, and to have a better understanding of the other, gaining ICC is necessary. For effective intercultural communication to happen, the interlocutors should possess the important characteristics of ICC, which among others, are: "tolerance of ambiguity, cognitive and behavioural flexibility, personal self-awareness, cultural self-awareness, patience, enthusiasm and commitment, interpersonal sensitivity, understanding of difference, openness to new experiences and peoples, empathy, a sense of humility and a sense of humour" (Paige, 1986, as cited in Weinstein & Obear, 1992, p. 49). These characteristics are also used in the work of Bennett (2011), who identified them in her definition of ICC (see section 2.3.1 above). In addition, a positive attitude and being mindful of differences, along with respect for cultural differences, are important characteristics of ICC (Huang & Kou, 2012). These skills enable learners to become intercultural language speakers, who are able to see the world through others' perspectives, and be people who mediate between cultures (Byram et al., 2002).

Garcia and Biscu (2005) have noted that intercultural communication skills help learners to compare and contrast their own values and beliefs with those of others, helps them to engage well in their learning process, and enables them to gain a broad sense of different cultures around the world. As an inclusive pedagogy, an intercultural communicative approach brings all learners together as it values acceptance of all people regardless of their cultural background. Students who have achieved these skills use diverse cultural understandings to solve problems they may encounter during interaction with people of other cultures.

Byram (2008) introduces the notion of intercultural speaker as someone who is aware of cultural differences and similarities, and can function as "a mediator between distinct cultures and diverse sets of beliefs, values and behaviours (p. 78). Thus, becoming an interculturally competent speaker involves showing positive attitudes towards other people's cultures, appreciating other people's cultures, and being able to treat other speakers of English with curiosity and respect. Such skills will enable students to think and act beyond their cultures and to think beyond the classroom context, to enable learners to live in a global community that increasingly uses English as the global medium of communication (East, 2008; Saraceni, 2009). It should be noted, however, that although ICC enables a person to accept other people's ways of thinking, behaving, and talking, it does not necessarily mean that that person has to be happy about it; one is not obliged to share those habits and values. What is needed is to appreciate and show respect to other people's languages and cultures (Bennett et al., 2003).

Hoa (2011) pointed out that when two or more people from different cultural backgrounds attempt to communicate, cultural barriers to communication are likely to occur because of the differences in their patterns of life, social style, customs, world view, religion, and philosophy. Hoa suggests that ICC enables effective interaction and communication with people who have their own values, beliefs, and lifestyles. Thus, in order to develop ICC, people have to get rid of prejudices and

negative stereotypes or misconceptions they may have about other cultures, and to be sensitive towards other cultures. Moreover, being aware of one's own culture enhances one's ICC (Newton, Yates, Shern & Nowitzki, 2010). This is because such awareness will enable a person to understand the similarities and differences between one's own culture and that of others.

Accordingly, Kim and Hubbard (2007) suggested that, due to globalisation, there is a need to become aware of different cultures and to become sensitive "to issues of cultural diversity" (p. 227). This implies that in order to survive, particularly now in the 21st century, developing understanding between members of different cultures is important (Huang, 2014).

The importance of becoming culturally aware of global communication was also considered in countries such as Australia, New Zealand and China. Newton et al. (2010) say "the role of languages in promoting intercultural outcomes is well established in Australian education policy" (p. 12). In their report, the authors point out that the government of Australia initiated projects to equip learners with cultural awareness. For example, in 2003-4, the government of Australia provided funds to support interculturally informed pedagogy among teachers of Asian languages across Australia. The aim of this initiative was to enable learners to communicate better within and across languages and cultures. In New Zealand, this notion was thought to be important enough that it was included in the New Zealand curriculum. The report by Newton and colleagues says:

> As stated in the New Zealand curriculum, learning languages allows learners to move between languages and cultures, and so to equip them for living in a world of diverse peoples, languages, and cultures. (Ministry of Education, 2007, as cited in Newton et al., 2010, p.1)

According to Newton et al., Chinese scholars have seen the importance of intercultural awareness in foreign language teaching since China entered the World Trade Organization in 2001, so that Chinese people could interact and communicate effectively in business with other people from different languages and cultures

around the globe. Globalisation has facilitated the emphasis on achieving intercultural awareness in language education for effective global communication.

Other scholars such as Sercu (2005) and Singh & Renitha (2010) emphasised that developing cultural awareness has become a requirement for success, and essential to understanding and working with people from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds in today's world. Therefore, students in secondary schools in Tanzania need to develop both their linguistic competence and ICC in order to interact effectively with speakers of English from different cultures and languages. However, for this to happen, teachers need to include students' cultures in their pedagogical practices (Sleeter, 2012) to allow students to learn English meaningfully. Sleeter argues that students' cultures should not only be celebrated, but also be used for their own learning. In turn, when students' cultures are included in their learning, it helps to gain ICC (Newton et al., 2010). Sleeter (2012) proposes that teachers need to know their students and their cultures well, so as to include students' cultures in their teaching practices.

May's (2005) study on Bilingual/Immersion Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand argues that the little consideration of Pasifika students' first languages and their cultures in the education system in New Zealand not only marginalises these students and their languages and cultures, but also limits them in their educational success. Students fail to connect with their first languages and cultures during learning as English is the predominant medium of communication and interaction in schools in New Zealand.

Lisanza's (2014) study in a Kenyan classroom demonstrates how teachers can use students' cultures and experiences in learning. In her study, Lisanza observed the teachers' code switched between students' first language — Kikamba or Kiswahili— when teaching them. They used familiar contexts and students' experiences. Lisanza's study supports the view that students' first languages and cultures are

important to include in their learning because they allow students to make connections between home and school knowledge, and thus facilitate their learning. However, a Kenyan classroom situation may not be similar to the one in Tanzania because of the presence of more than 120 tribal languages and groups (see section 1.4.1 above). In Tanzania, many cultures are present in a single classroom, making code switching more problematic.

I argue here that general cultural knowledge (Bennett et al., 2003) can help teachers in a Tanzanian context in dealing with diverse cultures in the classroom. Baker (2012) suggests ways Thai teachers use to promote ICC in the classroom. One way is to have learners explore the diversity and complexity of different local and national cultural groupings. Another way to help students gain ICC in the classroom is to have them critically evaluate images and descriptions of cultures in locally produced textbooks and images of other cultures in local and imported ELT textbooks. In other words, students can explore the representations of cultures in English language textbooks. Thirdly, Baker proposed that film, television, radio, newspapers, novels, and magazines be used to critically explore the images of local and other cultures. Baker also proposed that the internet, email, chat rooms, and instant messaging can be used to explore cultural representation. Furthermore, these resources can be used to engage in actual instances of intercultural communication, enabling students to develop ICC and reflect on its relevance to their experiences. Baker (2012) argues that "English as a global lingua franca forces us to go beyond notions of teaching a fixed language and cultural context as adequate for successful communication" (p. 69). Since English is one of the main languages that links cultures today, ELT classroom practices should engage learners in developing ICC "to prepare users of English to communicate in global settings" (Baker, 2012, p. 70). This means that ELT and learning should aim to prepare students for intercultural communication in an increasingly multicultural world (Kim & Hubbard, 2007).These ways above of supporting students from diverse cultures suggested by Baker (2012) can also be applicable in a Tanzanian context.

My argument in this study is that when students' first languages and cultures are included in the English language classroom, this will allow them to learn English and facilitate in gaining ICC. In the same vein, this inclusion would also enable teachers to discover different interpretations of meanings students have and, thus, add to teachers' knowledge in the area of interacting across cultures. Rather than being prejudiced against and ridiculing students' cultures, such an approach could enable both learners and teachers to understand differences among themselves, and to value those differences.

This section has highlighted the characteristics and significance of ICC for students, skills that go beyond the classroom boundaries, to assist them in the world of work after graduation. The next section presents the concept of globalisation with its link to English and ICC.

2.4 Globalisation with its link to English and ICC

Globalisation is a complex and problematic concept as well as potentially promising nationally and internationally. Much work has been done in critical sociolinguistics to understand it as well as in the area of world Englishes (Blommaert, 2005, 2010; May, 2012; Pennycook, 2010; Portera, 2014; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). Globalisation involves the processes of the movement of people, flow of ideas, cultures and economies due to advancement of science and technology (Portera, 2014). For the purpose of this thesis, I have used notions of globalisation from sociolinguistic scholars who have focused their discussions on how English operates today. I have also presented my arguments in order to shape the focus of this study.

Blommaert (2010) addressed globalisation as something that benefits some while others become victims and may be marginalised. In other words, a knowledge of English has become a dividing factor; it benefits those who can access it, while marginalising those who cannot access it. In this way, English is seen as the language of power. However, in the age of globalisation, people can add it to their repertoire

(Blommaert, 2010), and therefore be able to move back and forth among the languages they know according to the communities they belong to. They can do this locally but also nationally and internationally.

Pennycook (2010) observes that "everything happens locally. However global a practice may be, it still happens locally" (p.128). Pennycook sees English being used in this globalised world as a means of meeting both the local and global needs. He sees English as a local practice because it emerges from activities it performs. This view of language as a local practice suggests capturing what actually happens in particular places and at particular times. It is a local activity/practice because it is part of everyday life's activities in which people engage. This view suggests English as a local practice is used to interpret, inform, and give meanings to what happens in the local. Pennycook contends that globalisation needs to be understood not only in terms of reactions to global movements from above, made possible by new media, institutions and technologies, but also in terms of local movements being made global; for instance, the case of Tanzania (see Blommaert, 2005).

On the other hand, May (2012) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) have approached globalisation with its link to the spread of English globally by arguing that the English language has become a threat to indigenous languages. Similarly, Ives (2010) agrees with May (2012) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) by arguing that English as a global language seems to marginalise minority languages. Phillipson (1992) used the term 'linguistic imperialism' to describe how the English language grows continually stronger around the world at the expense of local languages. This study saw English as not 'a killer' of other languages as May and Skutnabb-Kangas have suggested, but it strengthens communication purposes among people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds: both native and non-native speakers of English from different parts of the world. This study also argues that the knowledge of English alone is not enough for effective communication with other speakers of English globally and therefore, as the argument of this study stands, gaining ICC is necessary. This is congruent with the purpose of this study to allow students in Tanzania to effectively

and competitively participate in the global economy by 2025 (see Chapter One). Developing ICC on the part of the students will allow them to effectively communicate and interact with other speakers of English in both local and global contexts. Since English is a means of communication across nations and cultures in this globalised world, then, successful intercultural communication using the English language centres on the negotiation of meaning, and understanding the cultural differences among those involved (Samimy & Kobayashi, 2004).

Accordingly, for the purpose of this postcolonial study, I have also approached globalisation with its link to the English language based on the concept of the 'continuance control' of the Western approaches to ELT in the non-Western countries (Chakrabarty, 2007; Phillipson, 1992). Since ICC is a Western concept (see section 2.6 below), it seems to perpetuate colonial legacy. However, I have argued that people in the non-Western contexts can benefit from the knowledge of ICC.

ICC enables people to construct meanings by appropriating it in order to use it in their own local contexts (Blommaert, 2005, Canagarajah, 2002). For instance, Blommaert's (2005) study in Tanzania revealed how the locals appropriated English to fit into their local geographical settings. In her study, Blommaert observed varieties of written English used in all kinds of public displays in urban Dar Es Salaam in the form of signs on doors and walls of shops, bars and restaurants, advertisements in newspapers or on billboards, road signs, and so forth. Blommaert suggests that rather than seeing English as 'a killer' of other languages found in Tanzania, she sees that small business operators in Tanzania might benefit by using English to connect with their potential clientele. In other words, these businessmen have appropriated English to fit into their local contexts/ settings. This implies that in the age of globalisation, global processes enter local conditions and circumstances (Blommaert, 2010). Therefore, instead of seeing ICC as solely a Western continuance of control of ideologies and Western approaches to non-Western contexts, ICC is also positioned as a possibility for change in ELT practices in Tanzania, in order to prepare students for effective

communication and interaction with people from both local and global contexts. Therefore the idea of a globalised flow of ideas, such as ICC from the Western contexts to the non-Western context such as Tanzania is considered as positive as it will benefit Tanzanians in implementing the country's Development Vision 2025 as highlighted above. The explanations above clearly show the link between globalisation, English and ICC. The next section presents the global spread of English, and why there is a need for students to be equipped with the skills of effective global communication.

2.5 The global spread of English

There is still debate going on concerning English as the global language. Literature shows that at the end of the 20th century, it was estimated that there were about 700 million to 1 billion people who spoke English worldwide (Pennycook, 1994). In this thesis, I use Kachru's (2006) descriptions of Inner, Outer, and Expanding circles to highlight how English is no longer owned by a particular nation/country (see Chapter One, section 1.4). Speakers of the Outer and Expanding Circle countries outnumber speakers of the Inner Circle countries (Canagarajah, 2006; Kachru, 2006). This also challenges the notion of ownership of English in today's world (Baker, 2011).

Due to its spread in different parts of the world, English is now becoming a global language used locally, nationally, and internationally due to its power in economic, cultural, educational, science and technology, political and other domains (Baker, 2011, 2012; East, 2008). English now represents diverse cultures and linguistic identities (Kachru, 2006). This is in line with May (2011) who argues that in a globalised world today, English language learners have acquired multiple identities because of the current status of English as the lingua franca/international language. May (2011) challenges TESOL and second language acquisition (SLA) pedagogy and practice which have continued to consider native speakers as the norm. For May, the native speaker's model is inappropriate in meeting learners' needs in today's world. May's argument adds to Baker's (2011) who suggests that the teaching of English

should focus on enhancing ICC, and should not rely on native speakers' nations (the UK and the US) as models of English use and culture for the teaching of English. Ives (2010) argues that "traditionally, native speakers of English have been regarded as providing the authoritative standard and the best teachers" (p. 526). However, due to changes in today's world, Ives (2010) argues that "the function of knowing English changes from one primarily of communicating with native English speakers to communicating with other non-native English speakers" (p. 526). This suggests that ELT practices should focus on developing students' ICC by including students' cultures from Outer and Expanding Circles in learning English (Baker, 2011). In this way, students will be equipped with ICC which is important for effective communication and interaction in this global era.

Pennycook (1994) described the spread of English as being in three categories: natural, neutral, and beneficial. Although he sees the natural category as a result of inevitable global forces, he argued too that the spread of English globally was also due to colonialism (Pennycook, 2001). This also underscores the point I made earlier that ELT in Tanzania retains colonial legacy since English was imposed in Tanzania during colonialism. In the neutral category, English is a language of communication for all people, not only those from where it originated (i.e., America and England). However, it could be argued that viewing English as a neutral language that everyone can access is problematic because it will benefit only those who can access it while marginalising those who are not proficient in it. The view that English is a neutral language is also shared by Crystal (2000) who argues that as a result of its spread, "ownership" of English and the exclusive status of the "traditionally defined notion of Standard English" are challenged, claiming that "no one 'owns' English now. Although there was a time when the British 'owned' it, through its historical connection, English is now used by so many people that it no longer has a single centre of influence" (p. 117).

Pennycook's argument for a beneficial category suggests a weak optimistic view of English in international communication, that, since English is regarded as the global

language of communication, it is seen as a gatekeeper to positions of wealth and prestige, education, employment, and business opportunities, and thus, it can benefit anyone who can access it, both within and between nations. This implies that English becomes beneficial for only those who are proficient in the language. This clearly shows that the spread of English has contributed to unequal power relationships (Ashcroft et al., 1989) as it benefits only those who can access it.

Others have identified further challenges to the notion of the ownership of English (Holliday, 2009; Saraceni, 2009). This means that students should be provided with relevant materials that fit with their own experiences and cultures when learning English. Saraceni suggested that English should not be taught as somebody else's language, but as an additional language to be added to one's linguistic repertoire, as an expression of one's own culture. These explanations extend the ideas of Pennycook (2001).

Samimy and Kobayashi's (2004) study in Japan presented a critique of recruiting native English speakers to teach English in Japan. In their study, Samimy and Kobayashi questioned the current implementations of communicative English teaching in Japan, arguing that the native speaker norms are no longer adequate to meet the needs of English language learners in Japan who will be using English for international communication. They challenged the assumption that any idea that seems to work in the US and the UK and EFL contexts should work equally well in countries like Japan or any ESL context. They argued that the Japanese education system is characterised by crowded classrooms, and students associate the learning of English with the university entry examinations, which emphasise grammar, vocabulary and reading comprehension. The authors emphasised that communicative language teaching (CLT) should be embraced in a culturally sensitive and appropriate way maintaining the contextual autonomy, with a paradigm shift that emphasises ICC. This is the position I take in this thesis because it is part of a paradigm shift in ELT worldwide today to allow students to gain ICC for intercultural communication. However, I argue that in this globalised world, it is important for

materials to include not only learners' cultures, but also international cultures. In this way, students will be able to reflect on their own culture with the cultures of other people (McKay, 2002), and become interculturally competent learners (Byram et al., 2002).

Pennycook (1994) considers that every person in the world can benefit from English due to its global use. He insisted that "English has become the language of power and prestige in many countries, thus acting as a gatekeeper to social and economic progress" (p. 13). However, as Pennycook (1994) has suggested, this position seemed to be facilitated by subtle forms of control/power from dominant Western countries because these countries have dominated the world economy in recent history.

Similarly, Ciprianová and Vančo (2010) conducted a study in Slovakia which explored English in the age of globalisation. They argued that today English has become the global language. They state that English has become important for international communication, emphasising that it has achieved a "high level of international significance" (p. 123). Ciprianová and Vančo point to some factors that have led to this status. They stated that the role of English as the global language has been supported by local language educational policies in the countries colonised by the British, in which English is taught as a subject or used as a medium of instruction, as is the case in Tanzania. Ciprianová and Vančo emphasised that when English dominates the highly placed spheres of social life, many people in local communities associate this language with prestige, privilege, and material benefits. However, this study argues that due to forces of globalisation, no one can deny the fact that the knowledge of English today has become more important than before. With this in mind, my study therefore suggests that the teaching of English should aim to equip students with ICC, in order to allow them to function effectively in both local and global contexts.

The spread of English globally is also believed to be a result of pursuing political and economic interests and of the effort of the British and Americans to maintain control over the English language, often with the support of national organisations and the ELT industry. Pennycook (1994) pointed out that the British Council takes a fair share of the global business of ELT due to money earned from the tuition paid by students, textbooks sales, and examination administration worldwide. Additionally, Phillipson (1992) argued that the business world, headed by English speaking North America, has propagated the idea that English is the international language of business. TV and films have also have contributed to the rise of English globally (Truong & Tran, 2014; Yang & Fleming, 2013). People from diverse parts of the world can now access different TV programmes and films worldwide. However, many of these have mostly come from North America and Europe. This supports Pennycook's (1994) argument that these two countries have facilitated the global spread of English. Today the use of the internet also has facilitated the spread of English globally. English has become the language of international business and communication (Baker, 2012; East, 2008) often using the internet.

Ciprianová and Vančo (2010) agree with Pennycook's notion of the power of the West in spreading English globally. They argue that the spread of English has been facilitated by the British and American teaching organisations, and educational, and research agencies such as the British Council, the Peace Corps, and the United States Information Agency which carries out a variety of promotional activities, including extensive programmes of ESL and EFL teaching all over the world. The ELT activities administered by these organisations have secured the dominant position of English and facilitate promoting the national interests of the English speaking countries (Ciprianová & Vančo, 2010). It is possible to argue that the discourse of English as a global language has been facilitated by these two countries in order to maintain power and ownership over English. With regard to the concept of ICC within ELT practices globally, it is also possible therefore, to suggest that it originates from these two countries—the US and the UK— and this is further discussed next.

2.6 The discourse of ICC as a Western construct

Literature reviewed suggests that the concept of ICC originates from Western countries. The concept came into existence when language educators and scholars saw the importance of placing culture at the centre of language learning (Bennett, Bennett, & Allen, 2003; Byram, 1997; Council of Europe, 2001; Lafayette, 2003; Peck, 1998). In North America, concern about the awareness of other people's cultures around the world has occurred over the last few decades (Bennett et al., 2003). The intention of placing culture in language learning was echoed following the publication of "Standards for foreign language learning: Preparing for the 21st century" by the American Council for Teaching Foreign Languages (ACTFL) (1996). This publication acknowledges the central role of culture as content in the language curriculum, explaining:

> American students need to develop an awareness of other people's world views, of their unique way of life, and of the patterns of behaviour which order their world, as well as to learn about their contributions to the world at large and the solutions they offer to the common problems of humankind. Such awareness will help combat the ethnocentrism that often dominates the thinking of our young people. (ACTFL, 1996, as cited in Bennett et al., 2003, p. 242)

However, the question inferred from the above statement is how culture and language learning can be integrated? This question influences how ICC can be taught and assessed in the classroom. Different scholars and language educators (Bennett, 1993; Byram, 1997; Council of Europe, 2001) developed models to address this question. Despite these models being used in different foreign language classrooms globally, there is still a lack of agreement on what constitutes essential components of ICC (Kim & Hubbard, 2007).

In Europe, awareness of other people's languages and cultures came to prominence after the publication of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe, 2001). The aim of the framework was to enable learners to develop cultural awareness through language instruction across Europe.

The framework mandated helping learners achieve both linguistic and cultural competence in foreign language instruction.

Kim and Hubbard (2007) argued that knowledge of ICC was largely developed in the US to serve its own society and that most intercultural studies focused on the mainstream Euro-American cultures, paying little account to theories from other cultures. They commented that theories of ICC have been exported from the US and other European countries to non-western countries. It is therefore possible to argue that Euro-American scholarship on ICC has shaped ICC scholarship globally, with little attention being paid to how communication may best be studied in other societies. This study suggests that this is problematic and that knowledge from non-Western societies regarding ICC is also needed in ELT practice if the goal is to enable all learners to gain ICC.

Based on the literature and discussion above, it is evident that ICC primarily originates from Western countries, particularly in the US and in Europe. ICC in non-Western contexts, such as Tanzania, is positioned paradoxically as both a solution and a problem. It is a solution because it challenges a colonial legacy by including students' languages and cultures in learning English. It is a problem because the knowledge embedded in it originates from the West. Because ICC is a Western concept, it is likely that the knowledge and skills surrounding it could be irrelevant and marginalising to non-Western contexts, such as Tanzania. In this way, it can perpetuate the colonial legacy because the knowledge from the West is assumed to be rational and universal (Chakrabarty, 2007). Non-Western countries' knowledge of communicating across cultures may be considered irrelevant, or unseen. In this way, Western countries appeared to privilege their knowledge of interacting cross-culturally on the one hand, and marginalising the knowledge from non-Western countries on the other. However, this assumption may be challenged on the grounds that this universal application is not possible because of differences in culture. Martin (2000) used the term "difference" to critique the universalised presumptions of the Western philosophical tradition. Martin critiques the assimilation ways as a paradigm

for relation to the other—cultural or ethnic "other" (p. 83). According to Martin, differences in cultures should be acknowledged, and not ridiculed. However, drawing upon Canagarajah's (2002) concept of localisation, although ICC originated in the West, this knowledge could be localised in non-Western contexts and be meaningful to people in these contexts. This lays the foundation for the next section as I propose that the Western/non-Western dichotomy not only sets limits to our understanding of the world, but also might interfere with our interactions and communications in this globalised world. The next section then problematises ICC and proposes ways ICC could be meaningfully appropriated in Southern contexts.

2.7 Problematising and positioning ICC in the study

In the age of globalisation, it is important that education should go beyond "all past forms of dogmatism, ethnocentrism and nationalism" (Portera, 2014, p. 158). Portera suggested that intercultural approaches should be used and he rejected the idea that 'one-size-fits-all', thus suggesting that theories of ICC developed in Western contexts may not be useful in other contexts, such as Tanzania because of differences in cultures and contexts.

Nault (2011) argues that the concept of intercultural competence generally presents the native speaker from America or Britain as the sole cultural and linguistic models for English language learners. Nault's argument suggests that the knowledge and theories of ICC seem to be limited in these two countries, which is problematic because English now is no longer "owned" by any particular culture and belongs to the world at large (Nault, 2011). Subsequently, this also suggests that due to complexities of English today, the assumption that knowledge of American or British culture will be useful in many international contexts is irrelevant. Nault, therefore, suggests that, English learners do need to know about the cultures of traditional bases of English, and also need to be exposed to world cultures and non-mainstream varieties of English in order to become "interculturally competent" (Nault, 2011, p. 122).

Similarly, Bennett et al. (2003) challenged people in mainstream cultures who see their own culture as the centre of the world. In the context of this study it could be extended to argue that these Western countries, particularly the US and the UK, have failed to see Africans as people who could have their own ways of interacting across cultures. In other words, these countries assume that Southern countries such as Tanzania are incapable of finding their own ways of communicating and interacting across cultures. Kim and Hubbard (2007) agree with Bennett and colleagues, explaining that ethnocentrism leads to misunderstanding of others because people tend to see the "other" as deficit rather than different. This study suggests that people should view differences in cultures as a resource, rather than a deficit. In this way, people will be able to learn from each other (Manathunga, 2011).

According to Kim and Hubbard (2007), "stereotypes are not merely inaccurate mental perceptions, but are inextricably bound with a desire for control and domination of others" (p. 230). They add that, "existing theoretical assumptions and cultural dimensions can be seen as a model for producing and maintaining disciplinary power" (p. 230). Kim and Hubbard's arguments above appeared to suggest that since intercultural communication is a form of social interaction, it necessarily involves power because power operates in human relations (Foucault, 1972). As literature has suggested, ICC theories and knowledge originate from Western contexts, then, it is possible to suggest that the Western contexts maintain their power over non-Western contexts by legitimating Western knowledge of ICC. This study is aimed at exposing power relationships surrounding ICC knowledge.

According to Fabian (1986), "the other is never simply given, never just found or encountered, but made" (p. 208). Thus, the notion of Western knowledge as appropriate and rational and non-Western knowledge as inappropriate and irrational is a discursive construction based on colonial thinking (Martin & Agneta, 2007). This study challenges this colonial thinking. Drawing from Martin and Agneta's comment,

I argue that knowledge from both Western and non-Western countries need to be included in the scholarship of ICC to allow people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds to interact effectively.

Through the lens of postcolonial theory, this study therefore problematises how the dominant Anglo-American ideologies/theories on ICC are discursively reproduced and turned into legitimate knowledge in both Western and non-Western contexts, and it looks for possibilities for change such as appropriating ICC in Southern contexts (Connell, 2007). Therefore, situating the study in Tanzania means the knowledge of ICC could be designed to fit the culture and context of Tanzania, and that makes an important contribution to the scholarship of ICC from a non-Western context.

2.8 ICC in English language classrooms

Baker (2012) argues that the ELT classroom is an ideal environment in which both teachers and learners engage in multilingual and multicultural practices and thus to develop ICC and to prepare learners of English to communicate in global settings. When ICC is considered as an important goal in ELT, the issue is what teachers can do to help students gain this competence. That means students' achievement of ICC would be determined by teachers' knowledge about ICC and the methods they would use to make this happen in their classrooms. In other words, teachers need to be aware of ICC to teach their students this competence. This is further discussed in the next two sections.

2.8.1 Teachers' awareness of ICC

Instructing in a second language means "connecting learners to a world that is culturally different from their own" (Sercu, 2005, p. 1). That means, in order for learners to successfully interact with people of other cultures, they need first to understand their own cultural values, norms, customs, and social systems (Huang, 2014; Newton et al., 2010). ELT practices should facilitate the development of learners' ICC to enable them to become effective "intercultural speakers" or

"mediators" (Byram et al., 2002, p. 9) by raising awareness of their own culture, and in so doing helping them interpret and understand other cultures. To make this happen in the classroom, teachers themselves need to become aware of ICC. When teachers display positive attitudes towards students' cultures, in turn, students will learn from their teachers and this will enhance the development of their ICC. Nault (2006) commented that understanding learners' own cultures is necessary for them to develop an understanding of the culture of others. He emphasised that teachers should act as cultural mediators by encouraging learners to explore their own cultural beliefs, values, and practices and to use those reflections to relate to other cultures.

Researchers (Holliday, 2009; Sybing, 2011) have emphasised the need for teachers to create an environment of acceptance and respect for all students. Such an environment will help students to learn from each other, and to see that their cultural values and norms are appreciated in the classroom, and thus gaining ICC. When students' cultures are included in learning English (Holliday, 2009; Sybing, 2011), it will allow students to critically analyse their own cultures and the cultures of other speakers of English in order to build mutual understanding. Clearly, teachers have a vital role to play to enable students to gain ICC in the classroom. However, for teachers to be able to equip learners with the skills and knowledge of ICC, teachers themselves will need education to develop their own knowledge and awareness of ICC and to implement it in the classroom. This study suggests that the aim of ELT in Tanzania today should be to enable both teachers and learners to become aware of other people's cultures, as well as their own, to allow them to interact and communicate effectively in both local and global contexts. The next section discusses the role of instructional materials and approaches in enhancing ICC in the classroom.

2.8.2 Instructional materials and pedagogical approaches

It is presumed that ICC emerged in response to the global spread of English and the subsequent changing needs of learners. Scholars have emphasised the importance of curriculum and materials in enhancing students' ICC (Alptekin, 2002; McKay, 2002; Nault, 2006, 2011; Xiong & Qian, 2012). According to these scholars, teaching

materials that depict differing cultures around the world are necessary for students to gain ICC. Xiong and Qian emphasised that curriculum planning and material development should aim to promote intercultural understanding of both the global and the local:

> The curriculum needs to be adaptive to the changing conditions of international communication by including texts and discourses reflecting the insights and values of the users and learners of English from various cultural backgrounds in addition to those of the 'native' varieties of English. (p. 86)

Nault (2011) postulated that students' ICC could be enhanced by literature which included works of authors from regions such as Africa and Asia, where English is regarded as a second or foreign language. He insisted that, "by analysing such forms of world literature in the EFL classroom, students can improve their English skills as well as what might be better termed their International Intercultural Competence (IIC)" (p. 122). According to Nault, literature enables English learners to encounter other people's cultures, and thus they become culturally aware, which not only helps a person to interact effectively with people of other cultures, but also contributes to learners' personal development.

Moreover, Nault (2006) emphasised that textbooks and other instructional materials and activities such as movies and role plays should promote cross-cultural communication. Nault (2006) argues that English educators "should integrate world cultures into their materials and lessons to promote true linguistic/cultural awareness and international understanding among themselves and their students" (p. 325). That means materials about global cultures should be included in English language textbooks in order to promote global communication. Nault's emphasis on global cultures is shared by others; McKay (2002), for example, stressed that materials should be used in such a way that students are encouraged to reflect on their own culture in relation to others, thus helping establish a sphere of interculturality. Teachers can also use drama and act out possible scenarios in their classrooms for learners to learn about other cultures. This way, learners can access

different cultures and apply this knowledge beyond the classroom context. On the other hand, Nault (2006) considered the role of the internet, arguing that the advancement of internet technology has made the study of global cultures more feasible than ever.

Similarly, Alptekin (2002) suggested that instructional materials should emphasise the diversity of cultures; for example, materials should depict how people of different cultures greet one another in relation to age and gender, and what kinds of food they eat in the different seasons of the year. The use of such materials would assist students to reflect on, compare, and contrast their own languages and cultures in relation to other people's languages and cultures in order to become successful intercultural communicators. The explanations above have focused on the importance of teaching materials that depict differing cultures around the world in order to allow students to critically analyse the similarities and differences between cultures. In that way, students will be encouraged to explore their own cultural beliefs, values and practises in relation to others', which in turn, will enable them to develop ICC. This supports the argument that cultural self-awareness is vital in understanding other people's cultures (Byram et al., 2002; Newton et al., 2010).

In summary, this section has reviewed the literature on ICC specifically on how teachers' understanding of ICC can enhance this competence to students in the classroom. The following figure demonstrates more on this. The next section then discusses the usefulness of ICC in Tanzania.
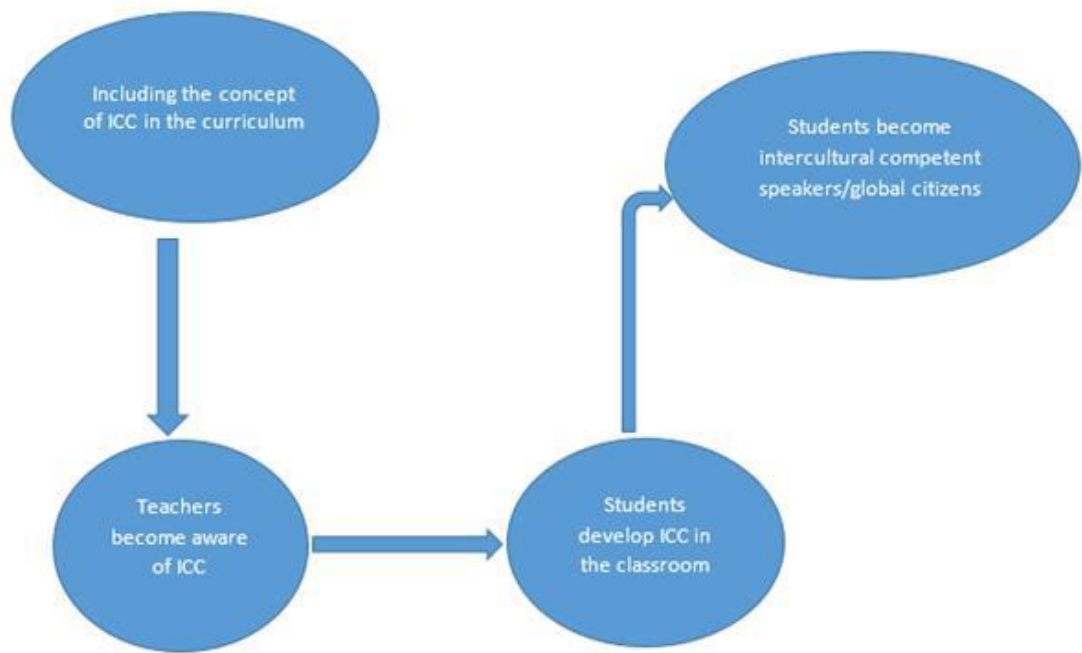
Figure 2.1: **Researcher's summary of how ICC could be developed in the classroom.**

2.9 Usefulness of ICC in a Tanzanian classroom

Although the concept of ICC in this study has been positioned as a Western construct, the concept could be useful in Tanzania if the knowledge of it could be explained in familiar terms through the local knowledge of Tanzanians. Doing so would allow Tanzanians to understand the concept and be able to apply it to fit into their own context. Tanzania is a multicultural society (see Chapter One), and as such, the knowledge of ICC could help students to solve problems or misconceptions that might arise when interacting with their fellow students from different cultures.

Tanzanian students come from more than 120 cultural groups, and they differ in their cultural values, traditions and beliefs. These cultural values, traditions and beliefs define their identity. Therefore, ICC will allow these students to gain skills for effective communication not only with their fellow Tanzanians, but also with other speakers of English around the globe who also have their own unique languages and cultures. ICC will also enable them to grow, and have positive attitudes towards other people's cultures and appreciate and respect cultural differences (Huang & Kou,

2012). When people from diverse cultures interact, there are social and cultural aspects involved in communication (Hoa, 2011). Ntuli (2012) argues that "much of what we do when we interact with others is based on our cultural values and background" (p. 20). Therefore, to minimise conflict situations or misunderstandings that may arise during interaction, gaining ICC is important.

Moreover, knowledge and skills for intercultural communication might benefit both teachers and students in the classroom. On the part of teachers, the knowledge could help them design activities to include the different cultures that students bring to the classroom and, by doing so, create an atmosphere conducive to learning, because every student would feel welcomed. Moreover, if students' languages and cultures are included in learning English, it will likely reduce the sense of alienation students experience and help them see English as a language that can speak about their daily lives.

In addition to that, when teachers know their students' cultures and beliefs, this inevitably reduces the use of stereotypes, and makes the classroom a good place for everyone to be (Bishop, 2005). For instance, a study by Savage et al. (2011) in New Zealand evaluated the impact of teacher professional development to instil culturally responsive pedagogies in secondary classrooms. The results showed that the majority of teachers showed evidence of culturally responsive practices. This implies that students' cultures were included in learning. In addition, when students' cultures and experiences are appreciated and valued in the classroom, students are empowered (Lopez, 2011), and when students are empowered, it helps them then by increasing a sense of engagement and academic achievement. This is hard work, but as Lopez (2011) suggests, it is important for teachers "having a critical space to engage in enquiry, and the urgency for centring and foregrounding culturally relevant practices in teacher education programs" (p. 90). This implies that if teachers are not given professional development courses, they might not be aware of culturally responsive pedagogies, and thus are not able to include them in their classrooms, suggesting that professional learning is necessary to build teachers' knowledge of

how to teach students from diverse cultures, as in the case of Tanzania. I argue that culturally responsive practices open the possibilities for change in ELT practices in a Tanzanian English language classroom in order to meet the needs of all students, and facilitate students in gaining ICC for effective global communication and interactions. However, for this to happen, teachers need to get rid of deficit theorising, and this is further discussed in the next section.

2.10 Deficit theorising

Bishop's (2005) study about Māori students explains how teachers described their students in deficit terms. He argued that teachers considered Māori students' lack of educational achievement as emanating from students themselves and their families. They believed that students did not want to take responsibility for their own learning. Teachers in Bishop's study commented that Maori students' culture was different to the schools' and that made it difficult for students to cope with the education system and made them disengage from the learning process. It could be argued that teachers in Bishop's study appeared to relinquish their responsibility for their students' learning. They appeared to blame the students and students' families or the government for students' failure in schools. They also blamed Māori students' parents for not supporting their children's education by assisting them at home.

I argue that to allow students to gain ICC, teachers need to stop thinking of emerging bi and multilingual learners in deficit terms. Deficit thinking makes students feel alienated and judged, and offers them absolutely no incentive to learn. Teachers need to take responsibility for students' learning rather than placing blame on students and their families, or on the government. They need to know their students' needs. In this way, they will get to know their students better and their cultures (Savage et al., 2011), thus facilitating ICC in their classrooms. The following section presents some studies conducted in regard to ICC.

2.11 Studies on ICC

Several studies have shed light on the area of ICC. Shin, Eslami, and Chen (2011) investigated cultural content presented in the current internationally distributed English language teaching textbooks. The findings revealed that cultures of the Inner Circle Countries (i.e., the US, the UK) dominate most of the English textbooks. They found that cultural content presented was mainly factual cultural information, particularly tourism and surface-level culture. In this way, learners' opportunities to critically explore and discuss deep-level culture (such as beliefs and values) and to reflect on their own cultures were neglected. I argue that the cultures of Outer Circle countries, for whom English is the medium of educational instruction, also need to be represented, particularly as they will validate the importance of local cultures in using English.

Magogwe (2009) conducted a textbook analysis study on the influence of cultural bias in the learning of English by Khoe students in primary schools in Eastern Botswana. According to the study findings, the instructional materials contained bias by under-representing minority societies. English textbooks were not culturally inclusive, and the content depicted cultural materials of the Western countries, material not familiar to students. Thus the textbooks did not present the realities of the life of students. For example, in one exercise, students were asked to write a thank you letter to a friend. The Khoe do not have formal parties that require students to write thank you letters. Another exercise asked the child to work with a partner and to read the menu, which contained items such as pizza, salad, toasted sandwich, hot dog, hamburger, chips, milkshake, fresh-fruit juice. All these foods are found in Western cultures and thus do not depict the life of a Khoe child. Magogwe's study, challenged this situation and recommend that ELT materials should not be limited to English speaking cultures alone, but should include students' cultures, and other cultures beyond those of Inner Circle countries. The inclusion of students' cultures would enable them to critically analyse the similarities and differences between cultures, and thus, enhance their ICC.

In Manathunga's (2009) study on the skills and knowledge required by contemporary researchers, the importance of being culturally sensitive is emphasised. Manathunga notes that in order to work effectively with people of diverse cultures, intercultural understanding and skills are required. She asserts that differences in cultures should not be regarded in deficit terms, but should enable people to learn from each other, providing richer and more varied understanding of how different issues are approached. Most importantly, positive attitudes towards other people's languages and cultures enhance mutual understanding. Similar to this, in the classroom situation, teachers become culturally sensitive by creating a community of learners in which each student's ideas and opinions are valued, meaning students themselves will feel valued and accepted. This also will enable them to find school a good place to be, and create a sense of belonging.

A recent empirical project by Yang and Fleming (2013) with Chinese college students designed to examine the processes they engage in when viewing foreign films and TV series produced in the UK and the US found that using foreign films and TV series helps in developing learners' ICC in the English language classroom. In their study, students were able to compare the similarities and differences between their own cultural experiences and the cultures of the people in the UK and the US. It could be argued that films viewing and TV series enabled these students to develop the skills of interpreting and relating, whereby they compared the cultures of the Inner Speaking Countries (Kachru, 2006), with their own, and thus, becoming intercultural competent learners (Byram et al., 2002). However, Yang and Fleming (2013) suggested that the process of making sense when viewing foreign films is "a highly complex and dynamic process which is culturally specific and often specific to the individual" (p. 308). This implies that, in the classroom, teachers should be open minded and allow students' use of their background experiences when interpreting and making sense of the events found in the films.

A qualitative study by Truong and Tran (2014) at a university in central Vietnam investigated the use of film as an innovative approach to engage Vietnamese'

students in intercultural learning and development in the EFL classroom. They found that the use of films enhances students' knowledge about cultural differences; it helps them in comparing cultures, and breaking cultural stereotypes. The authors also found that the use of films helps students in living successfully in a culture different from their own.

Hismanoglu (2011) conducted a quantitative study that investigated ELT students' ICC in relation to linguistic proficiency, overseas experience and formal instruction. He investigated 35 students from the English Department of the European University of Lefke, in Turkey. Based on the study, Hismanoglu found that students with higher linguistic proficiency gave more acceptable responses to the communicative situations than those students with lower linguistic proficiency. Hismanoglu's study also revealed that students with overseas experience generally exhibited a greater increase in intercultural communication skills than the students who lacked such experience. The findings also suggest that teachers can enhance students' ICC in the classroom by having them watch videos of authentic interaction and feature films, and using role play, simulation, and drama.

In today's world, due to the advance of technology, teachers may also enhance their students' ICC through the internet, as Nault (2006) suggested. This suggests that ICC can also be enhanced through modern technologies. However, to achieve this, schools need to install these modern technologies (such as computers and internet facilities), the cost of which may be prohibitive.

Other activities teachers can use include books (including novels and textbooks), tour guide magazines, visiting and exchange programmes, the use of dialogue from different cultures, and instructional materials that depict different cultures around the world. The findings of Hismanoglu's study also suggest that formal education is closely connected with promoting students' ICC. This is in line with Genc and Bada's (2005) study that investigated culture in language learning and teaching, in which

they found that formal instruction of ICC enhances students' ICC. This implies that teachers of English need the knowledge of ICC to be able to apply it in the classroom in order to help students develop their ICC.

Atay, Kurt, Çamlıbel, Kaşlıoğlu, and Ersin (2009) conducted a study that investigated the attitudes of Turkish teachers of English towards ICC and their classroom applications. It was found that teachers appeared not to integrate culture-related classroom practices in their own classes. The authors emphasised that teacher education programmes should include a cultural aspect in their curricula, such as a course on intercultural communication, in order to equip prospective teachers with ICC so that they will eventually be more able to integrate ICC in their teaching.

A similar study, which investigated beliefs and practices of experienced teachers from the UK, USA, and France (Young & Sachdev, 2011), found that teachers expressed a broad general view that an intercultural approach may be successful and appropriate, but seemed unable or unwilling to put it into practice. The stated reasons for this, among others, included: a lack of curricular support; a lack of suitable textbook material; and a lack of ICC testing. Findings indicated apparent disparity between teachers' attitudes to and beliefs about ICC and their current classroom priorities. Teachers also perceived that ICC was given little emphasis in syllabi. The authors observed that a lack of teacher training contributed to the lack of ICC uptake.

The findings of a recent quantitative questionnaire survey by Han and Song (2011) on teacher cognition and classroom implementation of ICC among 30 university English teachers in the Chinese ELT context of higher education, revealed the impact of English teachers' own lack of understanding of ICC in relation to ELT on their teaching practice. Han and Song found that Chinese university English teachers' conceptualisation of ICC and its relevance to ELT was vague, in spite of their perceived goal and strong desire to develop students' ICC.

Similarly, the study by Sercu, Bandura and Castro (2005), which investigated foreign language teachers' perceptions regarding the teaching of ICC and how their teaching practices were shaped by those perceptions, showed that no clear relationship appeared to exist between teachers' beliefs about ICC in relation to their teaching practice. Moreover, the results of their study showed that many Chinese English teachers' conceptualisations of ICC and its relevance to ELT were ambiguous — they each understood ICC differently. The results revealed that these teachers were willing to develop students' ICC in the classroom, but they failed to do so due to unfamiliarity of specific aspects of ICC and limited teaching materials.

These studies show that some teachers were aware of the concept of ICC, but did not, or were not able to integrate it in their classrooms. Some teachers were not aware, which implies that teachers need knowledge of ICC to be able to apply it in their teaching practices. Also, some teachers understood ICC differently, which also inhibited them in applying the knowledge in their classrooms, even when they were passionate about it. In my study I looked at how teachers understood ICC and the impact of their understandings on their own practice. I also looked at the issue of materials for instructing ICC because teaching materials also determine teachers' pedagogical practices in the classroom. From this literature review, a number of research questions were developed to explore current gaps in international understandings of ICC and ELT.

2.12 Chapter summary

Chapter Two has reviewed the literature on ICC. The literature has shown that there is a growing interest in ICC in ELT practice globally. However, the review also shows that Western understandings of ICC and practice have been simply transported to non-Western contexts with little modification, which creates problems because the cultures in non-Western contexts are different. The literature has identified three aspects vital to this study. Firstly, ICC is important in a globalised world for

communication and interaction with other speakers of English from diverse backgrounds. Secondly, the literature has suggested that the materials and curriculum should aim to equip learners with ICC. Thirdly, the literature has shown that teachers have a vital role to play in equipping students with ICC in order to allow them to participate effectively in both local and global contexts.

From this review, I argue that it is now time for ELT practice in Tanzania to think about including ICC in its curriculum. This will equip Tanzanians with the skills necessary for communicating and interacting with other speakers of English who have their own languages and cultures. In turn, such skills will enable them to participate effectively in globalisation processes as indicated in the country's Development Vision (see Chapter One). Another argument presented in this review is that ICC is a Western concept, and therefore it needs to be appropriated in Southern contexts to allow students to develop ICC for effective global communication and interactions. This argument, therefore, leads to exploring the theoretical approaches to this study and how they link together to understand the argument of the study.

CHAPTER THREE
THEORETICAL APPROACHES

3.0 Introduction

This chapter argues for the need for an integrated theoretical approach that draws upon a combination of postcolonial, Foucauldian, and Southern approaches in order to investigate the construction of ICC and ELT in Tanzania. This is important because the study is centred within a postcolonial context—Tanzania. After independence, Tanzania inherited the British colonial education system. I adopted postcolonial theory as an approach to expose the effects of colonialism inherent within ELT practices. However, since postcolonial theory alone is not sufficient to expose forms of power surrounding ELT practices in Tanzania, Foucault's theory of power relations is used. Also, Southern theory allows me to understand how ICC could sit in Southern contexts. The complexity of the context and the combination of the theoretical approaches requires their relevance to be explicitly discussed.

This chapter is divided into three major parts: Part one discusses postcolonial theory and includes relevant definitions, descriptions, and criticisms, and is followed by a discussion of some postcolonial philosophers and their contributions to the approach used in this study, with the advantages of using postcolonial theory. In part two, Foucauldian discourse analysis is described and discussed, starting with a presentation of the historical overview, followed by exploration of Foucault's concepts important for this study: power, power/knowledge relations, discourse, resistance, governmentality, subjectivity, disciplinary power, truth games, and pedagogy and power. In Part three, Southern theory is explored. Southern theory is used in this study to challenge Western theories and knowledges, such as ICC and Foucauldian discourse analysis, to explore ELT in Tanzania. The chapter concludes with a summary.

3.1 Postcolonial theory

Over some decades, postcolonial theory has become a useful lens for exploring different concepts in a number of academic disciplines (Loomba, 2005). This study is informed by postcolonial theory to gain insight into the effects of British colonial rule in Tanzania, specifically the discourses surrounding ELT in secondary schools in Tanzania. Colonialists not only imposed their language, they also degraded Africans (Fanon, 1967). Colonialists regarded Africans and their languages and cultures as primitive and uncivilised, and students were punished for speaking languages other than English (Rubagumya, 1991). Therefore, postcolonial theory is used in this study to expose colonial legacies inherent within ELT practices in Tanzania. In the next sections, I look at postcolonial theory in detail, and I describe its relevance to this study.

There seems to be no single definition of postcolonial theory, because it encompasses a set of ideas (Abrahamsen, 2003). On the other hand, Rukundwa and Aarde (2007) assert that the term postcolonial lacks clarity and changes as new forms emerge. Gandhi (1998) has defined it as "a disciplinary project devoted to the task of revisiting, remembering and, crucially, interrogating the colonial past" (p. 4). Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin (1989) used the term "postcolonial" to refer to "all the cultures affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonialism to the present day" (p. 2). These authors note that postcolonial theory is used to explain the consequences of colonial rule in the societies concerned, and how these societies have been shaped by the effects of colonialism.

Pennycook (2001) described the concept of colonialism as not only a political or economic exploitation by the colonisers of the colonised, but also a cultural process in which the knowledge and culture of both the colonised and the coloniser were constructed. According to Pennycook (2001), during colonialism, much of European culture and knowledge was developed. The European ideology of enlightenment, which claimed ownership of the universal truth and the superiority of white European culture, was produced in contrast to the idea of inferiority as related to the

primitive, ignorant, colonised individual. The colonisers used their powerful language, English, to degrade African languages and cultures, construing them as primitive and uncivilised. Thus, drawing from the concept of colonialism, Pennycook defined postcolonialism as "a political and cultural movement that seeks to challenge the received histories and ideologies of former colonial nations and to open a space for insurgent knowledge to emerge" (p. 66). Using Pennycook's idea of colonialism, postcolonial theory then not only resists the political and economic dominance of the coloniser, but it also challenges the ideologies or claims of rationality, enlightenment, and logic created by the colonisers. Many postcolonial nations presently struggle with the effects of colonialism. Tanzania, a former British colony, still maintains educational and economic relationships with the former colonial ruler. While it is not necessary to speak English in conducting daily life, English is a compulsory subject and the MOI in secondary schools in Tanzania. Therefore, in this study, postcolonial theory is used to address aspects of the legacy of colonialism imposed by the British colonial ruler on a colonised nation, Tanzania.

3.1.1 The "post" in postcolonial theory

This section presents arguments from postcolonial theorists to explain what "post" in postcolonial theory means. Childs and Williams (n.d) argue that the prefix "post" brings confusion, as it may mean "after" and therefore refer to the period after colonialism, which means the next state/stage after colonialism. They raise the question: Given that many countries experienced waves of colonialism from different colonisers, after which colonial empire? It could be argued, however, that although colonialism was experienced differently in different countries around the world at different times, the effects of colonialism are quite similar in many colonised nations (Ashcroft et al., 1989). Tanzania experienced the rule of British colonial power, so the influence of the British colonial power will be examined in order to understand how it has shaped the teaching and learning of English in Tanzania.

Further to this, Hall (1996) argues that postcolonial is not the end of colonialism: to assume postcolonialism as the end of colonialism is to assume the effects of

colonialism are definitely over, which is not true. Hall argues that postcolonial is not only "after", but "going beyond" the colonial discourse (p. 254). According to Hall, the prefix 'post' means the moment that follows that moment in which the colonial relation was dominant. Hall argues that "It does not mean 'the after effect' of colonial rule. It certainly does not mean that we have passed from a regime of power-knowledge into some powerless and conflict-free zone" (p. 254). From this, Hall discusses the deconstructive possibilities of going beyond colonial discourse, as the postcolonial phase allows for new ideas and identities that are beyond the limit of colonial thinking and practices. For him, postcolonial is a descriptive term, not an evaluative one, because it describes the effects of colonialism on these colonised nations. Hall adds that in a postcolonial context people are able not simply to oppose the effects of colonialism, but to critique, deconstruct, and try to "go beyond" them (Hall, 1996, p. 254). Postcolonial theory portrays what the Europeans did to indigenous languages and cultures, and it strongly advocates for the colonised ones and their sufferings (Abrahamsen, 2003). In this study, postcolonial theory is used to investigate whether teachers subvert, move within, or beyond the legacies of colonialism when teaching English in the classroom. It will also examine the ways in which the colonised (in this case Tanzanians) struggle to reconstruct their own histories and cultures. In the following section, the works of the most influential postcolonial theorists are explored.

3.1.2 Postcolonial philosophers and their contribution to this study

Many scholars have contributed to the field of postcolonial theory. However, for the purpose of this study, the most significant are described below. During colonialism in African countries, the dominant imperial language and culture were privileged over the people's traditions. Today, most African writers stress the need to regain pre-colonial languages and cultures (Fanon, 1967; wa Thiong'o, 1986). According to Nayar (2010), Fanon, who is known in relation to the struggle against French colonialism in Algeria during the 1940s, was critical of Africans who embraced white men's values, arguing that when they did so, they rejected their own traditions. Fanon, who was a psychiatrist, had several opportunities to observe the psychological effects of colonial domination towards the Black people. His work

seemed to locate African mental illness within the exploitative and cruel conditions of colonial domination. In his work—*Black Skin, White Masks* (1967) — Fanon describes how colonisation led to a condition of an inferiority complex on the part of the black man. According to Fanon, the black man saw himself as inferior because he looked at himself through the white man's eyes. Explaining this inferiority complex of the black people, Nayar (2010) notes that "the white man has constantly portrayed the black as less-than human, an 'object' without a soul, an animal and years of such indoctrination have made the black man believe this to be true" (p. 8). Nayar adds that "as a result of colonisation, the white man becomes the epitome of perfection and the black man seeks to emulate him—'a white mask' over his 'black skin' (p. 9). In terms of culture, the black Africans have appeared to extend this notion of inferiority complex and to believe that the only values that matter are those of the white man. Nayar (2010) explains:

> The native take on the western values, religion, the language and practices of the white colonial and rejects his own traditions. But at the same time his own traditions and customs continue to exert a powerful pull on the black man. The result is a schizophrenic condition, torn between the white man's culture that he seeks to appropriate and his own culture that is reluctant to let go. The neurosis and psychological crises experienced by the black man were, therefore, less a pure mental condition than the effect of the social and economic realities of colonialism. (p. 9)

The explanations above seem to suggest that Black Africans need to liberate their minds by 'claiming back' their traditions and cultures which were lost during colonialism. This idea is supported by wa Thiong'o who encourages African writers to write African literature in African languages, and not in English. This idea of 'claiming back' could be understood as a form of resistance to colonial domination.

In his work, "Decolonizing the Mind", wa Thiong'o (1986) urged the African writers to leave the European values and beliefs including their language. He believed that to continue using English when writing African literature is to perpetuate colonialism. In postcolonial theory, such action is a form of resistance against colonial domination.

wa Thiong'o decided to write in Gikuyu rather than English because he wanted to address the audience (Africans), and not the outsiders. He wanted Africans to gain "full independence", including the recovery of using their own local languages and cultures. wa Thiong'o's concept of "Decolonizing the Mind" suggests opposing all forms of power of the colonial system and aims to equip Kenyans and other Africans to use their own languages for learning at school and to restore their identity, which was lost during colonialism.

Wa Thiong'o's concept of Decolonizing the Mind supports the idea of "claiming back" African identity proposed by postcolonial theorist, Fanon. Fanon's (1967) work "Black Skin, White Masks" shows how Africans were made to feel inferior by the colonisers. Fanon argues that colonialism made Africans lose their sense of identity by forcing them to adopt the language and culture of the colonisers. He argues that the colonisers' language, culture, customs, and beliefs were considered as universal and superior while those of the Africans' were inferior and local. Fanon stressed the idea of claiming back the history of the colonised by the colonised from the negative notions produced by the colonisers. Fanon's metaphor of black skin/white masks symbolises that even after colonialism, the colonial subjects remained colonised internally, and therefore he argues for the colonised to claim back their history.

Similarly, Senkoro (2005) argued that to continue to use English as a medium of instruction in Tanzania is a symbol of remaining enslaved, and not yet being liberated. Senkoro's argument is another form of resistance against the dominance by English speaking countries over Tanzania.

In my study, this concept of resistance is used to examine whether teachers resist or are uncomfortable with approaches to teaching English which were developed in Western countries, and thus apply their own ways of teaching it. In other words, this concept of resistance will be used to trace the legacy of colonialism surrounding the construction of ELT in Tanzania. Additionally, this form of resistance will be explored

to understand how teachers of English in secondary schools in Tanzania resist the power of the government, particularly in the selection of approaches and materials for teaching English. Generally, this concept will explore teachers' pedagogical decision-making in the classroom. The concept of resistance will examine teachers' resistance to methodological approaches proposed in the syllabus. Moreover, this concept of resistance will be explored to see whether students' first languages and cultures are included in learning English, because theories of ICC believe that students' first languages and cultures are important in gaining ICC.

The publication of "Orientalism" by Edward Said in 1978 was a further example of postcolonial theory (Ashcroft et al., 2000). According to Said (1978), Orientalism is the negative representation of Eastern cultures, and all non-European cultures, by Western culture. Orientalism is regarded as "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (p.3). Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (1995) added that the values, cultures, and traditions of the orient were misrepresented by the West. Said used two binary opposites—the Occident (to represent the West), and the Orient (to represent the Middle East). Said uses Michel Foucault's concept of discourse in his analysis of representations of the East by the West and argues that "Orientals were regarded as backward, degenerate, uncivilized, the poor; Orientals were rarely seen or looked at, they were seen through, analysed not as citizens, or even people, but as problems to be solved or confined" (Said, 1978, p. 207). The Occident regarded the Orient as passive and inferior, so justifying Western cultures' use of power to dominate and control knowledge about the Orient. This shows how Orientals were represented in negative ways by the West. Although Said used the word "Oriental" to refer to North African Arab and Middle-Eastern peoples and cultures, the concept can also be used to explore other postcolonial nations such as Tanzania. Scholars (Rizvi, Lingard, & Lavia, 2006) argue that:

> Postcolonialism makes visible the history of legacy of European colonialism, enabling us to understand how Europe was able to exercise colonial power over 80% of the world's population, and how it continues to shape most of

our contemporary discourses and institutions – politically, culturally and economically. (p. 250)

In this study, the concept of Orientalism will be explored to understand how the teaching of English in Tanzania has been constructed, and to look for possibilities for change. In particular, this study will explore teachers' approaches to teaching English in Tanzania to see whether they reflect elements of superiority of Western ideas over Tanzanian knowledge and context. Based on the explanations above, it could be argued that using postcolonial theories in this study provided a new interpretation of how the constructions of ELT could be understood. The following section describes the usefulness of postcolonial theory to explore the colonial legacies in ELT in Tanzania.

3.1.3 Advantages of postcolonial theory as a framework for this study

This study adopts postcolonial theory because it offers a way to seek new possibilities and to expose forms of control. Postcolonial theory is not limited to the study of how nations have recovered from colonisation, but is also concerned with seeking social transformation (Ashcroft et al., 1989). It is an appropriate choice for this study because it shapes questions, data collection methods, data analysis, and interpretation in a manner that suits and respects the study's context.

Although colonialism officially ends when colonised countries achieve their independence, studies suggest that the effects of colonialism remain evident in these postcolonial nations (Loomba, 2005; Manathunga, 2012). For example, due to Western domination of English language instruction globally, most colonised African countries continue to receive English textbooks that are irrelevant to their cultural contexts. Magogwe's (2009) study, which investigated English language textbooks used in primary schools in Botswana, found that the contents did not reflect the real life of rural Khoe children in Eastern Botswana. When content and pedagogies reflect the culture of the West, students may fail to understand the material, which leads to

less motivation to learn English. Thus, due to the continued dominance of English speaking countries' ideologies on how best English can be taught locally and globally, this study needs to draw on postcolonial theory to address such issues.

Postcolonial theory provides important models for understanding the place of the local in an increasingly globalised world (Pennycook, 2001). Postcolonial Tanzania as part of the global community is also affected by economic and cultural forces that operate world-wide (Ashcroft et al., 2000). This could be interpreted that, rather than seeing ICC within ELT as 'a continual dominance' of Western approaches of ELT in non-Western countries, Tanzanians could benefit by appropriating ICC into their own contexts by explaining the knowledge of ICC to local contexts and using approaches that fit in a Tanzanian context (Canagarajah, 2002). This is an example of how the global knowledge might fit into the local context (Blommaert, 2005; Pennycook, 2010). Therefore, the use of postcolonial theory in this study allows me to explore whether the content and pedagogies in Tanzanian ELT reflect students' experiences and cultures in six secondary school English classrooms.

According to Ashcroft et al. (1989), contemporary forces such as globalisation are evidence of the continuing control of the "West" over the "Rest" (p. 194). Since the concept of ICC was derived from the West as a result of globalisation – that is, it reflects recognising the importance of interacting and communicating effectively in a global world – this means the West controls the Rest through ICC scholarship, because the materials and the knowledge of how ICC could be gained was derived from the West. However, I argue that postcolonial theory can enable deconstructions of ICC to fit into a non-Western context, in this case Tanzania. Postcolonial theory in this study, therefore, challenges the Western domination of English language instruction globally. Ashcroft et al. (1989) argue that the future of post-colonial studies lies in its relation to globalisation. They argue that we cannot understand globalisation without understanding the structure of the sort of power relations that flourish in the twenty-first century as an economic, cultural, and political legacy of

Western imperialism. Since this study has positioned ICC as a Western construct, it will, therefore, be examined through this lens.

Moreover, the use of postcolonial theory has been chosen for this study to help with understanding the resistance, difficulties, and tensions as well as potential new possibilities involved in teaching English in Tanzania. Postcolonial theory enables the possibility for new identities and concepts in ELT in Tanzania to support students in the process of becoming global citizens. Additionally, this theory will provide unique insights into ELT in Tanzania, and in other African countries and non-Western countries globally.

In postcolonial theory, language is seen as important because it has power, and through it, the truth is constituted. During colonialism, English was privileged and was constituted by the colonialists as the language of opportunities and white collar jobs (Swilla, 2009), while local languages, such as Kiswahili, were undermined. This colonial legacy has continued to the present day whereby those who can access English are privileged to secure good opportunities and jobs in a Tanzania today due to globalisation. Therefore, in this study, postcolonial theory is adopted to examine the status of English in Tanzania today, and to trace the power of English over local languages in the discourses surrounding ELT in secondary schools in Tanzania. East (2008) highlights the importance of first language arguing that it "defines who we are in relation to others" (p. 156). It could be argued that when students' first languages and cultures are marginalised in schools, it creates a sense of alienation from their own languages and cultures (Brock-Utne, 2006, 2012; Qorro, 2013), and that their "identity positions" (Norton & Toohey, 2011) seem to be dislocated/misplaced.

Therefore, postcolonial theory in this study is necessary to identify the effects of colonialism, particularly in ELT in Tanzania. A Foucauldian discourse analysis approach is adopted as a methodology to uncover power relations. Foucault argues

that power operates in social networks, and that it exists in action. This methodology facilitates an exploration of how power is exercised within ELT.

3.2 Foucauldian discourse analysis

Foucault analysed many aspects of modern Western societies, particularly those occurring in France in the 20th century (Jardine, 2005). According to Jardine, Foucault's works are significant and interesting to philosophers, historians, political scientists, and sociologists, but Foucault's analyses are also interesting to educators and students. For example, Foucault explored many topics in the field of education, including: knowledge, discipline, power, abnormality, normality, and examinations. Foucault's concepts relevant to this study include: power, knowledge/power relations, discourse, resistance, governmentality, subjectivity, disciplinary power, and truth games.

3.2.1 Power

Foucault defines the concept of power differently to how it is viewed in traditional liberal and Marxist theories of power (O'Farrell, 2007). According to Foucault, power is not something that is possessed or owned by a particular group of people in the society; rather, Foucault saw power as a relation (O'Farrell, 2007). He argued that power is not simply a property of the state, but is held by all people, and is embedded in social networks (Danaher, Schirato, & Webb, 2000).

According to Foucault (1979), power is exercised throughout the social body and circulates through social networks or social institutions such as religions, medical and health agencies, schools and universities. This is because social institutions shape the way we live and do things through the discourses and practices that operate in society. Our behaviours are shaped by being part of that institution, or through the circulation of discourses throughout the culture. Since power is exercised over individuals, Foucault argues that, to understand power, we need to study it from where it is exercised (Jessop, 2007). In this study, the concept of power is used to understand the construction of ELT in Tanzania.

3.2.2 Power/knowledge relations

Foucault conceptualises discipline as power, and also as knowledge, and thus proposes the concept of power/knowledge relations. Foucault (1979) argues that "power produces, it produces reality" (p. 194). For Foucault, power is not merely prohibitive, it is productive; that is, power is not always repressive or harmful (Ball, 2013). Power "is a strategy, enabled in other kinds of relations" (Ball, 2013, p. 50). Ball argues that discourses and the expert knowledge in which they are spoken constitute the object as being of their concern. For instance, the practitioner, the professional, is also brought into being by the knowledge that makes them expert.

According to Ball (2013), knowledges are produced within power relations in the sense that some groups or institutions have been able to speak knowledgeably about 'others', for instance, the West about the Orient. Foucault argues that we should not take for granted the relations entwining power and knowledge, but rather consider that those relations need to be explored in every case. Power relations are always instantiated in certain fields of knowledge. Experts, and their knowledges play a key role in determining how we should act and who we are. Those who decide what counts as knowledge also exercise power. In my study, the concept of knowledge/power relations is explored to understand how teachers exercise their power over students. Jardine (2005) argues that as educators "we can help our students learn, or we can unintentionally hinder them; we can help them grow up into fulfilled, competent adults, or act in ways that undermine them" (p. 2).

Accordingly, Coloma (2011) argues that power is mediated through actions, and, because teachers hold knowledge, they also have power to transmit such knowledge to students, telling them what to do. Syllabi on the other hand, present knowledge in particular ways, and therefore potentially have power to control teachers' practices because they may tell teachers what to do. Therefore, in this study, the concept of power relations is explored to investigate the role and influence of power in shaping teachers' perspectives. This concept also investigates the ways in which

teachers demonstrate power by adopting their own particular strategies and approaches to teaching English.

3.2.3 Discourse

Discourse is a central concept in Foucault's analytical framework (Ball, 1990). Foucault uses the word discourse in different ways in his work. Foucault's definition of a discourse goes beyond oral and textual linguistic practice; he defines discourses as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 54).

Foucault was concerned to address the structures and rules that constitute a discourse, rather than the texts and utterances produced within it (Ball, 2013). Discourse is not present in the object, but it enables it to appear. According to Danaher et al. (2000), discourse refers to "a type of language associated with an institution, and includes the ideas and statements which express an institution's values" (p. x). Discourses play a significant role in creating truth games. According to Ball (2013), statements make persons, and that we do not speak discourse, discourses speak us into being (Ball, 2013). Furthermore, "discourses embody meaning and social relationships, they constitute both subjectivity and power relations" (Ball, 1990, p. 2). They are "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak ... discourses are not about objects; they do not identify objects, they constitute them" (Foucault, 1974, p. 49).

For Foucault, discourses shape practices, and practices produce discourses, and therefore, the process is a dynamic. Practices help to form discourses in the sense that individuals and institutions create meanings out of experiences, and through that, knowledge is produced. For Foucault, discourses are social constructs; they allow us to make sense of how we see things. Foucault suggests that in order to understand a discourse, we need to understand the underlying purpose they serve; what discursive work do they do? Statements are considered as functional units,

through which knowledge is produced. Discourse structures the way we perceive reality by examining the functions of those statements found in the discourse. In this study, the analysis focuses on the functions those statements perform, and not what has been said or what has not been said (Foucault, 1972). Therefore, Foucault's conception of discourses as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 54) is relevant in the analysis of ELT in Tanzania.

3.2.4 Resistance

Foucault argues that in any power relations, there is a possibility of resistance because of "a certain degree of freedom on both sides" (Foucault, 1997, p. 292). Because power is both productive and repressive, the forms of subjectivities it produces can be performed in a resistant manner. According to Foucault, power and resistance both constitute and are constituted by each other. Foucault sees individuals as capable of challenging and resisting the structures of domination in modern societies. In this study, the concept of resistance is used to explore the ways teachers resisted power from the government, positively or negatively, because resistance may also be a positive stand (Kenway & Bullen, 2003). I use this concept to explore teachers' representations of themselves as compared to how they are represented by the government. In particular, I focus on teachers' approaches and methods of teaching English and see whether they comply or resist power from the state government by applying their own strategies apart from those prescribed in the syllabus. This concept is also used to explore the impact of their resistance on students' learning.

3.2.5 Governmentality

Governmentality was a term developed by Foucault in the late 1970s to investigate political power (Nicholas, Pat, & Valverde, 2006), and has since been developed by others to analyse the operation of power in liberal society and to make sense of shifts in the various liberal societies of government (Lemke, 2002; Rose, 1990). Governmentality refers to "techniques and procedures for directing human behaviour" (Rose, 1999, p. 20). State institutions and discourses define individuals

and control their conduct, as they make the individual a significant element for the state through the exercise of a form of power (Foucault, 1979). In his later work, Foucault saw individuals "as self-determining agents capable of challenging and resisting the structures of domination in modern society" (McNay, 1992, p. 4).

According to Fitzsimons (2011), governmentality is the interaction of technologies of domination with technologies of self in order to produce useful, docile, and practical citizens. Foucault was interested only in how power was exercised, arguing that modern power operates through relations within discourse: it produces rather than represses; power circulates rather than is possessed; power exists in action; power functions at the level of the body; and often, power operates through governmentality. In Foucault's terms, governmentality meant both governance of self and governance of others (Fitzsimons, 2011). For Foucault, the target of the analysis of governmentality is not institutions, theories or ideology, but regimes of practices; practices are understood here as "places where what is said and what is done, rules imposed and reasons given, the planned and the taken for granted meet and interconnect" (Foucault, 1991, p. 75). For Foucault, the idea of governmentality could be used to gain an understanding of practices of governing, and more generally, the "exercise" of power which was not based on power as coercion or violence.

In this thesis, the concept of governmentality is used to analyse how the government of Tanzania is exercising its power in training and shaping the whole process of ELT in Tanzania. This concept explores how the subjects (teachers and students) have been constructed in the government documents (the policy and syllabus), and how these documents shape the participating teachers' behaviours in the classroom. Through the lens of governmentality, both teachers and students are viewed as objects of the government. Therefore, this concept is used in the thesis to investigate the power of the government through the analysis of "formally rationalised statements" (Rose, 1994, p. 4), such as policy and syllabus documents and teachers' practices in the classroom.

3.2.6 Subjectivity

Subjectivity is described by Foucault (1982) as what we do, rather than who we are. For Foucault, subject positions were formed through power relations (Foucault, 1982). The formation of the subject occurs within a triangle of truth, power, and the self (Foucault, 1994, p. 46). Power is exercised only over free subjects who are "faced with a field of possibilities in which several ways of behaving, several reactions, and diverse comportments may be realised" (Foucault, 1982, p. 221). Ball (2013) argues that there is no subject that is already formed; subjects are produced. As Dean (1999) neatly explains, "our understanding of ourselves is linked to the ways in which we are governed" (p. 14). According to Foucault, power is not solely negative (working to repress or control people); it is also highly productive. Power produces resistance to itself; it produces what we are and what we can do; and it produces how we see ourselves and the world, and how subjectivities are constructed through discourses. Power becomes productive as it circulates through institutional practices and the discourses of daily life. In this thesis, the concept of subjectivity is used to explore the different subject positions of teachers formed as a result of power operations within ELT practices in secondary schools in Tanzania, particularly in the classroom.

3.2.7 Disciplinary power

In modern society, power is exercised through institutional relations that discipline our ways of thinking and acting through self-regulation (Anderson & Grinberg, 1998). Social institutions, such as educational systems, foster an array of disciplinary practices. Schools and universities discipline the minds of students by providing one way of thinking about subject matter. The systematic study of an area of knowledge is a form of disciplining. A second way that schools and universities discipline is through the internalisation of correct behaviour or what Foucault (1980) referred to it as 'normalization'. Norms, rules and laws are internalised in ways that do not need external control or surveillance on the part of authorities.

Jardine (2005) argues that "Foucault focuses on those forms of knowledge and techniques of power that serve to discipline and train human beings and, in doing so, turns them into the sorts of objects which society needs" (p. 24). For Jardine, this disciplinary power occurs through the exercise of classification, surveillance, normalisation, reward, and punishment. Jardine adds that "disciplinary power produces effects on individuals" (p. 41). In this thesis, the concept of disciplinary power will be used to examine the teachers' practices in the classroom that aimed to "normalise" students.

Foucault explained disciplinary power as "a mechanism of power which permits time and labour, rather than wealth and commodities, to be extracted from our bodies" (Foucault, 1980, p. 104). According to Jardine, "schools are a prime example of institutions that exercise disciplinary power to students…not only is what is to be done determined under such power; how it is to be done is determined as well" (p. 42). Jardine adds that when disciplinary power is properly insinuated into a social setting, it works from within – students are taught to monitor their own behaviour, assess their own learning, and do what they are told because they "want" to. (Jardine, 2005, p. 43). In this study, the concept of disciplinary power is also used to assess teachers' practices in the classroom.

One of the great mechanisms of disciplinary power is knowledge (Jardine, 2005). Foucault (1980) identifies this knowledge, developed by the exercise of power and used to legitimate further exercises of power, as "power-knowledge" (Ball, 1990, p. 15). The institutions at which this power has been or exercised are referred as disciplinary institutions. In this case, school is one of the disciplinary institutions that shapes students' behaviours. For instance, the knowledge teachers have helps them to identify challenges students encounter in learning, and also, it helps in identifying techniques or practices to help them learn. In this way, Foucault's notion that knowledge is power comes into effect: "Power produces" (Foucault, 1980, p. 119). It produces most, if not all of our ideas about what we should do and be. Therefore, the knowledge teachers have becomes justified and disseminated into students'

behaviours, as Jardine (2005) puts it, "we reward and punish their behaviours in order to teach" (p. 43). Therefore, the ultimate aim of disciplinary power is normalisation, not repression; punishment is used to change someone's behaviour to become "normal". Nearly all Foucault's work was concerned with the various ways that power operates through social institutions and the elements of social relations that control, govern, and normalise individual and collective behaviour (Anderson & Grinberg, 1998). Foucault (1979) proposes a micro-physics of power that disciplines the body, mind, and soul. In my thesis, disciplinary power is used to examine teachers' practices in the classroom when teaching students English.

Additionally, disciplinary power is used to explore how schools normalise students' behaviour by trying to internalise it so that they fit into the community. This happens when schools make rules and laws to be followed by students. Such rules and laws, or disciplinary practices, enable students to self-regulate their behaviours without the teacher or the principal being there to monitor them. Foucault argues that when this occurs, power becomes more subtle (i.e., through self-regulation rather than actual punishment) but is still present. In this thesis, the concept of disciplinary power is used to examine the role of schools' rules, norms, laws, and practices in shaping students' behaviours while learning English.

3.2.8 Truth games

Foucault defines truth games as "a set of rules by which truth is produced" (Foucault, 1997, p. 297). These rules determine or influence how people see themselves and behave. According to Danaher et al. (2000), truth games are the rules that govern a certain institution to produce the truth, and these truth games constitute an individual's and our understanding about the social world. Truth is a major theme in Foucault's work, in particular in the context of its relations with power, knowledge, and the subject. For Foucault, truth is "something that 'happens', and is produced by various techniques … rather than something that already exists and is simply waiting to be discovered" (O'Farrell, 2007, p. 11). Foucault believes that truth games emerge in society due to social practices of human sciences. These practices form discourses,

which are treated as truth games in the society concerned. In this study, this concept explores truth games formed as a result of the exercise of power within ELT practice, both the statements of government documents used in this study – the policy and syllabus – and in teachers' statements and practices (pedagogy) in the classroom.

3.3 Pedagogy and Power

Foucault (1997) pointed out that power operates in any human relations, including in pedagogical relationships. Lusted (1986) argues that teachers' pedagogical instruction can influence learners' acquisition of knowledge and that three agencies – teacher, student, and knowledge – each have power and interact during knowledge production. Lusted makes an argument that knowledge is not owned by teachers because to believe that is to justify that the teacher is the knower, and students are passive recipients, which denies students' background experiences in learning. The inclusion of learners' own experiences in learning English requires the acknowledgement of the culture that learners bring to the task of learning English.

Grant's (2003) study, "Mapping the Pleasures and Risks of Supervision" argues that sometimes students agree with what the supervisor says simply because the supervisor has power over the student. Reflecting on this notion in a classroom setting, an authoritarian perspective will influence a teacher's practice. For example, if the teacher believes that students are passive recipients of knowledge, and knowledge comes from the teacher alone, there is no way the teacher can appreciate students' opinions and ideas. Therefore, implicit pedagogies influence students; for example, if the teacher has negative attitudes towards other people's languages and cultures, this will influence the teacher's perspective towards students.

In my study, the teacher/student relationship is institutionally mandated. The teacher is the knowing authority, who is also an authority in overseeing students' learning. The teacher may assume the role of an expert or an authoritative figure by talking most in the classroom, providing knowledge to students. Since the teacher is positioned as authoritative, it is obvious the teacher/student relationship will portray

a hierarchy of power, from the teacher to the students. This has an impact on students' learning in making decisions or their views in the classroom, as they must respect the teacher's authority. In other words, students' freedom is limited in such a relationship of power. In the issue of pedagogy, since the teacher is constructed as an expert and/or authoritative, the teacher is not only teaching the students skills, but also how to learn. In this study, ideas from Lusted (1986) and Grant (2003) will be used to analyse how pedagogical knowledge teachers have influence their practices in the classroom, and the effects of that power over students.

This section has highlighted how Foucault's method of analysis of power will be used in my study. It has shown that power is embedded in social networks, and therefore "is exercised in all social situations regardless of the forms it takes" (Anderson & Brinberg, 1998, p. 343). Foucault's work is not intended to help administrators/teachers do what they do more effectively, but rather to call into question their ways of thinking and acting. However, to localise this study, Foucauldian discourse analysis alone may not be enough. To situate this study in a Southern context, Southern theory is adopted.

3.4 Southern theory

Southern theory (Connell, 2007) is adopted in my study to challenge the application of Western knowledge in non-Western contexts. It is used to challenge Western ideologies that what counts as rational knowledge comes from the West. In her book 'Decolonizing Methodologies', Smith (1999) challenges traditional Western ways of knowing and researching. Smith argues that Western researchers have denied the indigenous people's ways of thinking, their ways of living, and their languages. She calls for indigenous values, customs and practices to be considered/ privileged in research, and not to be marginalised. Smith draws on Edward Said's Orientalism to describe how Western knowledge has become accepted as universal truths and legitimate knowledge. She calls for the "decolonisation" of methodologies, and for a new agenda for indigenous research. Smith used the word 'indigenous' to refer to all colonised peoples.

In my study, Southern theory problematises Foucault's theories to explore ELT in Tanzania, as it is not sufficient by itself to really understand the intersections of history, culture, and politics in the Southern context; thus, it theorises ICC in the context of Tanzania.

Southern theory proposes that for people in Southern contexts to understand and use theories and knowledge from the West, it is important for such theories or knowledge to be explained in familiar terms used by people in that specific community. For instance, although Africa has some shared culture, many cultural aspects between different African countries and contexts are bound into a specific community, and so generalisations are not useful due to cultural differences. Therefore, in this study, Southern theory proposes to contextualise the concept of ICC within a Tanzanian context so that it can be understood and become useful.

Furthermore, Southern theory makes it possible for knowledge originating from non-Western contexts to be recognised and legitimated. For example, a study by Singh and Huang (2012) reported some prejudice and stereotypes misrepresenting non-Western intellectual cultures, observing that knowledge produced by students from non-Western countries was seen by Western intellectuals as limited. In particular, the authors challenged widespread stereotypes of non-Western students being passive and uncritical, arguing that students from non-Western countries are capable of critical theorising using metaphors, concepts, and images from their own linguistic backgrounds.

In a similar vein, Akiwowo's (1986) work, "Contributions to the Sociology of Knowledge from an African Oral Poetry" proposes to draw theories from a Southern/African context and make the knowledge known to the rest of the world. His proposal suggests that people in the Western world can learn from concepts originating in the non-Western world, such as Africa. His concept of "indigenous

sociology" made a significant contribution to the scholarship of Sociology globally by including theories of Sociology originating from Africa. Instead of importing concepts from Europe and North America and applying them to local data, Akiwowo proposed to find data in Nigeria and export them to the rest of the world. In the context of this study, Southern theory, therefore, challenges this dominant discourse, this Eurocentric belief that African societies are backwards and incapable, and paves the way for the possibility for change in finding knowledge of cross-cultural communication from an African perspective.

However, Connell (2007) argues that for concepts and theories to be understood and reach the rest of the world, they need to be explained clearly for people from other cultures to understand. Connell suggests that the background knowledge of the concepts or theories is important for other people of different cultures to be able to use such concepts in their own contexts. This helps people avoid wrong interpretations or misunderstanding because of lack of background knowledge. In his work, although Akiwowo used Yoruba's terms to explain critical contemporary problems in Nigeria, his work could be useful in the global context/discourse, from which other African countries, and countries around the world, could learn.

Southern theory also proposes that theories or concepts should be explained by using the local knowledge of the specific society for a better understanding. The diversity of cultures means that some knowledge/concepts cannot be understood by a specific group, for instance, although Africans have a shared culture, there are some concepts that might not be familiar in a specific cultural group. For example, Mbiti's (1969) survey of African Religions and Philosophy across the continent. Although Mbiti started by recognising diversity, he too made generalisations about the African view of the world. In this study, since Tanzania is situated in Africa, where a shared culture is evident, to minimise misunderstandings, this study focuses on Tanzanian cultural values. This is explained further in Chapter Ten.

Southern theory is useful to this study because it acknowledges local knowledge. What is needed is a critical approach that allows local knowledges "to be seen in relation to other knowledges, criticised and reappropriated in forms relevant to the development of African societies" (Connell, 2007, p. 103). Therefore, the use of Southern theory in my study addresses the gap created by the lack of Southern theories in the issue of communicating and interacting effectively with other speakers of English globally. From the explanations above, it could be suggested that Southern theory is indispensable, but also inadequate; thus it requires the support of postcolonial theory and Foucauldian discourse analysis. The figure below summarises the objectives of this integrated approaches.

Theoretical Approach	Objective
Postcolonial Theory	Explores colonial legacies within ELT practice in Tanzania
Foucauldian Discourse Analysis	Explores power relations surrounding the constructions of ELT practice in Tanzania
Southern Theory	Explores how speakers of English in Southern contexts interact across cultures

Figure 3.1: Summary of theoretical approaches and their objectives

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented and analysed advantages and limitations of the three theoretical approaches used for this thesis: postcolonial theory, Foucauldian discourse analysis, and Southern theory. I have shown how postcolonial theory is useful for exploring colonial legacies but that alone it is not enough to explore power

relations within ELT in Tanzania, and therefore FDA was introduced. I have described how a Foucauldian lens is useful to explore power relations by exploring Foucault's concepts of power, power/knowledge relations, discourse, resistance, governmentality, subjectivity, disciplinary power, and the concept of truth games. I have also illustrated that due to differences in cultures and contexts, Southern theory is important. I have explained that Southern theory is useful to challenge Western knowledge, such as ICC and FDA, and to explore how people in Tanzania could interact cross-culturally.

This study uses postcolonial theory in order to identify the effects of British colonial rule in Tanzania, specifically in the discourses surrounding ELT in secondary schools in Tanzania. Additionally, postcolonial theory is appropriate for this study because it shapes the questions, data collection methods, data analysis, and interpretation in a respectful and useful manner. However, postcolonial theory is not enough to expose forms of control within ELT practice in Tanzania. A Foucauldian lens is used to understand the constructions of ELT in Tanzania. However, I argue that Foucault's theory of power is insufficient to really understand the constructions of ELT in Southern contexts (Connell, 2007) such as Tanzania, and therefore, Southern theory is also used to challenge the application of Western knowledge in non-Western contexts. It problematises the use of Foucault's theories to explore ELT in Tanzania as not sufficient to really understand the intersections of history, culture, and politics in the Southern context of Tanzania; thus, it theorises ICC in the context of Tanzania. Generally, Southern theory explores how people in Southern contexts interact and communicate across cultures. Each of these theoretical positions has driven the methodology used in this study, which will be fully outlined in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER FOUR
METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methodology for this thesis. It discusses the qualitative paradigm of this inquiry and elaborates on the rationale for its use. It gives the rationale for using a case study research methodology. Other methodological aspects include data collection methods such as document analysis, semi-structured interviews, stimulated recall, and reflective diaries; credibility and trustworthiness, and study boundaries. The chapter also describes the data analysis procedures involved in this study and the ethical considerations related to the research process. My role as a researcher in the study is also discussed. Discussion of limitations is integrated throughout including the ways the effect of limitations were mitigated.

4.1 Qualitative research paradigm

This qualitiative study has a postmodern or post-structural perspective. The modernist view is that that reality is predictable, research is scientific, and that universal norms exist for truth and morality. In contrast, the postmodern world "is one of uncertainty, fragmentation, diversity, and plurality" (Merriam & Associates, 2002, p. 10), hence poststructural qualitative research assumes there are multiple realities (Merriam, 1988). Thus qualitative research makes it possible to uncover and understand many "truths". Qualitative research is exploratory and inductive in nature (Creswell, 2012). This approach is congruent with Foucauldian discourse analysis, in that the goal is to provide poststructural claims based on a discursive analysis of power relations.

4.1.1 Rationale for using qualitative research

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005), qualitative researchers "study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (p. 3). Punch (2005) noted that "the major characteristic of qualitative research is that it is naturalistic, preferring to study

people, things, and events in their natural settings" (p. 141). In qualitative approaches, meanings are attached to the phenomenon by the researcher, participants, and the research process (LeCompte & Preissle, 1992). This study explores teachers' understandings of ICC and how their perspectives of it were reflected within the context of their own classrooms. The qualitative design enabled rich data to be gathered from participants' own words and experiences (Merriam, 1998). Merriam explains that qualitative research assumes meaning and knowledge are constructed in a social context and enables the researcher to learn from participants' subjective perspectives. This approach is aligned with the open-ended exploratory questions that guided this study.

A qualitative approach also enables ICC, a complex issue, to be explored with multiple data collection methods. They include document analysis, semi-structured interviews, stimulated recall, and a reflective diary. These multiple data collection methods fit the purposes of understanding how ICC was gained in the classroom based on teachers' roles and perspectives. Multiple methods strengthened the research design (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Creswell, 2012) because they allowed the triangulation of data from different sources (Patton, 1990; Yin, 2003). This qualitative approach can be justified because of its imperative to provide attention to detail, its ability to gather verbal and non-verbal data through interviews and observations, and its ability to contextualise actions within the situations and time. Furthermore, there is closeness of fit between theory and data (Pratt, 2006). Therefore, based on the belief of a subjective view of knowledge, this thesis was developed using a qualitative multiple case study approach.

4.1.2 Rationale for using qualitative case study

A qualitative case study approach was appropriate for my study because it allowed me to study selected issues in depth and in detail (Patton, 1990) and to use the multiple forms of data (e.g., document analysis, semi-structured interviews, stimulated recall, and a reflective diary) to develop an in-depth understanding of the case (Creswell, 2012, p. 465). Furthermore, it enabled multiple data sources such as

those used in my study to be validated using triangulation (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2009). Yin (2009) explains that because the phenomenon and context are not always distinguishable in real-life situations: "case study inquiry relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulation fashion, and as another result benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis" (p. 18). Triangulation reinforces trustworthiness of the research, because it allows multiple views of participants to be visible (Burns, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2009).

Further justification is that a case study approach is appropriate for an exploratory study such as mine. That is, it allowed me to investigate unique issues not yet probed in Tanzania and to build an understanding of the case (Punch, 2005). Although ICC is now a common area in ELT at a global level, it is not familiar in the ELT context in Tanzania. Furthermore, case study was an appropriate choice to deal with the research problem at hand within a limited time period – three months of fieldwork – while collecting rich information from a small sample. As an inductive investigation strategy (Merriam & Associates, 2002), a qualitative case study approach provided me with the opportunity to observe and understand from actual classroom practices how teachers perceived ICC.

4.2 Case study approach

There are various definitions of case study. For the focus of this study, I chose Yin's (2009) description, that a case study is "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in-depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 29). According to Yin (2009), a "case" may be the study of an individual, whereby the individual is the primary unit of analysis and information about the relevant individual is collected, and several such individuals or "cases" might be included in a multiple case study (p. 29). Burns (2000) adds that "in a case study, the focus of attention is on the case and its idiosyncratic complexity, not on the whole population of cases" (p. 460), because we want to find out what goes on within that complex

bounded system. Case studies in this qualitative study therefore represent six individual teachers in their professional contexts— in their classrooms with their students— to investigate whether there were similar or different characteristics (Yin, 2009). Multiple case studies give a rich account of the case studies so that the readers have greater information (than from a single case study) to make their judgements from the narrations provided (Cohen et al., 2007). My choice for this study was to get in-depth information about ICC from the participants' points of view; therefore, multiple cases are described and compared to provide insight into an issue.

4.3 Credibility and trustworthiness

In order to justify credibility and trustworthiness of the study, I have adopted Richardson's (2000) five key terms: substantive contribution, aesthetic merit, reflexivity, impact, and express a reality. I used the substantive contribution criterion to ensure that the study contributes to the body of knowledge about ICC. Aesthetic merit ensured that the use of metaphors, including those that are culturally appropriate in the Tanzanian context, invites readers to think about the issues and to read further. I was also mindful of the issue of reflexivity, and the potential impacts of the study (see section 4.5.4). Also, I considered the impact of my research if it affects me emotionally, and whether it generates new questions. Criterion five— express a reality — was used to ensure the study portrays the lived experiences of the society being investigated. I also used member checking to allow participants to check and clarify their transcripts. Furthermore, after the study, I will provide my participants (or, those who requested it) with a summary of the main themes arising from the study.

Furthermore, in this study, I collected data from different sources, through discussions with participants in semi-structured interviews, stimulated recall interviews, and analysis of written documents. This enabled triangulation of data from multiple data sources (Cohen et al., 2007; Yin, 2003), and therefore gives credibility to the study findings (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995).

Moreover, this study investigated six cases, and this helped me to gain variation across the cases and thus, strengthened the interpretation of the findings (Merriam et al., 2002). Denzin and Lincoln (2008) argue that all research is value-bound because of influences from the researcher's personal values, the paradigm adopted to guide the inquiry, the theory through which the research is carried out, its interpretation, and the values in the research context. Therefore, to show my understanding that my interpretation is influenced by my own background context, experiences, and prior understandings of the problem investigated, I used the idea of reflexivity to suggest that my position in this research is central. Reflexivity is necessary in reporting findings in a case study, because only researchers know the criteria used for selecting the information to be reported (Cohen et al., 2007). In my study, I used a reflective diary, further explained in section 4.5.4 below.

4.4 Study boundaries

Yin (2009) points out that the boundaries between the case and the context are not necessarily clearly evident, and a specific focus is required. This study explores the constructions of ELT and ICC from the perspectives of six teachers of English in three secondary schools in the Dodoma municipality in Tanzania. It seeks to understand how teachers construct ICC within ELT practice and whether they employed this competence in their classrooms. It also focuses on teachers' subjectivities and the effects of such subjectivities on students' learning in the classroom. However, it does not explore students' subjectivities because this is beyond the scope and scale of the study. I decided to explore teachers' subjectivities because teachers play a pivotal role in the education of students in secondary schools in Tanzania. The study also explores the constructions of ICC and ELT through the government documents. It focuses on how an awareness of different cultures in the classroom could help teachers to develop students' ICC and presents an argument that teachers need to become culturally aware so that they can model this awareness in the classroom to allow students to develop ICC. It does not study ICC from the whole secondary school curriculum, rather, it only studies English language practices and in the English language classrooms of the participants. It is also bounded by time–three months of

fieldwork. Another boundary was set by participants' experience of teaching English – at least three years. The issue for this investigation was how ICC is understood and whether it is implemented by each of the teachers of English in their classrooms.

Burns (2000) notes that case study is preferred, among other things, when the focus is on the contemporary phenomenon within a real life context, such as ICC in the Tanzanian ELT context. The perceptions of the six participants could encompass a wide range of aspects and sub-topics. However, by ensuring a "bounded system", guided by five research questions, only issues relating to the teachers' understanding of ICC and classroom practices were examined in light of postcolonial theory and ICC beliefs and approaches.

4.5 Sampling criteria, research sites, and time for field work

My decision to sample three sites and six participants was informed by the views of two key scholars, Patton (1990) and Sarantakos (1998). Sarantakos argues that in purposive sampling "researchers choose subjects who, in their opinion, are thought to be relevant to the research topic" (p. 152). The six purposefully selected English language teachers within three publicly-owned secondary schools in the urban Dodoma region formed the case studies and research sites respectively. In most government secondary schools, the situation is similar: schools lack both teachers and good resources for teaching English, in contrast to private schools where there is a possibility of finding a lot of good resources, including teachers who speak English as their first language. Furthermore, the majority of Tanzanian students attend government schools because these are the most affordable. Three schools reduced chances of participants recognising themselves in the data. However, I realised that describing the contextual features of the schools, it might enable my participants to be identified and this could impact on their lives and careers. Therefore, each participant is treated as a "case", and thus, I do not provide any particular details of the schools. I selected two certified teachers of English from each school. Having two teachers from each school increased the chances of recruiting participants from each

school as there was a risk that one may withdraw. The decision to choose six case studies, two from each research site, followed Patton's (1990) guidelines that sample size for a particular study should be based on time limitation, and resources. The selection was further underpinned by the need to collect rich information from a few case studies and to find out if there were similarities or contrasts in the results across the teachers.

Any qualitative research is bounded in terms of time and place (Baxter & Jack, 2008) and these presented some challenges and limitations. The data collection for my study was done in a three-month period. I considered the time constraints I faced during the fieldwork due to schools' programmes. For example, from April, student teachers from universities in the Dodoma region were expected at these schools for three months' teaching practice. I considered the teaching practice programme a constraint to my data collection plan because I had no idea this would happen until I visited schools. Therefore, I had to either finish before April or wait until July, which was not possible for me because of constraints within the PhD process. However, three months turned out to be adequate because all procedures for data collection – such as getting permits, gaining access to the research sites, and recruitment of participants – were completed in a short time.

Furthermore, Miles and Huberman (1994) state that research activity is time-consuming and resource-demanding. I selected schools in urban Dodoma because I was familiar with the environment, and therefore, it was easier for me to access the sites, and to develop trust and rapport, which is essential to data collection (Pratt, 2006). These schools also met the research criteria of finding at least two teachers of English with experience of at least three years. Also, in an urban area, it was more possible to access electricity needed for video recordings for interviews. Burns (2000) points out that "case study can be quite time-consuming", and that by, "staying too long you will have far more material than you can analyse" (p. 466). Therefore, the six cases in three research sites were manageable for me to collect sufficient data

and to finish my study. The following table summarises the data collection procedures and timeline.

Table 4.1 Data collection procedures and timeline

Date	Activity
November 26th, 2012	Research Ethical Approval from Victoria University of Wellington
December, 2012	Document analysis—Wellington, New Zealand
January 9th, 2013	Research permit to collect data in secondary schools in Dodoma Municipal was gained
January 10th-18th, 2013	Visiting schools and settling procedures for data collection
January 21st	Starting data collection. Interview data were collected first, following with stimulated recall data
March 18th	Finish data collection

4.5.1 Method of recruitment and characteristics of teacher participants

After arrival in Tanzania, I first sought permission from the Executive Director of the Dodoma Municipal Council, who then introduced me to the heads of schools. Immediately after getting access to the schools, I communicated with the headmasters/mistresses who then introduced me to the Heads of English Departments. I introduced my study to the Heads of English Departments and explained what the whole process would involve. Then, the Heads of the English Departments invited teachers of English to a meeting for me to introduce my study to them and to explain the purpose and all the procedures to be followed. It could be suggested that the whole process of getting access to sites and then to teachers involved the power of the authorities since protocols had to be followed. Additionally, since the heads of the schools are viewed as people with authority, this might have also influenced teachers to agree to take part in my study since their words are respected by their subordinates. This seems to suggest that the exercise of power was evident throughout the recruitment process. The procedures followed and the protocols used could also suggest the ethical dilemma I faced. However, this dilemma is inherent within a hierarchical structure and while I can acknowledge it and reflected on it, I could not have avoided it.

After introduction, I explained the purpose of my study and the criteria for participants needed for it. I invited all teachers of English who had been in the teaching field for at least three years to participate in the study. I provided them with a sheet that explains the purpose of the study. Then I gave them my contact details so that those who wanted to participate could contact me. All teachers I contacted made a decision to voluntarily participate in the study. For each school, I selected only two teachers to participate, each having no less than six years' experience of teaching. My criteria for selecting the particular teacher participants who volunteered were based on who contacted me first stating that they wanted to be part of my study. Also, they were able to provide rich information because they had considerable experience in teaching English. Another criterion was that these teachers are the implementers of the curriculum and syllabus in schools. The focus

of this study was on how teachers of English understand ICC, and how their decisions on different approaches and methods used to teach English facilitated or constrained the achievement of ICC in their students.

4.5.2 Teachers' demographics

The six teachers who participated in this study had a range of educational backgrounds, from a diploma in education to master's degree level. However, since Dodoma Municipal is a small town, I decided not to reveal the educational background of each teacher to avoid the possibility that the participants might be recognised in the data (see Figure 4.1 below). At the time of this study, their experience of teaching English at the secondary education level ranged from 6 to 20 years. When this study was conducted, these teachers were teaching English to students of year one to year four of secondary education, and in this study I have referred to them as 'Forms': Forms One to Four respectively. All teachers in the study appeared to be highly motivated, very confident, and caring, and they demonstrated a high level of English language mastery in their pedagogical practices. Table 4.2 below is a summary of teachers' characteristics.

Table 4.2: Characteristics of teacher participants

School	Teacher's name (pseudonym)	Number of years' experience	Teaching Class Level
A	Ms Sana	More than 9	Form Four
A	Ms Nina	More than 6	Form Two
B	Mr Rafiki	More than 9	Form Three
B	Mr Ndugu	More than 9	Form Four
C	Ms Mzuri	More than 9	Form Two
C	Mr Mwalimu	More than 20	Form One

4.6 Data collection methods and procedures

In this study, four data collection methods were used: document analysis, semi-structured interviews, stimulated recall, and a reflective diary. The following is a description of how each of these methods was used in this study and the purpose of using each method; procedures followed, time required for each method, the setting, and how many times each data collection method was used. Section 4.6 deals with the forms of data analysis to be used with these kinds of data.

4.6.1 Document analysis

According to the literature, documents such as policies are deemed more trustworthy than other sources (Burns, 2000), because of the legitimacy inherent in such documents. Bowen (2009) claims that "availability, cost effectiveness, lack of obtrusiveness and exactness" (p. 31) make document analysis an easy approach as a source of data (Merriam, 1988). Documents have been used in case study research to triangulate other sources of data. According to Merriam (1988), one advantage of using documented material is its stability.

I selected two official Government documents – the 2010 English Language Syllabus for Secondary Schools, and the 1995 Tanzanian Education and Training Policy to use as data because they guide ELT practice in Tanzania. Teachers use the syllabus to prepare their lesson plans, and teaching. These documents because they were freely available and easily accessible. I used Foucauldian discourse analysis to analyse these documents. Punch (2005) reiterates that "Foucault examines how historically and culturally located systems of power/knowledge construct subjects and their world" (p. 224). For the purpose of this study, I selected the sections that demonstrate how the two documents constructed subject positions for teachers and students in Tanzanian secondary schools.

I also examined the ways the language was working. I focused on why such statements have emerged, and what functions they serve in order to understand how key categories such as the English language, teachers, students and so forth have been constructed, for whom, and for what purpose. The document analysis also provided some direction for the analysis of other forms of data collection. Foucauldian analysis that helped to challenge familiar ELT practices that have been taken for granted, and this process created avenues to go beyond such practices and think broadly on how such practices have become.

Yin (2009) suggests that the most important use of documents in case studies is "to corroborate and argument evidence from other sources" (Yin, 2009, p. 103). In this study, the documents were triangulated with other sources: semi-structured interviews, stimulated recall observations and interviews, and a reflective diary. The full details of data analysis and coding are explained below under section 4.6.

4.6.2 Semi-structured interviews

This thesis explores teachers' understanding of ICC from the perspectives of teachers of English from three secondary schools in the Dodoma region, in Tanzania. I conducted semi-structured interviews with these teachers. My intention was to find out how they perceived and constructed knowledge of ICC. I used semi-structured interviews because they are "one of the powerful ways we have of understanding others" (Punch, 2005, p. 168). The use of interviews in my study enabled me to get detailed and in-depth information about English language teaching in three secondary schools in Tanzania from the participants' points of view (Creswell, 2012), and to study how participants construct meanings on the issue under study, ICC (Wadham, 2009). This approach also helped me to interact with participants in their environment and explore new ideas that emerged during the study (Merriam et al., 2002). It also allowed me to make interpretations, and to rephrase or substantiate during instances in which the respondent did not understand.

Furthermore, I used open-ended questions (Patton, 2002) because these do not elicit answers, but invite participants to explore their views. Open-ended questions enable the interviewee to become more of an informant, rather than a respondent (Burns, 2000). I also used prompts because they enable participants to clarify their meanings. According to Kvale (1996), the researcher, being the research instrument, is expected to be "not only knowledgeable about the subject matter but also an expert in interaction and communication" (p. 147). To achieve this, I used informal communication strategies to allow participants to express their ideas and views as freely as possible.

I was aware that my education credentials—as a university staff member, and a PhD student at a Western university—might limit their freedom of expression, and therefore, during data collection I related to them mostly as a former teacher of English for five years in secondary schools in Tanzania. This helped them to receive me and work with me as 'their fellow' teacher.

Before conducting the interviews, I established a good rapport with my participants (Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2012) by having a casual meeting with each of them, which enabled me to build a connection with them, and to win their trust. I followed Klenke's (2008) suggestion of giving each participant a sample of the interview schedule prior to interview sessions. On the day of interview, I described in detail the purpose of the study and how long the interview would take, and I ensured their confidentiality. I also provided interviewees with consent forms which I asked them to read and sign before the interview started.

I began the interviews by asking teachers what they understood about the term 'ICC'. All teachers appeared unfamiliar with the term ICC. I explained it so that the participants could understand my questions. When I was elaborating, some appeared to be aware of the role of culture in language teaching and learning, while some seemed to be defensive by explaining that they knew the importance of the cultural dimension in ELT, but because of overloaded syllabus and exam-oriented curriculum, they were not incorporating it in their teaching.

All the interviews were conducted in schools. Interviews were conducted in either English department offices, in heads of schools' offices, or any vacant office available for that day. These environments were noise-free and also assisted in ensuring confidentiality. All interviews were conducted at a time convenient for teachers during non-teaching hours and when they had no other responsibilities. The timetable for the interview meetings and classroom observations was arranged by

the teachers themselves. Then we agreed upon a schedule, and I made contact with each participant to confirm their availability prior to each session.

Merriam (1998) recommends that the language used during interviews should be the language of the interviewee. I considered that the use of English only might limit their freedom to express their ideas freely, thus, I let participants use either English or Kiswahili, or both. However, all teachers preferred to use English during the interviews. The teachers' decisions to use English during interviews suggests the power of English in Tanzanian society and that they were modelling their profession as teachers of English, and as experts in the language, but not necessarily as people who have been affected by colonial ideologies by ignoring their national language—Kiswahili. They may have been more used to talking about educational matters in English since this was the language used at school. Also, to understand the meanings constructed by my participants from both verbal and non-verbal behaviours, I paid attention to participants' body language, and I maintained eye contact as culturally appropriate. This helped me to note their reactions through body language/facial expressions. I used words such as "uh"? "OK", et cetera, in order to assure them that I was following their stories.

I audio recorded the interviews and then wrote reflections on each interview soon after the interview. This was because writing during the interview might be intrusive (Merriam, 1988). Burns (2000) recommends that if a few notes are taken at the time you gather data, "it is imperative that full notes be written up as soon as possible after the observation in view of the fallibility of human memory" (p. 469). During the interview, I wrote key words and actions but avoided writing a detailed summary in order to pay attention to what the interviewee was saying, writing detailed field notes as soon as possible later in the day. To monitor my reflexivity I also noted my reactions to participants' responses, such as things that surprised me, and described how the interviews went.

During the interview, to aid clarity, depth, and validity (Pratt, 2006), I asked for clarifications, such as: "What do you mean by that?" "Can you say more about it?" These probes helped to reduce the chance of participants telling me what they thought I wanted to hear (Burns, 2000). I also summarised occasionally and ask for corroboration, such as, "So, what you are saying is…" or, "Is that what you mean?" and so forth.

Each participant was interviewed once, with interviews lasting for approximately one hour. Follow-up interviews were also undertaken to clarify issues raised by participants and anything I wanted to explore further. These took place by phone or direct contact. All semi-structured interviews were tape-recorded, transferred to a computer for transcription, and were then shared with respective respondents for further clarification and approval before being subjected to the major analysis process. Interview data analysis is explained below (see section 4.6).

4.6.3 Stimulated recall

Stimulated recall, using video-recordings, is considered to be an effective technique for identifying and examining teachers' thoughts and decisions, and the reasons for acting as they do (Calderhead, 1981). It allows teachers to think about their teaching methods and to alter or modify their approaches to meet students' needs and, therefore, achieve learning (O'Brien, 1993; Slough, 2001). As a research method, it allows participants to explain their decision-making and thinking at a particular point in time (Mackey & Gass, 2005). In my study, I videoed a class and then used stimulated recall to examine the teachers' thoughts, actions, and decisions when teaching English.

Scholars such as Slough (2001) and Mackey and Gass (2005) suggest that stimulated recall interviews should be conducted as soon as possible after the task is completed. This allows participants to retrieve their memories, whereas a long wait can cause them to forget and therefore use the video to explain their thoughts instead of

elaborating on what they were thinking at the actual event. Therefore, I reviewed the recordings with the teachers soon after the observation and recording. Normally I did it the following day.

Before conducting stimulated recall, I explained to participants the reasons for doing stimulated recall. The stimulated recall interviews allowed participants to recall the events for accuracy, providing some clarification about what the teacher was thinking during the actual event (Mackey & Gass, 2005; O'Brien, 1993). Before playing the tape, I explained that we were going to view selected clips from the video; then they would describe their thoughts. I encouraged participants to reflect on their original thoughts when the event took place, and not on their current thinking. Teachers had a chance to describe what they were doing at a particular time, what alternatives they could have considered, and what they decided. During stimulated recall interview sessions, I used prompts such as "What were you saying there?" "What were you thinking then?" "What were you trying to accomplish here?" to allow the participants recall thoughts they had while performing a recently completed task (Slough, 2001). These prompts were used to probe teachers' reflections on their teaching approaches. The purpose was to understand participants' interpretations of situations. I specifically focused on incidences when teachers subverted, moved within or beyond prevailing historical legacies in order to model ICC.

Both stimulated recall recordings and stimulated recall interviews were conducted once each per teacher participant. Each stimulated recall recording lasted for one hour, and each stimulated recall interview lasted for about one hour. The video recordings were shown only to participants, not used as data or in publications or of conferences.

I made notes concerning the number of students in the classroom, content area taught, class level, and seating arrangement of students in the classroom. I made a brief summary of reflective notes for each session, recording my feelings and

thoughts about the session. During observation, I positioned myself in the corner so that I could see the teacher clearly and observe what was going on in the classroom. Although the focus was on the methods and approaches teachers were using in the classroom, occasionally I was able to observe teacher/students' interaction and to observe students' behaviours and how they responded to the teacher's methods and approaches. How data from stimulated recall were analysed is explained in detail in section 4.6 below.

One of the potential limitations of stimulated recall is that participants may censor or distort their thoughts and ideas in order to present themselves more favourably (Sime, 2006). Participants also have the opportunity of adding tacit knowledge and therefore possibly providing inaccurate reasons for their actions (Sime, 2006). To minimise this, I triangulated stimulated recall data with other data sources (Gass & Mackey, 2000; Plaut, 2006; Slough, 2001), in particular classroom observations. Still, information from stimulated recall enriched the depth of each participant's case through capturing classroom behaviours connected to teacher reactions while teaching English.

4.6.4 Reflexivity

My knowledge of ICC and Foucault's theory of power influenced my thinking when collecting and analysing the data. For instance, when I asked the teachers what they understood about ICC, since the concept was new to them, it appeared that my elaboration about the concept directed their responses to my questions. They may have been trying to please me by giving answers that seemed to agree with my suggestions. Also, Foucault's theory of power helped me to analyse how power was exercised in ELT in different ways in the research context. For example, the data have shown that the government officials (the curriculum developers) have power to decide on what and how teachers should teach the students through the prescriptions found in the English syllabus.

In order to understand the influence of my background experience in ICC, I recorded in a reflective diary all my feelings, thoughts, experiences, reactions, reflections, and perspectives when collecting and analysing the data. The notes helped me to reflect constantly on how the data were gathered and interpreted, and the part I played in the process. I also used the reflective diary to record my observations about the school environment and specifically students' interactions outside the classroom. I noted for example, that most of the time, students used Kiswahili for interaction outside the classroom. Also, I observed signs put on top of doors which read "Speak English Only". Additionally, a reflective diary helped me understand my own reactions and their impact on data collection. Therefore, using a reflective diary was useful for me to record both my reflective thoughts and descriptive notes during data collection all of which later helped in the analysis of my data.

4.7 Qualitative data analysis

Since there is no single methodological framework for doing qualitative data analysis, Punch (2005) observes that "scholarly rigour and discipline are also important" (p. 194). The following sections describe the procedures I used in the process of data analysis and interpretation. These include: data organisation, coding and theme building, analysis procedures, and data interpretation.

4.7.1 Data organisation

Since I had a small number of participants, I was able to manage the data manually. I transcribed the interviews in an electronic Word document and sorted the data based on sources of information (i.e., semi-structured interviews, stimulated recall, and documents). I used a hand-written analysis because it was easy to keep track of files and locate text passages. I wanted to be close to the data and have a hands-on feel for it without the intrusion of a machine. Also, as Punch (2005) reminds us, "whatever package/software — it needs to be remembered that it is a tool which can help in qualitative data analysis, but which cannot do the analysis" (p. 229). This means that as a researcher, my input and creativity were important for doing analysis (Punch, 2005).

4.7.2 Coding and theme building

I used open coding as suggested by Boeije (2010). I started by reading through the transcripts in order to comprehensively immerse myself in the data. I used a pencil and underlined words and phrases line by line that suggested the emerging codes. Then I started generating codes, following Creswell's (2012) steps for coding and analysing data. In reviewing them, I followed Creswell's (2012) ideas by writing notes on my first impressions of the data. I jotted down notes of my reactions and ideas that emerged from the reflective diary. These initial thoughts/responses helped me in the actual data analysis and interpretation processes. The initial codes were assigned based on line-by-line coding. This allowed me to form a general idea of the possible codes that could be formed. Subsequently, other codes were added as I read through each paragraph in the transcripts, and I began to code the transcripts in large chunks. I wrote a phrase, heading, or label that described what I was seeing in that passage, or chunk, or quote that was most important. I continuously examined the data by highlighting certain points in the text. After coming up with initial codes, I began to sort them and merge overlapping data. I identified major categories in the data and then made sub-categories (Pratt, 2006).

The research questions helped me to frame and guide the development of themes. During the analysis stage, I asked questions as recommended by Boeije (2010), such as "What is going on here? What is this about? What is the problem? What is observed here? What is this person trying to tell? What else does this term mean? What experience is represented here?" (p. 99). These questions guided me in a meaning-making process.

4.7.3 Preliminary analysis procedures

I started primary analysis immediately after I collected the first data. My choice was informed by Pratt (2006), who suggests that in qualitative research, analysis frequently takes place at the same time as data collection. I used an inductive approach (Patton, 2002), which implies that the themes in this study were derived

from the data. I started by reading through the transcripts for both semi-structured interviews and stimulated recall interviews in order to develop an overall understanding of the data. Initial themes were noted, by hand, on the printed transcripts. I included supporting vignettes to ensure that the voices of the participants were represented. I did make minor editorial changes in cases where it would affect comprehension. The major analysis was done after I had completed the transcription. Since data analysis is an on-going process in qualitative research (Creswell, 2012), the analysis process continued throughout the research process.

4.7.4 Discursive data analysis

In the second phase of data analysis, I employed Foucauldian discourse analysis to analyse the policy and the syllabus documents. Foucauldian discourse analysis, particularly the concept of power relations, was used to explore and understand the constructions of ELT in Tanzania. This approach also allowed me to expose forms of power embedded in the ELT practice in a Tanzanian context. I first did a preliminary content analysis to identify topics and issues, and then identified sections that might be suitable for closer Foucauldian discourse analysis (Meyer, 2001). I analysed these texts using questions such as the following: How is ELT in Tanzania constructed? Who are the subjects in the syllabus? How are these subjects constructed? What kinds of power relations do we find between those subjects? Who is excluded or missing in the documents? (Barrow, Grant, & Brailsford, 2010; Manathunga, 2011, 2012).

 In analysing data from semi-structured interviews, stimulated recall, and my reflective diary, I used content analysis procedures (Cohen et al., 2007). The information from interviews informed how teachers understood ICC and how they implemented it in their classrooms. Data from stimulated recall informed teachers' approaches and experiences of ICC surrounding ELT in Tanzania. These sections were analysed in order to trace teacher subjectivities. I analysed data iteratively, by going forth and back. I also involved my supervisors in checking how the integration of the data sources had attempted to answer the research questions.

4.7.5 Data interpretation

I analysed each case separately, in detail, and established a context for it. I then conducted a cross-case analysis (Stake, 1995) to identify common and different themes among all of the cases (Creswell, 2012). Although qualitative research is not meant to generalise its findings, the use of multiple case studies provided some ability to identify findings that were common to all cases using cross-case analysis. According to Creswell (2012, p. 238), qualitative research is "interpretive" research, and therefore, I brought my own perspective to my interpretation.

By using the lenses of postcolonial theory and Foucauldian discourse analysis, I was able to reflect on teachers' perceptions and experiences of ICC surrounding ELT practices. During the analysis process, I moved back and forth in the data making reflections about the meaning and reflections that were attached to the reflective data with regard to teachers' understanding of ICC and their actual practices in the classroom. Themes developed were based on the relevant and related literature and were also reflected by postcolonial theory and ICC beliefs/approaches. The interpretations were discussed with, and elaborated on, in connection with my two research supervisors at Victoria University of Wellington.

4.8 Ethical considerations

This study adheres to requirements of both the Victoria University of Wellington (VUW) Research Ethics Committee, and the Tanzanian Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, since, as Cohen et al. (2007) note, "ethical considerations pervade the whole process of research" (p. 57). The following ethical procedures were considered before collecting data. First, I followed the procedures to gain consent and ethical approval from the VUW Research Ethics Committee, Faculty of Education, and the Tanzanian Government's Department responsible for coordination and supervision of secondary schools in the Dodoma Municipality. VUW permission was granted by the Faculty of Education Research and Human Ethics Committee following the approval of the research ethics application. In Tanzania,

approval to undertake this research was obtained through the Dodoma Director of the Municipal Council (DoDMC) (See appendices).

After arriving in Tanzania, I first sought a letter of introduction from my home university, St. John's University of Tanzania. Then I sought permission to conduct research in secondary schools in the Dodoma Municipality from the DoDMC. I presented the DoDMC with an approval letter from the VUW Ethics Committee, and a letter which explained my research and all procedures involved. I obtained a permit from the DoDMC, who then introduced me to the schools through a letter. Then I went to meet the Heads of the schools and presented a letter from the DoDMC permitting me to conduct my study in those schools. I also gave them an information sheet about my research and what it would involve. I assured the Heads of schools that the participants' identities and the identity of the school would be safeguarded. Immediately after being given access to the schools, the Heads of the schools introduced me to the Heads of the English Departments to whom I explained my study and the processes involved. Then the Heads of English Departments arranged for me to introduce myself to teachers of English.

Mutual respect was encouraged first by my seeking the participants' willingness to participate in the study. I did this by providing them with the information about the nature and purposes of the study. The information sheets included all procedures to be followed, such as recording interviews, and video recording for stimulated recall, required participants' characteristics, and a clear statement that explicitly informed them of their right to withdraw from the research for any reason at any time before the end of data collection (30th March) without obligation (see appendix B). Participants were also informed that their decision to, or not to participate in the study would have no negative effect on their professional career (see appendix B). I gave them my contact details (email address and phone number) so that those who wanted to participate in my study could contact me directly. Clearly, I won their trust as many teachers volunteered to take part in my study.

Burns (2000) notes that "participants must understand the nature and purpose of the research, and must consent to participate without coercion" (p. 18). Potential participants gave their consent (by filling in and signing the informed consent form) for me to interview them and to observe their classrooms. Sarantakos (1998) recommends that "institutions and research workers have a responsibility to ensure the safety of all those associated with the research" (p. 23). According to Sarantakos, information offered by the respondent should only be used by the researcher and for the purpose of the study. Following Sarantakos' suggestion, the information sheets given to participants included the assurance of confidentiality and anonymity in the write-up of the thesis, and in any publications derived from the study. Confidentiality by safeguarding the identity of the participants was taken into account throughout the study. Identities were protected by assigning pseudonyms. Furthermore, during data collection, all raw data were protected in a lockable cabinet and laptop to which only I had access.

Although all stimulated recall sessions focused on teachers' methods and approaches used to teach English, all students of the selected teachers were invited by their teachers to be involved in the study because although they would not be direct participants, they were present in the classroom. Consent of students aged under 16 was sought from teacher participants/guardians through the school management.

During the study, I maintained respect for my participants and maintained a respectful relationship with the research site (Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2012). I was aware of my behaviour in the research site, and trying to be a "good guy" (Pratt, 2006), which meant not harming the institution or people I was researching. I offered afternoon meals and soft drinks to participants. This allowed my participants to have free minds, and therefore to participate effectively in the study.

The participants were also provided with contact information for all involved in the study, in this case, the principal researcher and the primary and secondary supervisors. Participants were advised they could freely contact the researchers whenever they wanted clarification about any aspect of the study. After my data collection, I thanked them and informed them the use of the data and the availability of the summary of the research findings when I had completed the study. Figure 4.2 below summarises the research procedures I followed after arrival in Tanzania.
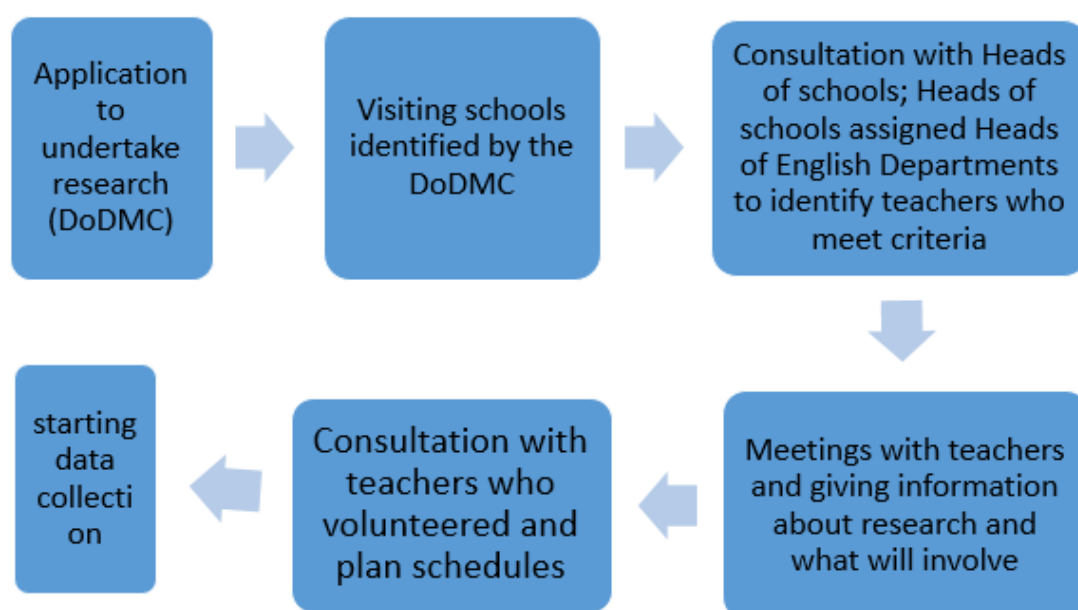
Figure 4.2:   Summary of research process

4.9 My role as a researcher in this study

Although I am Tanzanian, and have taught in secondary schools for five years, I was not automatically qualified to walk into the research site to commence fieldwork. Like any researcher, I had to familiarise myself with the context of others before the study could be pursued successfully as Cohen and colleagues (2007) have suggested.

As a researcher, I am aware that I should provide rich data, because I am the main instrument for data collection, analysis, synthesis, and write-up of the final report (Cohen et al., 2007). I am also aware that my personal and professional experiences as a former teacher of English in secondary schools for five years, and then as a cultural ambassador and educator for two years in the US were likely to have an impact in any data analysis. This is because I already possessed knowledge of ICC through my experiences of teaching Kiswahili and culture to American College students in the US. Moreover, my background knowledge of postcolonial theories and feelings also could have impacted on the way I collected, analysed and interpreted the data. Therefore, I acknowledged my beliefs and experiences by writing in my reflective diary before data collection, when collecting data, and during data analysis. This helped me to reflect on my perspectives on ICC as the study proceeded, because the aim of this study was to understand the participants' viewpoints about the issue under investigation (Merriam, 1998), and not my own assumptions. Throughout the study, I endeavoured to remain transparent (Patton, 2002) by exercising my reflexivity.

Also, teachers were aware that their approaches and methods of teaching were under investigation. This may have led them not to demonstrate their true self in their account of English language practices in the classroom. In other words, their responses and practices might have been influenced by their desire to please the researcher and not to reflect their true perspectives. To minimise the risk of this, as a researcher I assured them that their insights would remain confidential. I also triangulated data to really understand my participants' views.

4.10 Chapter summary

This chapter has presented the research methodology for this study and I have highlighted the research processes involved. Specifically, I have explained the choice of using a qualitative case study with multiple data collection methods such as document analysis, semi-structured interviews, stimulated recall, and a reflective diary. I have also explained all ethical consideration procedures I followed in this

study such as gaining access to the field, recruiting participants, procedures for data collection, analysis, and interpretation. I have also described the research limitations and my role as the researcher in this study. The use of a case study research approach, with the multiple data collection methods employed in this study, and all research procedures as I have described above show that I aimed to provide trustworthiness of the findings. However, since I use a case study approach, the findings are not meant for generalisations. Rather, they allow construction of knowledge on how six teachers of English in the three secondary schools in the Dodoma region (not all secondary schools in the Dodoma region, or Tanzania in general) understand ICC and the impact of their understandings in their actual classroom practices. In the next section of my thesis, my data analysis is presented. Firstly, Chapter Five presents my Foucauldian discourse analysis of key government documents in order to uncover power relations surrounding ELT practices. It also presents teachers' constructions of ICC and ELT.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE CONSTRUCTIONS OF ELT AND ICC WITHIN DOCUMENTS AND TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES

5.0 Introduction

This chapter has two major goals. Firstly, it explores the constructions of ELT through the analysis of the key official government documents: The 1995 Tanzanian Education and Training Policy (URT, 1995); and the 2010 Tanzanian English Language Syllabus for Secondary Schools (URT, 2010). The aim was to examine power relations, and whether ICC is apparent in ELT practice in Tanzania. Secondly, this chapter also explores power relations and ICC from teachers' perspectives. The analysis draws on data from document analysis, semi-structured interviews, stimulated recall, and classroom observation notes recorded in a reflective diary. Verbatim transcripts are quoted, with additional bracketed text inserted where necessary for clarity.

I begin this chapter by highlighting the underlying reasons for analysing these documents. Then I describe Foucauldian discourse analysis as a methodological approach for this study and the rationale for using it. A discussion about how teachers and students are discursively constructed in the documents follows next. An analysis of ICC within the documents, how teachers constructed knowledge about ICC, and how they modelled it in the classroom then follows. This is followed by a description of teachers' perceived ways of promoting ICC in the classroom. The chapter concludes with a summary.

5.1 The rationale for the Foucauldian discourse analysis of the documents

The analysis of the Education and Training Policy and English language syllabus for secondary schools was necessary to understand the construction of ELT in Tanzania. This is because English is both the MOI and a compulsory subject in secondary education in Tanzania. Studies show that elite classes and politicians decide on the language of instruction and its use, and they do that to maintain their power (Bwenge, 2012; Qorro, 2013; Swilla, 2009). Similarly, Openshaw, Clark, Hamer, &

Waitere-Ang (2005) argued that curriculum is a social and cultural product and, therefore, it cannot be separated from its society. They commented that "curriculum, be it designed for centres or schools, has been and still is highly political in nature" (p. 197). Openshaw and colleagues added that:

> Programs normalize a particular view of the world that is then put into practice within an educational context. This 'normal' view of the world becomes the accepted body of knowledge, and is treated as though it were equally significant and important for all groups. (Openshaw et al., 2005, p. 215)

With this in mind, a Foucauldian discourse analysis approach was selected as a form of analysis that would foreground the ways in which these documents are both socially and politically constructed.

Foucault (1972) makes it clear that power operates in human relations. Foucault used the term 'genealogy' to refer to "a form of critical theory which seeks to inform understandings of how the present has come to take the form and shape it has, in particular how our self-understandings have come about" (Manathunga, 2011, pp. 349-350). A Foucauldian lens exposed power relationships in ELT in this study by allowing me to generate analytical questions such as:

•How is ELT in Tanzania constructed?

•Who are the subjects in the syllabus?

•How are these subjects constructed?

•What kinds of power relations do we find between those subjects?

•Who is excluded or missing in the documents?

 (Barrow et al., 2010; Manathunga, 2011).

This form of analysis focused on the detailed analysis of the language used in the documents in order to understand how the language works to position the English language teachers and students in ELT in Tanzania. The analysis also focused on uncovering the contradictions and inconsistencies found between the statements in the documents. This approach helped to reveal the ways in which power circulates

between curriculum developers, teachers and students, and the effect of such power on both teachers and students. Foucault's concepts of discourse, subjectivity, power relations, power/knowledge, and governmentality were explored in order to understand how power operates in ELT in Tanzania.

Graham (2011) argues that in doing Foucauldian discourse analysis, one should pay attention to the meanings of the statements, and not to what was said or not said. In other words, Graham is suggesting that when doing discourse analysis within a Foucauldian framework, one should look at what the statements do. This is because Foucault was not interested in finding the truth of the statement, but rather in finding the "function" of the statement (Foucault, 1972, p. 98). Therefore, I paid attention to particular words used in those statements, and to the discursive work these statements 'do' to construct ELT in Tanzania, and the underlying reasons for the construction of those statements. When doing analysis, I also examined the regimes of truth (Foucault, 1997) found in the statements of these documents. My intention was to see how these "truths" have emerged and how they shape ELT practice in Tanzania. I looked at the statements and asked why the statement was necessary? What assumptions were being drawn on here? Therefore, I consistently paid attention to the language used in both documents, because power operates through language. The examples of data I used are indicative. I selected portions of the documents that were significant and representative rather than systematically analysing the whole of the document.

5.2 The constructions of teachers in the documents

The analysis of both documents suggests that most of the decisions about issues related to curriculum and teaching are made by the government. The 1995 Education and Training Policy section 6.2.11 states that:

> Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE) <u>shall continue to design, develop, review, update and monitor</u> the implementation of secondary school curriculum. (URT, 1995, p. 56)

The list — design, develop, review, update, monitor — shows the use of directive language. Also, the use of "shall" in the underlined phrase above denotes power from the government. Teachers are authority figures in Tanzanian society but according to the statement above, teachers' power is granted by the government. This clearly demonstrates Foucault's concept of power as 'repressive' (Foucault, 1972), whereby the Government appears to greatly limit the teachers' power to make pedagogical decisions about what their students might need.

TIE is an organisation within the Ministry of Education responsible for preparing curricula and other teaching and learning materials. The officials in this organ are appointed by the state government. Close examination of the discursive effect of the list of things curriculum developers do suggests that teachers have limited power to make decisions about ELT. The statement shows that the curriculum developers do not only prepare syllabi to be used in schools, but also, they are responsible for monitoring how these syllabi are implemented in schools. Teachers have little power to decide what and how to teach and with what resources. The syllabus prescribes topics to be covered, specific objectives to be achieved in those topics, the patterns/structure, situations, vocabulary/phrases to be learned in such topics, teaching/learning strategies, teaching/learning materials, the kinds of assessments to be administered in each topic, and the number of periods of teaching for each topic. The description above indicates that teachers' freedom of choice is limited in the teaching of English in Tanzania.

The syllabus seems to be very prescriptive in that it is very specific about what teachers need to do and the way they need to do it in their classrooms. The curriculum designers decide what they think is good for students to learn, and then they control teachers by making sure that teachers implement what is in the syllabus through detailed prescriptions and examination processes. As agents of the government, teachers adhere to the guidelines from the government. In other countries, curriculum documents do not contain this level of detail or specification. For instance, in a New Zealand curriculum, teachers and students set their learning

goals, and during evaluation of students' learning progress, a range of observations, records, and students' work are used to determine students' level of performance (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2007). The English curriculum in New Zealand shows that the needs of the learner are placed at the centre, and when teachers plan the lesson, they reflect on students' needs. Teachers of English in New Zealand have opportunities to make decisions about English language instruction. This is different from a Tanzanian syllabus whereby everything has been specified beforehand by the curriculum developers who do not necessarily know the needs of students. Although Tanzania and New Zealand are two postcolonial settings, and shared a similar colonial ruler (Britain), New Zealand appears to have more agentive constructions of both teachers and students in its policy document than Tanzania. There is no indication in the documents that teachers' or students' views and opinions have been considered in the development or implementation of the syllabus. However, Tanzania is a centrally controlled socialist state, and therefore, the state government closely manages ELT instruction as part of the education system.

Foucault (1982) argues that power relations or the exercise of power is not simply a relationship; it is a way in which some act on others, and power exists only if it is exercised. Thus, drawing from Foucault's concept of power relations, it is evident that the government officials (curriculum developers) exercise power over both teachers and students in ELT in Tanzania.

Moreover, in section 6:11, the English language syllabus states that:

> The assessment column in this syllabus gives the teacher an idea of the kind of assessment that students should be subjected to … the teacher also needs to ensure that he/she assesses students' performance in all the language skills … At the end of Form Four students are expected to do an overall achievement assessment intended to determine the extent to which the objectives of the English course have been attained. (URT, 2010, p. vii)

This statement affirms the operation of power from the state government over both teachers and students. The language used is directive and authoritative. For instance, the phrases I underlined direct the teacher to what to think and do. The statement suggests that teachers need to cover the syllabus in order to prepare students for

final examinations. This shows that teachers are positioned as powerless in making decisions about what the students might need or the order of items to be taught in the classroom. The state government, through its organisation, The National Examinations Council of Tanzania, prepares final examinations for students at the end of Form Four (Age 17-18 years old). The final examinations are closely based on the topics prescribed in the syllabus. This means that teachers are required to follow the instructions found in the syllabus and use the textbooks and other instructional materials proposed by the government in order to prepare students for their final examinations. From this, then, the syllabus can be understood to be one of the disciplinary practices that ensure that teachers are fulfilling what the government demands.

The policy states that:

> The National Examinations Council of Tanzania shall be responsible for the design, regulation, conduct and administration of National Standard VII, Form 4, Form 6, and Teacher Education Certificate and Diploma Examinations. (URT, 1995, p. 60)

The use of "shall" in the statement shows government's power. The statement implies that by providing the same curriculum to be covered by all students and then designing examinations to reflect the syllabus, it is possible for the government to regulate students' learning. In this way, schools are viewed as "normalising" institutions through their curriculum and pedagogical practices. This normalizing power is found in the statements and practices which guide what and how students should learn in English language lessons. Examinations are therefore used as a key technology of power to discipline not only students, but also teachers.

My analysis also revealed the inconsistency of the statements in these documents. The documents appeared to construct teachers in contradictory ways, such as knowledge receivers, knowledge givers, and knowledge producers, because of the prescriptions found in the syllabus. For example, in section 6.9, the syllabus states that:

> In the teaching/learning strategies column, a number of strategies have been suggested … the teacher is advised to use the suggested strategies <u>but where necessary</u> <u>the teacher should think of more appropriate strategies</u> to use in teaching English so that students can use the language meaningfully. The teacher needs to ensure that s/he can <u>pronounce English words correctly</u> … he/she has to ensure that he/she has the <u>ability to consult a dictionary on pronunciation of words</u> which s/he is not familiar with so that s/he can help the students to develop intelligible pronunciation. (URT, 2010, p. viii)

The language used in phrases I underlined in the statement above is authoritative and directive. By being urged—to use the suggested strategies— developed by the government documents, teachers have been positioned as 'knowledge receivers'. In this way, curriculum developers assume power over teachers' choices. The same statement also constructed teachers as knowledge producers; teachers are invited "to think of more appropriate strategies" (URT, 2010, p. viii) While this statement hints at a more powerful positioning for teachers, as knowledge producers and givers, the invitation is a very weak one. The weight of repetition and explicit and detailed instruction about what teachers must do in each lesson outweighs the effect of these occasional invitational statements. This could be understood as a normalising power of the government over teachers. According to Foucault (1972), power not only represses, it also produces. It has been shown above how teachers in some ways have been constructed in the documents as producers, receivers and givers of knowledge.

5.3 The constructions of both teachers and students in the syllabus

Through the descriptions found in the syllabus, students have been constructed in the syllabus as the receivers of knowledge. Most of the instructions found in the teaching /learning strategies section indicate that teachers have the power to initiate the learning process. For instance, in the section of teaching/learning strategies, the English syllabus (2010) states:

> <u>The teacher to show</u> pictures expressing habits of everyday activities by talking about his/her daily routine. (URT, 2010, p. 5)

Students to imitate and practise by giving an account of their daily activities. (URT, 2010, p. 5)

The teacher to demonstrate reading a poem aloud with accurate pronunciation. (URT, 2010, p. 27)

Students to read the poem aloud imitating their teacher. (URT, 2010, p. 27)

The teacher to select familiar celebration to narrate to students. (URT, 2010, p. 19)

The teacher to provide students with texts on different sports events to read. (URT, 2010, p. 20)

The teacher to provide students with a topic to debate on. (URT, 2010, p. 43)

The phrases I underlined in the syllabus statements above clearly show that teachers are responsible for most of the instructional practices in the classroom. The underlined phrases show less power on the part of students. For instance, teachers are given a very active and strong position; they show, select, demonstrate, or provide, whereas students only imitate and copy, and practise. It is evident that teachers have been given more power over teaching instructions in the classroom and have been constructed as "initiators" of the learning process. The underlined phrases in the above statements show directive language; not "may show" or "could" but 'to show'. The directive nature of the teaching and learning strategies above indicate how much teachers control the students' learning. Even if students have personal interests in particular kinds of sports or "celebrations", they have no room to "narrate" what they want; they must follow the teacher's directions.

This positioning as knowledge receivers remains upheld even though students are occasionally invited to:

Think about the topic selected then pair and share their ideas/views/opinions on the topic. (URT, 2010, p. 47)

Again it is a very weak suggestion that appears to be an afterthought rather than a core principle of the syllabus document.

This top-down practice maintains an unequal and hierarchical distribution of power and access to knowledge in ELT in Tanzanian secondary schools. Teachers are responsible for most of the instructional practices in the classroom, and therefore, the concept of teachers as knowledge givers remains firmly in place in relation to students. For example, one of the statements above shows that students are not permitted to choose topics they wish to "debate on"; the teacher chooses. Students are not free to choose what they want to learn, but the state government chooses what they think is good for students to learn. In this way, students could be seen as passive recipients of knowledge, and not as contributors to knowledge. Banks (2003) refers to this as a banking ideology whereby students wait for teachers to deposit knowledge into their heads, and the government assesses students' knowledge through final examinations. The explanations above suggest how power is exercised within ELT practice in Tanzania. In the next section, I explore how these power relations play out in the classrooms of the six teachers in my study.

5.4 Power relations in the classroom

These unequal power relations are clearly illustrated by data from classroom observations and interviews and stimulated recall with teachers. According to the findings, teachers' approaches and methods focused on their students achieving grammatical skills in the language. Teachers wanted students to pass examinations, and also to empower them with the language to enable them to learn other secondary subjects because English is the MOI. This tension appeared to force teachers to ensure that their students have a good understanding of grammar because they might need it in learning other subjects that are assessed through reading and writing in English, and also for communication purposes around the school premises, as shown in Chapter One of the thesis. This is problematic as it appears students are learning English mostly for academic achievement. For instance, classroom observations confirmed that one participant, Ms Sana included a strong focus on correct grammar. For example, she encouraged students to use a formula when constructing conditional sentences, believing that the formula might help students not to make mistakes (Classroom observation notes, 1/13). Ms Sana's

classroom practice appeared to reflect her belief that knowledge of grammar plays an important role in communicating globally.

Ms Sana's emphasis on grammar appears to have been influenced by examination-oriented teaching:

> Although we have a purpose that they can know how to express themselves, but the main issue is for them to perform exams … and <u>you [the teacher] will be evaluated through the performance of your students</u>, and that is the problem. (Semi-structured interview, 1/13)

This statement suggests that students in Ms Sana's school have few opportunities to focus on other people's cultures because the teaching of English is focused on grammatical skills of the language. Moreover, it suggests that teachers felt forced to teach for examinations because they were evaluated on the performance of their students. Because content and the topics are aligned with national the examinations set by the state government, and it is only possible for teachers to concentrate on these topics in order to prepare students for the examinations. Students' academic performance is also used to evaluate teachers' effectiveness as shown in the underlined phrase above. Ms Sana felt she had no choice other than to comply with the pressure to prepare her students for examinations. This was a way that the school system appeared to have power over teachers. Ms Sana's comment also suggests the tension between teaching students English to enable them to express themselves effectively and the school's goals which demanded good performance in terms of grades. Ms Sana's comment also illustrates the collective teachers' tensions in conforming to school and government expectations for good results for their students. In other words, these teachers were facing a dilemma in meeting both school and government needs to produce good results at the end of the year.

At other times, Ms Sana appeared to work under the authoritative gaze of the curriculum developers, which required her to follow and finish the syllabus in order to prepare students for examinations. Foucault would describe this as disciplinary power (Danaher et al., 2000), whereby the teacher regulates and governs her own

teaching to meet the desired goals of the school/educational system. In this sense, Ms Sana was under the surveillance of the curriculum developers. Although the curriculum developers were not physically in the classroom, their power was felt in the classroom. For instance, at the end of the lesson, Ms Sana gave students written homework to find out what the students knew (Classroom observation notes, 2/13). This suggests she was faithfully following the guideline found in the syllabus, which required her to provide students with written homework at the end of the lesson.

The government's power was also felt in Mr Rafiki's class. For example, when students finished reading the assigned novel, Mr Rafiki asked them to identify the messages and themes found in the novel. He commented later that:

> Nowadays we are told that students they know; they should give the knowledge they have, but we have to correct them if they are wrong. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

The comment indicates that Mr Rafiki's pedagogical instruction was influenced by the new education reform, which attempts to place students at the centre in the teaching and learning processes, was also evident in the underlined phrases above. In other words, the curriculum developers appear to have power over teachers by specifying what teachers should do in the classroom. On the other hand, teachers appeared to have the power to correct students if they are wrong as shown above.

Students in Mr Ndugu's class were reading a novel titled "Passed like a Shadow". According to Mr Ndugu, this novel is one of the recommended books from the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training for students in Form Three and Four to read. He explained:

> These books are recommended by the Ministry of Education and Vocational training for students to read in literature; and this is due to … HIV/AIDS pandemic … the youth, the teenagers, the students in Form Three and Form Four are still young. It has been discovered that these students … involve themselves in love affairs and most of them are infected by HIV/AIDS. So, the government has decided to recommend this book to students in order to give students awareness about AIDS pandemic. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

The underlined phrases above demonstrates how the state government decides what students should learn at school, for example, equipping students with knowledge of Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV)/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) as one of the killer diseases in Tanzania. It was a purposefully selected novel for these young students (aged 14-17) because some have started being involved in love affairs and are regarded as "vulnerable", and needing knowledge and skills to keep themselves safe from HIV/AIDS. The underlined phrases above in Mr Ndugu's statement provide evidence that teachers feel the effect of the power of the government. Furthermore, teachers must comply with the government's decisions because these books are the ones students will be tested on during their final examinations.

Classroom materials, such as textbooks, were decided upon by the government, and it appeared teachers had no chance to choose textbooks that might interest students. When I asked Mr Rafiki if he was the one who chose to use the novel "Unanswered Cries", he responded:

> The Government… this is just the government order; it is among the class readers for reading program for Form Three and Form Four. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

The repetitions of phrases underlined above in Mr Rafiki's statement suggest that teachers had little power to make decisions about resources; they just followed the "order" from the government. Teachers as implementers of the curriculum comply with the government's decisions, an example of power flowing from above.

Both Mr Mwalimu and Ms Sana appeared to follow the instructions found in the English language curriculum. For example, when he was teaching "Likes and Dislikes", Mr Mwalimu drew pictures of an orange, a pawpaw, and one showing young boys playing football. He asked his students questions such as, "do you like oranges"? And the students were to answer using "like" and/or "dislike". He explained:

> According to how the lesson has been prepared, we are supposed to go with various drawings so that they can see some real actions; or I could bring real things, such as an orange, a pawpaw; or, maybe I could use dramatisation – someone playing. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

Similarly, Ms Sana explained that:

> Before we enter in the class, we normally prepare the lesson plan… There are steps which we are supposed to use as far as the lesson is. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

These phrases underlined in Mr Mwalimu's statement denote power of a highly prescribed curriculum from the government. Although he seemed to have power to make choices such as bringing real things or using drama, these strategies have already been specified in the government curriculum. In addition, the underlined phrase in Ms Sana's comment also shows that she had to comply with the education system rules by following the steps of the lesson plan because the syllabus addresses not only what is to be taught, but how it should be taught. In this way teachers were constructed by the government as syllabus implementers. This implies that they felt they did not have the power to go against what was already suggested by the curriculum developers. It appeared that they did not want to become the subject of attention in the school system, and therefore, to avoid this they conducted their teaching according to school norms (Zembylas, 2003). In a situation like this, it is possible to argue that that the curriculum developers had power over much of the teachers' decision making in the classroom. The teachers are constructed by the government as both knowledge receivers – receiving the knowledge as prescribed in the syllabus and the textbook, and knowledge givers – passing the knowledge on to students.

Foucault's concept of governmentality (Danaher et al., 2000) is applicable here to explain how the State government controls both teachers and students. Foucault describes governmentality thus: "citizens are both 'regulated' by the State and its institutions and discourse" (Danaher, et al., 2000, p. xxi). However, the central focus of Foucault's idea of governmentality is an understanding of practices of governing,

and more generally, an understanding of the "exercise" of power, which is not based on the idea of power as coercion or violence, rather, power as productive (Fitzsimons, 2011). In this sense, the government seems to exercise its power to ensure schools are producing useful and practical citizens for the interest of the state. In other words, schools have been designed precisely in order to make the individual a significant element of the state (Foucault, 1988). In this way, the government regulates both teachers' practices and students' learning. According to Foucault (1972), power operates in human relations, and these relations or the exercise of power are not simply a relationship; they are a way in which some act on others (Foucault, 1982). Since power exists only if it is exercised (Foucault, 1980), it is clear that the curriculum developers have a high level of control over ELT in Tanzania (Foucault, 1972).

5.5 Constructions of English and ICC

In the next sections, I present and discuss the constructions of English evident in the Tanzanian curriculum documents. According to Foucault, discourses are "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, P. 54). For Foucault, discourses are social constructs, and they play a significant role in creating truth games. Foucault defines truth games as "a set of rules by which truth is produced" (Foucault, 1997, p. 297). These rules determine or influence how people see themselves and behave. In general, truth games are the rules which govern a certain institution to produce the truth (Danaher et al., 2000), and these truth games constitute our understandings of the social world. In this study, different discourses about English have been produced and shape how English is viewed in Tanzania. Such discourses have become acceptable truths in ELT and education in Tanzania.

5.5.1 The construction of English as a tool for educational success and in the world of work

Among the aims and objectives of secondary education in Tanzania are to:

Prepare the students for tertiary and higher education, vocational, technical and professional training;

> To prepare the student to join the world of work. (URT, 1995, pp. 6-7)

Looking closely at the first statement above, the English language has not been specifically mentioned. However, it is an absent presence here because the MOI in secondary schooling is English (and post-secondary education). It is through English that powerful knowledge is given. However, this knowledge is given to few who have the chance to attend secondary education, and who are competent in English. It appears that the above policy statements constructed the argument that proficiency in English is important to succeed academically and in the world of work. Students who will do better in secondary education have an opportunity to proceed to higher education, and therefore, have the advantaged position of getting good jobs after their graduation. In this way, English is constructed by the government of Tanzania as a gateway to great opportunities and social rewards. Such a belief has roots in colonialism because those who mastered English occupied good positions in the colonial administration (Neke, 2005; Swilla, 2009). Accordingly, this position of the English language in the education system in Tanzania helps us to understand how inequality is created and maintained in Tanzanian society. Those who can access the English language enjoy the privileges the language offers, and those without access to English are excluded from a good education and a successful future.

5.5.2 The construction of English as a tool for knowledge and development of the basics in society

The 2010 syllabus suggests that another objective of teaching English in Tanzania is to:

> Use one's knowledge of English to demonstrate awareness and consciousness of basics of society and the part one can play in its development. (URT, 2010, pp. v)

The above statement is discursively fascinating. It suggests that it is only through English language that one can understand the Tanzanian society, and that it is only through English that Tanzanians can achieve development. This also implies that Kiswahili, the national language, has been down-graded. The statement constructs

the English language as more powerful than Kiswahili even if it was contradicted in the earlier policy document which claims that " mastery of Kiswahili consolidates Tanzanian culture" (URT, 1995, p. 52) as discussed in detail in the next section.

5.5.3 The construction of English as a language of power and globalisation

The Tanzanian government has positioned English as the language of power and globalisation. The 1995 policy document states that:

> Language is the most important communication tool for accessing cognitive skills, knowledge, technologies, attitudes and values. Language teaching will continue to be an essential aspect of education. The focus will be on Kiswahili and English. Mastery of Kiswahili consolidates Tanzanian culture while the English language will access Tanzanians to knowledge, understanding, science and technology, and communication with other countries. (URT, 1995, pp. 52)

The assumption drawn here by the government is that English is the language of science, technology and communication with other people around the globe. The government is aware of the role of English in this globalised world, and therefore, legitimates English as enabling students to learn and use English for the benefit of the country in order to participate well in globalisation. Pennycook (1994) argues that the decision to teach a particular language is a political issue, which requires a critical analysis to understand the underlying reasons and the historical context of its teaching. This also means that the government has legitimatised the inequality of the two languages, English and Kiswahili, by specifying their domains of use in the education system and society in general. This is in line with Neke (2005) who argues that "a language policy that privileges one language variety by giving it monopoly over the higher levels of education raises its socio-economic value" (p. 76). These two languages are valued differently and English has acquired higher status than Kiswahili. This also suggests a colonial legacy because during colonialism, the local languages were marginalised, and perceived as uncivilised, while English, the language of the colonial master, was perceived as civilised and the language of opportunities, and those who were competent in it were privileged in colonial administration (Rubagumya, 1991; Swilla, 2009).

It is clear that English in Tanzania has become the language of power as it dominates the higher levels of the education system. It is the language where discourses of power, pride, development and modernity are privileged. Through its global use in literature, research, media, business, science and technology, education, international travel, and communication, the English language continues to be the language of power (Ciprianová & Vančo; 2010; Nault, 2006; Neke, 2005).

My analysis here suggests that English in Tanzania enjoys a distinctive status as a language of globalisation. This positions English as both an enabler and a barrier to social and economic rewards for peoples in Tanzania in the sense that it privileges those who are competent in English, while those who are not are marginalised in the world of globalisation where the knowledge of English is vital. Blommaert (2010) viewed English as the language of power which benefits some, while marginalising others. On the other hand, it could be argued that English in Tanzania has become 'a local practice' (Pennycook, 2010), which implies that Tanzanians have localised it in order to fit it into their own local settings. With regard to globalisation, I argue here that the processes of globalisation seem similar to those of colonialism. It appears like a continuation of colonial dominance over countries where the knowledge of English is not available to all citizens.

Furthermore, the syllabus explicitly states that one of the objectives of teaching English in secondary schools in Tanzania is to "Communicate effectively with other speakers of English both inside and outside the country" (URT, 2010, p. v). From the statement, the syllabus appears to position English as a tool for effective communication with other speakers of English in both local and global contexts. International research suggest that the most effective way of developing students' communication skills is through encouraging intercultural communicative competence (ICC) (see Chapter Two). However, ICC is not discussed in Tanzanian

curriculum documents or by the teachers included in my study. The following section discusses this absence of ICC in teachers' pedagogical practices.

5.6 The absence of ICC in teachers' pedagogical practices

All teachers of English in this study were aware of the importance of communicating and interacting with other speakers of English globally. However, they believed proficiency in English grammar and pronunciation were necessary for students to interact and communicate with other speakers of English from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

For example, Mr Mwalimu insisted that:

> What we teach is the matter for people to understand the language: grammar, structure, and those language skills. An individual must undergo all these skills. If someone has understood those four language skills, he can be able to communicate with people all over the world. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

Moreover, Mr Mwalimu believed that good pronunciation is important. His beliefs were manifested in his pedagogical practices in the classroom (Classroom observation notes, 2/13) where he alternated approaches such as individual, pair work, and choral responses to enable students to learn correct pronunciation. He commented:

> When you ask the students to respond in choral [chorus], you cannot get a real picture if an individual student has understood. That's why [I asked students to respond], first in a group, and then individually to check if at all they can pronounce well. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

The phrase "to check if at all they can pronounce well" from Mr Mwalimu's comment supports his belief that good pronunciation will allow students to interact and communicate with anyone around the globe.

Similarly to Mr Mwalimu, Mr Ndugu also believed that once students learned the proper pronunciation of English, they would be able to interact with other speakers

of English globally. He maintained that in his classroom, he insisted on good pronunciation from his students in order to help them learn English. Mr Ndugu's emphasis on linguistic competence was influenced by his perception of the importance of English proficiency in the globalised world:

> The main objectives of teaching English in Tanzania, one is to enable students to speak English in school and outside the school; number two is to make the students to know how to write. Number three is to communicate with other people in the world, with different cultures. Number four is to prepare students for competitions for employment opportunities … The main reason is to enforce them to value English because it is the language to be used in school, even after the school. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

The phrase "to enforce them to value English" from Mr Ndugu's comment above connotes force; students were forced to learn English.

From their four accounts, Ms Sana, Mr Mwalimu, Ms Mzuri, and Mr Ndugu identified four language skills — speaking, listening, reading, and writing – which they felt were needed for students to communicate and interact with other speakers of English globally. This focus on grammatical skills and pronunciation suggests that teachers were unaware that being able to interact across cultures and to avoid misconceptions and misunderstandings goes beyond knowledge and skills of using language to incorporate intercultural skills (Bennett, 2011). ICC includes not only linguistic competence but also intercultural competence. Both of these dimensions are needed for effective communication and interaction with other speakers of English globally (Huang, 2014).

The use of the word "must" in Mr Mwalimu's comments above suggests an imperative. It emphasises his belief that competence in English grammar is a key for communication with other speakers of English around the world. The use of numbers above, such as number one … number two … in Mr Ndugu's comment above suggests that he was making important points that he had thought about previously. Also, the phrase "to prepare students for competitions for employment opportunities"

reflects the reality that, in Tanzania today, as in other parts of the world, knowledge of English is increasingly important in securing good jobs.

The explanations above have shown teachers were unaware of ICC. They believed that grammatical skills in the language and pronunciation were central in equipping students with ability to interact and communicate with other speakers of English globally. However, the lack of teachers' awareness of ICC did not occur in a void; a number of factors appeared to influence it. Since ICC is a Western construct, it makes it less likely that the teachers who participated in this study would be aware of it. ICC was simply educational jargon to these teachers. Furthermore, findings from the document analysis (see section 5.7 above) have also shown that ICC was not included in either the policy or the syllabus; therefore, it was not possible for teachers to become familiar with the concept from these sources. All teacher participants reported at the Teachers' College they had learned skills and methods for teaching students English and that the focus was on grammar. This implies that intercultural skills were not taught at the college. Therefore, teachers' lack of awareness of ICC was partly influenced by their educational background experiences. It should be noted however that since Tanzania is a multicultural society, teachers of English could have come across the idea of 'ICC' under a different name. The next section explains how teachers in this study demonstrated some implicit knowledge of ICC.

5.7 Implicit knowledge of ICC

Ms Nina and Mr Rafiki appeared to have knowledge of the concept of intercultural communicative competence, although they reported that they were unaware of the term ICC. They believed that the knowledge of other people's cultures is important for communicating globally:

> If we learn cultures, it will help people or students to communicate globally.
> (Semi-structured interview, 1/13)

Ms Nina added that, when a person knows the culture of a particular society, it would be easy for that person to communicate with anyone who comes from that society. Ms Nina's statement above appeared to suggest that learning about different cultures would help both teachers and students to interact and communicate effectively with people of other languages and cultures. Although Ms Nina acknowledged the importance of being culturally aware, she admitted that she was not incorporating culture when teaching English to her students:

> Here in Tanzania, especially in my school ... we don't incorporate culture in English language, to be honest; we just teach English as English. (Semi-structured interview, 1/13)

Mr Rafiki also believed that learning other people's culture is necessary for communication and interaction cross-culturally. He went further to suggest that tolerance is important for communicating with other speakers of English globally. He explained that speakers of English differ in the way they pronounce English words due to the effect of their mother tongues:

> When you communicate with Nigerian people, although they can speak English, they speak differently from the people from Tanzania or Kenya... tolerance is highly needed. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

This comment shows that Mr Rafiki was aware of one of the important abilities for intercultural communication with other speakers of English from different languages and cultures – tolerance – towards cultural practices of different societies. He mentioned, for example, that people in some parts of the world wear very short clothes, suggesting:

> We should have to tolerate because that is their own style of life; it is other people's culture. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

Although Mr Rafiki claimed to believe that each society has its own culture, and people should learn, appreciate, and tolerate other people's cultures, he appeared to contradict this belief by insisting that there are good and bad cultural practices in relation to a person's own culture:

> We should have to appreciate those cultures, and we should have to learn their cultural aspects; and after learning, we should choose which is good, and which is bad concerning our culture. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

Although Mr Rafiki was aware of different cultures around the world, his use of "bad" and "good" shows his belief that students should learn what he thought appropriate. This appears to detract from the definition of an intercultural competent learner/speaker (Byram et al., 2002), as someone who becomes aware of the differences and similarities of different cultures (Newton et al., 2010), and is able to accept and appreciate the differences. Being an intercultural competent speaker does not mean that one has to copy another's culture or to blame one's culture in regards to his/her philosophical orientation/perspective. The next section shows how some teachers in this study demonstrated some aspects of ICC in their pedagogical practices in the classroom.

5.8 Teachers demonstrating ICC in the classroom

Despite teachers' lack of awareness of ICC, some appeared to model aspects of ICC in the classroom through their pedagogical practices. For example, Ms Mzuri stressed that her students came from a variety of cultural backgrounds, and therefore in the classroom she used interactive activities in order to allow her students to express their ideas and views. She insisted that through such classroom interactions, students learn about different cultures that they bring to the classroom:

> I normally ask them to construct sentences, to write letters to their friends and people who are close to them... students make sentences by using different words, different issues, different topics, but within that, they talk different cultures. (SSI, 2/13)

She noted that when students express themselves in the classroom, they talk about different cultures because of the presence of more than 120 tribal cultures found in Tanzania (see Chapter One). It is possible to argue that Ms Mzuri believed that students were able to learn about other cultures due to the many cultures represented by students in the classroom. This also suggests that she was aware of the role of classroom dialogues and interactions that allow students to learn other people's cultures. She saw potential in using students' cultures as a resource in the

classroom (Lisanza, 2014; May, 2005) to enable her students to become global citizens.

Ms Mzuri's pedagogical instruction seems to align with studies of ICC which suggest that knowledge of first languages and cultures is important in gaining ICC (Alptekin, 2002; Newton et al., 2010) because it enables people to compare and contrast their own values and those of others and thus become interculturally competent learners (Byram et al., 2002). During an interview with her, however, she did not explain how she handles cultural negotiation due to complexities of cultures found in the classroom (see Chapter One). It should be noted, however, that she appeared to suggest that students' cultures are barriers to learning English. The lack of cultural negotiation in the classroom seems to suggest that students were not gaining ICC, which is important in order to live in harmony with people of other cultures (Bennett, 2011; Ntuli, 2012). This study, therefore, suggests that through cultural negotiations during classroom interactions, students in Tanzanian schools may develop skills for intercultural communication. Similarly, when teachers interact with their students, it means they value students' views and opinions and this, in turn, helps build mutual understanding between teacher and students, and students themselves.

Similarly, both Mr Mwalimu and Mr Rafiki's pedagogical practices appeared to demonstrate ICC in the classroom despite their being unaware of the term 'ICC'. For instance, students in Mr Mwalimu's class had many chances to practise speaking English, such as sharing their views in front of the class (see also Chapter Six). Mr Rafiki mentioned that students had opportunities to share their views on different issues, including female genital mutilation (FGM), through English debates in the classroom. This implies that Mr Rafiki created an environment of respect and acceptance whereby students were free to share their ideas, views, and opinions.

> They have experience; because I am teaching Tanzanian students; they know
> this practice that's why I asked them to share ideas. I can get the knowledge

which is not found in the book because they know their society. (Stimulated recall interview /2/ 2013)

In addition, Mr Rafiki gave his students an assignment to be completed at home. He told them to ask their parents how FGM is done in their society/tribe. This was because some students came from tribes that practise FGM. Mr Rafiki commented:

I asked them to find out how circumcision [FGM] is done; for instance, is there any difference on how this tribe practise circumcision with another tribe, or is just the same; and what are the effects of doing it? (Stimulated recall interview /2/ 2013)

This suggests that Mr Rafiki was aware that some of his students could have experienced this practice. He wanted to know more about this cultural practice and, therefore, asked his students to ask their parents or guardians how FGM is done in their clan. This seemed to suggest that Mr Rafiki was modelling aspects of ICC in his classroom.

During classroom observations, students were reading a novel entitled 'Unanswered Cries'. The novel portrayed how a particular society in Sierra Leone practised FGM. According to the novel, any woman in that particular society who resisted being circumcised was regarded as a "low creature", because of the cultural belief that in order to become "a full woman", one must undergo FGM. It is possible to argue that because the novel was written in the English language, students were able to learn about how people in Sierra Leone practise FGM, and are able to compare and contrast Sierra Leone with some of the tribes in Tanzania that practise FGM regarding how they do it. Students were told to compare and contrast their own culture with the culture of other people, and discover the similarities and differences – an important step for students to become interculturally competent learners (Alptekin, 2002).

I therefore argue here that through reading the novel "Unanswered Cries", students were able to compare their own culture with the culture of the people of Sierra Leone. By asking his students to share their views concerning FGM, Mr Rafiki seemed to value their ideas and opinions, so constructing them as knowledge producers, not only knowledge receivers. In a situation like this, it is possible to conclude that students had opportunities to learn about other people's cultures through reading literary works depending on how the teacher approached the task.

In the classroom, Mr Rafiki appeared to emphasise these two words, "good" and "bad". He mentioned that some tribes in Tanzania practice FGM, and explained in detail how it is conducted (Classroom observation notes, 2/13). When asked about this, he stressed that he had to explain because some students were not aware of this practise. It could be argued that knowledge of how FGM is done influenced him to believe that it is a bad cultural practise due to its health effects. This practise is done locally, and it is possible for girls to be infected with diseases such as HIV/AIDS due to the sharing of instruments such as razor blades. Mr Rafiki argued that:

> Some students do not know which parts of Tanzania practice FGM, because some students have already practised this but other students not; that's why they should have that knowledge in order to know the inner effects. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

This statement clearly shows that Mr Rafiki was against FGM. However, although Mr Rafiki claimed to value students' ideas and opinions concerning FGM, this appeared to be contradicted when he insisted that FGM is a bad practise and he told his students not to practise it.

Furthermore, Mr Rafiki appeared to be against FGM through the questions he asked students on FGM — "Do you think FGM is a good or bad culture?" Because he had already said that it is a bad cultural practice, and the question directed students' responses to describe FGM as a bad cultural practise, most responded that FGM is a bad cultural practise (Classroom observation notes, 2/13). In this way, Mr Rafiki was seeking to influence students' attitudes about FGM through ELT. Therefore, this

whole section has shown that Mr Mwalimu, Ms Mzuri, and Mr Rafiki were modelling ICC to their students by creating a caring and understanding environment whereby each student's culture, views and opinions were respected and welcomed. Such an environment can enhance students' ICC as suggested by Holliday (2009).

5.9 Teachers' suggestions about promoting and enhancing ICC in the classroom

As the data have shown, teachers of English in this study were unaware of the term 'ICC'. However, they made suggestions about how to develop ICC in the future because of their knowledge about the importance of communication in this global era. The following sections list and illustrate their suggestions.

5.9.1 The syllabus

The teachers in this study proposed that in order to enable teachers to implement ICC in the classroom, ICC should be included in the syllabus:

> First of all is to make emphasis by putting skills of intercultural communication in our syllabus. So, when we teach the students, they can be able to understand those issues [intercultural communication skills]. (Ms Sana, Semi-structured interview, 1/13)

The statement indicates that when ICC is included in the curriculum teachers will become aware and able to teach this competence to students. While the word "skills" suggests a skill focus rather than developing deep understanding, Ms Sana's comment proposes changes in the curriculum in order to reflect the realities of English in today's world. Despite this, her comment about "those issues" seems to be very vague.

On the other hand, Mr Mwalimu commented:

> If ICC could be added in our curriculum, it could be very nice. So, it should be added in the curriculum. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

It is clear from the comment that Mr Mwalimu believes that changes to the curriculum to include ICC would allow both teachers and students to gain ICC. Again,

the words "very nice" from his comment above sound vague and non-committal, rather than imperative. Both of these examples also suggest Ms Sana and Mr Mwalimu wanted to please me as a researcher because my questions may have suggested to them that I valued ICC.

Ms Mzuri also supported the inclusion of ICC in the syllabus. Although she commented that students in her class had opportunities to explore other people's cultures, she acknowledged that they explored only cultures found within Tanzania:

> The culture we talk much in the classroom is Tanzanian; we are dealing much with Tanzanian culture. Sometimes, it depends on the syllabus; you may find sometimes they [students] are supposed to express themselves about daily routines. Some topics in the syllabus want [require] students to talk about different cultural activities which they find in their cultures … how they celebrate marriage, how they treat the dead people … talking about funeral activities, talking about marriage activities; talking about different celebrations. So [when] students express themselves in those different activities they learn different cultures. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

However, the repetition contained in the phrase "the culture we talk much in the classroom is Tanzanian; we are dealing much with Tanzanian culture" suggests that the opportunity to learn about cultures beyond Tanzania is limited due to lack of emphasis on those cultures in the English syllabus. Added to this, the English syllabus influences students' learning by proposing what they should discuss concerning their cultures. The phrases "some topics in the syllabus want students to talk about are different cultural activities which they find in their cultures", "how they celebrate marriage", "how they treat the dead people", "talking about funeral activities", "talking about marriage activities", suggests that the topics for discussion have already been decided by the curriculum developers. The syllabus might, therefore, be viewed as both an enabler and a constraint for students to gain ICC through formal classroom instruction.

Ms Mzuri suggested that it is important for cultures beyond Tanzania to be included in the curriculum:

> I think the first thing is to introduce the idea of speaking about other cultures; not only Tanzanian cultures, but also the world's cultures, the cultures of other nations… They [students] need to express about their culture, and other people's cultures; beyond the country, the international wise. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

Therefore, Ms Mzuri was suggesting changes in the English curriculum to allow students to become aware of other people's cultures for effective global communication. Teachers as implementers of the syllabus, therefore, require material that explicitly explains ICC in the syllabus in order to implement it in the classroom.

On the other hand, Ms Nina believed that knowledge about communicating across cultures could be promoted in the classroom by making students aware of ICC:

> First of all is to make them [the students] aware about ICC, to know what intercultural competence is. After making them aware, it will be easy for them to communicate with [people of] other cultures. (Semi-structured interview, 1/13)

The repetition of the words "make them aware" in the above statement suggests that Ms Nina felt the point she was making was important. This phrase also contains quite 'heavy', directive language. In addition, the phrase also seems to suggest that Ms Nina understood that teachers need to be aware of ICC in order to instruct/ model it in their English language classrooms. She suggested that the curriculum should be revisited to include ICC in order to reflect the realities of today's world:

> What could be done is to implement a subject [of] intercultural study in order for students to be aware; a special subject… to add a subject [of] ICC in the syllabus. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

Ms Nina's suggestion to add a component of ICC in the English language syllabus shows that she wanted changes in the curriculum for the benefit of the students, to allow them to communicate and interact effectively with other speakers of English globally. The repetitions of the word "subject" suggests her point was important. This idea of learning about other cultures through formal instruction in the classroom is supported by Genc and Bada's (2005) study, which suggests that formal instruction about ICC enhances students' ICC.

5.9.2 The internet

Both Ms Sana and Mr Mwalimu considered computers and internet facilities as important resources in today's world in exploring other people's cultures, and also in enabling people to interact with people of different languages and cultures:

> We are in the global village now, so we can use those computers. (Ms Sana, Semi-structured interview, 1/13)

> In our school … we have introduced ICT … computer learning. (Mr Mwalimu, Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

Although Ms Sana believed in the role of the internet in learning about other people's cultures, in her school, there was no a computer laboratory. This suggests that regardless of belief, her students had limited chance of learning other people's cultures through the internet. On the other hand, although his school had a computer laboratory, Mr Mwalimu reported that it had no internet facilities. However, he was hopeful that in the future students would be able to learn how to use the internet because the school had a plan to install internet facilities. Potentially, then, students in Mr Mwalimu's school will be able to learn about other people's cultures through the internet.

5.9.3 Textbooks and television programmes

Some teachers in this study believed that textbooks and novels are important resources for students to gain ICC in the classroom. For instance, Mr Rafiki believed that reading literary works about the cultures of the world helps students to learn about other people's cultures. He believed that students can explore different cultures of other speakers of English reading literary works such as novels and plays written in the English language. He gave as an example the novel "Unanswered Cries" which students were about to read — it portrayed the culture of the people in Sierra Leone. He insisted students should:

> Study different books … [about] different cultures … very good books which allow us to interact with different people in [other] parts of the world. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

This statement suggests the idea that students will be able to experience other people's cultures through reading books that speak about those cultures written in English. This also supports the idea that awareness of different English speaking cultures around the globe will enable students to avoid misconceptions and misunderstandings during communication with those people.

Similarly, Mr Ndugu observed:

> English is normally used to express the culture of a certain society. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

In the classroom, Mr Ndugu's students appeared to be learning about different cultural aspects of the people in Uganda through reading the novel "Passed like a Shadow" (Classroom observation notes, 2/13). This novel is about an HIV/AIDS pandemic. Among other themes, the novel deals with the risks of getting HIV/AIDS infection from rape, suggesting that young girls should take care of themselves and avoid situations that are risky for them. Other moral themes include people not involving themselves in love affairs with many people as they might get HIV/AIDS infection. Although the setting of the novel is in Uganda, the issues and themes discussed are also relevant to Tanzanian society as Tanzania and Uganda share much in the way of culture.

On the other hand, Mr Mwalimu believed that media such as television and textbooks can play an important role in learning about other cultures:

> There are some media in our society, especially televisions (TVs). Students do learn through those because they have TVs in their homes. Even academic readers…for example, from Kenya [or] West Africa. So, when they read, although it is just a class reader, but there are some cultural things which someone can learn. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

From the statement above, it can be seen that Mr Mwalimu was aware of the role television can play in enabling students to learn about other people's cultures. His belief resonates with Hismanoglu's (2011) study, which claims that people can learn about other people's cultures through television programmes. However, Mr

Mwalimu's choice of word "someone" in his statement seems to be a very indirect and interesting way of referring to students. In relation to textbooks, the phrase "it is just a class reader" suggests Mr Mwalimu believes they play a less important role. The statement also implies that although students in Mr Mwalimu's class have opportunities to experience other peoples' cultures through class readers, most originate from Africa. However, to allow students to have a global sense of other people's cultures, there is a need to include diversity of cultures from different parts of the world as suggested by Nault (2011) and Alptekin (2002). These scholars recommended that instructional materials such as textbooks should include a diversity of cultures to enable students to reflect on, and compare, and contrast their own languages and cultures in relation to other people's so as to become successful intercultural communicators.

5.9.4 Exchange programmes

Ms Nina believed that exchange programmes would benefit students and teachers:

> I think the exchange programmes maybe can help; for example, to have exchange programmes or classes maybe from Uganda to Tanzania, students come here; our students go there, Kenya likewise. Teachers likewise to have exchange programmes, maybe this semester a hundred teachers are going there, next semester hundred teachers come here so as to make them learn different cultures. (Semi-structured interview, 1/13)

According to Ms Nina, both teachers and students need to be equipped with knowledge of different cultures. She also commented that due to lack of exposure to different cultures, students are not informed about other cultures:

> This programme needs a lot of money. For instance, if I want my students to experience other cultures, we are supposed to go somewhere to stay there for a while in order to adopt that culture. (Semi-structured interview, 1/13)

There are two separate issues Ms Nina mentioned here: firstly, the cost of programmes, and secondly, how to develop ICC. The statement shows that Ms Nina appeared to believe that being culturally aware of other people's cultures requires one to be immersed in and to adopt the culture of that particular society. Her belief, however, seems to be confused because being an intercultural competent

learner/speaker does not mean that one has to adopt other people's culture as Ms Nina proposed. Rather, ICC suggests having values of respect and acceptance (Holliday, 2009), and being able to appreciate other people's cultures (Bennett et al., 2003).

It appeared that Ms Nina's perception of learning about other people's cultures had been influenced by her university educational background experiences:

> When I finished Form Six, I went straight to the University of Dar Es Salaam. There I met different people from different places. In our class, we had people from Kenya and other places. Even teachers [came] from different countries. My teacher education did not prepare me to communicate with people of other cultures, but automatically, I learned different cultures of different people I was studying with, or living with; for example, in my room [at the University halls] I lived with a person from the U.S. (Semi-structured interview, 1/13)

The statement suggests that while teacher education did not include skills and knowledge for communicating across cultures, teachers learned these skills by living and studying with people of different cultures. Ms Nina's university experience possibly influenced her belief that people can learn about other people's cultures through exchange programmes. However, her beliefs about learning other people's cultures did not acknowledge the value of interaction within Tanzania – a multicultural society with more than 120 tribal groups and cultures – to enable Tanzanians to achieve skills for intercultural communication. This suggests that students in Tanzanian secondary schools are in an advantaged position of gaining ICC because of the presence of many cultures. However, this would require first, students' awareness of their own culture, and then secondly, their awareness of cultural differences in Tanzania.

From the explanations above, it appears that teachers in this study were aware of a variety of ways in which people can learn about the different cultures around the globe. Their ideas about visiting places, classroom dialogues, the internet, exchange programmes, and the role of textbooks and television programmes in enabling

students to learn other people's cultures are supported by Hismanoglu (2011), Nault (2006), and Yang and Fleming (2013), who suggest that teachers can enhance students' ICC in the classroom by using these ways.

5.10 Chapter summary

This chapter has presented the analysis of the official government documents — the policy and the syllabus. The analysis of both documents through Foucauldian discourse analysis has helped to understand the construction of ELT, particularly examining the power relations surrounding ELT practice in Tanzania. From the analysis, both teachers and students are constructed as knowledge receivers. The analysis has also demonstrated that both documents are silent about ICC. This chapter has also shown that teachers in this study were unaware of the term ICC. However, despite this, some modelled some aspects of ICC in their classrooms. This study suggests that, in order to assist students to gain ICC in the classroom, teachers need to be explicitly knowledgeable about it, implying that the knowledge of ICC needs to be introduced in the curriculum at Teachers' Colleges. Developing cultural awareness themselves will enable teachers to think positively about others and be empathetic, tolerant, respectful, and accepting of the different languages and cultures students bring to the classroom.

In the next chapter, I explore the ways in which power/knowledge plays out in six ELT classrooms in Tanzania. My argument here is that both ELT and ICC in Tanzania cannot be understood outside the relations of power. My study has shown that by using the work of Foucault, it is possible to think differently about ELT and ICC in Tanzania. By thinking differently, it is possible to conceptualise ELT and ICC practice as a much more complex space, where different and competing forms of power/knowledge operate. In particular, I demonstrate how teachers themselves construct their own subjectivities in these ELT classrooms.

CHAPTER SIX
TEACHERS' MULTIPLE SUBJECTIVITIES

6.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses teachers' multiple and unstable subjectivities across six case studies. To understand these, I take up Foucault's concept of power relations. Foucault believes that power is key in the formation of individual subjectivities. Allen (2002) explains that "for Foucault, individual subjects/agents don't come into the world fully formed; they are constituted in and through a set of social relations, all of which are imbued with power" (p. 135). With this in mind, teachers' multiple subjectivities are analysed and discussed in this chapter, with a focus on how teachers constructed themselves. Power operates through language (Foucault, 1972), and for that reason, I analyse the teachers' own words, through which they construct their subjectivities in English language classrooms. I also consider their pedagogical instructions in the classroom because they have power to influence learners' acquisition of knowledge (Lusted, 1986).

6.1 Teachers as knowledge givers/experts

Whereas the documents constructed teacher subjectivities primarily as knowledge receivers and less powerful players, the teachers themselves mostly constructed their subjectivities as knowledge givers and experts. This was reinforced by their cultural positioning in Tanzanian society as authority figures. Also, the dominance of teacher-talk is a very widespread practice in schooling in Tanzania due to the low level of English among students, and inadequate teaching facilities and resources (Brock-Utne, 2012; Qorro, 2013). For instance, in this study, Mr Rafiki constructed himself as a knowledge giver when he gave a summary of the novel students were about to read before they had even started reading it. While he gave students the opportunity to suggest what the story would be about just by looking at the cover, he spent a considerable time telling them what they would expect to find inside the book, describing the main character and summarising the novel before students had opened it. When students were reading, he kept elaborating important points and messages to his students (Classroom observation notes, 2/13). He insisted that he

had to tell his students before they began reading to help them to know what to expect from the novel. However, they were getting a single interpretation of the book. He did not expect the students to construct their own interpretation of the book.

As a knowledge giver, he explained the traditional words "borka" and "bondo" found in the novel, and used to describe circumcised and uncircumcised of women in the society of Sierra Leone. While students were reading, at times Mr Rafiki corrected mispronunciation without waiting for them to use strategies such as self-correction. He commented:

> Once they pronounce wrong, they can mislead others. (Stimulate recall interview, 2/13)

He also provided the correct pronunciation of an Arabic word — "Subaallah" (Merciful God!) found in the novel. He had some skills in the Arabic language and he was able to use this expertise.

Similarly, Ms Sana and Ms Mzuri constructed themselves as knowledge givers and expert teachers of grammar when they provided students with a formula to assist the students to construct correct conditional sentences. Ms Mzuri commented:

> To give them a formula is a simple way of helping them to understand the formation of conditional sentences. As you know, our learning process, English language is a bit [of a] problem; so use [of] a formula will help them understand. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

The comment suggests that memorisation was one of Ms Mzuri's pedagogical practices — that students had to memorise formulas to avoid making mistakes. Ms Mzuri explained that that she gave students a formula to help them to figure out their mistakes, and correct them. When one student made a mistake in constructing a conditional sentence, and she waited for him to figure out the mistake and correct it himself (Classroom observation notes, 2/ 2013). She explained:

> The formula was there and the examples were there; so I just wanted him to discover the mistake. It is also a way of learning because I believe next day he will not make such a mistake. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

This statement shows that for Ms Mzuri, making mistakes was part of learning.

Mr Ndugu also constructed himself as a knowledge giver through his pedagogical approaches in the classroom. For instance, when he was elaborating on important messages found in the book, he used authoritative language, emphasising:

> The whole book carries three important points [messages] …. I told them that sometimes people may think that the educated people are free from HIV/AIDS pandemic, they cannot get AIDS because they are educated … they have got money. I told them even the educated people can be victims of AIDS … I told my students sometime people can acquire AIDS through raping; so they must take care wherever they are, especially for girls, they can be raped by a person who is a victim of AIDS. The main message was AIDS can also be spread through raping, so they should take care of themselves. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

The repetitions of the phrases "I told them" show he considered that the message he was delivering was important for students to consider. Also, the phrases "they must take care" and "they should take care" show the multiple and unstable subjectivities of Mr Ndugu; firstly, as the authoritative role of the teacher, and secondly, in the parental or caregiver role that he saw himself as responsible for his students' wellbeing. When the teacher finished elaborating the important themes and messages found in the novel, he asked his students to identify the messages. When I asked him about this he responded:

> I decided to do that [because] I wanted to know if the students were following the book, and also, I wanted to know if students were following my elaborations. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

The phrases "I decided", "I wanted to know if students were following my elaborations", suggests that the role of the teacher was both an "expert" teacher of English and a "knowledge giver". Memorisation and repetition were evident in Mr Ndugu's pedagogical instruction practices (Classroom observation notes, 2/13). This seems to suggest that he was preparing students for examination.

Similar to Mr Rafiki and Mr Ndugu, Ms Mzuri also provided a summary at the end of her lesson. According to her, a summary helps them to take full account of what they have learnt on that day, which helps them to make a revision the next day. This implies that Ms Mzuri wanted her students to reflect on what she taught them that day and to remember and recall the knowledge so that the next time she met them, students were able to answer her questions. The summary also authorises the teacher's version of the knowledge in the classroom.

Mr Ndugu also believed that when students read the book, they also learn the pronunciation of words. Despite this claim, I observed that some students pronounced some words wrongly but he did not correct them. When I asked him about this, he replied:

> I didn't make corrections on pronunciation of words … [because] my students are not good in pronunciation; so if I could correct them now and then, they could not read properly [and possibly not finish the book]. After reading the book, then normally we have time on how to pronounce difficult words; while I will be analysing the book about the content and form, I will tell them this one could be pronounced like this. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

This shows that the teacher was not letting pronunciation get in the way of the students understanding of the meaning and reading aloud with confidence. This implies that he was balancing students' fluency and accuracy. He allowed time for dealing with pronunciation problems. This supports the teacher's position as an expert who knows how to pronounce English words properly, and his construction of students as passive recipients of knowledge whom he must "tell" the proper pronunciation of words.

In contrast, Ms Mzuri appeared to lack tolerance for students' mispronunciation of English words. One student pronounced the word "punishment" with a Swahili tone, and the teacher corrected her immediately (Classroom observation notes, 2/13). Ms Mzuri explained:

> She is not the only one who makes that mistake; many of them make mistakes in pronunciation. Sometimes when they read books, you can see that there is

a problem in pronunciation, it is because of the language; they say it in Kiswahili. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

By correcting mispronunciation on the spot, in effect, Ms Mzuri appeared to believe that mistakes are harmful to the language acquisition process. This is in contrast to Mr Ndugu who set aside a specific time to deal with it. Furthermore, by stressing that "they [students] say it in Kiswahili", she supports the comment she made during the semi-structured interview that Kiswahili affects students' pronunciation of English words.

Ms Nina's position as an expert was also evident when she modelled correct pronunciation. When she finished reading, she asked one student to read the whole chapter to the class. Then, the teacher read the chapter aloud again. When asked why she decided to do that, she responded that she had to read the text for two reasons: to model correct pronunciation of words, and to put emphasis on important messages of the text:

> Because there are other words which are difficult for them to pronounce, sometimes they pronounce them wrongly … I read in order to make clear pronunciation of difficult words. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

This phrase "I read in order to make clear pronunciation" constructed Ms Nina as "an expert" in English pronunciation. She expected her students to imitate her. When a student pronounced words incorrectly, she immediately corrected her (Classroom observation, 2/13). When asked about this, she commented that:

> My role is to make them pronounce well; therefore, I was supposed to make sure that they pronounce each word correctly. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

The phrase "my role is to make them pronounce well" confirmed her role as "the expert". When she was emphasising the messages found in the text, Ms Nina explained:

> Caring for people with HIV/AIDS, the following rules must be followed: Number one, you are supposed to put on gloves; you are supposed to give him/her a special diet... (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

The phrases above: "I read in order to…", "I said…", "I finalized myself…", "I decided…" constructed Ms Nina as both a knowledge giver, and an expert in the area of HIV/AIDS. She emphasised important points by using directive statements; for example "…number one… you are supposed…." as shown above. She explained that she had to repeat the reading of the text to emphasise how people get HIV/AIDS, because some students may have misconceptions. Her expertise in the area of HIV/AIDS seemed to be partially influenced by her knowledge about the pandemic.

Teachers' positioning as experts or knowledge givers could also be reflected in Grant's (2003) work on "Mapping the Pleasures and Risks of Supervision". Grant sees that the knowledge the supervisor has impacts on the student. In the classroom, the teacher's knowledge may determine decisions they make over students' learning. For instance, in my study, the teacher/student relationship is institutionally mandated. The teacher is the knowing authority, overseeing students' learning. The teacher may assume the role of an expert by talking most in the classroom, and providing knowledge to students, as observed in this study. Since the teacher is positioned as an expert, it is obvious the teacher/student relationship will portray a hierarchy of power, from the teacher at the top to the students at the bottom. Foucault (1986) argued that power relations "always work through the actions of an acting subject upon another acting subject" (Grant, 2003, p. 180). This has an impact on students' learning in making decisions or providing their views in the classroom, as they must respect teacher's authority. In other words, in such a relationship of power, students' freedom is limited.

Moreover, Ms Nina's role as an expert in the classroom was manifested, for example, when she made the decision to read the textbook herself; she gave students instructions before she started reading – to listen attentively and to write down important points while listening to the text as she read. I also observed her writing tips on the blackboard to remind students to use them while listening to the text (Classroom observation, 2/13). She asserted that:

If you want to listen to something, you have to put down some important information; you have to write something. An effective listener must sort out something from what s/he has heard… An effective listener must write down something while listening. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

The phrases "you have to write" and "must write", "an effective listener must sort out something", "must write down something while listening" constructed her as "an expert" in the topic she was teaching It appeared that the knowledge teachers held about teaching English constructed them as experts/knowledge givers in the content areas they were teaching.

6.2 Teachers as authoritative figures

Teachers in this study also constructed themselves as both authoritative figures and experts. For instance, when Mr Ndugu was elaborating upon the messages found in the novel, he did not stand in front of the class; rather, he was moving around the classroom, and the majority students appeared to be relaxed, and were listening attentively (Classroom observation notes, 2/13). Mr Ndugu explained that he had to move around the classroom to check if students were participating in the lesson, and for classroom management. This constructs him as an "authoritarian".

Similarly, Ms Sana demonstrated this authoritative role when she was passing around the class to check if students were working on the assignment she asked them to do (Classroom observation, 2, 2013). Ms Sana commented:

Moving there [in the classroom] will make them attentive…, you may be teaching English, but some of the students may be reading magazine, or sending messages to someone else [phone messages]. So, once you move there, they put more consideration on you and not on other things because perhaps you may catch them. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

Ms Sana's statement above constructs her as an authoritative figure in the classroom. However, there are some teachers who believed that punishment helped students to engage in the classroom activities and thus, learn English. This is further explained below.

6.3 Authority through punishment

Ms Sana, Ms Mzuri, Ms Nina and Mr Ndugu all reported that they used punishment in the classroom. For instance, Ms Sana used the strategy of "stand up, answer my questions, and then sit down" to make sure everyone participated. Students who were able to answer her questions correctly were allowed to sit. She commented:

> I used that strategy to make them participate because, once you ask questions, most of them do not … answer willingly, so that is just a technique; so a person who answers correctly … sits down. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

According to Ms Sana, the strategy also encourages students to be awake mentally and physically, and to be active in the classroom. Students appeared to respect the teacher's position; they did not resist but followed what she asked. This was congruent with the Tanzanian culture of respect and obedience towards older people and authority figures, such as teachers. In Tanzania, older people are not questioned, and young people do not resist what the older person says. In this way, Ms Sana constructed herself as "an authoritative figure" in the classroom.

Similar to Ms Sana, Ms Nina also reported that she used this kind of punishment with her students because of the students' reluctance to answer her questions in the classroom. Sometimes, Ms Nina chose those who did not raise their hands (Classroom observation notes, 2/13). Ms Nina elaborated that:

> There are [students] who keep quiet even if they know the answer. I pick them and ask them to answer; and if they fail to answer, sometimes I used to punish them by [asking them] to stand up. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

It could be possible to argue that the students' failure to participate could be due to limited proficiency in English – which seemed to be influenced by their primary education in Kiswahili. Similar to Ms Sana and Ms Nina, Ms Mzuri said that she used punishment with her students to make them learn English. Ms Mzuri mentioned that her students "don't want to talk" in the classroom. To encourage them to speak in

the classroom, Ms Mzuri used the strategy of naming students and telling them to stand up until they give the answer:

> I just mention their names, some of them reply, but some of them if they don't know the answer they remain silent, but of course there are those who don't like to talk … sometimes I tell them to stand up until they give the answer. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

The phrase "I tell them to stand up until they give the answer" is evidence that Ms Mzuri has constructed herself as an authoritarian figure who dispensed discipline in the classroom when the students did not learn what she considered important. Ms Mzuri justified the strategy thus:

> I think that strategy will make them to be active in the class, because in the class they have to be attentive because they may think anytime the teacher will mention my name, and I have to say something. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

In a Tanzanian classroom, students are expected to keep quiet and listen attentively to the teacher and to correctly answer questions. It could be argued that such an environment also might increase the students' anxiety about being punished by the teacher.

Ms Sana reported that she used a technique of moving around the class to make sure that students were at work, explaining:

> Once you move there [around the classroom], they put more consideration on you and not on other things because perhaps you may catch them. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

It is possible to suggest that Ms Sana's professional knowledge, combined with the Tanzanian culture of respect for older people, positioned her as knowledge giver, and also as "an authoritative knowing teacher" (Grant, 2003, p. 179), while students have been positioned as passive recipients of knowledge.

On the other hand, Mr Mwalimu believed that when students respond to the teacher's questions in the classroom, they should stand up to demonstrate respect:

> Standing up is one of the disciplines; he [the student] should stand up so that he can say; and not responding while sitting. It is undisciplined responding while sitting. So, standing up is one of the disciplines; and another one is to draw attention to other students that someone is speaking. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

Mr Mwalimu used the Tanzanian culture of respect for people in authority. The repetition of "standing up is one of the disciplines" indicates that Mr Mwalimu believed the point he was making was important. Mr Mwalimu saw himself as both "an authoritarian figure" and "a respected person" in the classroom. Mr Mwalimu also made the point that when students stand up to respond to the teacher's questions, it draws the attention of the whole class – every student is able to see and hear the person who is speaking. This suggests that Mr Mwalimu was building a community of learners whereby students respected each other by paying attention to what other students said.

Mr Ndugu reported that he used punishment because students lacked sufficient confidence in English, and also because of their low English proficiency level. Mr Ndugu said that:

> Some students feel shy; they are not used to speaking English, [and therefore] we have to force them, and sometimes when we force them, some students do run away. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

The process of forcing students to learn created absentees because of the fear of punishment at school. This implies that both the education system of Tanzania and the school system contribute to excluding these students from being educated because of their low proficiency in the English language.

The authoritative role of the teacher was also manifested when Ms Mzuri was managing her classroom. She believed that the knowledge she had about her students and their behaviours helped her in classroom management. Once, she asked a boy to shift from the place where he was seated and to sit in another place (Classroom observation notes, 2/13). When asked about this, she responded:

> I am the class teacher; therefore I know them well … there are students whom I know are noise-makers. He [the boy who asked to shift place] placed himself inappropriately, and makes the class not in a good arrangement order. Also, I didn't want him to stay there because they might make more noise … teaching these students is very tough … there are naughty students, noise-makers. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

In Tanzanian schools, classroom discipline is highly valued. According to Ms Mzuri, even the seating arrangement in the classroom may be used as a disciplinary measure to increase students' attentiveness. Most of the time students are encouraged to keep quiet and listen to the teacher. In this way, Foucault would argue that schools' practices discipline students' behaviours through demonstration of "correct behaviour" (Jardine, 2005) as shown in Ms Mzuri's class.

These examples from each of the cases demonstrate the Tanzanian culture of respect for people with authority such as teachers playing a major role in classrooms. According to the findings, teacher-student relationships demonstrated the long-standing African culture of respect to authority figures and to elders (Bangura, 2005; Ntuli, 2012; Verhoef & Michel, 1997). It is also argued that respect for elders is inculcated in African children from childhood (Ntuli (2012). Most of the teachers' pedagogical practices in the classroom clearly reflected this. For instance, when teachers instructed students to stand up and answer the teacher's questions, students obeyed without arguing or questioning the teacher. Verhoef and Michel (1997) argue that in an African context, respect is observed through obedience. Teachers are also authority figures in society, and therefore, their orders are respected. In the same vein, students need to show respect to their teachers who, because of the role they play in society, are viewed as respected people. This implies that the Tanzanian culture of respect for people with authority extended to the classroom. Teaching for ICC requires collaboration between teachers and students, where respect for the knowledge of both teachers and students is welcomed. This study argues that teachers' demonstration of their authority role in the classroom implied that students' freedom to bring their own knowledge to the learning situation was minimised. This could impede students in gaining ICC in the classroom.

Holliday (2009) and Sybing (2011) suggest that teachers should create an environment of respect and acceptance for all students and should use inclusive pedagogies in the classroom. Such an environment will enhance students' ICC because everyone will feel accepted and welcomed. This kind of environment will motivate students' learning, because they will feel free to express their views and opinions, and they will find school a place to belong, because their views and opinions are respected and valued. In such an environment teachers can practice ICC integrated into their pedagogy and students can gain ICC.

This section has described how some teachers in this study used punishment in their classrooms to engage their students in learning English. However, there are other teachers in this study who believed that their students could learn English through classroom interactions or plays, or in a fun way. This is further discussed in the next section.

6.4 Learning through interaction and play
6.4.1 Teachers' roles as facilitators of learning and role models
Some teachers of English in this study believed that students could learn English better through games and classroom interactions, and this constructed them as facilitators and role models for students. Both Mr Mwalimu and Ms Nina adopted these approaches because of their beliefs about beginning language learners. For example, in the classroom, Mr Mwalimu appeared to value students' opinions and contributions, as he gave them chances to construct sentences and share in front of the class. I observed students working in pairs and when they had finished, he asked them to present to the others. Mr Mwalimu believed that such an approach helped students to build confidence:

> When you bring them in front of the class, first of all everyone can see them, and can demonstrate there … another thing is to build the students' confidence; to stand before others and speak. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

Moreover, Mr Mwalimu mentioned that he varied his approaches in to check if students were enjoying learning English:

> These [students] are learning a new language; so to check if they enjoy; do they enjoy the language? If they respond quickly and they are eager to respond or to ask a question or to answer, you understand that they are enjoying the language and the lesson at large. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

Students appeared to be very active and responsive in their learning. There were a lot of interactions going on in the classroom, which suggests that students were developing speaking skills (Classroom observation notes, 2/13). For example, when the teacher asked students questions, there were many hands in the air indicating that students were engaged and that learning was taking place (Classroom observation notes, 2/13). It could also be argued that, in such classroom where the teacher values each student's ideas and opinions, there is likely to be a sense of belonging, and students themselves feel valued, accepted, and find school a good place to be.

Mr Mwalimu demonstrated these roles when he gave his students the opportunity to express their views and opinions in front of the class. This showed that he was encouraging students to pay attention to other people's views and opinions, and therefore, to value and respect other people's ideas. He also demonstrated the position of a role model through the beliefs he held about his students. Mr Mwalimu regarded them as new to the school environment and to the language:

> We treat students in the class with a friendly manner; not by being harsh or by using punishment. First of all, they [students] are new; they are learning so many things in a new environment. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

He stated that he treated his students in a friendly manner to allow them to enjoy learning English, and to adjust well to the new learning environment. His philosophical commitment to treating new students in a friendly manner suggests that he valued students. This contrasted with how other teachers treated their low English proficiency students. In the classroom, students appeared to be very free

despite being new to the school environment and to the language of the school, English. For instance, when the teacher assigned group work, students interacted actively within groups, and there was a lot of interaction in the class (Classroom observation notes, 2/13), suggesting that Mr Mwalimu valued students' interactions in the classroom. It is also possible to suggest that interaction was important for students to get to know each other and make friendships because they were new to each other and to the school.

Mr Mwalimu appeared to also demonstrate moral behaviours for students, saying he liked soft drinks, and he disliked alcohol (Classroom observation notes, 2/13). In Tanzania, teachers are regarded as respected people because of the role they play in society, and they are expected to demonstrate appropriate behaviour to students and society at large.

On the other hand, Ms Nina demonstrated these roles in the classroom when she stood by the side of a student who was reading a text and, at times, she helped her pronounce English words properly. When the girl finished reading, Ms Nina started reading all over again and she read with appropriate pauses, and her voice was loud enough for every student to hear. In this way, she was modelling to her students how they could become effective readers.

Mr Ndugu on the other hand demonstrated the role of a facilitator of students' learning by motivating his students using rewards. He mentioned that, to motivate his students to learn English, he rewarded those who made good progress with small presents. He said that this acted as a motivation to them and encouraged other students to make an effort in learning English, explaining:

> Sometimes in the classroom we have to [acknowledge] for those who are good speakers, those who are trying to write and speak English I do [acknowledge] them by giving them small prizes. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

This suggests that Mr Ndugu used both rewards and punishments in his instructions as ways of encouraging his students to learn English.

6.5 Teachers as risk takers/agents of change, and curriculum experts

Some teacher participants constructed themselves as both risk takers and agents of change due to their beliefs and knowledge about different issues in teaching and learning. For instance, Mr Rafiki took the risk of challenging the students who came from tribes that practise female genital mutilation (FGM) by telling them that they should not allow themselves to be circumcised. Mr Rafiki openly told the students that although FGM is also practised in some tribes in Tanzania including the Dodoma region where this study was undertaken, it was a totally bad cultural practice, and he urged his students not to practise it:

> I told them that if someone has been circumcised, don't allow your child to be circumcised. It was a bad thing to you but don't allow it to happen to your child. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

In this situation – suggesting his students diverge from their "bad cultural practice" – Mr Rafiki constructed himself as both a risk taker and an agent of change. He was taking a risk by proposing changes to the societies that practise FGM. Mr Rafiki was at risk of being confronted by senior members of those tribes if the students did not comply with the tradition. Additionally, the quote above constructs Mr Rafiki as "an authoritarian figure" in the classroom who would like to control his students outside the classroom. The authoritarian power of the teacher over students was manifested in the phrases "I told them" and "don't allow".

Moreover, as some of his students belong to clans that practise FGM, Mr Rafiki faced a dilemma in terms of applying his knowledge about the health effects of FGM to students:

> I am going to introduce this book "Unanswered Cries" [to students] which speaks about FGM, Even the Tanzanian government fights against this, and people still [are] still doing this practice [FGM]. How can I stop this? Yes it is based on cultural aspects. I am a Tanzanian teacher, I could be shifted to Maasai people [who also practice FGM], and I am going to introduce this

> book, and I know this [FGM] is their own culture; so how can I change their mind? (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

The statements above show the teacher's tensions/ dilemmas regarding FGM. However, his beliefs about FGM seemed to be influenced by the initiatives of the government of Tanzania which insists on stopping this practice among the tribes as it sees that FGM practices can risk the health of those who practise since most people do it locally. Since the government of Tanzania is also campaigning against FGM practices, it is possible to argue that Mr Rafiki, as an agent of the government, was implementing what the government demands. On the other hand, the statements seem to construct Mr Rafiki as a risk taker, a teacher/parent and guardian who cares about the well-being of his students acting as an agent of change who wanted those who practise FGM in Tanzania to stop.

Similar to Mr Rafiki, Mr Ndugu also took the risk of challenging the government. His position as a risk taker was manifested when he suggested that education matters should be handled by educationists, not politicians:

> The problem in Tanzania is that those professional things are done by politicians, my suggestion [is that] educational matters must be left to educationists; politicians must remain as politicians; they should not interfere with the system of education. Sometimes you may find things in the curriculum irrelevant to the Tanzanian society. The problem is the Ministry of Education … those who are sitting there are politicians; even though they are professionals and have experience, but when they go there, they have to implement what politicians say. (Semi-structured interview, 2/2013)

Mr Ndugu's position as an agent of change was also evident when he proposed changes to the curriculum by suggesting that the MOI should be changed to English from primary education to enable students to become more familiar with the language used in secondary schools. Mr Ndugu proposed that in order to avoid confusion to students when they joined secondary education, the MOI should be English from primary school. This suggestion may be interpreted as challenging the existing education system for not preparing students well for secondary education; that is, suggesting that the government's language policy is responsible for some students' failure, and that the education system is not fair to all students. In this way,

Mr Ndugu constructed himself as both "a risk taker" (challenging the education system) and "a curriculum expert" (proposing changes to allow alignment of MOI for students from primary to secondary education levels).

Mr Ndugu also constructed himself as a risk taker when he diverted from the school rule of speaking English and used Kiswahili to enable his students to understand the material:

> They [students] do not understand English language, and sometimes I use Kiswahili in order to elaborate [the messages] because they are going to do the national examination; and these books are the ones which are going to be examined. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/ 2013)

Mr Ndugu's instructional strategies appeared to be based on helping students not only to have knowledge which would help them in their lives, but also to do well in their final examinations. He sees Kiswahili as a tool to help students learn a second language rather than as a barrier to their achievement. It is also possible to argue that Mr Ndugu's decision to use Kiswahili in a class was due to students' low proficiency in English, and therefore to enable them to learn, Mr Ndugu took a risk by ignoring the school's rule of speaking and using only English in the classroom. By implementing his own ways of teaching, and through such risk taking, Mr Ndugu appeared to exercise his power in the classroom.

Ms Sana, on the other hand, took the risk of challenging the government on the issues of ELT. Both Mr Ndugu and Ms Sana proposed changes to the education system in Tanzania, saying that the syllabus should be prepared by teachers. They said that teachers know best about their situations and students in schools, and therefore, the government, should leave educational matters (such as preparing the syllabus) to teachers. Ms Sana stressed that some topics in the syllabus are irrelevant to beginning language learners.

6.6 Teachers as caring guardians/parents

Some teachers in this study appeared to construct themselves as caring guardians/parents through their pedagogical instructions in the classroom. For instance, Mr Rafiki demonstrated a role of a caring teacher/ parent when he urged his students to avoid associating themselves in love affairs:

> In the book, the main character, Olabisi, had a boyfriend, that's why I tried to tell them they don't have to be like Olabisi. They should concentrate on studies, and they should not concentrate on love affairs. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

This statement constructs Mr Rafiki as a caring teacher who knew the effects of being involved in love affairs at an early age (14-16). For him, engaging in love affairs was not appropriate at their age, and in Tanzanian culture generally. He insisted students pay attention to their studies. In this way, Mr Rafiki played the role of "guardian" or "parent", and this shows that he cared about his students.

Similar to Mr Rafiki, Ms Nina's role as a caring teacher or parent was evident when educating her students about the effects of Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV)/Acquired immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS):

> What I understand about my class is that there are some students who are not aware about HIV/AIDS, and this is very dangerous because they may get it. So, it was very important to make them aware of [about] the disease. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

Although the topic and textbook she was using were recommended by the government as part of its agenda for educating students about the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and thus representing the government, Ms Nina appeared to position herself as a parent/guardian who cared about the health of her students. Not only was she doing what the government required of her as a teacher but also what she believed was right.

Furthermore, the caring role of Ms Nina was evident when she elaborated on ways of getting HIV/AIDS, such as by sexual transmission, or by sharing things like toothbrushes.. Later, she asked students to mention those ways and how they could

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take good care of infected people. This appeared to suggest that students were not only prepared with knowledge to perform well in their examinations, but also to use the knowledge of HIV/AIDS in the society in which they lived.

The role of "caring teacher/guardian" was also demonstrated by Ms Mzuri. She mentioned that due to the lack of textbooks, she had bought books with her own money in order to help her students understand the language:

> Some of the books are here at school, and some of them I bought myself. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

Ms Mzuri's comment above suggests a caring parent/teacher role she played in making sure that despite of lack of books in the school, her students learn English.

6.7 Teachers as knowledge contributors, and advisors

At other times, teachers appeared to challenge the curriculum developers' power. Ms Sana, for example, stated that:

> The curriculum should be prepared by those who are implementing it [meaning-teachers] … if we get the chance we will advise them [on what to include in the curriculum]. They [curriculum developers] do not know the reality. (Semi-structured interview, 1/ 2013)

In this comment, Ms Sana appeared to criticise/challenge the government officials (curriculum developers) for preparing an unrealistic curriculum that did not fit with the reality in schools. She provided an example whereby the curriculum/syllabus advises teachers to use videotapes or radio cassettes; resources that are not in schools. She suggested that the curriculum should be revised, and that teachers should prepare the syllabus because teachers, as implementers of the curriculum, know the reality of their students in the classroom. The role of teachers as "advisors" to the Ministry of Education is reflected in the phrase, "If we get the chance, we will advise them". This statement implies a collective idea from teachers that they are more aware of the school situations, and therefore, well placed to make changes to the curriculum in order to meet students' needs. The use of "if", however, does not sound very strong or hopeful. This suggests that teachers in public schools like hers,

teachers' voices are missing in the construction of the curriculum, but they may not get an opportunity to contribute.

6.8 Teachers as learners

Unlike other teacher participants, Mr Rafiki adopted the role of a learner by being flexible and open to learning from his students. At the end of the lesson, he asked his students to ask their family members about how FGM is practised in their families. He commented that:

> They [students] have experience, because I am teaching Tanzanian students, that's why they know this practice, that's why I asked them to share ideas … concerning that practice in order to get the knowledge. I can get the knowledge which I [can't get] from that book because they know their society. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

The statement above implies that Mr Rafiki was keen to learn from his students concerning how FGM was practised in their societies. In this way, he was demonstrating the role of a teacher being a learner. This also demonstrated that he valued and respected students' opinions, which is important in gaining ICC. By asking his students to go and ask their parents and relatives about how FGM is practised in their tribes, this also implies that the teacher was not merely a knowledge giver; rather, he also wanted to learn from his students, thus demonstrating his multiple and unstable subjectivities. This in turn, could enable him to become an interculturally competent speaker (Byram et al., 2002), as he demonstrated the skills of "cultural self-awareness, understanding of difference, openness to new experiences and peoples" as highlighted in the literature (Paige, 1986, as cited in Weinstein & Obear, 1992, p. 49). In summary, the explanations above have shown how power operations in ELT have shaped and produced teachers' multiple and unstable subjectivities.

6.9 Chapter summary

The analysis of data collected from these six teacher participants shows that all teacher participants demonstrated multiple and unstable subjectivities in their classrooms. Teachers' subjectivities were created through complex power

operations in the classroom (Foucault, 1997). The chapter has also highlighted the Tanzanian culture of respect for authority figures, such as teachers, and the extent to which this was evident in the studied classrooms. In Tanzanian culture, teachers are respected, and have been constructed as knowledge givers. Conversely, students are expected to show respect to their teachers by obeying what they are told to do. It is very rare to find students questioning the teacher in Tanzanian classrooms. It appeared that the knowledge teachers held about teaching English also led to two different categories of subjectivities. Teachers' subjectivities as knowledge givers, experts, and as authoritative figures— this positioning is less conducive to ICC. On the other hand, teachers' roles as facilitators of students' learning and role models, as risk takers/ agents of change and curriculum experts, caring parents/ guardians, as knowledge contributors and advisors, and teachers as learners—this positioning is more conducive to ICC. Therefore, it appeared that both the culture of respect to authority figures and the knowledge teachers held about teaching English played a vital role in the construction of teachers' subjectivities. In the next chapter, I present and discuss the ways students have been constructed by their teachers and how these discourses impact on teachers' classroom practices.

CHAPTER SEVEN
THE CONSTRUCTIONS OF STUDENTS

7.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses how teachers in this study constructed their students. It presents an argument that teachers' perceptions about their students, and the knowledge teachers held about teaching English allowed them to construct their students in many ways. Their constructions of students also influenced teachers' pedagogical approaches and practices in the classroom. The dominant discourse about students used by teachers was one of low ability. Therefore, deficit discourses seemed to predominate. However, there were alternative discourses that positioned students in more positive, supportive terms. I argue that when teachers construct students in a more deficit terms, such constructions may impact on students' learning (Bishop, 2005). This is discussed further below.

7.1 The discourses of low ability students

Teacher participants in this study believed that students' failure in learning English was not their fault, and thus, placed blame on the students themselves, their families/ society, and the government. Such discourses suggest that teachers did not take total responsibility for raising the achievement levels of the students.

7.1.1 Blaming the students

Teachers in this study constructed their students as low ability students. However, each teacher constructed them differently. For instance, Ms Sana constructed her students as "prefer[ing] spoon feeding", having a "bad attitude towards learning", and as learners who "don't want to participate". She justified her use of the lecture method, saying her students preferred spoon-feeding:

> According to the nature of students in our school, lecture method is unavoidable, nature of students, they do prefer spoon feeding … they do not consume their time reading various books … we have the library there, although it lacks some of the books, but they don't use their time reading books there … the attitude of the learners because

most of them come from we call them St. Kayumbas' primary schools…they normally <u>don't want to participate</u> … they are here because they are here; they <u>don't want to put more effort</u>. (Semi-structured interview, 1/13)

This could be interpreted as suggesting that Ms Sana regarded her students as lazy, unmotivated, and not taking responsibility for their own learning, describing them as not knowing the reason they were at school. Additionally, Ms Sana appears to construct them as passive recipients of knowledge. She also appeared to blame students' poor primary schooling at "St Kayumbas' schools" (St. Kayumba is the nickname for government-administered primary schools in Tanzania. These schools are regarded as schools for children coming from low socio-economic backgrounds and are characterised by lack of resources). In this way, Ms Sana saw students' failure to learn English as being due to students' attitudes towards learning, and their family backgrounds. She appeared to blame the students for not taking responsibility for their own learning. She mentioned that, although the school has a library, students do not take time to read books available there. She stressed that students do not make enough effort to learn. Ms Sana identified a lack of motivation among the students by saying that students do not want to compete with other students from other schools, using the ironic statement "they are here because they are here". In effect, Ms Sana was saying that students' failure was not her fault, rather, she appeared to see students themselves as a problem. Like Ms Sana, Ms Mzuri also reported to use a "telling approach" because her students "don't want to talk" (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13). She said that students had low proficiency in English and therefore it was hard to teach them. In effect, Ms Mzuri saw students' failure as the students' fault; and not her own.

On the other hand, students in Mr Ndugu's class have been constructed by him as "low proficiency English learners", "slow learners", and "passive recipients of knowledge" who need teachers to provide them with knowledge. His beliefs about his students influenced his pedagogical practices in the classroom. For instance, when Mr Ndugu was elaborating the important messages found in the book, he asked

his students to be attentive and to listen to him (Classroom observation notes, 2/13). Mr Ndugu elaborated:

> I wanted them to remain with <u>only one task</u> [which is] <u>listening to me</u>, and later I will <u>prepare some notes</u>. This is because many of our students are <u>slow learners</u>; so if you give them two tasks at the same time, they tend to forget one task and remember the other. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

The phrase "later I will prepare some notes" suggests that Mr Ndugu constructed his students as passive recipients of knowledge.

Further evidence of students as "passive recipients of knowledge" is found in Mr Ndugu's practice of explaining all messages found in the novel and asking students to memorise and retrieve the messages (Classroom observation notes, 2/13). This also implies that only the teacher's interpretation of the novel was valued. The students' voices appeared to be silenced because of the culture that regards teachers as knowledgeable, and therefore, students have to obey and follow what the teacher says in the classroom.

7.1.2 Quiet learners

In this section I have engaged in the ways in which students were continually been constructed as deficient learners. Like Mr Mwalimu, Ms Nina also constructed her students as "beginning language learners", "quiet learners" and "difficult to teach" because of their limited English proficiency. Ms Nina constructed her students as "quiet' learners", because they seemed very reluctant to participate by answering teachers' questions. The students' level of English appeared to influence Ms Nina's pedagogical approaches. She believed that in order to allow them to learn the language, teachers needed to instruct them slowly. In her instruction she appeared to be slow in her teaching pace, and did a lot of repetition to elaborate main points in order to enable her students to understand the material. (Classroom observation notes, 2/13). She explained that:

> For these young students, Form One up to Form Four, it is very difficult to teach them. If I were teaching Form Five, I could just write questions and leave

them. But for these students, I am supposed to read each question; for instance: Mention five symptoms of a person with HIV/AIDS, a student can fail to know [understand] what a symptom is [means]. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

I observed Ms Nina writing five questions on the blackboard. She then went through all the questions to identify difficult words before students copied the exercise to do at home (Classroom observation, 2/13). This indicated that she thought the students' limited proficiency in English made teaching and learning difficult for both the teacher and the students, and therefore, she provided help to these beginning language learners. Therefore, both Mr Mwalimu and Ms Nina positioned their students as "new language learners", and thus, they thought that by providing them with clear elaborations of points, and by slowing down when teaching them, and also by providing them with a caring environment, they could enable these students to learn.

7.1.3 Blaming the students' families and society

Ms Sana noted that, due to the low income of parents, most of her students do not get support from home in the form of learning materials, such as textbooks:

We have few books, and the parents cannot afford buying books for their own children. (Semi-structured interview, 1/13)

The statement suggests that Ms Sana saw the low social economic backgrounds these students came from as contributing to students' failure in school. For instance, she identified her students' educational backgrounds — coming from St. Kayumbas' schools created more problems. She appeared to place blame on parents for students' failure, and not necessarily to see it as her responsibility.

On the other hand, Mr Ndugu believed that the society students came from did not enable them to apply the knowledge they gained at school in their everyday life. He appeared to blame the ways parents/guardians brought up their children, arguing that they destroyed students' lives:

The message of AIDS pandemic has reached the students; but the problem is that this message cannot be put into practice to students due to <u>family problems</u>, <u>society problems</u>, and <u>up-bringing ways of students</u> … Sometimes parents <u>do not up-bring properly their children</u>; they <u>do not sit with their children</u> and talk about AIDS. They [students] are reading the book but they <u>lack guidance in the family level</u> and the <u>society level</u>. They read here but when they <u>go home</u> in the society, they<u> meet with new style of life</u>, they follow it and they forget the message of AIDS pandemic at school. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

Mr Ndugu's statement suggests three levels of blame: parents, society, and students. He appeared to blame parents for not providing guidance to students on HIV/AIDS. He suggested that teachers do their best at school to equip students with knowledge, but society is not helping the students to put the knowledge into practice. He therefore appeared to blame society at large for not being fair to students' health. He complained that parents did not sit with their children and educate them about HIV/AIDS, which might lead to students' health being jeopardised. In effect, Mr Ndugu saw the lack of positive role models/few positive examples to follow in the society contributes to students' engaging in a lifestyle which endangers them.

Relatedly, Ms Sana, Ms Nina, and Mr Ndugu appeared to blame the parents/guardians for students' failure to learn English. Ms Nina appeared to blame the parents/guardians for not helping their children because she expected students to complete homework at home with the help of their family members. Ms Sana, on the other hand, seemed to believe that students did not get support from their families. She mentioned that most parents could not afford to buy books for their children. These findings are similar to aspects of Bishop's (2005) study on Māori students. Teachers in Bishop's study appeared to blame students' parents for not taking part in the education of their children. This suggests that teachers seem to be putting aside their responsibility; teachers saw students' failure as not their fault, and considered that students and their families were to blame.

7.1.4 Blaming the system/government

Under this category, most teachers in this study appeared to blame the government for its policy of using Kiswahili at primary education that causes students' failure to learn English at secondary education. Teachers also considered large classes and lack of resources; shortage of teachers, irrelevant curriculum, lack of funds, and lack of in-service training to teachers as some of the reasons for student failure.

7.1.4.1 Students' first languages and cultures and the use of Kiswahili as barriers

Most teachers in this study saw students' low level of English proficiency emanating from outside the classroom. Students' first languages and Kiswahili background were mentioned by all teachers as being a major problem for students in learning English. Teachers believed that students' mispronunciation was caused by their mother tongues and the extensive use of Kiswahili in their daily interactions. This also produces one of the tensions for teachers of English:

> We have students with <u>different backgrounds</u>. What we normally do in the class is <u>just</u> to <u>equip them</u> with the <u>English language</u> as the medium of instruction. (Ms Sana, Semi-structured interview, 1/13)

Although Ms Sana was aware of the existence of different cultures in her classroom, she found it a big challenge to accommodate these when teaching. Ms Sana was aware that her students potentially came from more than 120 cultural groups. However, for her, students' first languages and cultures were barriers, not resources, in learning a second language, and a way of understanding different cultures. She commented:

> In most primary schools, they use Kiswahili as the medium of instruction. So, when [students] join secondary school, they come with <u>Kiswahili as</u> the <u>medium of expressing themselves</u>. So, there, we have to <u>impose the new language</u> which is English, in our culture, so as to help them to cope, to understand, in order to use English in their everyday life. (Semi-structured interview, 1/2013)

The statement suggests that Ms Sana regarded Kiswahili as a barrier for students learning English, forcing teachers such as herself "to impose" English on students, since English is the MOI and students also will need it in order to learn other secondary school subjects. Looking closely at Ms Sana's statement above, the phrase

"to impose" sounds negative as it suggests students are forced to learn English. Also, "to cope, to understand, in order to use English in their everyday life" sounds unrealistic because English is not an everyday language for the majority of Tanzanians. Although Ms Sana acknowledged that her class comprised of students from diverse backgrounds, knowledge about dealing with such students seemed to be missing. In other words, Ms Sana appeared not to draw on her students' cultural diversity as a resource. However, since she was guided by the syllabus, it was difficult to implement what was not in the syllabus' guidelines. She seemed to take it for granted that all students would be able to learn English by having it imposed.

Moreover, Ms Sana admitted that in her school, students who were caught speaking languages other than English, were punished (phone communication, 7/13). This suggests that students' own languages and cultures are excluded and marginalised in the learning of English, which supports the argument above, that students' first languages and cultures are not considered as a resource for them to learn English. Viewed through a postcolonial lens, it could be argued that the lack of consideration of students' first languages and cultures in learning English may perpetuate the colonial legacy. Literature shows that during colonialism in African countries, African languages and cultures were banned in schools, and hence, marginalised (Rubagumya, 1991). I argue that students from culturally diverse backgrounds may have distinctive ways of learning English, and that knowledge of their first languages and cultures is important in learning a second language.

Mr Ndugu, on the other hand, believed that students' low proficiency in English was due to their educational background of using Kiswahili:

> Nowadays we receive students from primary schools whom they don't know even what is "was", what is "them". So, it is a big problem. They don't know how to read and write [English] … Students have been used to communicate by Kiswahili in primary school. When students come to secondary school, [they are] <u>forced</u> to communicate in English. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

The statements above suggest that Mr Ndugu appeared to blame the education system for using Kiswahili in primary education, feeling that it was causing problems for students at secondary education. To reduce the confusion in shifting from Kiswahili to English, Mr Ndugu suggested changes to the curriculum:

> Maybe the curriculum could be changed; even at primary school, the medium of instruction and communication could be English because of this confusion. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

Similarly, Ms Nina also believed that students' first languages and cultures, and the use of Kiswahili, were barriers for students to learn English:

> It is very difficult <u>to change a person</u> from his/her own culture and accept other culture. In school we use English language, but once they [students] go home, they are using Kiswahili. It is very difficult <u>to transfer from his/her culture to other culture</u>; it is very difficult to accept [other culture]. (Semi-structured interview, 1/13)

The statement suggests that the students' use of Kiswahili at home, for primary education, and in other social interactions had a great impact on the learning of English at secondary school. However, looking closely at her statement, it can be argued that Ms Nina had a misconception about becoming interculturally competent. According to her, students needed to "transfer" from their first culture and adopt the "other" culture. In effect, Ms Nina was suggesting that students need to set aside their first cultures and languages so that they can learn English.

In Tanzania, English is the MOI in secondary education. As explained in Chapter One, students have their mother tongues (vernaculars) plus Kiswahili, the national language of the country; therefore, secondary education is often difficult for them because English is not the language of day-to-day communication. Mr Ndugu elaborated:

> Sometimes, it is very difficult to interact in the classroom using the [English] language because it is not their first language. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

The statement suggests that students in Mr Ndugu's class may find it difficult to interact effectively in English because of their low proficiency in the language.

Although English is taught at the primary level, it appears that students do not learn enough to be able to use the language in secondary education for communication and learning purposes. Mr Ndugu indicated that he believed that students' first languages were barriers to learning and interacting in the English language:

> The problem is that they have got their mother languages, but we use to enforce them to speak English. The classroom should have the environment of English, and those who are vernacular language speakers or Kiswahili speakers we normally give them punishment. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

When English is used as an academic language, and the MOI, students' first languages and cultures were seen as obstacles to their learning English, and were prohibited on the school premises. The phrase "the classroom should have the environment of English" from Mr Ndugu's comment above appears to attempt to explain and justify why students were obliged to follow the school's rule of speaking English only, with those who failed to do so being punished. In other words, students were forced to assimilate to a school culture. To reinforce the school's rule of speaking English, there were signs above classroom and staff-room doors which read "Speak English Only" (Observation notes, 2/13). The use of these signs supports the notion that students' first languages and cultures were excluded and marginalised in the school, because the teachers considered that they may be impediments to learning. Students were constantly reminded that English is the language of communication and interaction in school.

However, studies suggest that students' first languages and cultures are actually important in learning a second language (Lisanza, 2014; Newton et al., 2010), and also in gaining ICC (Alptekin, 2002). Alptekin (2002), for example, suggests that the inclusion of students' background languages and cultures enables students to reflect on, and to critically compare and contrast their own languages and cultures with the languages and cultures of other speakers of English globally, which assists them in interacting and communicating effectively. The prohibition of the use of students' first languages and cultures, then, could be understood to mean that students at Mr Ndugu's school have limited chances to gain ICC through classroom instruction.

As in other schools, one reason for privileging English is that English is the MOI and so students need knowledge of English in order to learn other secondary school subjects. Because of this, Mr Ndugu saw his major task being to equip his students with knowledge of English to enable them to achieve well throughout the curriculum at secondary school, and thus to secure good jobs and other opportunities when they finished their studies:

> The main reason here is that students are coming from different areas [backgrounds]; so the main reason is to enforce them to value English because [it] is the language to be used at school, even after school. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

The statement indicates the tensions this teacher was facing in teaching students English. While he considered students' first languages and cultures obstacles to learning English, he also saw the importance of knowledge of English to students at both school and in the world of work. He thought the means of equipping his students with English was to force them to value English. Mr Ndugu emphasised the importance of good pronunciation of English words, and he believed that in order to achieve that competence, students' languages and cultures should be left out when learning English:

> In the classroom, we have got these different cultures [students' cultures], but what I do in order to be effective in English speaking, [students] have to forget [their vernaculars], for a while … [Students] have to make straight pronunciation of English words. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

Mr Ndugu also explained that the school was ensuring that students learned English by having them participate in various school activities:

> They [students] need to practice through different activities, like debate, discussions. For example here in school, we have morning speeches. In the morning, before going to the classroom, we conduct these morning speeches. The aim is to promote English language. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

The explanation, "the aim is to promote English language and forget [their vernaculars] for a while", demonstrates that students' first languages and cultures were not welcomed in Mr Ndugu's school. The focus was on fluency in English. In addition, the phrase, "we conduct these morning speeches" suggests that equipping

students with the knowledge of English is a responsibility shared by students and teachers in a class.

Mr Mwalimu also showed his concern about students' first languages and Kiswahili. He elaborated that:

> The students have got their own mother tongues; and here in town [Dodoma urban], Kiswahili is the dominant language; and from primary school, they have been taught all subjects in Kiswahili. When they come to secondary school, they are supposed to read and to be taught or to learn through English language. So, it is very difficult for them to be fluent [in English] and to understand easily [the language]. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

In order to familiarise students with the English language, the school which Mr Mwalimu was teaching at had orientation programmes for Form One students to equip them with the language of the school, which is English. Mr Mwalimu explained:

> When they come, we start with orientation course in various subjects in order to give them the introduction in using English language because [the language] is new to them. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

The implementation of an orientation programme for students indicates that the school was trying to assist them to make the transition to English from Kiswahili. It may be supposed that orientation programmes were necessary because students need English to learn other secondary subjects. This, in turn, suggests that the teaching of English is mainly focused on academic achievement, because students need to communicate in academic language in order to learn and pass examinations. This could be one of the reasons that students' languages are not welcomed in schools despite studies that indicate how important students' first languages are to learning a second language (Lisanza, 2014; Newton et al., 2010).

Ms Mzuri, on the other hand, commented that students' background experiences affected both their ability to learn English, and their ability to interact globally. She mentioned that students spoke English at school, but when they went home, they spoke their languages and Kiswahili:

The main problem is the background of learners themselves because they come from different cultures. We find that it is very difficult to make them speak the same because they normally speak in different ways … At home also is a problem, because people at home normally don't speak English. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

In effect, from the statement above, Ms Mzuri was proposing that students' first languages are an obstacle to their learning English.

As explained in Chapter One, in Tanzanian classrooms, students come from different cultural backgrounds. Kiswahili is the national language of the country, and the MOI at the primary education level; the majority of Tanzanian students use Kiswahili as their main language of communication in their everyday lives. The teachers attribute the students' failure to not adjusting to the school system. Since English is not the home language, many students found it difficult to learn and use English in schools. In this way, these teachers appeared to blame the education system. However, looking at their positioning, it clearly shows that these teachers are also relinquishing their responsibility for students' low academic achievement. These findings of my study also aligns with Bishop's (2005) study which found that, Māori students fail to learn because they are disconnected from their cultures and find the culture of the school difficult to fit in (Bishop, 2005). They saw the students' low proficiency in English "as being outside of their own agency, of their own abilities to engage with these problems" (Bishop, 2005, p. 78). When the cultures at home and school are different, teachers "have a ready-made excuse" (Bishop, 2005, p. 71) for students' failure in school.

7.1.4.2 Large classes, lack of resources, and shortage of teachers

Large classes, lack of resources, and shortage of teachers were seen as reasons for student failure. For instance, Ms Mzuri commented that the government should consider the provision of enough and appropriate resources in schools:

We don't have enough facilities which can help students to learn about other cultures; teaching and learning materials, even books are not enough … the government should add the provision of books and other teaching and learning materials in schools. Sometimes you may have ten books for fifty

students… if there could be enough funds, maybe we could use computers … internet services. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

This indicates that the shortage of teaching materials, such as textbooks, appeared to make Ms Mzuri's teaching more difficult. She also mentioned that large class size was a constraint on her teaching. She reported having a large number of students in the class (up to 50 students). The statement also implies that Ms Mzuri recognised the role of the internet in experiencing other people's cultures, but noted that the lack of facilities such as computers and internet services at school limited her students' opportunities to learn about other cultures through this medium. She appeared to blame the government for not providing enough resources in schools, feeling that the government contributed to students' failure to learn English. Clearly, Ms Mzuri was aware of the impact of the lack of resources to help her students learn about other cultures.

Ms Sana, on the other hand, reported that in a single class there are about 45 students, and for the whole class, [i.e., Form Four students], the number of students can reach up to 135, taught by one teacher. This suggests that apart from having big class sizes, her school also had a shortage of teachers of English. Also, during the interview, Ms Sana mentioned that her school had no computers or internet facilities. This lack of resources could limit students' ability to learn English and to find information about other peoples' cultures through the internet. Ms Sana proposed that the government should consider providing both adequate resources to schools, and training for teachers:

> The Government should put more emphasis to these community schools, equipping them with those resources, not only for students, but also for teachers so as to enable teachers to improve their teaching, learning new techniques … the main thing is the Government; we cannot do without the Government. (Semi-structured interview, 1/13)

It is clear that she believed the government controlled the teaching of English in Tanzania, and that the government had a crucial role in implementing her suggested changes. This suggests a dependency on the Government. In other words, she

appeared to believe that students' lack of success was beyond her control; it was the Government's fault.

Similar to Ms Sana, Ms Nina also identified the large number of students per class and the lack of instructional materials and resources, such as internet facilities and textbooks, as a problem. For instance, I observed her using only one textbook to teach a class of nearly 50 students. Students had no access to the book, and so they had to listen attentively to understand and answer the questions at the end of the lesson (Classroom observation notes, 2/13). Ms Nina commented that:

> We have only one textbook, therefore their duty is only to listen … If we had many books, students could sit in pairs and read ... I was supposed to pass around, to observe what they are doing. But because we had only one book, it was difficult for me to move around. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

Looking closely at the above statement, it appears that Ms Nina was blaming the Government for not providing enough materials, such as textbooks, to schools. It could be argued that the lack of textbooks made Ms Nina employ the strategy she thought would work in her class, that is, to read the text herself.

At the end of the lesson, Ms Nina provided students with a written exercise to do at home. She believed that students might get help from family members when they did written homework. However, Ms Nina explained that, due to the lack of textbooks, students were unable to do homework well because they had no books to refer to for their assignments:

> It was very difficult because they didn't have anywhere to make any reference. They were supposed to have books while they write those written questions and make a reference, but because of the shortage of books, the exercise [was] very difficult [for students to attempt]. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

However, looking deeply at Ms Nina's comments above, she appeared to blame the government for students' failure. It also seems that Ms Nina believed it was not her fault if the students did not learn English.

Mr Rafiki mentioned that lack of computers and internet facilities in his school were reason for students' problems with English. He was, however, innovative in allowing his students to experience other cultures by using videotapes. For example, he had his students read and watch the play "Three Suitors, One Husband" by Guillaume Oyono Mbia. The setting of the play is in Cameroon, West Africa. One of the themes portrayed in this play is about women, marriage, and tradition, whereby women lack the freedom of choosing a husband whom they love. This play shows how some women resisted the tradition and custom, as they believed that love was the foundation of a happy family, and that successful and happy families would lead to the nation's progress. Therefore, students were able to explore the culture of Cameroonians through reading and watching that play.

Resources and big classes were a concern in Mr Ndugu's school as well. The lack of textbooks, computers and internet facilities, and other teaching and learning materials, meant students in Mr Ndugu's school had little opportunity to explore and experience other people's cultures:

> These classrooms are <u>very local and limited</u> of material. We don't have enough books; for instance, for Form Four, we have got only twenty [textbooks] … In Form Four A class, I have got more than sixty students, and I have got three streams – A, B, & C. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

The words "these classrooms are very local" hints that classrooms are not equipped with modern technology such as computers and internet facilities (this was supported by my observational notes). The lack of internet facilities in Mr Ndugu's school might limit students' opportunity to explore other people's cultures globally. In addition, Mr Ndugu was facing a scarcity of books for teaching English to his students. Large class sizes appeared to be a constraint in his teaching too. These constraints may limit students' ability to gain knowledge of effective global communication.

Mr Mwalimu also commented that while the government provided some textbooks, it did not provide enough for the number of students. He pointed out that students

shared books, one book for three to four students. He also pointed out that large class sizes were a problem:

> The class is big. There are more than 50 students, so it is better if the class can have few students so that the teacher can reach every one; <u>that is our challenge</u>. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

The phrase "that is our challenge" suggests that class size is a challenge for all teachers of English in his school. Furthermore, the classroom in which Mr Mwalimu was teaching was not big enough to accommodate nearly 60 students and leave space for the teacher to move around to attend to students (Classroom observation notes, 2/13).

In summary, the above section suggests that Foucauldian lens fell short due to large classes and lack of resources. Large classes and lack of resources in poor countries such as Tanzania put massive constraints on learning. These resource issues are what Bourke and Lidstone (2014) call the 'non-discursive domain'. Therefore, Foucauldian lens was inadequate here to explain the realities of the complexity of ELT in a postcolonial society—Tanzania.

7.1.4.3 Lack of in-service training for teachers

Teachers in this study appeared to place blame on the government for not providing them with training so that they gained new skills, which in turn, would contribute to students' success in learning. In effect, they saw students' failure as the government's fault, and not theirs. For instance, Ms Mzuri saw the lack of in-service training for teachers contributing to the lack of intercultural awareness of both teachers and students, explaining:

> Teachers are supposed to be provided with different seminars or some short courses while they are at work because the world changes, also the teachers have to change, so that they can change the students. So, at least short courses or seminars to help them to upgrade their profession. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

The phrase, "because the world changes, also the teachers have to change, so that they can change the students" suggests that both teachers and students need skills

as the world changes, for example, for global communication, to allow them to interact and communicate effectively with other speakers of English globally, in other words, become global citizens.

7.1.4.4 Lack of funds

Ms Nina mentioned that lack of funds has limited students' intercultural experiences. The lack of money made it difficult to buy books and resources for students to read about different cultures. Also, students' chances of visiting different countries to learn how people live were limited due to lack of money. She maintained that it was not necessary to travel abroad in order to learn about other people's cultures; rather, students could travel to different parts of Tanzania to learn from different tribal groups:

> To visit from one culture to another, not only to Europe, but even to go to Singida [region in Tanzania] to look at those Nyaturu [tribe in Singida region] the way they are living it is very difficult because it needs money for transport and other needs. (Semi-structured interview, 1/13)

The statement suggests that students in Ms Nina's school are not exposed to different cultures because of financial problems, and lack of emphasis in the curriculum. In this way, she appeared to blame the government and the structural issues (Bishop, 2005) that seemed to limit students in exploring other people's cultures. In addition, Ms Nina's comment seems to suggest that in order to become culturally aware, one needed to be immersed in the culture. Ms Nina also appeared not to focus on what she could do, such as using classroom dialogues to allow students to share their cultures in the classroom. Such approach could help students learn about other people's culture and gain ICC.

In summary, the above descriptions have shown how deficit discourses on low ability students were constructed by teachers, suggesting that they abdicated their responsibility. Despite these deficit discourses, supportive discourses were also constructed by teachers about students.

7.2 Supportive discourses

7.2.1 New language learners

Mr Mwalimu constructed his students as "new to school and to the language". He believed that to allow students who were language beginners to learn, they needed to be provided with enough chances to practise language in classroom activities. His belief was demonstrated in the classroom, when he gave students more opportunity to speak and act out role plays (see Chapter Six, section 6.2.2). Mr Mwalimu did not see his students as being "slow learners" or in "deficit"; rather, he saw them as being "new" to the language and new to the environment, and therefore saw his role to make these students enjoy learning a new language in a new environment. From my observation, students were actively engaged in the learning process. Additionally, Mr Mwalimu viewed his students as knowledge creators. In contrast with Ms Sana, Ms Mzuri, and Ms Nina, Mr Mwalimu was proposing that students are not passive recipients of knowledge, and that teachers should allow them to take part in creating knowledge by using student-centred learning.

On the other hand, Mr Rafiki commented on the difficulties he faced due to the low level of English proficiency of his students. Mr Rafiki mentioned that his had low English proficiency because they were not familiar with the language. In the classroom, when he was introducing the novel "Unanswered Cries", he asked students to imitate crying (Classroom observation notes, 2/13). He explained that in order to allow students to understand the material, he had to explain difficult words to them and make sure that students understood the meanings of words found in the title of the book:

> English is the third language to Tanzanians; they [students] have vernaculars, then Kiswahili, and English language; so, by asking them to cry, it can be a difficult vocabulary to them; that's why I told them to imitate the real situation [of crying]. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

This approach could also be understood as Mr Rafiki trying to accommodate his low English proficiency students. Unlike other teachers, Mr Rafiki did not consider

students' low level of English proficiency to result from "laziness" or from being "slow learners"; rather, he saw that his students were facing a significant language barrier.

7.2.2 Support programmes

Moreover, due to low English proficiency among students, the school at which Mr Rafiki and Mr Ndugu were teaching emphasised English debates and morning speeches to help students improve their fluency. Mr Ndugu, on the other hand, reported that sometimes he used Kiswahili to explain important messages found in the novels. However, he reported doing this to help students understand the material, so as to prepare them for examinations. This could be understood as supportive discourse of learning English through Kiswahili. He applied alternative ways he thought would facilitate students' learning.

Also, the school where Mr Rafiki and Mr Ndugu were teaching was reported to have a programme for slow learners. Mr Ndugu mentioned that, at the beginning of the school year, the school conducted a special programme to identify slow learners, and then ran remedial classes to help those students cope with secondary studies.

Mr Ndugu explained that:

> In our school, we have got a certain programme. Before our students enter Form Three, we have a provisional test, we test the students. We give them books, and those who read the books properly, we say these at least are not slow learners. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

To deal with these "slow learners", the school established remedial classes to help students cope with the school culture:

> We have remedial classes; after class, those students whom we think are slow learners we tell them to remain after class hours. They read the book under the guidance of the teacher. Those slow learners do not know even how to pronounce some words, but if they remain by themselves, they can pronounce because sometimes they fail to pronounce because they feel shy. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/2013)

Interestingly, here, Mr Ndugu constructs his students as both "slow" and "shy" learners.

By using Foucault's (1972) concept of knowledge and power, it appeared that students in Mr Ndugu's school were being tested and identified as "slow learners". To enable these slow learners to cope with the school culture, remedial classes were established which the students were forced to join as Mr Ndugu indicated above: "we tell them to remain after class hours; they read the book under the guidance of the teacher". It appeared that the school's aim of establishing these remedial classes is to enable students to learn English and to do well in their final examination.

However, it also appeared that the school forced students into remedial classes because it was the way the school worked, rather than at the request of these students. Mr Ndugu's description shows how the school exercised its power over slow learners. Foucault (1972) argues that "there is no knowledge without a discursive practice, and any discursive practice is defined by the knowledge that it forms" (p. 201). Foucault (1979) also argues that power produces reality through discourse. This implies that the school practice of remedial classes for the discourse of "slow learner students" was formed due to knowledge teachers had about dealing with slow learner students. This also suggests that students were not only created as "slow learners", but also were managed by teachers' pedagogical and methodological approaches they used to teach these slow learners. However, it could be also argued that even though force is used, remedial classes might still help students.

From the above descriptions, it appeared that teachers' definition of low ability students was vague; their language (e.g., "passive recipients of knowledge" "slow learners" "shy", "difficult to teach") reveals deficit-based constructions of students. This is revealing, according to Bishop, who states that "teachers' actions and behaviours, how they relate to and interact with students, are governed by the discourse in which they position themselves and how they understand and position the other people in the relationship" (p. 73). However, Foucault was not concerned

with whether power is good or bad; rather, he was concerned about the effects of power on the social body. Power can operate to construct the position of student beneficially — Jardine (2005) argues that as educators "we can help our students learn, or we can unintentionally hinder them; we can help them grow up into fulfilled, competent adults, or act in ways that undermine them" (p. 2).

Interestingly, all teachers considered students' first languages and cultures as barriers to learning English. This contradicts the studies of ICC that suggest the knowledge of the first language and culture is important in learning a second language, and thus gaining ICC (Alptekin, 2002; Nault, 2006). This study has shown how students' first languages and cultures are marginalised in learning. Studies suggest that culturally responsive teaching and learning is needed if the goal is to empower students (Sleeter, 2010).

When students' cultures are included in learning, in this way, students' languages and cultures are viewed as resources and not as barriers. Teachers in this study perceived students' first languages and cultures as barriers to learning English. This implies that students' languages and cultures are not used as a resource for their own learning (Sleeter, 2012). There is a need for this belief to be changed if the goal is to empower students with the language and ICC to allow them to participate successfully in the global world. For this to happen, teachers need to willingly learn about their students and their cultures (Sleeter, 2010). In this way, teachers may start viewing students' languages and cultures as resources, and not barriers. When teachers know their students and their cultures well, they may not construct them in deficit terms. Instead, they may use students' cultures as a resource to enrich and enhance their ICC. This study therefore calls for teachers to construct students' languages and cultures in supportive terms so that these students not only perform well in their studies, but also in global interactions and communications.

7.3 Chapter summary

This chapter has shown how the discourses of low ability students were created by teachers. Teachers of English in this study appeared to construct their students in deficit terms, which they then used to justify their approaches and practices in the classroom. The data suggest that teachers' professional knowledge of teaching English partly influenced the way they constructed their students. Teachers appeared to relinquish their responsibility for students' failure by placing blame on students, students' families, and society, and on the government. I have argued that in order to prepare students for effective global communications and interactions, there is a need for teachers to change their deficit thinking about their students, and to assume responsibility over their learning. I have also argued that there is a need to think about including students' languages and cultures in learning English, thus gaining ICC. The next chapter presents the constructions of ELT and ICC.

CHAPTER EIGHT
TEACHERS' CONSTRUCTIONS OF ENGLISH AND EVIDENCE OF COLONIAL LEGACIES SURROUNDING ELT PRACTICES

8.0 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two parts: Part One presents and discusses teachers' constructions of English surrounding ELT practice in secondary schools in Tanzania. In this chapter, teachers' understandings of ICC and their pedagogical practices in the classroom are discussed and critiqued within literature of postcolonial theory, and through a Foucauldian lens. In Part Two, I present and discuss evidence of colonial legacies inherent within ELT practices.

8.1 Constructions about English

The constructions about English discussed here are as follows: English as a language of great opportunities and global communication; English as a language of science and technology; of pronunciation in relation to global communication, and of privileging grammar.

8.1.1 English as a language of great opportunities and global communication

Although English was imposed during colonialism for the benefit of the colonial administration (Swilla, 2009), teachers in this study did not see it as a tool for controlling people; rather, they saw it as a tool for global interactions and communication. Their belief was based on their understanding about the importance of English in the current globalised era. The teacher participants' views of English and its role positioned English as the world's language, and a language of great opportunities, and global communication. For instance, both Mr Ndugu and Ms Sana described English as the language of great success and opportunities. Mr Ndugu argued that, after graduation, students might miss job opportunities if they had low proficiency in English. Mr Ndugu reported that he was motivated for his students to speak English because it provided gateways to success, explaining:

> In the classroom … I motivate the students how to speak English, and why they need English because if you do not know English you cannot be

employed. I give them examples – in Tanzania we have these English medium schools, and many people who are employed are not Tanzanians, they come from Kenya, Uganda. Why? Because they have good English. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

This statement shows that Mr Ndugu believed knowledge of English was important to students in securing different opportunities – he was aware that English is the language of global communication, and the language of employment opportunities and prestigious positions. Looking of these findings through a postcolonial lens, they seem to align with Neke's (2005) argument that "the desire to learn colonial languages (in this case English) was informed by the belief that they could enable children to perform well in school and subsequently give Africans economic power and prestige" (p. 75).

On the other hand, Ms Sana appeared to blame the education system in Tanzania for not preparing students for competition in the global market. She commented that students in Tanzania would not be able to compete in the EAC because of their lack of English proficiency compared with their counterparts'. However, her emphasis on the EAC implies that students were to be prepared for interaction and communication with people in East African countries. This also implies that English is not only a global language, but also the one used between African nations.

The explanations above from both Ms Sana and Mr Ndugu of the importance of knowledge of English seems to agree with Pennycook's (2010) notion of English as a local practice. Pennycook's idea of English as a local practice suggests that although English is the language of power, people can use it as part of their repertoire with the communities to which they belong. As well as locally, they can also do it nationally and internationally.

Ms Sana appeared to be aware of the impact of teaching for examinations. According to her, teaching for examinations does not prepare students for global communication:

> When we come to this EAC, what made us think that we will not compete with them [in global market] is just the use English, because we are not preparing the students so that they can interact with their fellows. (Semi-structured interview, 1/13)

Ms Sana's comment above appeared to blame the syllabus and teachers of English for not preparing students for communication with other speakers of English in the EAC (e.g., Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi). The phrase "we are not preparing the students" implies a representation of the whole education system, including curriculum developers, teachers, and schools in general.

Ms Nina, on the other hand, positioned English as a global language, reasoning that therefore, everyone needed to know it in order to successfully participate in globalisation. She elaborated:

> Now we are in a global village. If you want something, anything, you must know English. If you go to universities, the language of instruction is English. Sometimes jobs interviews are in English. Even when you go the hospital, the prescriptions are written in English, the medicines are written in English. Therefore, for now it is very important to know and study English. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

The statement implies that Ms Nina strongly believed that knowledge of English is important in this age of global communication, and for academic achievement, because English is the MOI at the secondary and tertiary education levels. From the above statement, Ms Nina seemed to suggest that English was needed in both local and global contexts. This was supported by Nault (2006), who suggested that today English is viewed as the language of the world and it belongs to anyone who uses it. However, this study suggests that to be able to interact and communicate effectively with other speakers of English around the globe, both linguistic competence and intercultural competence are needed (Bennett, 2011).

On the other hand, the statements above by Ms Nina support the view that knowledge of English privileges the few who can access it, while the majority who are not competent in the language are excluded from enjoying the opportunities it offers (Neke, 2005). Because the majority of the population live in villages, and many

have not gone to school, it is difficult for them to understand information, such as medical prescriptions written in English, is difficult because of the language barrier. Thus, "if you want something, anything, you must know English". Thus the knowledge of English seems to be a dividing factor in a Tanzanian society. Ms Nina went further, suggesting that:

> According to our time now, the world is one village. Everything done here is the same in Europe, America, and everywhere, and English is our main language. (Semi-structured interview, /13)

And thus:

> The main objective of teaching English now is to communicate, to become global. (Semi-structured interview, 1/13)

The phrase "English is our main language" not only supports the notion that English is the global language (Baker, 2012), but also, it suggests control by English in this globalised world—that this situation arose from historical power relationships. Within Tanzania, this aspect of colonisation has left a legacy of inequity between those who can develop skills in English and those who do not. In other words, English benefits those who can access it, while it marginalises those who cannot access it as Blommaert (2010) has observed.

Similarly, both Ms Mzuri and Mr Mwalimu positioned English as "the world's language". They saw that, because English is spoken in different parts of the world, there was a need for students to know it in order to interact with other people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Mr Mwalimu, who positioned it as an international language, commented that everyone must learn it. They both insisted that once students had gained competence in the four language skills – listening, speaking, writing, and reading – they would be able to interact and communicate with anyone around the globe. However, their beliefs suggest that teachers were unaware of ICC because being able to interact and communicate cross-culturally requires both linguistic and intercultural competencies.

Teachers' beliefs about English as a tool for globalisation are supported by Swilla's (2009) study, which reported the importance of English knowledge in this globalised world. Swilla points out that English is one of the official languages in the SADC (Southern African Development Community). This indicates that knowledge of English is important for students in Tanzania, not only to secure well-paid jobs within Tanzania, but also within the region of Africa. This implies that knowledge of English was important to enable students to enjoy the privileges the language offers. From the postcolonial lens, however, it could be argued that the role of English today perpetuates the colonial legacy because during colonialism, English was privileged and those who were competent in it secured good jobs in colonial administration (Swilla, 2009). However, English is positioned as a language of power and privilege in ways that are beyond the teachers' control. This position is facilitated by the discourses surrounding English today as an international language, which led to the global spread of English as explained already in Chapter Two. It is therefore possible to argue that the discourses of English in relation to global interaction and communication did not emerge by chance; rather, there were conditions which opened the space for such discourses to emerge. The literature shows that the spread of English as an international language resulted in the spread of teaching methodologies from Western countries, such as Britain and the USA (Pennycook, 1994). The British Council also supports ELT globally (Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992). This suggests that the international organisations of the Western countries, particularly the UK and the US, have facilitated the dominance of English as an international language and how this language should be taught. In turn, these discourses have led to viewing English as a language of science and technology and development, as explained below.

8.1.2 English as a language of science, technology and development

Mr Rafiki described English as the language of science and technology, business, and development. Mr Rafiki, on the other hand, realised the role the English language plays in this development and the importance of students learning it:

> Because of science and technology, we should learn English language ... it is spoken in the world, that's why. Even in newspapers, magazines, each and everything concerning the development of the world, it is just through English language. Also, it helps us in business. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

Looking closely at his statement, it is clear that Mr Rafiki saw English as the language of progress and believed that knowledge of English would enable students of Tanzania to have a successful life. It appears that the emergence of the discourse of English as a global language (Baker, 2012) has led Mr Rafiki to position English this way. On the other hand, Mr Rafiki's comment also appears to agree with Pennycook's (2010) notion of English as 'a local practice' when he said "it helps us in business"—both within the local and global contexts.

8.2 Evidence of colonial legacies

This study's findings provides evidence of the colonial legacy within ELT in Tanzania. Key evidence for this includes: teachers' approaches in the classroom with the emphasis on Received Pronunciation (RP) or (Educated British English) and grammatical skills; the school rule of speaking English only; and school practices related to classroom discipline and punishment. The last section describes the role of the British Council in influencing pedagogy through the professional development of teachers.

8.2.1 Teacher's approaches in the classroom
8.2.1.1 The emphasis on RP and grammatical skills

Mr Rafiki emphasised appropriate English pronunciation to his students. According to him, good English pronunciation is the key to enable students to interact and communicate with other speakers of English around the globe:

> We are teaching the RP from the UK. So, [if] the student pronounces the word in a different way, we can say that is wrong; according to English pronunciation, we should pronounce it like that … we should have to cope with people who come from UK. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

This suggests that the former colonial ruler (Britain) still influences some teachers' pedagogical approaches to teaching English in Outer Circle countries such as

Tanzania. This is one example of the colonial legacy still evident in Tanzanian English language classrooms.

Similarly, Ms Mzuri mentioned that students' background languages and cultures affected their pronunciation of English words. This is evident when she said "they say it in Kiswahili" (see Chapter Six). Ms Mzuri's comment also suggests a lack of recognition that English belongs to everyone (Nault, 2011) and thus, can be localised. In order to assist her students to learn "proper" RP was emphasised whereby students listened to audio cassette tapes in class. She asserted that:

> At this level, we are trying to use the recorded [radio cassette] tapes to see how others speak. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

Ms Mzuri thought RP would enable students to pronounce English comprehensibly, as they came from different languages and it made them speak differently. And these different home language backgrounds interfered with their pronunciation of English. The idea was to make her students listen to how educated people in the United Kingdom speak. According to her, good pronunciation was a key to global communication, and therefore she insisted in class that students listen to how "others speak". Because the radio cassette tapes were of RP, the word "others" represents English speaking people in the UK. This emphasis on speaking like people in the UK supports the colonial legacy of Africans being taught to speak and act like their colonial masters (Rubagumya, 1991). This adds weight to Rubagumya's claim that during colonialism, Africans' identity was lost as Africans were forced to acquire a new identity, "Wazungu Weusi" (Black Europeans) (See also Fanon, 1967). It is possible to suggest that the emphasis on RP in Mr Rafiki's and Ms Mzuri's pedagogical practices stems from colonialism.

Teachers' pedagogical instruction also focused on grammatical skills. They believed that students needed to know the grammar of the language to enable them to interact and communicate with other speakers of English from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In the classroom, some teachers emphasised the use of

formulae to enable students to avoid making mistakes when constructing sentences (see Chapter Six). Their belief in grammatical skills seems to perpetuate colonial legacy because during colonialism, English was considered as the language of power, and therefore it was supposed to be learnt correctly. It should also be remembered that Tanzania is a former British colony, and that ELT in Tanzania follows British English, the language of the former colonial ruler, and therefore the emphasis is on RP. Moreover, their emphasis on the correct grammar could have been influenced by their educational background experiences of learning British English — how it should be taught and used/spoken. Therefore by insisting on RP in their classroom suggests the perpetuation of the colonial legacy.

Additionally, in the classroom, teachers demonstrated a colonial mentality by seeing mistakes not as part of learning; but rather, a failure in learning, and thus, punishment was administered to those who failed to learn English. However, the use of punishment to students who failed to learn English perpetuated the colonial legacy (wa Thiong'o, 1986).

8.2.1.2 Schools' policy of speaking English only, punishment and discipline in the classroom

Since English is the MOI in secondary school education, teachers' pedagogical practices appeared to be influenced by the school system's demand that students should speak only English at school. In all schools investigated, there were signs above doors reading "Speak English Only" (Observation notes, 2/13). The schools' administration put up such signs to remind students to learn and use the language of the school. The use of such signs is evidence that students' first languages and Kiswahili were prohibited on the school's premises. Viewed through a postcolonial lens, this suggests the perpetuation of colonial practices which marginalised African languages and cultures and privilege English language and culture. Furthermore, some teachers in this study reported using corporal punishment to students who were caught speaking languages other than English (see Chapter Six). For instance, Mr Ndugu reported in Chapter Six that sometimes when they use corporal

punishment, students run away. (Phone communication, 7/13). This supports the claim that students' languages and cultures were not welcomed at school. The emphasis on English only suggests the perpetuation of the colonial legacy that prioritises English and marginalises other languages (Brock-Utne, 2012; wa Thiong'o, 1986).

On the other hand, Ms Sana believed when the teacher comes around with the stick, it makes students pay attention to the learning goals because at any time, the teacher might ask a student question. This might bring the fear of punishment to students when they fail to answer the teacher's questions.

The fear of wrong pronunciation or giving incorrect answers to the teacher's questions might limit students' freedom of expression in the class. Therefore, even though the teacher might not punish the students, the act of holding the stick in the classroom may be enough for students to believe they might be punished at any time. Literature shows that corporal punishment was used during colonialism in order to make Africans speak and act like their colonial masters. According to wa Thiong'o (1986), Kenyans were humiliated by the colonialists when they were caught speaking their language, Gikuyu. He explains that Africans were given up to five strokes of the cane on bare buttocks. Therefore, when teachers use sticks, in this way, then, the colonial legacy is perpetuated in English language classrooms.

Furthermore, Ms Sana, Ms Mzuri, and Mr Rafiki reported using punishment in their schools for students who failed to learn English. For instance, Ms Sana, Ms Nina, and Ms Mzuri reported punishing their students by asking them to stand up until they gave an answer to the teacher. However, in Ms Sana's class, all students were ordered to stand up and whoever responded correctly to her questions was allowed to sit; while in Ms Nina and Ms Mzuri's classes, students were sitting down but when the teacher pointed them to answer questions, if they did not know the answer, they were asked to stand up for a while (Classroom observation notes, 2/2013). In an

environment that does not allow students' freedom, it will be difficult for students to gain ICC.

Concerning classroom discipline, Mr Mwalimu believed that students should stand up when responding to teachers' questions. He believed that responding while sitting down shows lack of respect. Therefore, this suggests that teachers differed in how they applied punishment and discipline interchangeably to students in the classroom. Moreover, seating arrangements in the classroom appeared to demonstrate disciplinary power to control students' attentiveness in the classroom as reported by Ms Mzuri (see Chapter Seven). A good classroom arrangement helps teachers to see all students while teaching and to monitor student behaviour.

The above explanations about punishment and discipline in the classroom could be viewed through Foucault's theory of disciplinary power, which would argue that the techniques of power teachers used were aimed to discipline the students so they could learn to become useful in society. Schools as disciplinary institutions (Ball, 1990) have been used to shape students' behaviours. In other words, this disciplinary power was used by teachers to normalise students' behaviour so that they fit into the community, which is in turn shaped by the colonial legacy. Therefore, the knowledge teachers have becomes justified and disseminated into students' behaviours, and this is done for their good; as Jardine puts it "we reward and punish their behaviours in order to teach" (Jardine, 2005, p. 43). Therefore, the ultimate aim of disciplinary power is normalisation, not repression; and thus, punishment was used to change students' behaviour, to become 'normal'.

8.2.1.3 The role of the British Council in influencing pedagogy

wa Thion'go's (1986) work argued that it is high time for Africans to liberate their minds and become fully independent by using their own values (languages and cultures), and not the coloniser's. Yet as Qorro (2013) pointed out, the ODA funded the ELTSP in Tanzania from 1986 to 1996 on condition that English remained the

language of instruction in post-primary education. Since the teaching and learning materials such as textbooks used in this project were Western-oriented, the colonial legacy is further perpetuated by distancing students from their languages and cultures and forcing them to learn only about Western cultures. In addition to resources, this project supplied ELT expertise from Britain, which provided in-service support for Tanzanian secondary school teachers of English. It shows that, although Tanzanians gained their independence in 1961, colonial power is still working in the education system in Tanzania. In addition, this "support" project appeared to perpetuate colonial legacy in secondary schools in Tanzania by promoting Western culture while marginalising students' cultures and their experiences. In this project, the Western culture seemed to be given prominence at the expense of Tanzanian cultures. The British government assumed the materials to be used in this project were universal and would work in a non-Western context—Tanzania. This may have contributed to students in Tanzania failing to learn English because of the differences in contexts and cultures. Literature suggests that people from different cultures and societies construct and perceive reality differently because of differences in their upbringing, education, and political and social contexts, and thus, cultural values and background are important aspects in learning (Ntuli, 2012; Patel et al., 2011). On the other hand, since English is related to the language of greater opportunity, modernity and civilisation (Bwenge, 2012; Neke, 2005; Swilla, 2009), it could be argued that the colonisers proposed English to be used as the MOI to enable Tanzanians to cope with the demands of globalisation. As a result, African languages and cultures are still marginalised in the education system in Tanzania today (Brock-Utne, 2002, 2012; Qorro, 2013).

In this study, Mr Mwalimu mentioned that the British Council played a significant role in facilitating and promoting the teaching of English in Tanzania. He explained how, in the past, the British Council sent experts from the UK to conduct seminars and workshops to equip teachers with the skills of teaching English properly. He explained that such courses are no longer offered. Mr Mwalimu elaborated:

> There were some courses conducted to prepare teachers in order that English can be taught properly … in-service learning [training] … last time I went for in-service training conducted by British Council, it was (the year) … up to now, I haven't undergone any training; so, that is the shortcoming … we need some assistance. (Semi-structured interview, 2/13)

The comment implies that Mr Mwalimu believed that experts from the British Council (international cooperation of the former colonial ruler) are needed to effectively train teachers of English in Tanzania. Mr Mwalimu saw that lack of such training for teachers has led to problems in the teaching of English, and therefore recommended that the government re-introduce such courses to improve the teaching. Mr Mwalimu suggested that if the government could re-establish those programmes, this would help teachers.

However, looking closely at this statement, Mr Mwalimu seemed to suggest that teachers of English in Tanzania could not do without continued help from the former colonial ruler, and this suggests the perpetuation of the colonial legacy. The phrase above, "we need assistance", suggests a collective idea of all teachers of English in Tanzania that they need this "assistance" from the British Council. In addition, Mr Mwalimu seemed to believe that speakers of English from the Inner Circle Countries (Kachru, 2006) such as Britain were good models for teaching English in Tanzania. His beliefs, however, are not consistent with studies of ICC, which suggest that today English belongs to anyone who uses it (Baker, 2011; Nault, 2006). This notion of using experts from the Inner Circle Countries (Kachru, 2006) such as the UK supports Holliday's (2009) ideas about how the British Council influences the teaching of English worldwide. His statement therefore perpetuates the colonial legacy.

Moreover, in this statement, Mr Mwalimu appeared to blame the Government for not prioritising in-service training for teachers. Clearly, the lack of in-service training might limit teachers' opportunities to learn new skills and knowledge needed for communication in this age of globalisation, and it is possible to suggest that teachers' lack of intercultural awareness was partly due to this.

8.3 Chapter summary

By using a postcolonial theory, this chapter has highlighted discourses implicit in the teachers' constructions of ELT practice in Tanzania. Their constructions suggest that the teachers were unaware of ICC. People need ICC to communicate and interact effectively across cultures. The chapter has also shown how colonial legacies have been maintained in Tanzanian English language classrooms. Therefore, postcolonial theory has helped to understand the constructions of ELT in Tanzania. Although the previous chapters of this study (see Chapters Five, Six, and Seven) have shown Foucault was useful to explore power relations within ELT practice in Tanzania, because of the differences between European and Tanzanian cultures and histories, the use of Foucault's theory of power is insufficient to really understand the complexities of power surrounding ELT in Tanzania. The next chapter, therefore, explains and interrogates both the usefulness and insufficiencies of Foucault in this study.

CHAPTER NINE
THE USEFULNESS AND INSUFFICIENCY OF FOUCAULT

9.0 Introduction

European knowledge and theories are both "indispensable and inadequate" in Southern contexts (Chakrabarty, 2007, p. 6). In the previous chapter (Chapter Eight) I have shown how Foucauldian discourse analysis was used to uncover the constructions of ELT in Tanzania. In this chapter, I look at the key findings and discuss them in terms of several of Foucault's concepts. These concepts – discourse, subjectivity, governmentality, games of truth, disciplinary power, and power relations – are explored. This chapter, therefore, brings together Foucauldian discourse analysis, postcolonial theory, and theories about ICC to develop constructions of ELT in a postcolonial nation. It has three sections: section one discusses the usefulness of Foucault's concepts for understanding the constructions of ELT in Tanzania. These concepts are all embedded in the central concept of power. This section discusses how curriculum developers exercise power over teachers, how school practices exercise power over students, and how teachers exercise power over students. Generally, this section shows a top-down flow of power. Section two explores resistance in English language classrooms. Section three discusses the insufficiency of Foucault's work for understanding the constructions of ELT in Tanzania. Section four presents the relevance of postcolonial theory to explore ELT in Tanzania.

9.1 Usefulness of Foucault

In this study, Foucault's concepts of discourse, subjectivity, knowledge-power relations, resistance, and governmentality are relevant to understanding the constructions of ELT in the Tanzanian context. In the following sections, these concepts are explored and explained in detail.

9.1.1 Foucault's concepts of discourses and subjectivities

Discourse is central to Foucault's work. It allows us to make sense of how we see things. The concept of discourse has been useful in understanding different practices within ELT instruction in six Tanzanian classrooms. The concept of discourse also helps to understand why certain discourses have been produced, and where practices guided by such discourses have been implemented. The following section provides an example about the discourse of slow learners, which was formed and maintained in the schools that were studied.

Data from the interviews with teachers in this study have shown that most of their students are beginners as learners of the English language. The interview data have shown that their teachers' perceptions were that their English proficiency level was influenced by their first languages and their experiences of using Kiswahili in primary education and the dominance of Kiswahili at home and in playgrounds. The data suggest that some teachers who participated in this study constructed students as "slow learners" and "low ability students". The data suggest that these learners were under the surveillance of both the school and teachers in making sure that they learnt English through remedial classes (see Chapter Seven). The findings indicate that students' first languages were not valued. For example, as indicated by data in Chapters Six and Seven, some teachers punished those who were caught speaking languages other than English. Furthermore, through the use of remedial classes after school hours and the school practice of streaming whereby slow learners were clearly identified, the schools sustained the dominant discourse of low ability students.

The discourse of slow learners is an example of Foucault's games of truth. It illustrates how teachers continually construct students who appear to have low English proficiency. It could be argued that the operation of a dominant discourse, whereby some learners were considered to be "slow", facilitated the marginalisation of these students in English language learning, especially by having low expectations of these students as has been shown in the data.

Bishop (2005) argues that teachers' subjectivity in the classroom reflects the assumptions teachers hold about students. This suggests that teachers' preconceived ideas that students cannot learn could impact on how they interact with students in the learning process. The findings from my study support Bishop's (2005) analysis. Some teachers in this Tanzanian study regarded students and their families as the reason for students not learning. They appeared to believe that students did not want to take responsibility for their own learning, describing them as slow learners, who did not want to participate, who preferred spoon-feeding, and who were difficult to teach. Also, as the data show, some teachers in this study appeared to blame students' families for not taking part in the education of their children, and thus placed blame on students' families for students' failure. On the other hand, teachers appeared to believe that students' low English proficiency level was partly caused by their educational experiences of using Kiswahili in their primary education.

It could be argued, then, that some teachers were blaming the students, their families, and the system for students' failure to learn English. However, I argue that, when teachers continue to regard students in deficit terms, that attitude will not help students to learn. Teachers need to establish a good relationship between themselves and their students, which means that students' cultures would be valued in the classroom (Sleeter, 2010, 2012). A caring learning environment established by teachers will promote students' learning. This approach offers many positive solutions to the problems facing students globally (Bishop, 2005). Teachers need to take responsibility for students' learning. These teachers "as agents of change" (Bishop, 2005, p. 80) clearly illustrate how other teachers might challenge their own deficit theorising, and its impact on student achievement. In other words, teachers are urged to become solutions to students' problems, rather than giving excuses - because such excuses will not bring any change to students' academic achievement in schools. This study argues that to enable students to learn effectively, teachers also need to examine how they position and construct students in their classrooms. Teachers in my study appeared to blame the system; for example, they complained that lack of resources such as textbooks contributed to students' failure to learn

English. They appeared to believe that students' failure was not their fault, rather, the fault of the government and the students themselves.

Teachers' subjectivities, however, are not formed in a void, but rather through the power operations in the classroom. Danaher et al. (2000) noted that, "we become subjects as a result of the various networks of relationships and discourses in which we grow up and live" (p. 139). These concepts, power and subjectivity, help us understand how both teachers' and students' subjectivities are formed as a result of the operations of power in the classroom, and so have been useful in exploring the constructions of ELT in Tanzania. Knights and Willmott (1989) note that, "who and what we are (i.e., our social identity) is confirmed and sustained through our positioning in practices which reflect and reproduce prevailing power-knowledge relations" (p. 550). Therefore, as explained in detail in Chapter Six, teachers' subject positions were constructed as a result of power operations in the classroom.

9.1.2 Foucault's concept of governmentality and games of truth

School practices also suggested power was exercised over students. One of the schools I observed had a remedial programme which aimed to help students with low proficiency levels in English to cope with their studies. Diagnostic tests were conducted to identify students who were "slow learners", and they were assisted through remedial classes. Foucault's concept of governmentality (Danaher et al., 2000), which is concerned with the conduct of the individual – in this study, the conduct/governing of the students – was useful to understand both the state Government and the school practices, policies, rules, norms, laws, and procedures that guide ELT in Tanzanian secondary schools. That the school developed techniques and procedures for categorising and normalising these low ability students in order to fit them into the school system could be argued to produce a discourse in which blame is placed on the students, rather than the system or the teachers. These students have been constructed as 'not normal', and therefore as objects of extra scrutiny and also support, in the form of remedial classes. Thus, by using Foucault's concept of governmentality, the school as one of the institutions that regulated

students identifying them as slow learners through the use of a mechanism of remedial classes (Foucault, 1988). This could suggest that the school, through the discourse of "low ability students", studied its students and came up with procedures and techniques or activities that would enable these students to perform well in their final examinations and therefore become beneficial to society. When schools are viewed through the lens of governmentality, it can help see that schools have been designed in order to produce graduates for the benefit of the state.

Foucault's concept of games of truth could be used to illuminate this school practice of remedial classes. For instance, remedial classes were seen as essential to regulate slow learners in order to fit them into the school culture. The notion of remedial classes is one of the truth games schools have engaged in for a long time, that, they help to enhance students' performance. However, this study argues that when schools place more emphasis on grade performance (i.e., getting an A in English) and neglect students' ability to interact across cultures, even though these students will achieve better grades in their final examinations, their chances of being able to interact and communicate effectively with other speakers of English globally will be limited because of their lack of intercultural skills.

Although teachers could be constructed themselves as experts in the remedial classes, holding a pedagogical knowledge of dealing with slow learner students, they need to learn about their students, who they are, their cultures, their needs, and their ability levels so that they can give them motivating and appropriate learning activities. Moreover, in a situation where students' choices are limited, and their backgrounds are not considered as valuable in the classroom, students' chance of gaining ICC is likely to be limited because their views and opinions are not valued. Also, students learn better in an environment where respect and acceptance of their cultures are valued (Savage et al., 2011).

9.1.3 Foucault's concept of disciplinary power

Foucault's (1979) concept of disciplinary power has been used to show how school practices discipline students. Teachers and students are shaped by assuming that they are watched by the authority, even though the authoritative gaze is not physically present. In Foucault's terms, it could be said that the school practices normalise regulated subject positions for both teachers and students through school rules, norms, and laws. This occurs when teachers and students internalise appropriate behaviours in such a way that they do not need surveillance on the part of authorities. For instance, in the classroom, teachers appeared to follow the syllabus guidelines. This suggests that, although the authorities (i.e., curriculum developers) were not physically present in the classroom, their power was felt by these teachers, who followed what they were told to do. Moreover, surveillance is always there, most visibly through examinations, whereby both teachers and students are subjected to external evaluation.

Students and teachers are also normalised by the mandated curriculum, which provides one way of thinking. Anderson and Grinberg (1998) argue that "teacher and administrator preparation is a disciplinary practice to the extent that it produces legitimate knowledge, proper ways of behaving, and ways of thinking that form the boundaries of what counts as good practice" (p. 342). In this way, it is possible to argue that the teacher's education seems to influence teacher's pedagogical practices in the classroom.

Drawing upon Foucault's concept of power, I argue that ELT in Tanzania operates as one of the disciplinary practices whereby schools, as "disciplinary institutions" (Danaher et al. 2000, p. xix) regulate both teachers and students in order to produce students for the benefit of the Tanzanian society. Disciplinary power here refers to school practices such as: remedial classes; curriculum/syllabus, which has been shown to discipline and control teachers' decision making in the classroom, and rules, such as the rule of speaking English only around the school compounds. The

exploration of disciplinary power has made it possible understandings of how ELT has been constructed in English language classrooms in Tanzania.

9.1.4 Foucault's concept of power relations

Foucault's concept of power made possible the explorations of power relation in ELT in Tanzania. Foucault (1977) argues that:

> We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms; it "excludes", it "represses", it "censors", it "abstracts", it "masks", it "conceals". In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained…belong to this production. (p. 194)

In this way, Foucault describes power as "both productive and repressive, both enabling and constraining" (Allen, 2002, p. 134). For instance, the analysis of both the policy and syllabus has revealed power flowing from above, whereby the government appeared to have power over ELT. Foucault believed that power is embedded in social networks (Danaher et al., 2000). He believed that for a social system to function effectively, power operation is necessary. Power exists only if it is exercised (Foucault, 1980), and therefore it should be studied from where it is exercised. In this study, in order to unpack the concept of power in ELT in Tanzania, three layers of power relations were analysed. The first layer was how curriculum developers exercise power over teachers; the second layer was how schools exercise power over students; and the last layer was how teachers exercise power over students.

9.1.4.1 How the curriculum developers exercise power over teachers

As highlighted in Chapter Five, the Government (through its government officials such as curriculum developers) plays a central role in ELT in Tanzania by providing guidelines on what and how teachers should teach in the classroom. The data show that the Government is responsible for designing, monitoring, and evaluating the English language syllabus. It is also responsible for the provision of teaching and learning materials such as textbooks and other instructional materials in schools. It

prepares the syllabi to be used in schools. The syllabus, on the other hand, prescribes what and how teachers should teach. In this way, power appears to repress teachers' choices (Foucault, 1977). This is different from other education systems such as New Zealand where teachers have freedom to select appropriate materials to use (New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2007). In effect, teachers appeared to have little power in making decisions in the English language classroom.

In addition, the Government is also responsible for preparing the final examinations for students at the end of Form Four. This means that teachers are required to follow the instructions found in the syllabus and use the textbooks and other instructional materials proposed by the government in order to prepare students for their final examinations. The assessment system could be seen as a way for the Government to check on the teachers and see if they are doing what they are told. For instance, both Mr Ndugu and Ms Sana reported the significance of final examinations, which are prepared by the government. Although the examinations came from the government, it was the responsibility of the teacher to make students perform well in those examinations. The pressure of exams placed on teachers by the government limited teachers' flexibility to make decisions about which books to use, because students were tested by the books recommended by the government. Mr Ndugu's comment "these books are recommended by the Government" indicates some frustration with the structure of the current ELT and the difficulty that teachers of English face in the English language classroom.

Teachers were aware that the Government, the school, and parents too, scrutinise examination results as Ms Sana indicated in her comment "When we teach here in school, we teach students specifically in these government schools to help them perform exams … and you [the teacher] will be evaluated through the performance of your students" (Semi-structured interview, 1/13). This could be one of the frustrations teachers face in ELT because the level of performance of their students also seemed to play a part in teachers' careers. The importance of passing those examinations had a significant impact on how teachers made decisions in the

classroom. This also could suggest that teachers were facing difficulty in accommodating the needs of both the students and the school/government. From Foucault's (1972) point of view, it suggests that the government exercises power over teachers. It is therefore evident that the government had a significant impact on the ELT in Tanzania, and in Foucault's terms, this suggests power flows from above. And this government power appeared to be productive, as it makes things possible—it produces good examination results for students.

9.1.4.2 How schools' practices exercise power over students

This section can be explained by using Foucault's concept of governmentality. As was reported by Mr Ndugu, in his school students were examined and those found to be slow learners were to stay at school reading books under the guidance of the teacher. It could be argued that school practices such as remedial classes not only constructed students as "slow learners", but also maintained and managed the discourse of "slow learners". For example, these students who were labelled as slow learners, even though they received help from the remedial classes, that help does not remove the label already put on them. In the same way, these students may come to accept that label that they are "slow learners" and thus, maintain the discourse at school. The problem is not for them to be constructed as slow learners; rather, it is for them to accept that identity as "slow learners". In this way, Foucault's theory that power is productive (Ball, 2013) comes into effect.

Moreover, the school policies of "Speak English Only" show that schools exercise power over students and teachers because teachers are also subjected to this rule. The findings suggest that students were forced to speak English around the school compounds, and those who were caught speaking languages other than English were punished. According to Foucault (1979), power is exercised and circulated through social networks or social institutions such as religions, medical and health agencies, schools, and universities (Foucault, 1979). This is because these social institutions shape the way we live and do things through institutional discourses and practices. The point Foucault is making here is that our behaviours are shaped by being part of

that institution. With this in mind, the school policy of speaking English only appeared to shape the students and teachers in order to fit into the school system. This was because English was both the MOI and the language of the school; students who appeared to diverge from the "norm" were punished in order to fit in the school culture. The data have shown that students' first language and culture appeared to be marginalised in schools, and in this way, it is difficult for them to gain ICC (Byram et al., 2002).

9.1.4.3 How teachers exercise power over students

The findings have suggested that teachers were constructed by the Government and by themselves as knowledge givers or experts in the classroom (see Chapter Five). For example, the syllabus tells what the teacher should teach and how. This is a contradiction as it implies the government gives power to teachers, while at the same time it takes power away. Teachers also constructed themselves as knowledge givers and authority figures in the classroom through their pedagogical practices. This was demonstrated by teachers dominating most of the interactions in the classroom (see Chapters Six and Seven). Teachers' pedagogical practices in the classroom were partly influenced by the demands of the syllabus, but they were also influenced by the beliefs or perceptions teachers held about teaching English. Moreover, the findings have shown how this hierarchy of power impacted students' learning.

9.2 Resistance in English language classrooms

Foucault (1997) argues that in any power operation, there is a possibility for resistance to occur. The study findings have also shown how teachers in some ways resisted power from the Government. This resistance was evident in the way teachers made pedagogical decisions in the classroom. For instance, Mr Rafiki explained that, although the Government recommended textbooks to be used in the reading programme, it was he who chose the novel "Unanswered Cries" to instruct his students. It is therefore possible to suggest that Mr Rafiki resisted power from above by making his own decisions. He saw himself as capable of assessing his students' needs in the classroom. This supports the notion that in any power

relations, resistance is likely to happen, and as it is in power, resistance is productive as "it makes things happen" (Grant, 2003, p. 188). Moreover, Mr Ndugu reported using Kiswahili to elaborate points to students. He believed that using Kiswahili would help students understand the material. However, he reported that he did this in order to prepare students for examinations. In effect, he resisted power from the government that required him to use English only. In this way, resistance is seen to be positive (Kenway & Bullen, 2003), as it helps with students' learning.

On the other hand, Ms Sana questioned the relevance of the topics found in the syllabus and suggested that it be changed for students' benefit. Ms Sana appeared to resist the guidelines in the syllabus and apply her own ways that she thought could benefit her students. For instance, although lecturing is not advised, she applied it. Ms Sana argued:

> You cannot waste time waiting for students to give an idea instead of presenting it by yourself. (Stimulated recall interview, 2/13)

This implies that her professional knowledge of English positioned her as an expert who decided upon approaches and methods to use in the classroom, subverting or resisting school rules and implementing ways that she thought might make her students learn English more effectively. With regard to Foucault, the description above shows that in some ways, teachers resisted power from above.

In summary, the above descriptions have shown the usefulness of Foucault to understand power relations and issues of ICC surrounding the constructions of ELT in Tanzania. However, Foucault alone is not sufficient to really understand power relations surrounding ELT in Tanzania.

9.3 The insufficiency of Foucault

In the previous section I have argued that Foucault's concept of power relations helped us to explore power relations surrounding ELT in Tanzania. In this section, however, I argue that Foucault's theory of power is inadequate to understand power

relations in ELT in Tanzania due to the different cultural context. My argument is that using only theories and knowledge originating in Europe or North America is inadequate to explain the realities of the complex intersections of history, politics, and culture of postcolonial societies in Southern contexts, such as Tanzania (Chakrabarty, 2007; Connell, 2007). In this thesis, Foucault appears to be insufficient because his location in France at a particular time period when he was writing his theories (1960s-1970s) was influenced by what was happening in France at that time and, therefore, is likely to be insufficient to describe or explain colonial experiences in Southern contexts. For instance, the decision of Mr Ndugu to use Kiswahili in English language lessons (see Chapter Six), suggests that a Foucauldian perspective was inadequate to analyse the ELT practices in Tanzania because of differences in contexts and cultures. Tanzania is characterised by having many diverse cultures (see Chapter One). It is necessary then to use Southern theory to explain the experiences and the cultures of Southern contexts (Connell, 2007).

Over decades, the Western ideologies have been assumed to be superior to the ideologies and knowledge originating from non-Western contexts (Chakrabarty, 2007). The ideology "first in Europe and then elsewhere" (Chakrabarty, 2007, p. 8) helps to understand how people in the Western contexts see people in the non-Western contexts as backward and uncivilised. Connell's concept of Southern theories thus challenges the Western ideology that the West is superior to the non-West. As such, the concept of Southern theories can be effectively used to explore ELT in Tanzania. It helps us understand how colonialists considered their teaching materials and methodologies to be superior and imposed all forms of teaching on ELT in Tanzania. Knowledge from the North was considered to be the norm and, therefore, the teaching approaches and learning materials depicted the cultures of the West. Smith's (1999) work on "Decolonizing Methodologies" also explains how the Western knowledge about research was considered to be rational, and thus marginalising the histories and knowledges of the indigenous people. Smith suggested that the histories of indigenous people should be considered in research.

The concept of Southern theories is useful to understand how ELT in Tanzania has developed and, thus, opens the door for teachers to decolonise their methodological approaches in a Southern postcolonial ELT context such as Tanzania. It brings new possibilities for teachers to think critically on ways they could localise ICC into their contexts. I also argue that it is high time for Southern contexts to decolonise Western ideologies and theories and then localise them into non-Western contexts in order to prepare students in these contexts for effective global interactions and communication. Because these theories are both indispensable and inadequate (Chakrabarty, 2007), people in the Southern contexts need to find ways they could fit them into their contexts.

Therefore, using the concepts developed by postcolonial theorists from Southern contexts seemed both appropriate and useful for developing critical constructions of ELT in Tanzania. Using an African perspective is necessary to expose power relations in ELT in Tanzania. Southern postcolonial theories are more relevant for exploring how African societies experienced colonialism. In addition, this study is situated in one of the postcolonial societies on the African continent; therefore, it is necessary that the terms and concepts used should reflect and connect to the realities of the people in Africa. The usefulness of Southern theory (Connell, 2007) to explore the constructions of ELT in Tanzania and the concept of ICC is explained in detail in Chapter Ten.

9.4 The relevance of postcolonial theory to explore ELT in Tanzania

In this study, postcolonial theory has been used to address the legacy of colonialism in Tanzania. Despite its limited use in the area of ELT in Tanzania, the use of postcolonial theory in my study offers a way to understand the purpose of teaching English in Tanzania from colonialism until the present. Postcolonial theory reveals how cultures and languages of the colonised societies such as Tanzania were affected during colonialism and how Africans recovered from colonialism (Ashcroft et al., 1989). Although Tanzania gained independence in 1961 from the British colonial rule, the data from the research methods I used in this study – document analysis, semi-

structured interviews, and stimulate recall revealed that the effects of colonialism were still evident in ELT in Tanzania.

Bishop's (2005) work describes how the European British colonial administration dominated the indigenous societies of New Zealand. Bishop describes how the European colonialists used power to marginalise indigenous Māori students by banishing Māori language in schools. They dominated Māori societies by promoting cultural superiority over Māori. European colonialists saw Māori culture and language as inadequate to cope with the new system of administration, and thus introduced assimilation programmes for Māori students, believing that the language of the colonialists would be better in educating Māori than their Māori language. They encouraged Māori to abandon their language and culture in order to learn colonial language and culture. This brought problems to Māori students as they failed to cope with education because the culture was different from theirs, and this made colonialists regard Māori students as deficit learners.

Similarly, the colonialists assumed power over Africans and imposed their language and culture on them, claiming that the languages and cultures of Africans were inferior and uncivilised (Fanon, 1967). Chakrabarty (2007) highlights how, in the nineteenth century, Europe defined itself as civilized and wanted to civilise the rest of the world. I argue that, through colonialism, Europe was able to dominate the world through spreading its language and culture to the colonised nations, such as Tanzania. Rubagumnya (1991) claims that during the colonial period, Africans languages and cultures were marginalised in schools by the colonialists, forcing Africans to speak their language, as it was seen by colonialists as the language of civilisation. Drawing from the data for this study, the colonial legacy is perpetuated when school practices and classroom instructions marginalise students' first languages and cultures.

9.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has drawn together FDA and postcolonial theory as theoretical and methodological frameworks in order to uncover the constructions of ELT in Tanzania. My study has shown that by using the work of Foucault together with postcolonial theory, it is possible to think differently about ELT in Tanzania. The study has demonstrated how ICC can be understood as a possibility for change in ELT in Tanzania. Generally, this chapter discussed the usefulness and insufficiency of Foucault's concepts to understanding the constructions of ELT in Tanzania, it has discussed power operations in ELT, and the relevance of postcolonial theory to explore ELT in Tanzania. The next chapter explains how ICC is a largely Western construct, which does not take into account pre-existing Southern approaches to intercultural communications and interactions.

CHAPTER TEN
SOUTHERNISING INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

10.0 Introduction

The previous chapter has discussed both the usefulness and insufficiency of Foucault's theories, in order to understand more clearly the constructions of power relations surrounding ELT and ICC in Tanzania. This chapter extends Chapter Nine by first discussing the historical African ways of conducting cross-cultural interactions, followed by the concept of respect in African cultures/contexts. Then I present a section on Southern intercultural communication practices, giving an example from Tanzania, followed by a section on how ICC can be appropriated in a Tanzanian context. A discussion on the contribution of Southern theory (Connell, 2007) to interactions across cultures in Southern contexts, in ways that are attentive to these Southern contexts and histories, is presented next.

10.1 Historical African ways of cross-cultural interactions

This section describes African ways of interacting across cultures and how they differ from a Western context. African ways of interacting across cultures reflect African worldviews, which in a Western context, might be misunderstood, ignored, and ridiculed to some extent. In Africa, and in Tanzania itself, there are many different cultures (Ngara, 2007; Qorro, 2013). Despite their differences in cultures, Africans do share common values (Ngara, 2007). In his work, Ngara highlights African commonalities in ways of knowing, saying that they are "grounded in indigenous African cultural traditions, history, and ecology" (p. 7).

Similarly, Verhoef and Michel (1997) comment that "there are more than a thousand ethnic groups within the African continent; and countless differences between these groups" (p. 394). They also argue that "despite the range of these differences, an underlying unity and continuity ties the diversity of these people together" (p. 395). Verhoef and Michel's assertion supports the point made by Kiango (2005) that during the struggle for independence, Tanzanians became one despite their differences in

languages and cultures. This also suggests that historically, Africans had already established their own ways of interacting and communicating across cultures because they encounter these differences in culture in their everyday life situations.

I also argue that, although ICC is considered to be a new Western approach, developed in the 1990s to enhance effective interaction and communication with people of other cultures and to prepare students for global citizenry (Bennett et al., 2003), from an African perspective ICC is not new. Historically and geographically, Tanzania has been and is a multi-ethnic and multicultural nation (Senkoro, 2005). This suggests that Tanzanians have been effectively interacting and communicating across cultures since time immemorial. The effective interaction may be attributed to shared African values. The following section explores one such African value, respect for elders. It is important to explain this concept because it underpins African tradition, and it is observed in the context of interacting across cultures through an African lens.

10.2 The concept of respect from an African perspective

Studies of ICC suggest that respect for each other's culture is important because this value helps to solve any misunderstandings that may occur in interacting and communicating across cultures (Dodd, 1998; Magyar & Robinson-Pant, 2011). However, although the concept of respect is universal, in African contexts respect is demonstrated differently, and this is due to long-standing African traditions. In this section, the concept of respect in African culture is described, and within this, other values — relationships and hospitality — are also covered.

10.2.1 Respect

According to Ngara (2007), respect in an African philosophy is demonstrated through obedience. In an African context, younger people are expected to respect older people by obeying them (Ngara, 2007). For instance, young boys or girls show respect to their parents or teachers by obeying what the parent or teacher says. In this study,

the concept of respect was observed when students obeyed their teacher's instructions, as shown in Chapter Six. For instance, students in Ms Sana's class were asked to stand up and whoever answered her question was allowed to sit. Normally, in African contexts, there is no negotiation in obeying the teacher's orders/commands; students are required to obey without questioning the teacher. This suggests that the traditional African culture of respect for elders and people with authority has enabled the development of an authoritarian role on the part of teachers. This could suggest that the current student/teacher relationship in a Tanzanian classroom, as has been observed in this study, demonstrates the perpetuation of the long-lived African tradition of respect for elders.

The study by Verhoef and Michel (1997) observes that:

> Within the African worldview, social relationship is the foundation of morality. From birth, the individual within the African culture is taught to view the world in terms of relationship, for example, a child is expected to honour his or her elder by obeying his or her commands, addressing him or her with titles of respect, accepting his or her criticism, and so forth. (Mbiti, 1969, cited in Verhoef & Michel, 1997, p. 397)

The above statement demonstrates that in an African tradition, individuals are positioned uniquely according to social variables such as age, gender, and character, whereby the oldest members have a higher status than the youngest. Younger ones are expected to show respect to elders and people with authority, including students obeying teachers' commands in the classroom as explained above. Teachers, on the other hand, have demonstrated the role of authoritarian in their classroom, and this role could be understood in an African traditional culture of respect for authority. Therefore, both teachers' and students' subjectivities in this study could be understood based on the African traditional culture of respect. The explanations above suggest that to allow students in Tanzanian secondary schools to gain ICC in English language classrooms, African culture should also be considered because values such as respect have shaped students' beliefs and identities since childhood.

The concept of respect was also observed by Juntunen, Nikkonen, and Janhonen (2002). In their study, they noted the differences in how the Bena tribe in Ilembula village in Iringa region in Tanzania demonstrated the concept of respect, such as politeness and how they greet one another. They observed that greetings varied significantly. For instance, an older person was greeted differently from when that same person greeted another person of his or her age. Also, how children greeted adults was different to how they greeted other children of the same age. They observed that some women bent their knees when greeting men. They observed that people with authority such as teachers were always greeted in a respectful way because of their role in the society. This implies that in an African society, respect for elders and people with authority is one of the accepted values, and every member of the community is expected to play a role in promoting the values of his or her society (Bangura, 2005; Ntuli, 2012).

In Ntuli's (2012) study in South Africa, she explains how respect was observed in terms of greetings. Ntuli explains that in some African cultures, it is regarded as disrespectful to gaze at someone, especially when a person is older or has a higher status in society. Conversely, this is different to some Western contexts whereby maintaining eye contact seems to suggest a person is paying attention to what one says, and also is a sign of respect. It could be argued that Tanzanian respect for authority might usefully displace Western ICC theories that seek great equality between teacher and learner. However, the concept of respect to authority and age are recognised across African cultures, in particular, cultures that are found in Tanzania.

10.2.2 Relationships

In an African world view, social relationships are most valued. Bangura (2005) uses the term "Ubuntu" to refer to African ways of relating. Similarly, Mnyaka and Motlhabi (2005) have explained the components of Ubuntu as "respect for people and the need to be in a community in order to be able to assist one another" (p. 228).

According to Bangura (2005), Ubuntu suggests that, if we are to be human, "we need to acknowledge the diversity of languages, histories, values and customs, all of which make up a society" (p. 33). This is important in order to avoid unnecessary conflict (Ntuli, 2012), so as to live in harmony with other people in the society. However, social relationships in an African world view is a wide and complex concept. It comprises a lot of things, such as how people relate to one another in terms of age, gender, status, et cetera. For instance, in an African culture, Tanzanian in particular, calling a married woman by her first name is regarded as a lack of respect. In most situations, she might be called by her husband's surname, or if she has a child called John, people will call her '*mama John*' — meaning, John's mother. This is an example of how Tanzanians observe respect in terms of social relationships.

The concept of Ubuntu in terms of social relationships was also evidenced in the data. For instance, I had to use respected titles when referring to teachers. And this is also evidenced in how I have addressed teachers in this thesis. I did not refer to them by their first names, but I started with 'Ms' or 'Mr' as a way of showing respect to them, which is also culturally appropriate. Teachers also addressed me as 'Madam', and not by my first name. Therefore, as I pointed out earlier, the concept of respect in the African world view is very wide and complex, because it comprises other values such as relationships as I have already explained above. Another aspect of the concept of respect in an African world view is hospitality, and this is explained next.

10.2.3 Hospitality

Bangura (2005) argues that, "Ubuntu serves as a distinctly African meaning to, and a reason or motivation for, a positive attitude towards the other" (p. 44). Mangaliso (2001) defines the concept of Ubuntu as "humanness – a pervasive spirit of caring and community, harmony and hospitality, respect and responsiveness – that individuals and groups display for one another" (p. 24). Ubuntu is the foundation for the basic values that demonstrate the ways African people think and behave toward each other and everyone else they encounter (Mangaliso, 2001). This suggests that the values of caring and community, harmony and hospitality go beyond respect

towards ideas of collective benefit. With regard to ICC, the concept of Ubuntu serves the African community well, and it is important because a positive attitude towards other people's languages and cultures is important for effective interaction and communication with those people. This seems to suggest that Africans would be in a better position to interact and communicate with people of other cultures because they already possess these important cultural aspects of respecting others, and having a positive attitude towards other people's cultures. In turn, as this study argues, these cultural aspects could be used by teachers in the classroom to enable students to gain ICC.

Mnyaka and Motlhabi's (2005) work clearly explained the concept of hospitality in an African perspective. They stated that attitudes of Africans towards strangers is that "strangers were made to feel welcome and to move with ease within the community. They were referred to as visitors, guests, or aliens" (p. 228). According to the authors, the words 'visitors, guests', and 'aliens' had positive connotations, which meant they would say to a person "You are welcome, we will help you and we respect you" (p. 228). These people were treated with respect and were shown hospitality. However, Ubuntu, like all philosophies, has been challenged, misused and almost destroyed due to globalisation (Mnyaka & Motlhabi, 2005). Among the factors is colonisation and that "through their generosity to White strangers, Black people in Africa lost their land" (p. 232). Their culture was also judged to be inferior. Another factor, globalisation processes, such as the flow of people, new technologies, etc. has made the life of Africans change dramatically. Mnyaka and Motlhabi observed that "through coming into contact with western values, African culture was greatly influenced" (p. 234). The authors add that because of acculturation, "Africans began to adopt the way of life of the people with whom they had come into contact" (p. 234). The explanations above suggest the limitation of Ubuntu as an African philosophy.

The notion of hospitality is also explained by Levinas' (1996, cited in Martin, 2000) work in New Zealand. Levinas commented that hospitality and generosity to the

other is ethical. According to her, the values of hospitality and generosity go beyond the concept of respect to others to suggest that, "the one who responds to the other with hospitality becomes ethical" (Levinas, 1996, cited in Martin, 2000, p. 84). Speaking about hospitality, Martin (2000) explains the protocols of Māori based on the values of welcome and hospitality to the other; that, for Māori values, guests/visitors are welcomed. However, Martin argues that, "Pākehā presence in Aotearoa has been interpreted in terms of *rights* rather than in terms of protocols for relationship with Māori based on hospitality" (p. 89). This appears to suggest that Pākehā justified their rights to own the land of Māori at the expense of Māori values of welcome and hospitality to the "visitors/guests".

In African settings, the concepts of hospitality and generosity are highly observed, especially during funerals and weddings; and it is considered crucial for every member of the society to participate. For instance, during funerals, community members contribute money and food to the family of the deceased. They also participate effectively during the whole event until the deceased is laid to rest and sometimes it can take up to one week for the ceremony to finish. And if it happens that someone has not showed up, any community member should find out why a person did not come. This is because hospitality and caring for one another in an African worldview is *'humanness'*, as Mangaliso (2001) pointed out.

In summary, this section has described the African world view in regard to interacting and communicating across cultures. I have shown that, although there are differences in cultures, most African communities have shared common values that guide such interactions. I have also explained that, although respect is a globally used term, how Africans demonstrate it is different from how it is demonstrated in Western communities. This seems to suggest that '*one size does not fit all*' (Portera, 2014), which supports my argument that there is a need for using Southern theories to explore how people in Southern contexts interact across cultures. I argue that ICC within Western contexts could be viewed differently from the way it could be used in Africa. Thus, if we are to generate materials to be used in Tanzanian classrooms, it

is important that these materials illuminate the fundamental elements of African societies that sustain cross-cultural communication in African contexts.

10.3 Southern intercultural communication practices: an example from Tanzania

Due to the presence of 120 plus languages and cultures in Tanzania (Qorro, 2013), it could be argued that Tanzanians have managed to develop mutual understanding and live in harmony with one another regardless of their differences in languages and cultures. This suggests that Tanzanians have managed to handle miscommunications and misunderstandings during cross-cultural communications and interactions. For instance, when people of the same tribe meet, normally they speak their vernacular, but if someone shows up in the middle of their conversations, and the person is not a member of their tribal group, normally they change from their vernacular and speak Kiswahili, the language known by the majority of Tanzanians. In this way, a person, who does not share the same language may feel welcomed into the conversation.

Also during celebrations, languages and cultures are observed. For example, some people may sing and dance using their own vernacular, and other people of a different cultural group will join the dance or applause to express appreciation, support and respect for other people's language and culture even if they do not understand the language. The examples above support my argument that Tanzanians acknowledge, appreciate, and respect cultural differences. In other words, it shows that Tanzanians have developed intercultural understanding, and this has enabled them to live in harmony among themselves, and interact effectively with others who are culturally different from them. In the same way, students may have already developed these values of respect for other people's cultures. The explanations above also seem to suggest the role of Kiswahili in developing ICC at a local level.

Similarly, when it comes to learning, Tanzanian students bring to school these ways of interacting and communicating across cultures because they shape their everyday life communications. This implies that if ICC is introduced into the curriculum, it will

be easier for students to use their background knowledge of communicating across cultures when learning English. However, for this to happen, teachers need to acknowledge the students' cultures in the classroom and use them as a resource to enable students to gain ICC. In this way, students will be prepared not only to pass the English language subject, but also to communicate and interact effectively with other speakers of English globally, who are linguistically and culturally different from them (Huang & Kou, 2012).

10.4 Appropriating ICC in a Tanzanian context

Teachers in a Tanzanian classroom play an important role in the education of students. Therefore, in order for students to gain ICC, teachers need to have knowledge and skills of ICC, explain the knowledge to their students and by demonstrating to them how they value other people's cultures, including their students'. For example, some students in Tanzanian classrooms come from cultures that do not allow females to speak in front of men. Since children observe the cultures of their parents and elder brothers and sisters (Ntuli, 2012), this might limit these female students speaking in coeducational classrooms. To allow these girls to learn, the teacher is required then to encourage these students to share their cultural values and beliefs with their fellow students during classroom dialogues/interactions. If the teacher is reflective and positive about students' cultures, students will not only learn how to appreciate other people's cultures, but also, will find a class a good place to be. When students' cultures are valued in schools, in this way, students will be able to move between cultures, the culture of the school, and that of the home. This in turn, will help them to interact with people of other cultures, as they will be able to negotiate meaning and move between cultures (Kohler, 2015). Also, when students are given the chance to share their cultures in the classroom, teachers will also benefit as they will learn from their students. When teachers understand students' cultures, they will be able to use them as 'resources' (Lisanza, 2014; Sleeter, 2012), which in turn, will enable both the teacher and students to gain ICC.

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There are some aspects of African cultures, such as respect for authority (see section 10.2.1) that need to be addressed. Since this aspect influences the ways teachers and students interact in the classroom, teachers may need to think about ways that are culturally appropriate when implementing the concept of ICC in a Tanzanian classroom. One way to do this is for teachers to create an environment whereby students may feel free to express themselves, for example, classroom dialogues whereby students can share their cultures.

This study positions ICC as "a Western concept", which suggests that applying it to non-Western contexts such as Tanzania could be a problem. In order to apply its knowledge to a Tanzanian context, it is therefore important to familiarise teachers with ICC by explaining the term using 'local knowledge' (Canagarajah, 2002) teachers might understand. According to Canagarajah (2002), any knowledge is context bound and community specific, because it is generated through social practices in the everyday life of that specific community. This implies that people in non-Western countries can interpret Western knowledge to fit into their own contexts by thinking about the alternatives based on their own perspectives which are relevant to their interests. Canagarajah asserts that this practice of localised knowledge construction involves "deconstructing dominant or established knowledge to understand its local shaping" (p. 252). He adds that by "appreciating the rationale and validity of dominant constructs in their contexts of origins, we are able to translate the futures that are useful for other localities with greater insight" (p. 252). According to Canagarajah, non-Western contexts can negotiate knowledge from Western contexts and appropriate it to their own contexts in order to meet their contemporary needs.

However, Canagarajah says that "we should not underestimate local knowledge to be relevant only for local needs" (p. 252). This suggests that non-Western contexts could contribute their local knowledge to global communities. For instance, Ntuli's (2012) study in South Africa describes how differences in culture might lead to misunderstandings and misconceptions among the interlocutors. Ntuli provided

examples of how African ways of communicating and interacting across age groups are observed. Such knowledge from African contexts could be extended to global contexts for people to learn in order to avoid miscommunications or misunderstandings when people of other cultures interact and communicate with Africans. Thus, drawing from the context of this study, then, it can be argued that knowledge of ICC from Southern contexts (Connell, 2007) can contribute to the knowledge of ICC globally. In that way, people from different contexts might be able to understand those contexts and thus, gain knowledge about how people in the Southern contexts interact across cultures.

According to Connell (2007), Western knowledge appears to be the only type of knowledge that is seen as legitimate, while Southern knowledge is ignored. Connell argues that it is time to legitimate and disseminate Southern knowledge, and provides the example of Nigerian sociologist Akiwowo whose work, "Contributions to the Sociology of Knowledge from an African Oral Poetry" (1986), appears to challenge the knowledge from Europe and North America. He proposed "to find concepts in Nigeria and export them to the rest of the world" (p. 90). This suggests that Akiwowo thought knowledge from Southern contexts, such as Nigeria, could also be useful to the rest of the world and, therefore, he resisted the notion that all legitimate knowledge comes from the West. Drawing from Akiwowo's comment above, this study argues that to allow knowledge of ICC from Southern contexts to be known to the rest of the world, this concept should be made available by making the interpretations clear to allow other people from other languages and cultures to use it in their own contexts.

Connell (2007) also argued that it is high time for Southern contexts to examine forms of power from Western knowledge, because not all knowledge from the West is applicable to non-Western contexts. This supports my argument made above: the knowledge of ICC, which is Western-based, cannot fit easily other contexts, particularly in non-Western contexts. This is important because in Tanzania, classrooms are (over)crowded, and it is possible to find more than 15 cultures and

languages represented in a single classroom. These classes are also characterised by lack of resources and teaching facilities (see Chapters Six and Seven), and therefore, when schools in Tanzania want to integrate ICC in their English language classrooms, it may not be possible to apply the same pedagogies suggested for the Western contexts.

Another reason for adapting established knowledge such as ICC to local contexts is that, as data for this study have shown (see Chapters Five and Six), English language teaching and learning in Tanzania is focused mostly on passing examinations. Therefore, strategies for teaching students ICC in a Tanzanian context needs to be developed. Although ICC in this study is positioned as a Western concept, Tanzanians can localise it, theorising and appropriating it in order to fit their own context (Canagarajah, 2002).

10.5 The contribution of Southern theory to the scholarship of ICC globally

This study has proposed that the teaching and learning materials of ICC based on African perspectives could be implemented in schools in Tanzania and in other African countries to allow students to become intercultural speakers. It argues that the teaching of English should not focus only on the rules of the language for passing examinations; rather, the teaching should also focus on equipping learners with the skills of intercultural communication so as to be able to function effectively in this globalised world (Huang & Kou, 2012). To reach this goal, the concept of ICC should be appropriated to fit in a Tanzanian context. This means that the explanations of the concept should allow both teachers and students to understand ICC using their own languages and local knowledge.

Lack of awareness of ICC on the part of the teachers appears to suggest that ICC seemed to be Western jargon. In this study I suggest that it is important for curriculum developers and other education stakeholders to find ways they can make this knowledge of ICC available to teachers, so that they can implement it in their

classrooms in order to produce graduates who will function effectively in both local and global contexts. This is about legitimising and valuing Southern knowledge, using local-cultural knowledge (Connell, 2007) and making it explicit and appropriate for the people in that particular context. This study brings an argument to the scholarship of ICC by suggesting that Southern theory (Connell, 2007) would fit better in a Southern context for the purposes of exploring how people in these contexts interact and communicate across cultures. Such a Southern theory would, thus, challenge the colonial legacy.

10.6 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have provided a detailed discussion on the historical African ways of cross-cultural interaction. Specifically, I have discussed the concept of respect from an African perspective. I have shown that although respect is a universal concept, it is viewed differently from an African perspective. I have also discussed how ICC can be appropriated in a Tanzanian context. Here I have argued that Tanzanians could use the concept of ICC by applying local knowledge available in the context of Tanzania to allow students to achieve ICC for effective communication with people of other cultures inside and outside the country. I have also presented a discussion on the contribution of Southern theory to the scholarship of ICC globally. This chapter has also presented an argument that exploring the concepts of ICC and power relations through African perspectives will provide a clear understanding about the constructions of ELT in Tanzania. Through the lens of Southern theory, the chapter has explored how people in the Southern contexts, such as Tanzania, could interact cross-culturally. A discussion on how Southern theory challenges the colonial legacy was also presented. Chapter Eleven presents the study conclusions, implications, and recommendations regarding ICC and ELT in Tanzania.

CHAPTER ELEVEN
CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

11.0 Introduction

This chapter revisits the core argument of this study. It draws together the implications of the discursive analysis of the study's key findings. I begin by providing a summary of research objectives, theoretical approaches to the study, and the methodology employed to answer the research questions. Then, I present a summary of the key research findings, followed by a section on the contribution of the research. The study's implications for policy and practice are presented next. Section five makes recommendations for further research. Lastly, I present a concluding statement.

11.1 Study objectives, theoretical approaches, and methodology

In this global era, the goal of ELT should be the development of learners' ICC (Sercu, 2006) to enable them to communicate and interact effectively with other speakers of English from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Byram, 1997). However, to allow students to gain ICC, teachers need to be aware of ICC in order to instruct this competence in their classrooms. The aim of this study, therefore, was to uncover the constructions of ICC from the perspectives of six teachers of English in secondary schools in the Dodoma region, Tanzania. Specifically, it explored how teachers understood ICC, and whether they modelled it in the classroom. The findings of the study are intended to inform policy makers, teachers, and other educational stakeholders in order to improve ELT in Tanzania and other non-Western contexts, so as to produce graduates who will be able to function effectively in both local and global contexts. This study is giving emphasis to developing students' ICC for effective communication and interaction in this globalised world.

Underpinned by postcolonial theory, the study also explored the colonial legacies inherent in ELT practice in Tanzania. In particular, the study explored the influences of the former colonial administration (the British) on ELT practice in Tanzania. By

using Foucauldian discourse analysis, the thesis also exposed power relations surrounding the constructions of ELT in Tanzania. This Foucaudian lens was useful in this study because it allowed me to think about how ELT could be understood differently and it provided with me with another lens to understand the complexities of power relations within ELT practices in Tanzania. As a theoretical tool, the Foucauldian lens enabled the exploration of teachers' subjectivities and how students were constructed by their teachers. Southern theory was employed to suggest ways of making ICC more responsive to Southern contexts, such as Tanzania.

This post-structural and postcolonial work involved multiple sources of data collection and analysis. These are: the analysis of government documents; the policy and the syllabus; the data from semi-structured interviews with teachers; stimulated recall with teachers; and from a reflective diary.

11.2 Summary of key research findings

This section summarises the key findings of this research. It provides insights on the phenomenon under investigation — ICC — through the perspectives of six teachers of English who participated in this study, as well as my own perspective (i.e., my background experiences as a former teacher of English in secondary schools, as an intercultural educator, and my background knowledge of the theories used in the study). These findings are summarised in four broad categories: Teachers' Understanding of ICC, power relations in ELT practice in Tanzania, some evidence of colonial legacy in ELT practices, and teachers' pedagogical practices in the classroom.

11.2.1 Teachers' Understanding of ICC

The findings suggest that teacher participants in the present study were not aware of ICC. As the literature suggested, ICC is a Western construct; therefore, it was simply educational jargon to these teachers. Most teachers believed that grammatical skills were key to successfully communicating and interacting cross-culturally, explaining that it is necessary for students to be equipped with the

language in order to successfully communicate and interact with other speakers of English around the globe. Their construction of English seemed to influence their pedagogical practices in the classroom, which were observed to focus on grammatical competence in the language (i.e., the structure, pronunciation, and so forth).

Moreover, all teacher participants considered English as a language that allowed students access to the world. Teachers viewed knowledge of English as necessary for students in Tanzania because it is used in education, business, science, and technology. They saw English as the language of great opportunities, development and globalisation. Teachers' positive views of English also seemed to be influenced by the position of English in Tanzania today. English is the MOI at post-primary education levels, and therefore in order to succeed in higher levels of education in Tanzania, knowledge of English is required.

Teachers also viewed English as the language of the world, one that would help students to learn about other people's cultures through reading literary works written in English. This view is congruent with the argument of this study and is highlighted throughout the thesis, which views English as a tool for global communication and understanding because it is spoken in different parts of the world with people of different languages and cultures (Baker, 2011). Therefore, in order to interact with the outside world, students need English. However, this study argues that when people from different cultures interact through English, misunderstandings and misconceptions are likely to occur because of their differences in culture, and therefore, to minimise those misunderstandings, both the grammatical skills which are currently the focus of instruction, and ICC are needed (Nault, 2011). It could be argued that teachers' beliefs about the role of English in the globalised world suggest that they were unaware of ICC because being able to interact and communicate cross-culturally requires both linguistic and intercultural competencies.

These teachers' lack of awareness of ICC seemed to be partly influenced by their educational background experiences, and the lack of this discourse in the government documents — the policy and syllabus. The findings have revealed that the concept of ICC is not explicitly explained in these documents.

This study argues that ICC is greatly needed to allow students and people of Tanzania to interact effectively with other speakers of English around the globe. And since ICC is a Western construct (see Chapter Two), a Southernised or localised version of ICC might be developed and threaded through the English curriculum (see Chapter Ten). Although a localised version of ICC is seen as a possible solution to students in Tanzania, there are also some constraints such as teachers not having ICC themselves so not being committed to teaching it. To make this knowledge of ICC available to teachers, it needs to be introduced to them, so that they will be able to apply it in their classrooms, as I have highlighted in section 11.4.1 below.

Furthermore, to enable students to gain ICC through classroom instruction, ICC should be integrated from the beginning of the English language curriculum (Newton et al., 2010). This integration, however, may bring challenges in ELT classrooms due to the presence of many diverse cultures (see Chapter One). Teachers might not be familiar with all cultures present in the classroom, and this might impact their pedagogical practices. However, being an inter-culturally competent speaker does not mean you need to know all cultures, but to be aware of the differences, mindful, positive, and having respect for cultural differences (Huang & Kou, 2012). Therefore, teachers may overcome this challenge by giving students sufficient chance to share their cultures during classroom dialogues and discussions. In this way, all students will feel valued and both the teacher and students will learn from each other. This in turn, students will not only gain ICC, but also, will engage in meaningful learning and see English as the language they can use to speak about their self-identities.

Another constraint in implementing ICC in ELT practice in Tanzania might be the culture of respect for authorities and when the teacher is assumed to be the sole knowledge giver in most Tanzanian classrooms, as shown in the data. It is important for teachers to become facilitators of knowledge to allow students freedom of expression in the classroom. This is what Zhao and Coombs (2012) refer to "replacing the teacher at the centre of instruction to facilitating a more student-centred learning paradigm" (p. 251). When the learner is placed at the centre, it means that he or she has more agency and, learning becomes more enjoyable and relevant on the part of the learner (Zhao & Coombs, 2012).

How ICC might be examined in the curriculum is another constraint. I argue that there is a need to design how ICC and the subject of English could be assessed in ELT practice in Tanzania. But if the examinations are still going to focus on grammar and the knowledge of English, it is obvious teachers will pay much attention to the things students will be examined on during their final examinations.

In conclusion, I argue that, ICC will allow students and people of Tanzania and other countries around the globe to realise that cultural differences are valuable resources that will enrich the understanding of the 'Other', and thus, they will be able to live in harmony with people from different cultural backgrounds in increasingly multicultural and multilingual societies. The knowledge of ICC will therefore equip students to become tomorrow's global citizens.

11.2.2 Power relations in ELT practice

Foucauldian discourse analysis was useful to analyse the government documents to understand the construction of ELT in Tanzania. Through his theory of power relations, Foucault was also useful to expose forms of power surrounding ELT practices. For instance, the analysis of the language used in the documents appeared to be authoritative and directive. Mostly, the Government appears to control ELT in Tanzania. For instance, as the data revealed, the Government prepares

curriculum/syllabi to be used in schools; it decides on textbooks and other instructional materials to be used in schools; it monitors the implementations of these guidelines in schools; and also, it prepares the final examinations.

According to the data, the government also decides the topics to be taught, and directs teachers on how to teach (see Chapter Five). In this way, teachers appear to have little power in making decisions in the classroom, and were constructed as syllabus implementers. Most of the time and, as shown in the data, teachers appeared to faithfully follow what they were told to do. This shows how the curriculum designers exercise power over teachers; although the curriculum designers were not physically present in the classroom, their power was felt by these teachers. However, these power relations also seemed to be rooted in a Tanzanian culture of respect for people with authority such as curriculum developers. This cultural aspect of respect for authorities positioned curriculum developers as having power over teachers. In the same vein, in the classroom, teachers are regarded as respected and people with authority, and thus assume power over students. Students obeyed teachers' commands, as has been described in Chapter Six of this thesis. The Tanzanian culture of respect for elders and people with authority was also demonstrated by students in the study through their behaviour in the classroom.

Foucault (1997) argues that in power relations, resistance is likely to occur. The study findings have also shown how the teachers in some ways resisted power of the government by applying alternative ways of teaching English that they thought would benefit their students. For instance, Mr Ndugu reported using Kiswahili instead of English to elaborate on important messages found in a novel he was using in his teaching.

Moreover, the findings have shown that schools' practices and policies exercise power over students. School practices such as remedial classes, orientation programmes, and the policy of "Speak English Only" suggest schools control

students' learning. Schools believed that these practices would help students learn English, and thus maintain schools' reputation by providing good results in their final examinations. Although schools aimed to benefit the students through these practices, looking closely at how these practices were applied in the schools I studied suggested that they were also ways that schools exercise power over students. Although the data show that Foucault was useful to expose forms of power within ELT practice in Tanzania, he fell short to some extent in this study due to the difference in contexts, cultures, and time (see section 11.3 below).

The findings of this study have shown that due to power operations in the classroom, some teachers constructed their students in deficit discourses (see Chapter Seven). For instance, teachers in this study saw students' failure to learn English as being due to students' attitudes towards learning, and their family backgrounds. According to the findings, teachers placed blame on both students and their families when students failed to learn English. Teachers who used this discourse believed that students do not take the responsibility for their own learning and that their lack of motivation and negative attitudes contributed to their failure.

Some teachers believed that students' failure to learn was caused by their families not taking responsibility for their children's learning. Teachers also appeared to believe that students' first languages and cultures were barriers for them to learn English. Other teachers believed that the low socio-economic backgrounds these students came from contributed to students' failure to learn English. Some teachers also believed that these students lack positive role models in society.

Teachers also appeared to believe that students' low levels of English proficiency was contributed to by their educational background experiences of using Kiswahili at the primary educational level. They also blamed the government for not providing resources such as textbooks in schools. Teachers in this study also believed that large classes and the shortage of teachers contributed to students' failure in schools. I have

argued that these teachers used these discourses to diminish their contribution to students' failure. These findings follow a similar pattern to Bishop's (2005) study of Māori students in New Zealand (see Chapter Seven). However, some teachers in the Tanzanian study appeared to value relationships with students in the classroom. These teachers believed that students fail to learn English because they are new to school and to the language. To enable students to learn, they created an environment of caring and understanding. They demonstrated this in the classroom by valuing students' ideas and opinions (see Chapter Six for details). Teachers who followed this discourse believed that good relationships with students contribute to students' success at school. This was also a feature of Bishop's (2005) study in New Zealand.

11.2.3 Some evidence of colonial legacies in ELT practices

The findings also revealed elements of the colonial legacy in ELT practices in Tanzania. The influence of the former British colonial power was evident and possibly influenced ELT practices in secondary schools in Tanzania. For instance, the findings show that some teachers demonstrated a colonial mentality in their pedagogical practices. For instance, Mr Mwalimu believed that teachers of English in Tanzania needed the assistance of experts from the British Council to come and conduct seminars and workshops for teachers of English, and to instruct them in how English should be taught. Furthermore, Mr Rafiki's and Ms Mzuri's emphasis on RP to enable students to speak like people in the UK (the former colonial ruler) suggests the perpetuation of a colonial legacy. Moreover, the data have shown that some teachers used punishment with students who failed to provide correct grammatical English sentences, and those who failed to answer teachers' questions. Teachers' actions with these students seemed to perpetuate colonial legacy (wa Thiong'o, 1986).

Another example of the colonial legacy is when schools make rules and laws that inhibit and marginalise students' first languages in schools. In addition, when teachers implemented such rules in schools they subjugated students as low ability

students, and produced deficit subjectivities which their students often adopted. This is a perpetuation of colonial legacy because during colonialism, Africans were made to feel inferior because they did not know the language of their master. Also, the neglecting of students' first languages and cultures in schools contradicts studies of ICC, many of which emphasise the importance of first languages and cultures in becoming intercultural competent learners. Students therefore have limited chances to learn from the other cultures students bring to the classroom. I argue that when students' languages and cultures are neglected, students might think that English is the "other" language or even an oppressive language because it has no connection to their everyday lives. This suggests that since ICC acknowledges students' cultures, it needs to be included in ELT to allow students to connect English language learning to their everyday life experiences.

11.2.4 Teachers' pedagogical practices

According to the findings, teachers' approaches and methods focused on their students achieving grammatical skills in the language. Teachers wanted students to pass examinations, and to empower students with the language that would enable them to learn other secondary subjects because English is the MOI. This tension appeared to force teachers to ensure that their students understood grammar because they might need it in learning other subjects that were assessed through reading and writing in English, and also for communication purposes around the school premises, as shown in Chapter One and other places of this thesis. This is problematic as it appears students are learning English mostly for academic achievement. Moreover, teachers felt forced to teach for examinations because they were evaluated by the performance of their students. The findings of this study illustrate the teachers' tensions in conforming to school and government expectations of good results for their students. In other words, these teachers were facing a dilemma in meeting both school and government needs to produce good results at the end of the year.

11.3 Contribution of the research

This research makes a number of significant contributions to theory and knowledge. Postcolonial theory and Foucauldian discourse analysis contribute to the studies of teaching English globally, particularly in African countries, such as Tanzania. Postcolonial theory is appropriate because of the background history of Tanzania. It has helped to highlight colonial effects in ELT in Tanzania today. There are number of studies that use a postcolonial framework, for example, Ashcroft et al., (1989, 2000), Pennycook (1994, 2001), Phillipson (1992), and wa Thiong'o (1986). This study extends their findings by arguing that due to globalisation, there is a need to think about how ELT practices would enable students in Tanzania to gain ICC in order to function effectively in this globalised world. Since ICC is positioned in this thesis as a western construct because it originated from Western countries, particularly the US and the UK, people in the non-Western world could localise and appropriate it to fit into their own contexts (Canagarajah, 2002; Connell, 2007).

Furthermore, this study has contributed to the area of learning English in Tanzania's secondary schools by emphasising the importance of including students' first languages and cultures in learning English. Because the inclusion of students' first languages and cultures will enable them to become aware of different cultures, it will in turn enable them to develop ICC (Sercu, 2006) for successful communication and interactions across cultures. The discursive work on teachers' deficit constructions of students and their families and cultures (see Chapter Seven) contributes to understanding ELT in this context.

Foucault's theory of power is useful in exploring power relations that surround the construction of ELT in Tanzania as shown in this thesis. Through his theory of subjectivity, Foucault was useful to the study to explore teachers' subjectivities created in government documents and through power operations in the classroom. For instance, teachers were constructed by themselves and by the government as experts and/or knowledge givers, and authority figures in the classroom through the prescriptions found in the syllabus, and through teachers' pedagogical practices in

the classroom. However, it could be argued that teachers assumed power due to the knowledge they held about teaching English. They saw themselves as proficient users of English.

Additionally, Foucault's theory of power has provided an understanding about how the government constructed teachers as "implementers of the syllabus" by ensuring teachers did what they were told to do. In this way, the government appeared to give teachers power by constructing them as experts/knowledge givers, as I have explained above, but also took this power away by constructing teachers as implementers of other people's curriculum. This position was manifested when teachers appeared to faithfully follow what the syllabus said in order to prepare students for their examinations, because the examinations came from the state government. Teachers also constructed themselves as risk takers and agents of change when they challenged the government on educational matters, and the society on the issue of FGM.

The explanations above have shown how Foucault was useful to understand power relations in ELT. However, Foucault was also insufficient, and this is why postcolonial theory was required. Foucault's theory of power was insufficient to fully understand the constructions of ELT in Tanzania, as was described in detail in Chapter Nine. Foucault was not sufficient because he developed his theories to explain political situations happening in France in the 1960s-1970s, and therefore his work is less relevant to the African context. Foucault's theorization is seen as a limitation due to differences in contexts and time (i.e., this study was conducted in Tanzania, in 2013). Tanzania is home to complex intersections of history, politics, and cultures outside of Foucault's European experience, thus theory situated in postcolonial societies in Southern contexts was necessary. Thus, Southern theory was brought into my analysis. For instance, in the construction of both curriculum developers and teachers as authority figures in ELT, Foucault would argue that both curriculum developers and teachers assume power over ELT. However, in the African culture, these are respected people in society, and therefore they speak with authority and their

demands are obeyed without argument. This African culture of respect for authority figures was clearly shown in teachers' practices in the classroom. In this study, the Tanzanian culture of respect for people with authority was valued and privileged in the classroom.

Southern postcolonial theories are more relevant for exploring how African societies experienced colonialism because Southern theorists have more understanding of the situations and the cultures of the people in Southern contexts, such as Tanzania. The use of postcolonial theory to investigate ELT in Tanzania contributes to theories of language policy and learning in colonised states, such as Tanzania. Postcolonial theory in this study has shown how the effects of the former colonial powers continue to dominate ELT, particularly in these colonised states such as Tanzania. The use of postcolonial theory in this study has helped to understand how students' first languages and cultures were marginalised in schools. This research will allow teachers and other educational stakeholders to find ways that students' languages and cultures could be incorporated in learning English because studies of language learning suggest the knowledge of the first language and culture is important in learning a second language, and in gaining ICC (see Chapter Two). In this study, postcolonial theory was useful to uncover the colonial legacies that are still evident in ELT in Tanzania (see Chapter Eight).

This study also addresses the lack of theories on ICC in Southern contexts such as Tanzania. As mentioned in Chapter Ten, Southern contexts have their own ways of communicating across cultures, but such theories are lacking in the ICC literature. The study has therefore argued that it is important to use Southern theories to explore ICC in Southern contexts. The fact that there are 120 plus cultures in Tanzania strongly suggests that Tanzanians are already adept at communication across cultural differences. Therefore, in multicultural societies such as Tanzania, using Southern theory seems to be appropriate to finding out how people in Southern contexts interact cross-culturally. Since ICC is a Western concept, the study argues that in order to apply this term and its knowledge to a Tanzanian context, there is a need to

familiarise teachers with it by explaining the term using the local knowledge (Canagarajah, 2002) and familiar terms teachers might understand. This implies that people in the non-Western countries can interpret Western knowledge to fit into their own contexts by thinking about the alternatives based on their own perspectives and those relevant to their community.

In turn, the knowledge of ICC from Southern contexts (Connell, 2007) can contribute to the knowledge of ICC globally. Because people have different values, beliefs, and norms, and therefore, when speakers of English from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds interact and communicate, misunderstandings or miscommunications are likely to occur due to differences in culture (Ntuli, 2012). Therefore, by explaining ICC knowledge from Southern contexts, it could help people from other contexts to understand and gain knowledge about how people in the Southern contexts could interact across cultures. In that way, it could help to avoid or minimise such miscommunications and misunderstandings during the interaction processes.

Southern theory thus challenges the colonial legacy. The notion that ICC is a Western concept appears to suggest that Western countries assume that Southern countries such as Tanzania are incapable of finding their own ways of communicating and interacting across cultures. Southern theory challenges this Eurocentric way of seeing African societies as backwards and incapable since colonialism. Southern theory paves the way for the possibility for change in finding knowledge of cross-cultural communication from an African perspective. Such ways could also be used and acknowledged across cultures; they could be applicable beyond the African cultural boundary in other non-Western contexts. Canagarajah's (2002) concepts of 'localising and appropriating' are applicable here in this context. Therefore, the use of Southern theory in my study significantly fills the gap created by the lack of Southern theories in the issue of communicating and interacting effectively with other speakers of English globally.

11.4 Study Implications and Recommendations

The findings of the present study have shown that teacher participants were not explicitly aware of ICC. In order to produce graduates who will successfully compete in the global arena, there is a need for them to gain ICC. This implies that, teachers need to become aware of ICC in order to allow them to implement it in the classrooms. The study presents a number of educational implications and recommendations for policy and practice to address ICC and ELT challenges that have been identified. It also has implications and recommendations for theoretical understandings of ELT in Southern contexts and for future research.

11.4.1 Implications for policy and practice

The findings of this study have already influenced aspects of my own personal and professional practices as an intercultural educator and a researcher. In addition to my own Tanzanian identity as a multicultural person, the knowledge of ICC has influenced the way I see myself as a local Tanzanian, and a global citizen. It has affected my interactions with fellow speakers of English, and influenced the ways I now think about my own culture when interacting with people of other cultures. For instance, during my PhD candidature, the knowledge of ICC helped me to interact and communicate effectively with my supervisors and other students I met and study with, who came from different countries around the globe. Generally, the knowledge of ICC has enabled me to be open minded, and sensitive about other people's cultures.

As a university academic staff member, this study will influence my role in preparing prospective teachers of English to teach in secondary schools in Tanzania. The findings reported in this thesis have given me insights into how important it is to equip prospective teachers with the knowledge of ICC so that they will be able to implement it in their classrooms.

As an intercultural researcher, the findings of this study have led me to think of the opportunities and challenges about how ICC could be implemented in Tanzanian classrooms in order to prepare students who will function in both local and global contexts. This study has allowed me to move away from traditional methods of teaching English and find better ways to assist students to gain ICC for effective communication and interaction with other speakers of English globally. Beyond my own practice, this study has implications for other academics in universities around the globe who are seeking to assist prospective teachers of English in order to prepare students for effective communication and interactions in both local and global contexts.

As already argued, teachers need to be aware of ICC in order to implement it in the classroom. This calls for policy makers to find ways in which this knowledge will be available for teachers to implement in the classroom to prepare students for cross-cultural communication and interactions.

Firstly, studies of ICC have suggested that students' first languages and cultures are important for them to gain skills for interacting and communicating across cultures. In Tanzania, ICC is important to help students to solve problems that could arise when interacting with their fellow students from different cultures. On the part of teachers, intercultural awareness will help them to design activities to include the different cultures students bring to the classroom and, by doing so, they will create an atmosphere of learning because every student will feel welcome. Thus, to develop students' ICC, it is necessary for teachers to think positively about others and to be empathetic, tolerant, respectful, and accepting of the different languages and cultures students bring to the classroom (Holliday, 2009).

Secondly, it is advisable that the teaching materials include local and international contexts to allow students to learn about the cultures of other people around the globe through classroom instruction. The teaching and learning materials should

encourage students to reflect on their own culture in relation to others, thus helping them to become successful intercultural speakers (Byram et al., 2002). Tanzania is a multicultural society, and therefore teachers need to be aware of the diversity in cultures students bring to the classroom. When students' languages and cultures are included in learning English, they will gain ICC by being empowered by their own languages, thus reducing the sense of alienation they experience, which will in turn help them to see English as a language that speaks about their daily lives. This study therefore suggests that pedagogical materials and approaches should consider students' diverse cultures.

Thirdly, the Ministry of Education needs to revisit the objectives and policies of ELT in Tanzania to enable teachers to prepare students for effective inter-cultural communication. For instance, this study has demonstrated the contradictions and mismatch in the policy statements. The syllabus states that one of the objectives of teaching and learning English in secondary school is to "communicate effectively with other speakers of English both inside and outside the country" (URT, 2010, p. v). However, this objective seemed not to be implemented in the classroom. The study suggests including the concept of ICC be included in the syllabus for developing learners' ICC in order to produce graduates who will function effectively in both local and global contexts.

Fourthly, the study argues that both teachers and students need ICC, and thus I recommend that ICC be included in English language programmes for teachers and in ELT practice in secondary schools in Tanzania, to allow both teachers and students to gain ICC. It is necessary for these programmes to help teachers develop their own ICC so that they can implement it in the classroom. This implies that there is a need to equip prospective teachers with ICC. When teachers are knowledgeable about ICC, they can implement it in the classroom. This study therefore, calls for curriculum developers and other educational stakeholders to find ways to make knowledge of ICC available to teachers so that they can implement it in their classrooms. The study also calls for curriculum developers to design other instructional materials, such as

textbooks and other classroom resources, which will enhance students' awareness of different cultures, and therefore increase their ICC.

Fifthly, the study suggests that teachers need to be made aware of how their deficit constructions of students, their families and their students' first languages and cultures as barriers to learn English in turn produce negative and alienating positions for students. Teachers need to understand the importance of students' first languages in learning English. The teaching of English should enable students to communicate and interact effectively within and outside the country, and not only be focussed on passing examinations. Likewise, discourses that construct students as passive recipients of knowledge need to be challenged too. Students learn more effectively when they are given more opportunity to share their ideas and views in the classroom. Encouraging this will ensure that students are prepared not only for examinations, but also for interaction and communication with people of other cultures around the globe. This is because sharing their views in the classroom builds up skills of respect and value for other people's ideas.

Lastly, there is a need to address the constraints in ELT such as shortage of resources, and large class sizes. Large class sizes were reported by all teachers so that it is making it difficult for them to reach all students. The government needs to ensure that relevant and sufficient teaching materials and resources such as textbooks are distributed to schools to reduce the challenges faced by teachers (see Chapter Seven). In addition, materials relevant to ICC should also be provided in schools for developing both teachers' and students' ICC.

11.4.2 Recommendations for future research

First, this study used Foucauldian discourse analysis of the policy and syllabus. Therefore, for future research, data could be gathered by interviewing Government officials in the MOE, in order to investigate the discourses they use to construct ELT

and to enter into dialogues with them about how the goals for ELT should reflect changes in the globalised world, thus ensuring it is relevant to students' futures.

Second, future research could be conducted to explore ICC in the better resourced schools in order to learn how they teach and construct ELT and ICC. In addition, the study could be conducted using a large sample within the same category of urban schools. This will enable researchers to gain a bigger picture about ELT practices in Tanzania. Further to this, my study is based on a sample of six teachers with experience of at least three years in the teaching field, in three government administered secondary schools in urban Dodoma. Therefore it would be good to extend the study in other urban government schools in other regions to see how they teach and construct ELT and ICC.

Third, future research on exploring student experiences and subjectivities in English language classrooms would extend this study. This is important because students' voices are important for both changes in policy and practice.

Lastly, future research also should explore in detail how ICC has been used in Tanzania already, and how this could be valued and disseminated to other Southern contexts, and to Northern communities too. This will allow the knowledge from a Southern context — Tanzania — to be available in the global context.

11.5 A concluding statement

This study has demonstrated the complexities of teaching English in Tanzania through the use of postcolonial theory, Foucauldian discourse analysis, and Southern theory, and has proposed significant ways in which ICC could be 'southernised' to make it more useful in Tanzania. Through the lens of postcolonial theory, the study has problematised how the dominant Anglo-American ideologies/theories on ICC are discursively reproduced and turned into legitimate knowledge in both Western and non-Western contexts, and it looks for possibilities for change such as appropriating

ICC into Southern contexts (Connell, 2007). The study in a Southern context has paved the way in which the knowledge of ICC could contribute to the scholarship of ICC globally. Postcolonial theory was necessarily used to expose colonial legacies inherent within ELT in Tanzania. Therefore, this study makes an important contribution to the theories of language policy and learning, particularly in former British colonised states. However, in order to challenge the concept of power within ELT, postcolonial theory was not sufficient, and therefore, Foucauldian discourse analysis was adopted as a methodology, due to its emphasis on the concept of power relations.

My personal journey has also contributed to this study. My background experiences as an intercultural educator and a former teacher of English in secondary schools has helped to shape my understanding of how ELT and ICC could be understood in Southern contexts. In other words, this research has added to my knowledge of ICC in the global context. It has provided insights into what ELT may be like in secondary schools in Tanzania. In this thesis, I have argued that students' first languages and cultures are important for becoming interculturally competent learners; therefore, their background experiences should be given priority in the English language classroom. Since ICC acknowledges that first languages and cultures should be included when learning English (Alptekin, 2002), ICC will on the one hand challenge the colonial legacy, and on the other hand, students will be empowered to use English for their own benefit, such as interacting and communicating with people of other languages and cultures. I believe that if students in Tanzanian secondary schools will be equipped with ICC, they will be able to grow both personally and professionally, and become global citizens.

In conclusion, this research has provided an understanding of how teachers in this study constructed ELT and ICC. As the findings suggest, the teachers were unaware of ICC. I therefore suggest that, to allow people in Tanzania to succeed in this global arena, the Government, through the MOE, should revisit the language policies and

introduce ICC in Teachers' Colleges and schools. This competence is greatly needed for effective communication and interaction in a globalised world. Teachers, on the other hand, need to rethink their beliefs and pedagogical approaches in the classroom especially those that construct students in deficit terms. Therefore, teachers need to become agents for change in ELT in Tanzania.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Victoria University of Wellington Faculty of Education Research Ethics Approval Letter

26 November 2012

Upendo Biswalo
Phd Student
Victoria University of Wellington Faculty of Education
C/- School of Educational Policy and Implementation
Donald Street
Wellington

Dear Upendo

RE: Ethics application SEPI/2012/64 RM 19556

I am pleased to advise you that your ethics application '**A postcolonial lens exploring English language teaching in Tanzanian secondary schools. A role for intercultural communicative competence?**', with the required changes, has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Faculty of Education Ethics Committee. Please note that the approval for your research to commence is from the date of this letter.

Best wishes for your research.

Yours Sincerely

Dr Sue Cornforth

Co-Convener
Victoria University of Wellington Faculty of Education Ethics Committee

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI

VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Information sheet for teachers

Research topic: *A postcolonial lens exploring English language teaching in Tanzanian secondary schools: A role for intercultural communicative competence?*

a. About the researcher

Upendo Paul Biswalo is a PhD student at Victoria University of Wellington, in New Zealand. Currently, she is in Tanzania for field work. She has been a teacher of English in Tanzanian secondary schools for more than five years and she has an interest on researching the teaching of English in secondary schools in Tanzania.

b. The research focus and procedures

The purpose of this study is to examine to what extent teachers of English prepare their students for communication with other speakers of English around the globe because English links the country with other countries around the world through business, technology, and education. Skills for intercultural communication enable students to communicate and interact across cultural boundaries. Based on the Tanzania's vision to participate effectively in globalisation, this study intends to examine how teachers report their understanding of intercultural communicative competence and the impact of their own practices in English language classrooms.

Participation is voluntary, and if you decide not to participate, that will not affect you in anyway. If you decide to take part in this study, you will need to give permission to be interviewed once in order to understand your perceptions of intercultural communicative competence, and how you interpret it in your own practices in the classroom. In addition, the interview will focus on the opportunities you create to prepare your students to experience other cultures around the globe. Moreover, you will be asked to explain some of the constraints you encounter when preparing your students for effective communication with people of other languages and cultures.

The interview will be a maximum of one hour long, and it will be tape-recorded. During the interview, I will summarize the key points to teachers as a way of checking that the ideas are recorded accurately. After the interview, you will have a chance to check the transcripts for clarity and correctness. At this stage, you will have a right to add or delete information you want.

Also, I will explore your teaching approaches and methods through stimulated recall. Stimulated recall will involve video-recordings. This also will be done once, and the procedure will have a maximum of one hour long. You will be video-recorded while teaching in the classroom. The reason for doing video-recording is to understand how teachers make decisions when they teach English. After video-recording, there will be a follow-up interview in order to get more clarifications on the specific incidences I recorded in order to understand more. The follow-up interview will be a maximum of one hour long. After the interview, you will have a chance to check the transcripts for clarity and correctness to check if the summary reflects your opinions. At this stage, you will have a right to add or delete information you want.

c. Benefits of the study

Your involvement in this study will contribute to the current understanding and research about the teaching of English, and ways in which will improve the teaching and learning of English in Tanzania in order to prepare students become global citizens.

d. How the results will be shared?

The data will be pooled together and analysed, then included in a PhD thesis. The thesis will be deposited in the library at the Victoria University of Wellington. You will be sent a summary of these results if you wish. The results will be shared with the education and teaching community through scholarly journal articles and conference presentations.

e. Confidentiality:

Your identity and the school in which you teach will remain confidential, and all research findings reported will be on an anonymous basis and will thus not be associated with the names of participants. You will be asked to keep your schools' and your participation in this research confidential. All notes and raw data will be kept secure in a lockable cabinet or password protected file at Victoria University of Wellington. In addition, data will be destroyed in five years after the study is completed.

If you agree to participate, you have the following rights:

- To withdraw from the study prior to the start of data analysis, approximately 6 February, 2013, and any data already collected prior that period will be destroyed.
- To ask any question about the study at any time during participation
- To be given the summary of the study findings through email or by mail at the end of the study if you wish.

This application has been approved by the Victoria University Faculty of Education Ethics Committee Application no SEPI/2012/64 RM 19556 and the Municipal

Director, Dodoma Municipal Council, with Ref. NO DMC/F.20/26/138, in Dodoma region, Tanzania.

If you have any questions about the ethical issues associated with this research, you may contact Dr. Allison Kirkman, Chair of the VUW Human Ethics Committee by emailing Allison.kirkman@vuw.ac.nz

For more information about the research, please contact me or my supervisors at Victoria University of Wellington through the following addresses:

Researcher	Supervisors
Ms Upendo Paul Biswalo Email address: upendo.biswalo@vuw.ac.nz or upendopsix@yahoo.co.uk Mobile number: +64221358669	Principal supervisor: Ass. Prof Catherine Manathunga Email address: Catherine.Manathunga@vuw.ac.nz Secondary supervisor: Dr. Carolyn Tait Email address: Carolyn.Tait@vuw.ac.nz

Appendix C: Consent form for teachers

Consent Form for teachers' participation in a study titled:

A postcolonial lens exploring English language teaching in Tanzania: A role for intercultural communicative competence?

☐ I have read the information sheet relating to the purpose and nature of this research, and I have   understood this information

☐ I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that my participation or non-participation in this study will have no effect on my career

☐ I understand that I may ask questions about this study at any time during my participation

☐ I agree to keep this study confidential

☐ I understand that interviews will be audio-taped and transcribed and I will have the opportunity to check the transcript for accuracy and make changes if I wish.

☐ I also understand that I will be video-recorded for an hour in my classroom.

☐ I understand that any information given by me will be kept confidential.

☐ I understand that I have a right to withdraw at any time prior the data analysis, approximately 6 February, 2013.

☐ I understand that I will not be identified and the data will be destroyed in five years after the study is completed.

☐ I understand that the research findings will be presented in the PhD thesis, at education conferences, and written in educational journals.

☐ I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the information sheet.

☐ I am ready to participate in this research.

Full name..

Email address...

Signature...............................

Date.........................

☐ I wish to receive feedback of the study by being sent a summary after the study is completed. Yes☐ No ☐ (tick one)

I would prefer to receive the summary by …......................

Appendix D: Guiding semi-structured interview questions for teachers

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI

VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Semi-structured interview questions in a study titled:

A postcolonial lens exploring English language teaching in Tanzania: A role for intercultural communicative competence?

1. How do you define culture, and what is the role of culture in language teaching?

2. Tell me what abilities do you think are important for effective communication with people of other languages and cultures?

3. Describe how your teacher education prepared you to communicate with people of other cultures.

4. In what ways do you create opportunities for students to understand and experience other cultures?

5. What do you think are the main objectives of teaching English in Tanzania now and in the past?

6. Describe how the knowledge and skills for communicating with people of other languages and cultures could be promoted in English language teaching?

7. Describe what constraints you encounter in preparing your students for effective communication with people of other languages and cultures?

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI

VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Examples of Stimulated recall's prompts in a study titled:

A postcolonial lens exploring English language teaching in Tanzania: A role for intercultural communicative competence?

1. "What were you saying there?"
2. "What were you thinking then?"
3. "Why were you using such material?"
4. "What were you thinking when choosing such material?"
5. "Why did you choose that material?"
6. "Why did you act/decide to do that way?"
7. "Were/are there any other possibilities of doing that in another way?"

Appendix F: Permission letter to undertake research in Dodoma Municipality

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

DODOMA MUNICIPAL COUNCIL
(All correspondence to be addressed to Municipal Director)

DODOMA REGION
Tel.: 2324817/2321550
Fax: 2324817/2354817

OFFICE OF MUNICIPAL DIRECTOR
P.O. Box 1249
DODOMA
E-mail: dodomamunicipality@yahoo.co.uk

In reply please quote:

Ref. No. DMC/F.20/26/138

Date: 09TH January, 2013

Head of School's

DODOMA.

RE: INTRODUCING MS UPENDO BISWALO.

The above named is a student at Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand.

She is currently undertaking a study titled:-
A POSTCOLONIAL LENS EXPLORING ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING IN TANZANIAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS. A ROLE FOR INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE.

Kindly accord her to undertake data collection as part of her doctoral research program.

Yours sincerely,

(Chacha James)
For MUNICIPAL DIRECTOR
DODOMA