

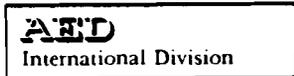
APPENDIX A

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF
SELECTED KENYAN COMMUNITIES

JUNE 30, 1981

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CENTER FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS

Academy for
Educational
Development



RADIO LANGUAGE
ARTS PROJECT
- KENYA -

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SELECTED KENYAN COMMUNITIES

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by

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PREFACE

The Office of Education, Bureau of Science and Technology (formerly the Development Support Bureau), United States Agency for International Development, has contracted with the Academy for Educational Development to develop an innovative radio-based English language arts instructional program in collaboration with the Ministry of Basic Education in Kenya, where English is used as a medium of instruction. The project will design, implement and evaluate an instructional system to teach beginning English language skills in the first three primary grades of Kenyan schools using radio as the major medium.

Based on the Kenyan national curriculum, the radio lessons, broadcast daily during the school year into representative primary classrooms, will take into account the linguistic and cultural diversity of Kenya's citizens. To this end, the Academy contracted with the Center for Applied Linguistics to conduct a sociolinguistics survey which would both aid in the final selection of pilot schools for the project and provide in-depth study of the linguistic communities making up those schools. Under the direction of G. Richard Tucker, a team from the Center, working in close cooperation with Kenyan educational authorities, and the Kenyan and American members of the project team, carried out their field work in January and February, 1981. Deborah Z. Fallows and James Dias made up the field team. Their report which follows was of immediate use to the project team in making a final selection of project schools and in guiding the work of the lesson planners and writers. For the general reader, it provides a current description of the interactive use of Swahili--the designated national language; English--an official language of the country and the medium of instruction in the schools after the fourth year; and the vernacular languages.

Members of the project are happy to share this and other information from the project and welcome suggestions and comments.

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I. Introductory Statement

The Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) was asked by the Academy for Educational Development to undertake a focused cultural and socio-linguistic survey of Kenya. This survey was to be undertaken in conjunction with the Academy for Educational Development (AED) simultaneously with the launching by AED of the Radio Language Arts Project. It was thought to be important to collect base-line information concerning language use and language attitudes from a sample of respondents similar to those who would ultimately be affected by the implementation of this project.

CAL has had extensive experience in coordinating or implementing field surveys of this type; and, in fact, coordinated the survey of language use and language teaching in East Africa in which Kenya was one of the five countries surveyed. CAL asked two linguists to assume primary responsibility for this task. Dr. Deborah Z. Fallows served as Team Leader for the project assisted by Mr. James Dias. Consultative input was also received from Dr. Carol Myers Scotton, a Professor at Michigan State University, who has had extensive field experience in Kenya; Dr. William Gage, a CAL linguist who is particularly interested in the language situation in East Africa; and Mr. Len Shaefer, Assistant Director of the Language Processing Center at Georgetown University.

The actual field work which led to the preparation of this report resulted from an initial reconnoitering trip by Fallows and Dias to Kenya in November 1980 followed by the actual field work itself which occurred during a seven-week period in early 1981. The purpose of the reconnoitering trip was to meet key individuals who would assist the Survey Team in various ways during their stay in Kenya, to identify potential areas of the country in which survey work could be carried out, and to obtain a better feel for the scope of work and, thus, the nature of information that should be collected during such a survey. During the field work, excellent support was received at all stages from the AED home office in Washington and project staff in Nairobi. In addition, individuals from the Kenya Institute of Education, (KIE), the Central Bureau of Statistics and other education officials provided valuable assistance.

II. Purpose of Field Survey

The Field Survey was predicated on the assumption that patterns of language use and language attitudes constitute an important component in the implementation of language teaching programs. In recent years, it has become common to carry out base-line sociolinguistic surveys before undertaking major language education innovation. The notion is that a thorough knowledge of the functional allocation of languages and their ascribed status will help one to understand better some of the major social forces at work that can affect program implementation. In general, such survey work has both short-term and longer-term utility. The results of field surveys can provide important guidance concerning selection of program sites, and the content of structuring of program materials. They can, as well, provide a solid backdrop of demographic and other language use and attitude information for the description of project participants, their teachers, their schools and their communities at the beginning of the language education innovation and for comparative purposes at specified intervals following such information.

As originally envisaged, the present Field Survey has three major purposes: (1) the collection of general information from diverse individuals concerning their patterns and practices with regard to language use and language attitude; (2) the collection of information from individuals about previous experiences with radio as a vehicle for formal instructional purposes; (3) the collection of anecdotal and other supplemental information concerning school and community environment, school facilities, and receptivity of headmasters, parents, and teachers.

With respect to the first purpose--the collection of information from teachers, students and parents in diverse sections of the country concerning their patterns and practices with regard to language use and language attitude as well as more detailed information about their need for uses of English--it was hoped that this information would provide base-line or entry-level data which would permit the accurate description of prospective participants in the radio language arts project. Such information is desirable so that statements can be made about the likely generalizability of the results of the radio language arts project to children other than those in the experimental project schools. In addition,

this information will serve as base-line data for the first phase of the longitudinal summative evaluation that will be carried out during the course of the project implementation to assess the relative efficacy of providing English language arts instruction for selected pupils via radio in comparison to that which is traditionally provided pupils by their classroom teachers in comparable control schools.

Finally, with respect to the second and third purposes, very practical information was sought for AED program staff. It was thought that specific information about prior experiences with radio instruction and reactions to it would affect the design of the proposed series. In addition, the CAL team sought to provide information about those types of myths, beliefs, attitudes or traditions that might serve as the "vehicle" for conveying language to pupils for the purpose of assisting AED project personnel in preparing scripts for the radio programs.

III. Strategy for Sociolinguistic Survey

The sociolinguistic survey was conducted by interviewing parents, teachers and students from 21 schools with respect to their patterns of language use and language attitudes toward English, Swahili and their mother tongue. The 21 schools from seven districts were chosen according to procedures described in the section of this report called "School Selection Procedures."

In each of the seven districts, the CAL interview team first contacted the District Education Officer, and often several of his staff, including the Assistant Education Officer, the officer responsible for primary schools, the school inspectors, and the members of the Teachers' Advisory Center (TAC). The survey team presented letters of introduction from Kenya Institute of Education and explained the project. In many instances the CAL team was preceded by visits from the KIE/AED teams, and the district officers were already well aware of the project. These officials were able to facilitate CAL's entry to the schools by contacting school principals in advance, or accompanying the CAL team to the school, or at the least, by providing letters of introduction to the school principals.

A CAL survey member arrived at a school, sometimes together with a district official, or a TAC member and often with a local contact to help in translation. (These had been trained by the CAL member to conduct interviews.) The survey team first met with the headmaster or the deputy

headmaster to describe the project and interview procedures. They sometimes had the opportunity to meet with the teachers and parents as a group as well. Interviews were conducted individually, one interviewer and one respondent, sometimes in the presence of a local translator, in an empty room or office, or a quiet place outside. Interviews took between 10 minutes (student questionnaires were the shortest) and 60 minutes (teacher questionnaires sometimes took this long). There was often time to spend afterwards talking with the teachers--on a walking tour of the school, at lunch, or just chatting. The interview team often had a chance to corroborate statistical information provided by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) on each school (see statistical package) by such observation and informal discussion at the schools. It was possible to complete interviews at a given school in one or two days.

IV. School Selection Procedures

The Central Bureau of Statistics provided us with names of 10 randomly chosen schools in each of seven districts. For each school, they provided statistics of number of students, number and qualifications of teachers, CPE (Certificate in Primary Education--the school-leaving exam given at the end of elementary school) performance of standard seven (grade seven) students. On the basis of these statistics, we planned to choose three matched pairs of schools, a high (rank 1), a middle (rank 2), and a low (rank 3) pair. The rank 1 pair would have comparatively good teacher qualifications and good CPE performances, the rank 2 pair would have middle level qualifications and performance, and the rank 3 pair would have low level qualifications and performance.

In some districts, pairs could not be found. Either there were insufficient differences among schools to find three levels of schools, or there were insufficient similarities to make up pairs. In other cases, we had to eliminate some schools. Based upon discussions with the local district education officers, we found that some schools were unsuitable because they were inaccessible in rainy season, they had poor radio reception, they were too urban, or the population of the school was not representative of the district.

We then did one of two things. (1) If our time and location permitted, we requested additional names of schools and their accompanying statistics from CBS and then repeated the selection procedure. (2) We obtained a

complete list of schools in the district, ranked according to average CPE performance. We divided the list into thirds (rank 1, 2, or 3), based on average CPE scores. We eliminated certain schools on the recommendation of the local education administrators for the usual reasons (location, radio reception, etc.). We then randomly selected schools from the rank group 1, 2, or 3 that we needed to complete the selection of three pairs of schools.

V. Results of Sociolinguistic Survey

The first purpose of the sociolinguistic survey was to gather information on the use of and attitudes toward Swahili, English, and the vernaculars throughout Kenya. The discussion of these issues is presented in the following way.

First, in Part V, Section A, 1, there is a discussion of the overall proficiency of speakers in Swahili, English and the vernaculars around the country.

Next, it was found that patterns of language use broke down into the following categories: Languages of the home and community; Languages of the workplace; Language of the "official" world; and Languages of communication. These are discussed in Section A, 2-5.

Next, it was found that while these patterns of language use could be described for Kenya as a whole, there were some differences by district. These are discussed in Section A, 6.

All of the above information viewed from another perspective indicates that there are distinct profiles of the different languages of Kenya, Swahili, English and the vernaculars. Descriptions of this overall sense of each of these languages are found in Section B.

The second purpose of the survey was to examine the peoples' habits of radio listening and particularly, their experience in using radio for academic purposes. The discussion of these issues appears in Section C.

Additional questions were addressed to the teachers about their commitment to the profession, their teaching experience and their opinions on students' English skills, teaching materials, and radio use in the classroom. This was a minor part of the survey and was designed to be of interest to the team preparing materials, and possibly for evaluation purposes. The results are presented in Part VI.

Finally, it was possible to examine the survey results from Part V

with respect to two issues that were of prime importance in the school selection procedures: school rankings according to students' CPE performance, and geographical location. Part VII compares survey results from schools that were "high" performers or "low" performers according to the criterion of CPE performance. Part VIII examines survey results as a factor of the schools' location with respect to Nairobi, the "near" districts surrounding Nairobi or in the "far" districts along the eastern and western borders of country.

A. Language Use

English, Swahili, and many vernacular languages are spoken throughout Kenya. The data from the different people we interviewed illustrate some of the variations in extent of use of these three language types and degree of proficiency in them. In each of the 21 schools, which were selected to represent seven districts around Kenya, we interviewed three students from Standard 6 or 7, three parents of students in the school, and five teachers, one each from Standard 1, 2, 3, one English teacher from an upper standard and the headmaster or deputy headmaster. Information gathered on professions of the informants indicate that the parents represent the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum (72% are in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, such as farmers and laborers, or are unemployed) while teachers represent the higher end, along with other professions as nurses and secretaries.

1. Use and Proficiency of Languages

Only about half the parents spoke any English at all. About 35% gave themselves the highest ratings on proficiency, saying they spoke and understood English "very well" or "fairly well." Only 28% had studied English more than five years in school. Among the students, all spoke some English. Their proficiency varied widely; some were able to conduct the interviews easily while others had to do it by translation. About 90% of the students gave themselves highest proficiency ratings.

The teachers were obviously the best in English. But their proficiency varied as well. All were able to complete the questionnaires, but some had considerable difficulty with the more complicated questions. In these instances, the interviewer had to explain or paraphrase the question until he was sure the respondent clearly understood and was able to answer. 99% gave themselves the highest proficiency rating in English.

If the respondent was not skilled enough in English to both understand the questions and respond, then the interview was conducted in Swahili or vernacular. Vernacular was used if the interviewer, or the translator for the interviewer and the respondent shared a mother tongue. Otherwise, the interview was conducted in Swahili. For Swahili, we were able to make our own judgments only by observing the ease with which the Swahili-administered interview was conducted and the extent to which Swahili was used everywhere we went, with apparent facility. It is clear that most everyone is more comfortable with Swahili than English. The three groups, describe their own proficiency in Swahili this way: For parents, about two-thirds gave themselves the highest rating for speaking and understanding Swahili, "fairly well" or "very well." For students, almost 80% rated themselves this way and for teachers, almost 83%. Less than 3% of all respondents listed Swahili as their best language. Two-thirds of the parents listed Swahili as their second language, and one-third listed English as their third language. While more students listed English as their second language (53%) and Swahili as their third (52%), two-thirds of the teachers said English was their second best language and Swahili their third.

The vernaculars, of course, are spoken fluently all over the country. While everyone speaks it best of all his languages, many (about 30% of parents and 12% of teachers) do not read or write it. These figures for language use and fluency were not always consistent across districts (see Table 1). Kiambu and Kericho each had seven parents who spoke English; Machakos had five; Kajiado and Kakamega had four; Kwale had three and Kisumu had two. Kiambu also had more parents listing English as their second language, almost 90% did so in Kwale. Kiambu had the smallest number who called Swahili their second language. In Kajiado, Swahili predominated as the second language, and English as the third, but one-third spoke only vernacular.

PARENTS' KNOWLEDGE OF NON-VERNACULAR LANGUAGES BY DISTRICT

TABLE 1

	Kiambu	Kajiado	Machakos	Kericho	Kakamega	Kisumu	Kwale	Total	
Respondent Speaks English	No	1	6	4	2	4	7	6	30
	Yes	7	4	5	7	4	2	3	32
Respondent Speaks Swahili	No	0	3	1	0	1	1	0	6
	Yes	8	7	8	9	8	8	9	57
2nd Best Language	Eng.	4	1	1	3	3	1	0	13
	Swa.	4	5	7	6	6	6	8	42
	N/A	0	2	1	0	0	2	0	5
3rd Best Language	Eng.	3	3	4	4	1	1	2	18
	Swa.	4	1	1	3	1	1	0	12
	N/A	1	5	4	2	6	7	5	30

Abilities in Swahili varied as well: overall, about 36% of the parents said they spoke Swahili "very well", and 47% understood, 41% read, and 25% wrote Swahili "very well." The one district that varied noticeably from this was Kwale, where 100% reported that they spoke and understood Swahili "very well", 55% read and wrote it "very well." One said it was his best language. For the vernaculars, there is a sharp division in literacy rates among the districts: in Kajiado and Kwale, two-thirds of the parents said they could not read or write their own language "at all" or "not very well." In all the other districts, they answered "fairly well" or "very well."

There were differences among student responses also. (See Table 2) Overall about half the students listed English as their second language and Swahili as their third. In Kakamega, 7 of 9 listed English second and 9 listed Swahili third. In Kiambu, Machakos, Kisumu, and Kericho the ratios were about 2 to 1, listing English as second and Swahili as third. In Kajiado and Kwale, however, more than 75% listed Swahili as the second language and English as the third. Students from Kajiado and Kwale show great strength in Swahili in particular. In self-evaluations, they rated themselves as speaking, reading, understanding and writing consistently well above the norms. On the other hand, in Kiambu and Kisumu, students rated themselves consistently well below the norms for Swahili abilities.

While about 65% of students said they could read and write their vernacular "very well", responses were more positive in Kakamega, Kisumu and Kiambu, and more negative in Kajiado and Kwale. The teachers also showed a little variation by district. Most of the teachers rating their Swahili abilities as "not very well" were from Kisumu. Kericho and Kakamega had more teachers answer this way than the other districts.

The following sections will discuss the languages used in the different kinds of situations that make up life in Kenya: language of the home and community; language of the workplace, including schools; language of the "official" world; and language of mass communication.

2. Language of the Home and Community

The vernacular clearly dominates language use in the home and vernacular and Swahili are both used as languages of the community. Between 88-93% of the students said they speak a vernacular at home with parents,

STUDENTS' NON-VERNACULAR LANGUAGES BY DISTRICT

TABLE 2

	Kiambu	Kajiado	Machakos	Kericho	Kakamega	Kisumu	Kwale	Total	
2nd Best Language	Eng.	6	2	6	6	7	6	1	34
	Swa.	3	7	3	3	0	2	8	26
3rd Best Language	Eng.	3	7	3	3	0	3	8	27
	Swa.	7	2	6	5	9	3	1	33

siblings and other relatives. The rest is primarily Swahili, with a little English spoken with siblings. 80% of the parents said they speak vernacular "nearly all the time" at home, and again, Swahili makes up most of the rest. It is usually spoken with "visitors" who don't speak the same vernacular. Minimal English is spoken at home, only "when helping the children" or with "visitors."

The teachers' profile looks slightly different: only 56% say they use vernacular at home "nearly all the time" and they use more English and Swahili than the parents do. The explanation for this is that many teachers are living and teaching outside the regions where their vernacular is spoken. These teachers would have many more occasions to use Swahili. Many of the teachers were from Kwale, which has the highest percentage of teachers native to other areas. Large numbers of students assigned to teacher training colleges in the coastal regions are from "up country." Many stay on in the area, at least temporarily, to teach. In Kwale, 6 of 15 teachers were native Kidigo, while the rest were from a variety of other areas. The only other district that has a high percentage of non-native teachers in Kajiado, where 7 of 12 teachers were native Maasai. The rest were Kikuyu.

Sixty-seven percent of students, 65% of parents, and 67% of the teachers say they use the vernacular at church, with the clergyman. Nearly all the rest use Swahili. Many of the respondents who answered Swahili, said it was because their clergyman didn't speak their vernacular.

At the market, 54% of the parents, 65% of the students, and 43% of the teachers speak vernacular. The rest use Swahili. Many of the respondents said they really use both languages, and had a difficult time saying which they thought they used more. It depended, they said, on whom they were talking to at the market, whether or not the other person spoke their mother tongue. A "store" or "shop" brought slightly different responses about language use from use in the "market." For parents, 51% used vernacular, and 46% used Swahili. For students, 41% used vernacular against 48% for Swahili. For teachers, 28% use vernacular against 60% for Swahili. Among parents, this same pattern of roughly equal use of vernacular and Swahili -- slightly favoring vernacular -- was observed in five of

the seven districts: in Kwale and in Kericho, however, Swahili was used much more frequently than the mother tongue in community situations. The majority said the language they used at the market, in stores, and at church was Swahili. Among students, one-fourth to one-third of the students from Kwale said they usually speak Swahili at home with their families, although they still listed Kidigo as their first language. In community situations, students from Kwale and Kajiado consistently showed much more use of Swahili than the others.

Teachers also showed some variation. In Kiambu and Kisumu, 95% of the teachers used their vernacular at church, while in Kajiado and Kwale, they averaged about half as high for vernacular and twice as high for Swahili.

At the markets, vernacular was primarily used by teachers in Kiambu, Machakos, and Kisumu, while Swahili was primarily used in Kajiado, Kericho and exclusively used in Kwale. For shopping at stores, only in Kiambu did teachers continue to use a great deal more vernacular than Swahili.

Vernacular is clearly the language of the home. Vernacular and Swahili are both used as languages of the community; vernacular usually is favored in Kiambu, Machakos, Kisumu, Kakamega, and Swahili is favored in Kajiado, Kwale and Kericho.

3. Language of the Workplace

The parents in this study were described as being primarily semi-skilled, unskilled, or unemployed. This includes jobs like carpenter, laborer, farmer, driver, herder. Only 28% were described as having "skilled" or "professional" jobs. The parents represent a lower socioeconomic group than the teachers -- who are all described as "skilled." The parents said the primary language of their workplace was vernacular. More than 90% of them speak vernacular at work and 80% of them speak it there nearly all the time. For the rest, Swahili is spoken about twice as often as English. Most said they used their Swahili, "when someone didn't speak the vernacular." Eleven percent of the parents, presumably the professionals among them, said they spoke English "nearly all the time" at work. Many of the others who reported speaking some English at work commented that they used it "when someone was speaking English to them" or when "someone didn't speak Swahili."

Broken down by districts, in Kiambu and Kericho -- where parents had highest job ratings -- the majority said they spoke English at work and the majority of those said they spoke it "nearly all the time." In the other districts those who worked spoke vernacular all the time.

The language use of the teachers at school is much more mixed. Virtually all say they speak both English and Swahili at school; 75% say they also speak vernacular. (Those who don't speak vernacular are probably teachers who are teaching outside their home districts.) Forty percent say they use English "nearly all the time." Eleven percent say they speak Swahili and 32% say they speak vernacular "nearly all the time." In English class (standard 1, 2, 3 use English only in English class), teachers say they use English nearly all the time, except when providing clarifications. Then, they tend to use vernacular (42%) or Swahili (31%). There are a few differences by district. In Kiambu, 79% of the teachers clarify in vernacular while in Kwale, 67% clarify in Swahili. Outside the classroom, teachers say they speak English with the students about half the time, while the rest is split between Swahili and vernacular. (Many teachers explained that they usually use English with the older children and vernacular with the young ones whose English is not strong enough.) Seventy-three percent say they use English with other teachers, and 87% use English with the headmaster. In Kiambu, teachers talked to each other in vernacular more than twice the norm. In Kajiado and Kwale teachers conversed in Swahili, about 40% of the time, the only two districts where they spoke Swahili at all. Seventy percent of the teachers use vernacular when talking with the parents of their students, against about 30% for Swahili. Swahili was used in Kwale and Kajiado, where teachers were natives of other areas, and in Kericho, where the students came from a variety of tribal backgrounds.

Among the students, 97% say they usually speak English with the teacher in English class; 70% speak English with their classmates in class. When they ask for explanations in class, 61% say they ask in English, 23% in Swahili, 16% in vernacular. Outside the class 98% say they speak English with the headmaster, half the students say they speak English with their teachers, while the rest mostly speak vernacular. 80% say they speak vernacular with their friends outside class. By district, Kiambu students reported using about twice as much vernacular, both inside and

outside class, with teachers and classmates alike, than was the norm. In Kwale, on the other hand, students reported using much more English and less vernacular with their classmates outside of class, than any of the other districts.

4. Languages of the "Official" World

For the parents, Swahili is the language most often used "officially": 60% use it at the post office; 60% at the bank; 71% at the doctor, hospital or clinic; 80% at the police station; 46% at meetings. English is used twice as often as the vernacular at the post office and bank; equally at the doctor, but less at meetings. They write business letters 46% of the time in Swahili, versus 32% in English. Only in completing official forms, like drivers' licenses and birth certificates, do parents indicate they use more English than Swahili (49% versus 35%). Those who said they completed forms in Swahili often said they did it in Swahili and had someone translate it for them into English.

There is some variation among the districts in terms of the use of language for "official" purposes. In Kwale, Swahili is used almost exclusively even among those who speak English. In Kajiado, Machakos, Kakamega, and Kisumu, those who speak both English and Swahili were about evenly split -- half used English in these instances, and half used Swahili. In Kiambu and Kericho, the majority of those who speak English use English at the post office, bank and for official writing, but they use Swahili at the doctor and at the police station.

For teachers, the use of English and Swahili are mixed. Equal numbers use English and Swahili at the post office; 80% use English at the bank, against 17% using Swahili; 55% use English at the doctor, against 38% for Swahili; while 75% use Swahili at the police station, against 17% for English. At meetings (which for teachers usually means faculty meetings) half said they use English, a majority of the rest said they use Swahili. Teachers said they write business letters in English 88% of the time and complete official forms in English 98% of the time.

Of these official uses only the post office showed district differences: there was twice as much use of Swahili compared to English

in Kajiado, Kericho, Kakamega and Kwale, while three to five times as much English as Swahili was reported in Machakos and Kisumu.

For students, about half report using Swahili with the doctor or nurse although the usage by district varies quite a lot: Kiambu reports 70% use of vernacular, Machakos 55%. Kajiado and Kericho report 77% use of Swahili, 55% for Kakamega and Kwale. Kisumu reports two-thirds use of English. Thus, there is no consensus across districts concerning which language to use in this situation.

5. Language of Communication

Among parents, the majority of those who write personal letters, notes and messages do so in their mother tongue. They listen to the radio mostly in Swahili; although they listen to some leisure programs that are available in vernacular. Between 20-30% of the parents did not read, but among those who did, they read newspapers in both English and Swahili; they read books both in English and vernacular, and read magazines in English and Swahili. (If any book is available in vernacular, it will usually be the Bible. Availability of other translations, or original texts in vernacular varies greatly around the country.) Four districts follow these norms, but Kwale uses almost exclusively Swahili in these instances. In Kiambu and Kericho, parents use more English for writing and reading.

Students listen to the radio about twice as often in Swahili as in English, except for educational programs, which are always in English.

The teachers say they do almost all their written correspondence in English, even the notes to themselves. 75% listen to the radio more than 20 hours a week; they listen to the radio for news and pleasure twice as often in Swahili as in English. And of course, their educational programs are also entirely in English. For teachers, in Kwale and Kajiado there is two to three times as much personal writing done in Swahili as in English. In Machakos, on the other hand, 10 of 16 teachers said they usually write notes and messages in vernacular.

6. Summary of Language Use Differences by District

There are a few trends that seem to stand out. In Kwale, Swahili is more heavily used than in any other district. More people speak it more

often, and better. Swahili often replaces vernacular for community and even home use, and at work and in school. Swahili often replaces English as a choice for official uses as well. There are a number of reasons that may be responsible for this expanded use of Swahili in Kwale, and probably, in the whole coastal region: Swahili is closer, structurally, to the coastal Bantu languages than it is to the other languages in Kenya and thus, is easier to learn; the use of Swahili in Kenya originated in these coastal areas; there are large populations of different tribes living in close proximity -- encouraging use of a common language, Swahili, a situation found also in densely, and diversely populated urban areas.

In Kajiado, Swahili and English are split as choices for official uses. Swahili is often used in community situations instead of vernacular among teachers and students, but not among parents -- many of whom knew only the vernacular, Maasai. There is a strong literary tradition of Maasai, and it is clearly the language of the home.

In Kiambu, two trends are pulling against Swahili: English is favored for national and official uses, probably because of the great numbers of educated, English-speaking parents, while vernacular is favored for community situations, probably because of the existence of a homogeneous, large tribal group. Students in Kiambu appear strong in vernacular, and less strong in Swahili, comparatively.

Kericho tends to favor Swahili over vernacular for community situations and favor English over Swahili for official and national uses. This, again, is like the situation in Kiambu, where educated and occupationally-skilled parents, with better English abilities display preferences for English over Swahili.

In Kismumu, the language situation looks like Kiambu, except the parents are not as skilled at English, and thus are divided between Swahili and English for the official and national uses for language. Vernacular is very strong for community and home uses, taking away from use of Swahili. Also, like in Kiambu, students appear comparatively weak in Swahili and strong in vernacular.

The patterns are not as clear in Kakamega and Machakos, although they seem to be a less distinct version of what is found in Kisumu:

English and Swahili are shared as the official languages; vernacular is usually used as the language of the home and community.

B. Characteristics of the Languages of Kenya

There seems to be a general operating rule for language use in Kenya: use the vernacular whenever possible; use Swahili as a second choice; use English when you are obliged to and in special situations. This is both an impression we got from our observations and a conclusion we drew from our statistics. It is meant to be a general statement, and needs to be qualified in many instances. Language choice can vary depending on the details of the people who are talking, the place where they're talking, what they're talking about, etc.

Besides these circumstances of a conversation, there are several other factors that affect language choice. One is a person's facility in using each language. Obviously, people are most comfortable with their mother tongue. Although, as seen below, there are special situations where a person could be more comfortable using a different language. In Kenya, virtually everyone listed the vernacular as his best language. Two-thirds of the teachers interviewed listed English as their second best language and two-thirds listed Swahili as their third best language. Students -- who don't know English as well as teachers -- followed this pattern, but percentages were lower: 53% called English their second best language (versus 41% for Swahili) and 52% called Swahili their third best language (versus 42% for English). Only about half of the parents interviewed spoke English at all. For all parents, two-thirds listed Swahili as their second language (versus 20% for English) and 28% listed English as their third language.

Other external forces affect language choice. Although a person may be fluent in a language, he may not read or write that language. Such is often the case with vernacular in Kenya. In many native tribal languages in Kenya, the Bible is the only thing to read, and often there is nothing written at all. The educational system certainly affects language choice: since people begin as children doing nearly all their intellectual work in English, it is not surprising that they go on to use English for most reading and writing -- even writing notes to themselves, or their spouses

or their friends. And, there are certain circumstances where there is no choice about which language to use: e.g., in Kenya, official documents are usually written in English. Those who don't know English must use a translator.

There are other factors that go into determining the patterns of language use that are within a person's control -- either consciously or subconsciously -- e.g. preference for one language or another; a sense of appropriateness of language choice when speaking to a certain person, or in a certain situation; the "prestige" associated with a language, etc.

There is a definite profile for each of the three languages of Kenya: Swahili, English, and the vernaculars.

Swahili

Swahili is spoken by almost everyone in Kenya. In our survey, 90% of parents; 99% of teachers; and 91% of students listed Swahili as one of the languages they knew. Most parents listed Swahili as their second language, more teachers and students listed English as their second language, and Swahili as their third. This is a sensitive issue: we think there is a likelihood that teachers and students may have answered this way because they thought it was what we wanted to hear, or what they thought they "should" answer, or what they would like to be the case. Our observations contradicted the statistics: For example, the teachers and students said they always used English with the headmaster; but first-hand experience at the schools told us that in reality, this was not at all so. In at least two schools, just after having conducted interviews where teachers said they always spoke English with the headmaster, and the headmaster said he always spoke English with the teachers, we were treated to a lunch in the company of the headmaster and teachers where no English was spoken. It seemed even more dramatic considering that we didn't speak Swahili, and couldn't take part in the conversation. When we initiated conversation in English, they responded, of course, in English, but any talk among themselves was never in English. Banking was another such instance. 80% of teachers and 25% of parents replied they did their banking in English. In our experience and casual observation, it was our impression that Swahili is usually the language of banking transactions.

This survey itself presented another case. In several instances when the respondents listed English as their "second-best" language and Swahili as the "third best," we had to conduct the survey in Swahili because the respondent's English was too poor.

All parents say they want their children to learn Swahili. They usually give one of two reasons: (1) they say it is the "national language" or the "language of Kenya." People talked about Swahili with a great sense of patriotism. And accordingly, about 85% of parents said they thought Swahili should be the "language of Parliament." (Figures were higher in Kwale and Kajiado, lower in Kisumu and Kiambu.) Much of this is probably affected by a person's ability to communicate in English and Swahili -- many parents would be effectively shut out of this "nationalism" if English were used. Among the teachers, on the other hand, who speak more and better English as a group than the parents, about 55% agreed on Swahili, while 45% said English should be the language of Parliament.

The second reason is one of practicality: parents said that Swahili is the "language of communication" among the tribes. To function in the mixed-language society of Kenya, people must know Swahili. Again, about 85% of the parent respondents said they thought Swahili should be the "language of traffic signs" and "language used on billboards and advertisements." (Again, figures were higher for Kwale, lower for Kiambu.) This means they clearly see it as the language of communication within Kenya. The 15% who thought English should be used in these cases usually said it would help the tourists to have English. Of teachers, 63% said Swahili and about 37% said English should be used.

English

There is quite a different sense of English. Again, all parents want their children to learn English, but the most frequently listed reasons are "to get a job" and "education." People talked about English with much more of a sense of obligation -- you have to learn English if you want to succeed; you have to learn English to function at a certain level of society; you have to know some English to carry out certain official obligations. We sensed no emotional attachment to English the way we sensed it with Swahili or the vernacular.

English is also the language of the written word. The academic training in English is certainly responsible for teachers saying they usually write (even the most informal kind of writing) letters (84%), notes (77%) and messages even to themselves (93%) in English. So, for teachers, even if they are communicating with family, friends, etc. who speak their language, and even if they are communicating about the most informal things, they usually use English, probably a reflection of a strong literary training in English. The case is more complicated for parents. Roughly half the parents who know English said they write these informal notes, etc. in English. Overall, more people wrote in vernacular, and fewer in Swahili.

The pattern is remarkably different for Kericho and Kiambu where parents had higher occupational rating levels and where parents who could write in English did so almost all the time. Presumably, the difference is that overall, the parent respondents know English much less well than the teachers. This was certainly our observation. We did not examine the frequency with which parents and teacher respondents actually did this kind of writing, but it was our guess that the teachers did a lot more of it than parents.

Written English, then, operates under a different set of social rules than spoken language. Educational background and training override the usual set of rules for choosing a language. The better you know English, the more likely you will be to write in English -- even in circumstances where, were you speaking, you would speak in vernacular.

The same kind of pattern seems to be true for reading. For teachers, they do virtually all their reading in English (97-99%). It is interesting to note that 97% said they read newspapers in English, while only 37% said they listen to the news on the radio in English.

Again, for parents the case was more complicated. We believe the statistics disguise the real breakdown of reading habits because of the gross differences in English language abilities among the parents and also because of the availability of reading matter in the different languages: for many -- the parents whose English is minimal or nil -- the only book they read is the Bible, which is usually in vernacular. These same people will read newspapers and sometimes magazines in Swahili. Other parents, the ones who speak better English, read books in English, and read magazines and newspapers in both Swahili and English. Again, it is interesting to note that while 40% said they read newspapers in English, only 10% listen

to the radio news in English. There are no dramatic regional differences for this, except in Kwale, where all reading is done in Swahili and in Kiambu and Kericho, where about 85% of those who read do so in English. For students, there were no regional differences in their English self-evaluations. But when they were asked to compare their own English to that of their classmates, students in Kericho, Kakamega, and Kisumu rated their own English as "worse" than that of their classmates. In other districts, they rated it as "about the same" or "better."

For students, about 87% listed their occupational goals as "skilled" or "professional" positions, and 81% of them said the language they would need most in their future ideal jobs was English.

Thus, as for writing, the better you know English, the more likely you will be to read in English even in circumstances where, were you listening, you would be listening in Swahili or vernacular.

Vernacular

This was described strictly in terms of home and community. It is the language of everyday life. When possible (that is, when you know that people you are dealing with speak your mother tongue) you use vernacular -- in the market, in shops, at church, at the clinic, with teachers, etc. The statistics do not, we believe, reveal the extent of this. People often said they used Swahili in such cases. The reason is that there are so many areas throughout Kenya where people know they will have to use Swahili because they don't share a mother tongue, that many people said they used Swahili instead of vernacular. But such answers were nearly always qualified, at some point, by the respondent saying that he didn't use vernacular in such and such a case "because the minister didn't speak our vernacular" or the "teacher of my children is from another region" or "the shopkeeper is Asian and doesn't speak vernacular" or "traders in the market come from all over." They would use vernacular, they indicated, if it were possible.

The teachers present the most interesting case of this, as they are the one group who often find themselves living outside their vernacular region. As was seen, in Kajiado and Kwale, where you find this

situation, the use of vernacular is often impossible and teachers resort to Swahili for many home and community situations. For parents, the language of the home and community is the vernacular. By district, Kwale and Kericho show much more Swahili use in the community situations. All the regions looked similar in their language use patterns at home. For students, while the vernacular clearly follows this pattern, it finds competition to some degree from Swahili in Kajiado and particularly in Kwale.

Just as Swahili is associated with a "national identity," vernacular is associated with a "tribal identity." There does not seem to be a divisiveness or friction between the two -- just as you have a dual identity of being a tribal member and a Kenyan, so you have a different language that goes with each. There is a time and place for each, and a different kind of loyalty to each.

C. Radio Use

Radio is the most widespread mode of communication in Kenya. Even the poorest own radios. If families have one possession, it will be a radio. You hear radios everywhere you go in Kenya: in the market and shops; in houses you pass on a walk through a village; in nearly every school. Those who don't own radios still listen to them, usually at friends' or relatives' houses.

Sixty-four percent of the students we interviewed said their parents owned a radio. These children were from families where 55% of the fathers were unemployed, or in unskilled jobs, or not living with the family, and where 61% of the fathers and 70% of the mothers had not attended school beyond standard 3. Virtually all the students said they listen to the radio -- to the news, for entertainment and, of course, in school. Even if they don't have a radio at home, they will seek one out to listen to.

Of the parents we interviewed, 78% said they owned a radio. Eighty-one percent of the parents were either unemployed or in unskilled jobs. Only 4 parent respondents and 3 teachers said they didn't listen to radio, while 41% of parents and teachers alike said they listen more than 30 hours a week. Ninety-six percent of teachers own radios.

Radio forms a vital link from the countryside to the rest of the world. Everyone who reported that he listened to the radio said he listened to the news. Fifteen percent more parents listen to the radio than read newspapers. Only fractionally fewer respondents said they also listen to the radio for entertainment purposes. Of course, all the children listen to educational programs, and 86% of the parents said they listen to educational programs as well. Respondents reported that they listen primarily in Swahili. Of the students, 63% said they listened to the news in Swahili versus 31% in English; 52% listened to pleasure programs in Swahili, 28% in English; 15% listened in vernacular. By district, students listened more to Swahili in Machakos and more to vernacular in Kiambu than the norms. Educational programs for the children are, of course, primarily in English. The parents listen to even more Swahili than the students. Seventy-one percent listen to the news in Swahili, against 10% in English and a reported 13% in vernacular. Forty-nine percent listen for entertainment in Swahili; 33% in English; 8% in vernacular. Forty-four percent reported listening to educational programs in Swahili, versus 33% in English and 8% in vernacular.

By district, parents in Kwale stood out in their radio usage profile. Thirty-five percent parents owned radios; they averaged about half as many listening hours; and they reported listening exclusively in Swahili. The teachers listen more in English than the other groups do. Sixty-four percent listen to the news in Swahili while 37% listen in English; 63% listen to pleasure programs in Swahili versus 32% in English and 5% in vernacular. In sum, roughly between 30-40% of listening to news and for pleasure is done in English. Among teachers in Kisumu and Kiambu, there is at least twice as much news listening in English as to Swahili. In Kwale, Kisumu, Kakamega, Kericho, teachers listen almost entirely in Swahili. In Machakos they are split, and in Kiambu and Kajiado, they listen nearly twice as much in English as in Swahili.

Nearly half the teachers said they had studied by radio themselves when they were in school, more in Kiambu and Machakos, fewer in Kericho and Kakamega. About a third of the teacher respondents had studied English by radio. Ninety percent of the teachers said they have used the radio in their

classrooms (there are no radio lessons available to standard 1) and slightly more than half the teachers have had at least three years of experience teaching by radio.

Students reported very positive feelings about using the radio. They said they liked the variety it offered; it was a nice change from the classroom teacher; the lessons were very organized; they heard lots of new, different and interesting material; they liked the music and songs.

Teachers reported that they thought about 80% of the students were "somewhat" or "very" positive about using the radio in their classrooms. Many said that children liked listening to radio because it brought significance to what they studied about -- the students believe that if they hear about something on the radio, it must be important to the rest of the country. They seem to trust the radio.

There were, of course, drawbacks to radio use in the classroom. Despite the good and favorable reports about radio, students still preferred teacher instruction to radio instruction by nearly 2 to 1. Students in Machakos and Kericho gave their teachers the highest ratings. Nothing, they reported, can take the place of human contact. They like the teacher because he is there to explain or clarify what they haven't understood on the radio; to give feedback, corrections; to drill and practice; to backup and repeat; to monitor their listening.

Teachers echoed these feelings by the students, and added a few reasons of their own. Eighty-six percent felt that radio was "somewhat" or "extremely" helpful to them in the classroom. Teachers in Kiambu -- the most experienced in radio use in the classroom -- were also the least enthusiastic in their impressions of how helpful it was to the classroom; more than 71% rated it as "somewhat helpful" compared to the norm of 31%, and only 21% rated it "extremely helpful" compared to the norm of 55%. They were similarly more negative in their responses of how their students would rate the usefulness of radio in the classroom -- favoring "somewhat positive" twice as often as "very positive", which is the reverse of the norm. Nearly unanimously, teachers felt their presence in the classroom, working with the radio, was essential. Besides what the children said, teachers felt they were also needed to enforce disciplined listening, to encourage concentration and participation.

Many of the respondents discussed their feelings about English lessons on the radio. These are not easily quantified, but are easily discussed in terms of content, style, methodology.

The main point we gleaned from our discussions with teachers is the necessity of gearing the content of the lessons to standard 1, 2, and 3 children from rural areas. The children, they said, were very naive and limited in their worldly experiences. The teachers in Misakwani Primary School, on the hill above the city of Machakos, and in full view of the city just closely below, said that probably only 5-10% of those young children had ever been down the hill and into the city. Yet, this was one of the least remote schools we visited. The experience of these children, they said, is limited to family life, life in the fields and the family shamba. They know about animals, crops, weather, family, daily routines, going to school, folk tales and fables, markets, villages, small shops, stories about their own tribes and rituals and customs. The children do not come to school with much knowledge about city life: post offices, taxis, telephones, hotels, tourists, businesses, cars, vacations, television. Their introduction to other peoples' ways of life should begin with stories about Kenya, not America or England or the rest of the world.

The children will not go home to feedback or reinforcement of their English lessons. Forty-eight percent of the parents interviewed said they did not speak English. Thirty-five percent said they did help their children practice English at home. Fourteen percent said they had taught their children songs or rhymes or stories in English. So, while a few children may hear parents use English, (or more likely older brothers and sisters) at this age it is almost exclusively a school activity. For the children in standard 1-3, it is an activity even further restricted to English language period.

Although most teachers reported using, or trying to use, English "outside the classroom, on the school grounds" with the children, most qualified their answer by saying that they used the vernacular with the standard 1-3 students (or Swahili when they didn't share a vernacular) because the little ones didn't understand enough English.

Nearly all the teachers (93%) felt strongly that the teacher and radio should work together; that the teacher enhances the worth of the radio broadcast in a vital way. Everyone would like to have supplementary classroom materials and visual aids, given the choice. There is such a dearth of teaching aids in these rural schools, and any materials they do have are so novel to the children, that any accompanying materials would be a very attractive addition -- one that would surely enamour the radio lessons to most children and teachers instantly.

Teachers were split on the question of language of presentation of the English lessons. Sixty-four percent felt the lessons should be presented entirely in English. They felt the teachers could provide the explanation in Swahili or vernacular -- whichever were more often used -- when it was necessary. Thirty-two percent felt the programs should be supplemented by explanation in another language -- usually Swahili. A few said they would prefer the explanations to be in vernacular -- although, they were aware of the difficulty of doing this for lessons that would broadcast nationwide.

Teachers said that they would like to prepare in advance for the broadcasts, and that they would prefer a teacher's manual to work with radio programs which would guide their preparation. Teachers reported several things that the young children find appealing in lessons. They like music of any kind, and particularly enjoy learning songs. They also enjoy hearing poetry, stories and skits, or things involving family characters. They like hearing lots of different background noises: animals, birds, bells, horns, whistles, vehicle sounds, etc. -- anything they can try to identify.

VI. Profile of Teachers

There were 101 teachers interviewed. More than 60% of them had taught more than six years, slightly more in Kiambu and slightly fewer in Kajiado and Kisumu. They were quite loyal to their profession -- 86% said they intended to remain as teachers rather than seek another job. The teachers were unanimously satisfied being teachers in Kakamega, and slightly less satisfied in Kajiado and Kisumu. Eighty-six percent trained formally to become teachers, most with at least two years at the teacher training

institute. Seventy percent felt that teacher training college adequately prepared them for teaching English, and among those who didn't, the most prevalent reason was that there weren't enough courses on teaching English in particular. About 90% of the teachers have used radio to teach with in their classes, half of them for more than three years. Half of them have taught English by the radio. Sixty percent say the radio reception at their schools is good; 30% say it is fair. Reception was poorest in Kakamega, where 38% of the teachers rated it as "poor." Nearly half of the teachers had studied using radio themselves, more of them in Kiambu and Machakos, and fewer of them in Kericho and Kakamega. About a third of the teachers taught English with Progressive Peak materials and another third with Safari materials. In describing the English abilities of their students at the end of Standard 3, two-thirds rated their ability to write a simple paragraph and write a simple story as "fair." They rated their ability to follow oral instruction a little better, about one-half as "fair", and their ability to discuss daily routines, and give class reports -- about one-half as "poor". There were not big differences among the districts. Despite these poor reports, 45% of the teachers said they thought their students were able to handle English as the sole medium of instruction after Standard 3. Only in Machakos and Kwale did more teachers answer negatively to that question. They were not able to isolate any individual inadequacy in their English; they felt students were lacking in experience in English in general, and not in any particular skill.

VII. Sociolinguistic Survey Results analyzed According to School CPE Performance

One of the criteria in school selection was performance of students on CPE exams. Of the three schools selected from each district, one school was labeled a "high" performance school, one a "middle" performance and one a "low" performance school. This was based on the average CPE score of a school falling within the top middle, or bottom third of scores from all schools in the district. One of the originally planned analyses of data was to compare results from these three types of schools. However, there were great inconsistencies across districts in overall CPE scores.

For example, schools in Kiambu performed much better than schools in Machakos. The "low" performing school in Kiambu had higher CPE scores than the "high" performing school in Machakos. To arrive at a more accurate sampling of schools according to CPE performance, a reassignment of schools to the different categories was done in the following way:

The Central Bureau of Statistics provided us with uniform statistics of CPE results for all 21 schools. These appear as follows (see chart on next page). An average CPE score was figured by multiplying the average CPE score within each five-point range by the number of students obtaining a score in that range, adding the totals together, and dividing the sum by the total number of students taking the exam. The result was the "average" score. Scores from all 21 schools ranged from 13.3 to 25.4 (see Table III). It was felt that since these scores did not span a great range, the best display of the differences in schools based on exam results would be obtained by selecting two groups, a "high" performing and a "low" performing group. Schools with average scores of 20.17 and above form the "high" performing group and school of 16.92 and below form the "low" performing group. In the "high" group there was one school from Kiambu, Kajiado, Kwale, Kericho and two from Kisumu. In the low group there was one school from Kajiado, Kwale, Kericho, and two each from Machakos and Kakamega.

The following is the analysis of data from three groups of respondents: parents, students and teachers who were interviewed at the "high" and "low" performing schools. In most cases, the two groups showed very similar results and followed the trends described in the main report analyzing the country as a whole. Results that vary between the two groups are discussed below.

A. Teachers

There are a few differences in the overall descriptions of the teachers. The teachers from the "high" performing group are less experienced than those from the "low" group: about 40% have less than three years experience teaching, versus 10% from the low group; 15% more teachers from the "high" group did not intend this to be their lifelong profession, but are seeking another job.

H. ANALYSIS OF STUDENT FLOWS

Enter the number of students in each of the following

Card	0	4
Type	13	14

1. Examination results in 1979

Total number sitting C.P.E.

Boys

Girls

0	0	8
15	16	17

0	0	5
18	19	20

of which
Number obtaining less than 10 points

0	0	1
21	22	23

24	25	26

Number obtaining 11-15 points

0	0	1
27	28	29

0	0	1
30	31	32

Number obtaining 16-20 points

0	0	2
33	34	35

36	37	38

Number obtaining 21-25

0	0	3
39	40	41

0	0	4
42	43	44

Number obtaining 26-30 points

45	46	47

48	49	50

Number obtaining 31-36 points

0	0	1
51	52	53

54	55	56

AVERAGE CPE SCORES BY SCHOOL

TABLE III

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>AVE. CPE SCORE</u>
Kiambu	Lusigetti	24.08
	Githirioni	19.74
	Mukui	18.45
Machakos	Misakwani	17.81
	Kitonyini	15.51
	Kisovo	13.30
Kajiado	Isinya	20.70
	Olepolos	19.10
	Upper Matasia	16.40
Kwale	Mwangunga	20.32
	Muhaka	18.80
	Mvindeni	16.20
Kisumu	Rabour	23.07
	Lela	20.17
	Awasi	17.18
Kericho	Kapkatunger	25.41
	Torit	18.87
	Chepsir	16.92
Kakamega	Mukumu	19.61
	Shikundi	15.76
	Muraka	15.71

The teachers from the "high" group are harsher in their evaluations of radio usefulness: there was about a 25% differential in responses on the usefulness of radio instruction in the classroom. Teachers from the "high" groups described it as "somewhat helpful" while those from the "low" group gave it the highest rating of "extremely helpful." Correspondingly, about twice as many teachers from the "low" group reported that they felt their students "very positive" about radio instead of "somewhat positive" as reported by the "low" group.

There are differences in responses from teachers from the "high" and "low" groups that revolve around English language ability and English language use. Teachers in the "high" group said they studied English more years than those in the low group -- about 20% more studied "more than 7 years." About 25% more teachers from the "high" group rated their English abilities to understand, read and write in the top category. This may account for their increased use of English in several situations.

About 10% more than the "high" group said they use English for official functions like the post office, bank, police, employer. The "low" group uses more Swahili. About 15-20% more from the "high" group said they use English for informal writing, such as personal letters, notes, diaries. The "low" group uses more vernacular. About 15% more from the "high" group listen to radio news in English. The "low" group listens more in Swahili.

Similarly, 15% more teachers from the high group report using English with students outside of class, on school grounds, etc. The "low" group uses more Swahili. These same teachers report about 15-20% higher ratings on their students' abilities in English. But ironically, although more teachers from the "high" group reported more favorably on their students' abilities in English, about 15% more teachers from the "low" group reported that they thought their students were ready to handle English at the sole medium of instruction after Standard 3.

The overall increased use of English at "high" group schools, and higher evaluation of "high" group students correlates in a very sensible way with higher CPE performance.

B. Students

Ironically, students from the "low" performing group of schools rated themselves better in their English abilities than students from the

"high" group -- 25% better in speaking and understanding; 10% better in reading and writing. These figures correlate with district differences as well.

The only other noticeable difference in responses from the students is that students in the "high" group listen 25% more to the radio news in English and students in the "low" group listen 25% more in Swahili. While students from the "low" group may feel their English is relatively strong, students from the "high" group show that they actually use English even when they are not required to (i.e. listening to radio).

C. Parents

Statistics showed that parents in the "low" group had lower status jobs: that is, there were more people in "unskilled" positions (43%), compared to the "high" group (18%) while people in the higher group had more respondents in "semi-skilled" and "skilled" positions (54%) than the low group (19%). There were no differences among spouses' jobs and no differences in education. The only difference in language use in work situations was that the "low" group used more vernacular at work (90%) than the "high" (65%). This is not surprising considering the level of their positions.

These differences in job types could be related to the factor of performance of schools: schools in lower socioeconomic areas performing less well. It is also related to the different balance of regional input, i.e., there are no schools representing Kiambu (a district where parents have higher quality jobs than is the norm) in the "low" group, and there are two schools from Machakos (a district where there are many more parents in "unskilled" jobs than any other district).

A second difference centers on the use of Swahili. Parents from the "low" group judge themselves better in Swahili in relation to their peers than parents from the "high" group, by 34% versus 18%. This higher self-evaluation correlates with several instances of increased use of Swahili. They reported using a little more Swahili (about 15%) in some "official" situations, e.g. bank, post office, police station, and in "community" situations, e.g. market, church. They also used more Swahili (20-35%) for "official writing" and reading magazines than parents in the "high" group.

They favored Swahili over English more for the language of Parliament; 90% versus 71% for the "high" group.

While a strong self-evaluation of ability in Swahili seems a reasonable explanation for increased use of Swahili it is difficult to find a connection between increased use in this wide variety of situation and the factor of having children in "low" performing schools. A third factor -- district differences -- should not be overlooked. In the "low" group of schools, there is no representation from Kiambu or Kisumu -- the only two districts that favor use of vernacular over Swahili in these "community" situations. Thus, without input from these two vernacular-favoring districts, results naturally favor Swahili.

The district argument could also hold for favoring Swahili as the language of Parliament: the only two districts where any strong support is shown for English use in Parliament are Kiambu and Kisumu -- again the two districts that are not represented in the "low" group. Similarly, no one from Kiambu or Kisumu reports reading magazines in Swahili.

VIII. Survey Results According to Location in Relation to Nairobi

In another analysis, the population was broken into two groups: group 1 = the three districts that are located near Nairobi, Kiambu, Machakos, Kajiado; group 2 = the four districts located at the east and west ends of the country, Kisumu, Kakamega, Kericho and Kwale. While the results do show a few differences between these two groups, in all but one case, the factors accountable for the differences seem to be something other than the distance from Nairobi. For example, results for group 2 shows more use of Swahili, and better evaluations of ability in Swahili. However, the difference is not consistent among the four districts of group 2, but rather is the result of extremely high figures from one district, Kwale. The differences from Kwale were enough to alter the overall results for group 2. Similarly, among parent respondents, the questions that concerned "language use in the community" indicated that Swahili was favored among group 2. When broken down, however, there was again no consistency among the districts in group 2. Swahili was indeed favored in this context in Kwale and Kericho, but it was also heavily favored in Kajiado, a district

from group 1. Further, the vernacular was highly favored in one district from each group Kiambu and Kisumu. While the mean scores suggested a tendency for Swahili in group 2, it was, in fact, not the case for the districts to share this trait.

In another example, among students, there is more Swahili spoken in schools that belong to group 2. But again, a closer analysis shows that there is no consistency among all these schools that lie far from Nairobi, but rather that the difference is extreme and concentrated in Kwale, and in the schools in the western districts where children were native speakers of several different languages, and thus, they used Swahili as their common tongue.

One variation among teachers seems restricted to group differences: group 2 teachers report about twice the level of dissatisfaction than teachers from group 1 with their own English abilities, and said that they were studying formally to improve their English. Figures show that this difference remains consistent from school to school in each group. Interestingly, however, there is no difference in the teachers' self-evaluation of their own English.

One more complicated difference indicated that teachers from group 2 evaluated their students' abilities in English lower, and their ability to handle English as the sole medium of instruction after standard 3 less than teachers from group 1. Looking at the districts individually seems to indicate that the figures for three of the districts in group 2, Kericho, Kakamega, Kisumu, do follow this pattern, but that Kwale does not.