

LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE:

A CASE STUDY OF THE

TOURISM INDUSTRY IN KENYA

BY

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## ABSTRACT

In this study I investigate the question who speaks which language to whom and for what purpose on the basis of a conceptualization of society which differs from previous sociolinguistic research. Whilst the language surveys of Eastern Africa have provided a range of data most specifically in the educational sector but also in the domains factory, church, neighbourhood, I focus on work. Whilst inquiry in this sphere suffers from similar constraints to inquiry in other domains, i.e. that findings here may not be generalizable, the contextualization of the various work locales which I offer in the form of an analysis of the tourist industry suggests ways of integrating individual speech choices with wider social forces in society. On the basis of criticisms of language planning literature I additionally propose consideration of the sociology of development to provide tools for the analysis of society in sociolinguistics.

In discussing educational policies of the colonial and post-colonial governments I assess opportunities presented and which groups benefitted. I comment on the early proliferation of vernacular presses and later restriction and prohibition, suggesting that debates on language policy in Kenya have contingently been restricted to considering only English and Swahili. Debates on language in government demonstrate and exemplify the changing status of both English and Swahili.

I present results of interviews conducted amongst tourism workers in Kenya, focusing on recruitment policies, changing educational and professional standards and language problems. I finally analyse transcripts from tapes collected in a variety of tourism locales in Kenya. In applying conversational analysis, yet proceeding from an assumption of asymmetry in sociolinguistic interaction, I propose that it is possible to incorporate notions of power differentials into conversations and talk, particularly where the contexts have been analysed.

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## INTRODUCTION

When I embarked upon this research it would have been true to say that sociologists had neglected the study of language. However, within the last fifteen years, and most particularly the last five, the study of language in society, rather than languages as abstract structures to classify and compare, has grown exponentially. With respect to linguistics, too, it is no longer possible to say that social factors are ignored. As Diana Adlam and Angie Salfield have commented, citing twelve types of language study,

"although the list is not exhaustive, there seems to be no set of theoretical categories that could govern all those aspects: and even in linguistically detailed and sophisticated analyses, it is seldom possible to discover the theoretical rationale for examining one set of speech phenomena rather than another" ....

"sometimes it is acknowledged that the term (language) encompasses two relatively distinct concepts, language varieties (dialects, accents and distinct languages) and variations in speech patterns according to the social context (markers of formality, respect and so forth)". (1)

My original intention was to introduce my field research with some comments on why sociologists have not looked at language and linguists have not looked at social factors. It is now impossible, however, to present an exhaustive survey of the literature of sociology, linguistics and emergent sociolinguistics as a preface to an empirical study of language use in a developing society. Instead I focus my attention on some aspects of sociolinguistics, which are most relevant to the study of language use in a developing society, the language planning literature and the language surveys of Eastern Africa.

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Last but not least friends in Sholebroke Avenue, and Parkview Womens Group, A.G., P.G. and D.N. gave support along the route, and Freda Lindup competently typed.

1. Diana Adlam and Angie Salfield, 1980, "The Diversion of Language A Critical Assessment of the Concept 'Linguistic Diversity'", Screen Education, No. 34, p. 74 and p. 80.



## CHAPTER 1

THE SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

'The shoes go back', the colonel said. 'That's thirteen pesos more for my friend.'

'They won't take them back,' she said.

'They have to take them back,' the colonel replied,

'I've only put them on twice.'

'The Turks don't understand such things,' the woman said.

'They have to understand.'

'And if they don't?'

'Well, then, they don't'.

Gabriel Garcia Marquez (1)

- I Sociolinguistics and Linguistics: the Social Context
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## CHAPTER I

THE SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGEI Sociolinguistics and Linguistics: the Social Context

In 1964 a collection of articles was published, edited by Dell Hymes and entitled Language in Culture and Society.<sup>(2)</sup> The collection indicates the attempts to draw from other disciplines writings on language in society to enlarge upon linguistics' conceptualization (since de Saussure and Bloomfield) of language structures. Hymes' volume was an attempt to create a "linguistic anthropology".<sup>(3)</sup> By the 1950s the predominantly structuralist mode of describing languages which had proved so useful for several decades, would gradually be subject to a variety of criticisms. Several different influences may be identified. Firstly educationalists became concerned with the irrelevance of Chomsky's notion of the ideal speaker-hearer for identifying problems in the language teaching situation.<sup>(4)</sup> The powerful lobbies of the National Association of Teachers of English, the National Advisory Council on the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language, established 1962, and the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 contributed to the amassing of resources for studying bilingualism.<sup>(5)</sup>

Norbert Dittmar points out that

"every single sociolinguistic inquiry in the USA after 1964 had been financed by the Ministry for Health, Education and Welfare".<sup>(6)</sup>

Secondly, (and related), from the anthropological point of view, as

R. J. Diebold points out considering his own experience

"dealing with bilingualism among American Indian groups in Mexico suggests to me that a description

of the linguistic phenomena alone, while perhaps instructive in enriching a typology of linguistic borrowing, is an idle exercise if left without sociological analysis". (7)

Yet American anthropologists had long been concerned with the study of language.

"during the latter part of the nineteenth century, when Native Americans (Indians) were the overriding foreign policy issue in the United States, the government was the primary source of financial support for research on Indian languages and Indian beliefs with regard to property and its ownership". (8)

The study of the American Indians was considered as overly exclusive as early as 1918-1919. In addition Mortimer Graves foresaw the need for the study and teaching of unusual languages to the military and for diplomatic ends.<sup>(9)</sup> The American Council of Learned Societies, of which Graves was Executive Secretary, with funds from the Rockefeller Foundation set up the Intensive Language Programme (ILP) in 1941: this would provide a basis for army programmes after the bombing of Pearl Harbour. The Army Language Section was supplied with Bloomfield's Outline Guide for the Practical Study of Foreign Languages (1942).<sup>(10)</sup>

After the war the colonial governments of Europe were concerned to implement educational policies, and the structural codification of languages facilitated language groupings, thus economizing the number of languages which would have to be used in printed texts. The predominance of the structural model was, however, incompatible with the analysis of the use of language in society. Writing in 1977, Malcolm Coulthard was still able to indicate the difficulties of language teaching based on traditional grammar.<sup>(11)</sup>



Sociolinguistics is, in effect, the restatement of the necessity to consider language in society, taking into account advances in anthropology and social psychology (this latter in the study of language attitudes and the development of cognition). Perhaps controversially in arguing for greater contextualization of sociolinguistic inquiry, as I do below, I suggest that dynamic historical factors should also be incorporated, as in for example some studies of colonial language policies,<sup>(12)</sup> and for example studies of bilingualism.<sup>(13)</sup> From the turn of the century, the creation of scientific linguistics involved the assertion of the structural-descriptive method<sup>(14)</sup> of analysis, which subsequently provided a fruitful model for social theory.<sup>(15)</sup> This had, however, entailed its separation from history, from philological questions of language change according to individual or collective factors, thus eschewing psychologism<sup>(16)</sup> and the naturalistic organic view of language.<sup>(17)</sup> Bloomfield's distrust of "mentalism" had meant that meaning, "the weak point in language study", was not considered for several decades.<sup>(18)</sup> The important question of why analyses of meaning were not considered in linguistics is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, it is certainly not the case that all linguists ignored meaning; J. R. Firth, for example, said that

"the main concern of descriptive linguistics is to make statements of meaning".<sup>(19)</sup>

Nor is it the case that all British and American anthropologists ignored language as J. R. Firth also pointed out for example with respect to Malinowski.<sup>(20)</sup> It is, however, the case that only via the work of Levi-Strauss outside linguistics, and developments within



linguistics pertaining to the "timebomb meaning"<sup>(21)</sup> that in the last fifteen years, together with American anthropological linguistics, has the study of language in society required the reintegration of concepts from the social sciences.<sup>(22)</sup>

There are, then, factors intrinsic to linguistics which have also necessitated a sociological appraisal of questions of grammar. In addition the revival of linguistic philosophy as a reaction to syntactic theory provided a further tool whereby linguists might eventually assess the notion of the speech act modifying traditional grammars. The discussion of speech acts has entailed eliciting data on rules: in this anthropological knowledge has contributed detailed studies of differences in rules governing speech.<sup>(23)</sup> Furthermore factors in society at large have contributed to the appraisal of language, not only the rediscovery of poverty and the need for a pax americana in urban ghettos,<sup>(24)</sup> but also the technological advances of information science. As Pierre Bourdieu and Luc Boltanski say

"l'invasion des ordinateurs dans toutes les activités humaines, qui pourrait être un puissant facteur de libéralisme, d'épanouissement, risque de placer les utilisateurs du code restreint dans une situation comparable à celles des peuples sous-développés dans le monde actuel: sans voix au chapitre, sans prise sur les événements sans pouvoir, parce que les autres ont de moins en moins besoin d'eux pour croître et prospérer". (25)

The 1960s also saw many countries of the world decolonized; this factor too would have a bearing on the development of language planning as I shall comment below.

## II Sociolinguistic Concepts

### a) Domains and the sociology of language

In his 1969 research Joshua Fishman considers that the "primary" categories of sociological analysis, religion and ethnicity are inadequate relative to "cross-classified categories" such as "middle class Catholic" and that the notion of "domains" is implicitly better. (26) Although stating that

"the appropriate designation and definition of domains of language behaviour obviously calls for considerable insight into the socio-cultural dynamics of particular multilingual speech communities at particular periods in their history" (27)

this notion has been simplified in the empirical work undertaken to only five domains. It is therefore useful only within the terms of role theory and system maintenance in simple contexts. Indeed the statement that

"the domain is a higher order abstraction or summarization which is arrived at from a detailed study of the face-to-face interactions in which language choice is embedded"(28)

indicates more clearly how this atomistic perspective restricts the potential findings about language use in society to the elucidation of rules of microsituations. Furthermore the family is implicitly considered the primary domain for assessing societal multilingualism. However, Fishman's project for a sociology of language calls not only for assessment of functional varieties of language use, compatible with Dell Hymes's call for a taxonomy of language. (29) Fishman also suggests that

"Dynamic sociology of language also seeks to explain why and how once similar networks or communities can arrive at quite different social organizations of language use and behaviour toward language". (30)

As Dittmar points out

"'domains' for which different social roles and situations are assumed, differentiate arbitrarily between distinct spheres of life, i.e. this notion tends to obscure the overlap relations between these spheres. This isolation of the spheres (the 'hearth' has nothing to do with the 'work sphere') is a characteristic feature of a shallow sociology". (31)

Fishman's perspective has led to some detailed studies of language maintenance and language shift within somewhat conservative parameters of change. (32) Some further comments on "domains" are included in chapter 6 below.

#### b) The Speech Community

In positing the notion of a speech community, Hymes issues the warning that this should not be conflated with a language. (33)

However

"A speech community is defined, then, tautologically but radically, as a community sharing knowledge of rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech". (34)

The concept is by no means clear and despite attempts by for example J. J. Gumperz to draw attention to the possibility of heterogeneity within a speech community, the reliance on the notion of "a shared set of social norms" (35) ultimately does not avoid confusions similar to those over language and nation. Such confusions occurred in the period of the formation of European nations. More recently, however, Gumperz has commented



"the assumption that speech communities, defined as functionally integrated social systems with shared norms of evaluation, can actually be isolated thus becomes subject to serious question". (36)

This is based on his seminal work with Jan-Petter Blom on language use and code-switching in Norway which broke down the two polarities language and society as "different kinds of reality" empirically open to correlational studies.<sup>(37)</sup> A recent linguistically oriented textbook on sociolinguistics makes the point rather more succinctly

"there is some doubt as to whether the notion of 'speech community' is helpful at all, or whether it is misleading". (38)

It is in principle possible to situate domains within the speech community. The difficulty of conceptualizing the boundaries of the speech community together with the problem of identifying domains, and legitimizing the divisions of domains as selected, in a multilingual context, suggest that the notion of a speech community is not useful in this study.

Finally with respect to codeswitching, which I discuss at greater length in chapter 6, it is important to consider switched words as well as switched phrases.<sup>(40)</sup> The structure of some languages (e.g. Swahili which I deal with) is such that the written translation of say an English phrase may be conveyed within the single Swahili word. The study of code-switching by ethnographers of communication has developed alongside the study of varieties of style and register amongst the new dialectologists.<sup>(41)</sup> Whilst as Whiteley has pointed out language switches are more "easily" recognized than style switches,<sup>(42)</sup> it is also the case that



"the recognition that the entities were themselves (language in contact) highly differentiated, and that even in the so-called monolingual communities speakers had at their disposal a number of functional variants or registers, facilitated important changes in outlook. It has forced linguists to recognize language variety as a matter of central concern to linguistics, but perhaps more important it has made possible a reintegration of linguistic and sociological studies". (43)

### III Sociology and Sociolinguistics

There are other categories used by sociolinguists to attempt explanations of variation in speech. To cite but one, Norman Denison's account of the trilingual community of Sauris, in Italy, suggests thirteen factors are involved in the selection of a language in conversation. These factors may be clustered according to genre, situation, participants and the act sequence.<sup>(44)</sup> The insistence on eliciting microscopic details of *interaction* in different communities is *not only* a heritage of the anthropological roots of American sociolinguistics, but also explains the selection of the particular sociological models being used by sociolinguists. I am referring to ethnomethodological studies to which I give fuller attention in chapter 6.

One task of sociolinguistics has been cogently expressed by Hymes (though paradoxically in respect to the ethnomethodologists' "radical moral neutrality"<sup>(45)</sup>)

"we can see the need for an 'existential' or 'experiential' explanatory adequacy, a kind of explanation that will link speaking with human history and praxis ... To do this is not only to see languages as part of systems of speaking from the standpoint of the central question of the nature of the sociocultural order - a theory of the maintenance of order being understood as implying a corresponding theory of change and conversely". (46)

The model of the sociocultural order is based on the notions of norms and values which have been of concern to sociology for decades since its inception. Durkheim's theory of how norms and values are internalized in society using an organic/mechanic solidarity schema was replaced by Parsons' traditional/modern progression (which haunts the sociology of development as a modern quasi-counterpart of the primitive/modern dichotomy). While Parsons' functionalism marked the end of evolutionism as a central theme in sociology,<sup>(47)</sup> the Parsonian conception of change was premised as

"a phenomenon resulting from the accidental, externally activated malfunction of a normally well-balanced social system". (48)

As Zygmunt Bauman says

"the Durkheim-Parsons society is founded entirely on 'soft' coercion; it is a successful society, which thanks to the triumph of its moral power can well-nigh renounce its physical force". (49)

It is as well to point out at this juncture the absence of consideration of language by the principal sociological theorists (and arguably their followers). Durkheim did not completely ignore language<sup>(50)</sup> but language takes on the appearance of a translucent phenomenon thus

"Without language we would not have, so to speak, general ideas; for it is the word which, in fixing them, gives to concepts a consistency sufficient for them to be able to be handled conveniently by the mind. It is language, then, that has allowed us to raise ourselves above pure sensation, and it is not necessary to demonstrate that language is, in the first degree, a social thing". (51)

Since "social facts" are to be studied in terms of other social facts and not psychology,<sup>(52)</sup> the notion of meaning lay in the observation of the social rather than introspective interpretation. (Indeed the



establishment of sociology over and against psychology was paralleled in the establishment of linguistics at the turn of the century.)

Given these comments, it should not surprise us that language is more central, though equally translucent in the tradition of interpretative sociology through Brentano (in psychology) to Husserl and the phenomenologists, or in the cultural hermeneutic tradition.<sup>(53)</sup> Indeed language is at the very core of the notion of understanding but only in terms of an interpretation which cross culturally is pervaded by the language/nation association. But the notion of verstehen and understanding of the German tradition referred to are based upon von Humboldt's world-view theory of language which even by Gadamer's conception does not avoid the pitfalls of relativism.<sup>(54)</sup>

Weber's conception of language is situated similarly within the Humboldtian language/nation couplet. Thus language forms an important component in the constitution of a sense of common political destiny.<sup>(55)</sup> Weber's translator, Talcott Parsons, was principally concerned with social order. An important component in this is communication. Yet nowhere in Parsons's prolific writings do we find a systematic treatment of language: surprising considering the extent and importance of linguistics and Parsons's own interest in integration. Language is cursorily mentioned in "Evolutionary Universals in Society",<sup>(56)</sup> as one of the "prerequisites for sociocultural development" (the others being kinship, religion and technology). In Societies Parsons notes that language is the "focal development" for the transition from primitive to intermediate society.<sup>(57)</sup> Though noting that "the criterion stated is merely a catch word indicating a complex subject

matter" Parsons does not develop any definition of language but merely delegates it as a mechanism of the "differentiation between the social and cultural systems" and then talks of written language and literacy as if conflating them. In the 1967 Sociological Theory and Modern Society, Parsons quotes Jakobson and Halle, compares language with money and proceeds to discuss money as a medium of exchange.

Parsons had little to say about power differentials. In a 1940 study power appears as a "residual category".<sup>(58)</sup> Although in his 1951 LSE lectures, charismatic movements and revolution were discussed, his principal focus was on integration and consensus.

The major point to be made about sociology and language is to raise the question of whether a successful theory of language in society may be produced by attempting to integrate a consensus theory of society with theories of language premised upon the dichotomies langue/parole and diachrony/synchrony which permitted the development of linguistics without consideration of social facts. It is undoubtedly the case that the empirical study of language has given us a wealth of detail and understanding of language. It is also true that descriptions of speech have derived from the collection of items of conversation (see chapter 6 below) which have provided more realistic accounts (for grammatical theory) of the production of language. By drawing attention to consensus as a problem, I am not suggesting that conflict theory or Marxism or any of the current developments in the theories of ideology or representation<sup>(59)</sup> provide us with improved models of language use in society. However I do suggest that it is



possible to use a different "sociocultural" model of society within which language use may be analysed. Ethnomethodology does not exhaust what sociology has to offer sociolinguistics.

Whilst recent sociolinguistic studies of a sociological orientation are relatively sophisticated,<sup>(61)</sup> these are still premised on models of interaction which are essentially atomistic (or more correctly bi- or triatomistic!). For example the description of a recent study says

"Throughout Western society there are now strong pressures for social and racial integration but, in spite of these, recent experience has shown that greater intergroup contact can actually reinforce social distinctions and ethnic stereotypes". (62)

The analyses provided explicate cultural miscommunications. By basing these on the evaluation "from a member's perspective"<sup>(63)</sup> we learn about the experiences of miscommunication, but are not presented with a systematic explanatory framework. For example are we to assume that Asian ladies will experience less racism if they intone "gravy" in a question "politely"?.<sup>(64)</sup> The authors' plea for "an anthropological approach to culture and cultural rules"<sup>(65)</sup> does not, it seems to me, aid us in understanding the systematic racism exercised against ethnic minorities. Firstly such an approach does not account for how the power to legitimate particular ways of speaking entails not only dictating the standards, but rather more profoundly also changing the rules when necessary to maintain the pattern of inequality. No model of power differentials or asymmetry is incorporated into the interpretations. Secondly Gumperz states that

"What distinguishes successful from unsuccessful interpretations are not absolute, context-free criteria or appropriateness, but rather what happens in the interactive exchange itself, i.e. the extent to which proffered context-bound inferences are shared, reinforced, modified or rejected in the course of an encounter". (66)

As Bauman points out, this is only part of understanding :

"the pursuit of true understanding, as distinct from ordinary agreement, must therefore detach itself from everyday discourse and seek its own rules elsewhere". (67)

It is important, then, that tools are provided for the interpreter "for evaluating the validity of meanings". (68)

My proposed analysis attempts to incorporate the notion of power and asymmetry into discourse analysis, in addition to assessing the broader social context with reference to which the interpretation may be evaluated. (69)

It is then possible that crosscultural interpretations of discourse and the required assessment of meanings in utterances will lead to the varieties of interpretations as structural linguistics led to descriptions of various languages. My present aim is to contextualize, in a broader frame of reference than previously, as a first step towards assessing other sociological models for use in sociolinguistic inquiry.

#### IV Language Planning

Implicit in the above discussion is the advocacy of a model which is capable of analysing change, beyond the narrow confines of gradual change in the structure of society. That is in addition to asking questions about the maintenance of society it is also possible to look at the causes of disruptive change, at social inequality,

perhaps seeing the notion of class as a force for social change and conflict. Thus deviance is not to be seen as a special case, but rather entails that the disjuncture between expressed opinions and observable behaviour (which is well-known in sociology) may be incorporated into the analysis of group interests in society.

Yet the notion of conflict has entered the literature. If the development of sociolinguistics within the United States was a response to riots in the ghettos<sup>(70)</sup>

"it was in the wake of World War II, that the government passed the National Defence Education Act, which contributed strong support for research and instruction related to languages useful in the administration of the new regions". (71)

Haugen's study of language in Norway<sup>(72)</sup> traces the development of a language policy in one country. The notion of conflict is introduced and with it the way is paved for what Dittmar has called "American crisis management",<sup>(73)</sup> in the analysis of language in the "process of conscious integration"<sup>(74)</sup> of developing nations. It is very difficult to differentiate in some of the language planning literature<sup>(75)</sup> between the descriptions of what is the case and the prognostications about what ought to be. As Norbert Elias says

"A mixture of "is" and "ought" of factual analyses and normative postulates, relating primarily to a society of a very definite type, a nation-state conceived in broadly egalitarian fashion, thus presents itself as the centrepiece of a theory which claims to be capable of serving as a model for the scientific investigation of societies in all times and places". (76)

With Fishman's statement that

"A widespread problem of new nations is that their political boundaries correspond rather imperfectly to any pre-existing cultural unity" (77)



it is difficult to avoid the presentiment that the author considers there "ought" to be a national language and preferably one only. Writing at the time of the rapid decolonization of many British and French possessions, scholars could witness the reactions against the imposed "language of wider communication" and the related attempts to create national unity. Language was assumed to be the prime requisite for such unity. Indeed, in the preface to a volume published a decade later, Fishman says (comparing language with belief in progress)

"The twentieth century has seen quite a similar steady disillusionment with respect to the achievement of phenotypic uniformation. Modernism is just one stripe in the cloak of many colours that every society wears. As a result societal multilingualism will not merely 'linger on' in 'backward' corners of the globe but it will defend itself by modern methods (rather than merely give in to such methods) and will do so within the very heartland of western modernity per se". (78)

Thus if national unity was not created on the premise of the identification one language/one nation, and comparing examples from the so-called Third World with the "western world", neither was it permanently tenable in the "very heartland of modernity". The acknowledgement of global multilingualism was due.

In raising the question "must a viable nation be made up largely of one language group?", R. F. Inglehart and M. Woodward nonetheless indicate that

"in the Western world of the mid-nineteenth century, language became accepted as the most important single defining characteristic of nationality". (79)

It is important to note that the view one language/one nation is not universally accepted. Thus for example Anthony Smith<sup>(80)</sup> signals the

following anomalies. Firstly two populations may speak the same language in different nations, secondly all the residents of one nation may not be automatically considered its nationals; thirdly language groups are difficult to define and may involve conflicting identification according to whether peoples define themselves linguistically or whether linguists (or others) are defining them (and for what purpose?)<sup>(81)</sup>; fourthly there is not always a correlation between linguistic conflicts, language differences and nationalism (thus no language gap impedes intelligibility in for example Scandinavia); finally, nationalist conflict has arisen where differences between the languages of the peoples involved were minimal, as for example between Serbs and Croats, Russians and Byelorussians; the differences between Danish, Swedish, Dano-Norwegian, New Norwegian, Faroese and Icelandic are substantially smaller than the language/nation couplet would suggest.

In summary it is possible to view language planning as the maintenance of order, maintaining particular elites in some of the ruling parties of the world's underdeveloped countries. Where conflict is considered, it is in terms of the maintenance of order and stability;

"Some language problems such as the matter of creating a lesser number of language systems in a nation, may be motivated from the point of view of factors from all the above sets of goals;

1. Communications are more effective if there is a certain degree of linguistic homogeneity; this means quicker and more reliable exchange of messages that leads to higher production, both directly and as a consequence of the freeing of resources from previous translating for use elsewhere now etc.



2. True equality of social participation appears possible only if people understand each other.
3. It is perhaps beneficial for political loyalty and order to have a unifying language symbol". (82)

Some writers are aware of the normative character of language planning: as Paul Garvin says

"the nations presented here are largely based on a theory of language standardization that has its roots in the European experience. While it is true that the European experience has in certain ways been duplicated in many other parts of the world (cf. Garvin and Mathiot on Paraguay), it can certainly not be taken for granted that this necessarily must be true of all parts of the world at all times". (83)

The study of "the creation and revision of writing systems" (standardization) formed an important theme in Fishman's sociology of language project: the applied sociology of language.<sup>(84)</sup> From an empirical frame of reference, Charles Ferguson proposed the study of national profiles.<sup>(85)</sup> Major languages could be considered as those spoken by at least ten million people or one tenth of the population. At this descriptive juncture the existence of several major languages was not a problem. The collection of these facts was neutral. However in a 1968 article on "Language Development"<sup>(86)</sup> the evolutionary model of the development of languages through the three stages of graphization, standardization and modernization ("the process of joining the world community of increasingly inter-translatable languages recognized as appropriate vehicles of modern forms of discourse"<sup>(87)</sup>) implies the intrinsic value of the major languages, as a defining component of the highest stage. While the development of language need not necessarily result from the directed planning



of language as a social process, occurring rather spontaneously, organically, the simplified social model is also diffusionist. The delineation of the conflicts inherent in the social processes is ignored in favour of implied smooth transitions. As Dell Hymes has commented

"Marx's comments on 'fetishism of commodities', analysis of human power and creation made to stand over against man, and understood in categories divorcing it from its roots in social life could be applied mutatis mutandis to language. From this standpoint, the historical origin of standard languages and linguistic study as instruments of cultural hegemony ... is unwittingly reinforced by the contemporary methodological canon of defining linguistic theory as concerned only with an ideal speaker-hearer in a perfectly homogeneous community, free from all limitations of actual use". (88)

An additional aspect of the observations of language planning pioneers, furthermore, involves ignoring the relationship between the observer and the observed. As Raymond Williams says

"on the one hand there was the highly productive application of modes of systematic observation, classification and analysis. On the other hand there was the largely unnoticed consequence of the privileged situation of the observer: that he was observing (of course scientifically) within a differential mode of contact with alien material: in texts, the records of past history: in speech the activity of alien people in subordinate (colonialist) relations to the whole activity of the dominant people within which the observer gained his privilege". (89)

The above is perhaps a simple characterization of the early language planning literature, to which there are of course exceptions. L. F. Brosnahan, for instance, specifies the social forces involved in the process of adopting a language of wider communication.

Discussing the elites he comments

"Particularly where this elite does not consist solely of the old ruling class or classes of the invaded area, the sociological consequences of its development may be extensive and far-reaching, since the class as a whole tends to function, in the first stages of the military invasion and pacification, as the interpreters and minor officials of the new authority". (90)

The major point, then, is that the literature on language planning implicitly uses a closed systems model of developing societies. Change in such a context is seen as the result of organic intrinsic processes along a continuum from tradition to modernity. A multiplicity of languages constitute an internal obstacle, "a barrier to involvement in the national system"<sup>(91)</sup> where

"the lack of a common language in a multiethnic society may increase divisiveness and conflict by producing resistance and threats at both the sentimental and instrumental levels". (92)

But before I comment on alternative conceptualizations which might derive from the perspective of the sociology of development, I shall discuss briefly the language surveys of East Africa.

#### V The Language Surveys of East Africa

The question of language policies has been systematically raised and is of central importance in assessing the Language Surveys of Eastern Africa. Who makes the language planning policies, for whom and what purpose? is a question which has not yet, however, been as systematically answered.<sup>(93)</sup>

It is as well to review the context in which these studies were carried out before commenting on their substance. As I noted above educationalists have had a sustained interest in language questions

in Africa. The volume Language in Africa<sup>(94)</sup> contains important contributions on colonial language policies, education and European loan words. The conference reports, presented in that volume, show that the contributions were considered necessary for the establishment of the universities in Africa, that the study of African languages in African universities was essential and that such knowledge should form a basis for the clear formulation of language policies.

In 1968 the Ninth International African Seminar, held at University College, Dar es Salaam, included empirical contributions which further questioned the notion of the language of wider communication.<sup>(95)</sup> Thus

"There has not been observable inefficiency caused by the wide use of Swahili as the primary language of official business, the forces, and Parliamentary debates". (96)

The conference was itself a result of the focus on language deriving from the Ford Foundation survey.

In 1961 the National Council of the Teachers of English (USA) had published a pamphlet entitled "The National Interest and the teaching of English". A Committee on the National Interest was formed. It was noted that

"An English teacher can teach almost anything without anyone, including the teacher, realizing that it is no longer English that is being taught". (97)

The National Advisory Council on the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language recommended the indepth study of language use in an African country. Together with the Africanists, for example Joseph Greenberg who had conducted a Ford Foundation sponsored study of West African



languages,<sup>(98)</sup> scholars were seen to impress the Ford Foundation with the viability of the project.<sup>(99)</sup> It was funded for four years by Ford. The results have been published in a series of volumes: Language in Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, Zambia, and Tanzania.<sup>(100)</sup>

The volumes are organized around three principal themes: language classification,<sup>(101)</sup> language use and language in education. The particular focus of each volume, however, depended on the interest of each country team. They provide detailed information and have thus fulfilled their aim of providing a database for policymakers. However, a major problem impeding the survey's use by policymakers has been the lack of systematic dissemination of results (due also to lack of budgeting) to language policymakers. (It is acknowledged that several countries did not, at the time of the survey, consider language their most pressing concern.) The preponderance of expatriates was cited as a cause for the lack of integration, since none of the Survey team stayed in the countries more than one year. Neither were the studies commissioned or sponsored by governments in East Africa. The example of the success of the Zambia project which was well received amongst Zambian officials is given.<sup>(102)</sup> The reasons given for expatriate participation were the lack of local trained scholars: the preparation and training of such scholars was a low priority. As one team member pointed out, since the survey involved no costs to the host government, it aroused neither animosity nor great interest.<sup>(103)</sup>

The focus of the surveys varied in each country. For example the specialism in English as a Second Language of some team members led to inordinate stress on English as a Foreign language in one

country. However, in Tanzania, for example, the aim of providing basic information for language policy in African countries, led to questions concerning the role of Swahili and of the vernaculars.<sup>(104)</sup>

Whilst it was felt that the survey had been important and the surveys' results fairly widely disseminated, the delay in publication of the Tanzania (and other) survey volumes led to a "dissipation of interest".<sup>(105)</sup>

The methodologies of the surveys have been cited as innovative, but also

"the limited time of one year or less spent in the field forced most of the expatriate researchers to pursue what was readily available rather than what was needed".<sup>(106)</sup>

Together with contributions to the embryo field of sociolinguistics, a vast array of statistical results of self-report studies are included, using questionnaires. Whiteley has said that "it was out of the question to plant tape-recorders",<sup>(107)</sup> and indeed the Kenya results are based on questionnaires and observations. Whilst this has provided an impressionistic basis for studies of language use, in chapter 6 below I comment on contrasts found on the basis of using a tape recorder.<sup>(108)</sup>

The surveys were conducted into language use by schoolchildren, by residents of geographical areas, by sectors of activity, such as the market place, in a factory, in the church, amongst a particular ethnic community. In formulating my own research project, on the basis of aiming at greater contextualization, I chose a specific occupation, defined as an industry, which tests some of the assumptions and findings embodied in the notion of rural-urban gap.

## VI Towards a Development Sociology of Language?

By this somewhat polemical subheading I intend to suggest ways in which sociology and most specifically in the Kenyan context, the sociology of development, may contribute to our understanding of language use in a developing country.

The first point concerns the unit of analysis on which attention is to be focussed. Earlier anthropological studies took as their unit of analysis an ethnic community, such as in Kenya the Kikuyu, the Kamba, or the Kipsigis, and regarded the structure and culture of that community as an integral system of interrelated institutions to be considered as a whole. In more recent times such communities have come to be regarded, not as wholes, but as parts of a new nation-state; more precisely, perhaps, an ex-colony whose rulers have seen it as a part of their task to build a new nation to fit the state they have inherited. This does not mean that consideration of the entire nation-state is an essential prerequisite for language studies. It does, however, imply that within that unit of analysis, class conflict and occupational interests may override ethnic differences and that social structures may be dynamically conceptualized in terms of relationships between classes.<sup>(109)</sup> Furthermore an important component in the study of language use may be the issue of where and when language is evoked as a tool of "social closure".<sup>(110)</sup> In addition to considering society as a totality, the integration of the underdeveloped nation's economy with metropolitan countries may provide a predominant factor in the explanation of social structure. In analysing Kenya's tourism industry (chapter 4) I have incorporated both of these aspects. The genesis



and maintenance of the tourism industry in Kenya cannot be explained without reference to its history. Furthermore the tourism industry has been crucial in the development of Kenya's social structure and this factor impinges on the way questions of language are viewed by different groups in Kenyan society. In chapter 5 I discuss the occupations in tourism.

A second and related point pertains to the conceptualization of change. Sociologists can offer a variety of concepts for analysing change, which would enhance sociolinguistic and language planning studies of social processes like "standardization". Classes, for example, suggest the situation of human agents in historical processes.<sup>(111)</sup> In the context of the so-called Third World economy, the situation of human agents at the centre of the stage raises questions about the assumptions of the processes of "modernization", "urbanization" and "industrialization". These in turn impinge on the conceptualization of society. In the case of "modernization", Andre Gunder Frank's criticisms of Parsons's pattern variables<sup>(112)</sup> used in the context of the Third World questioned the legitimacy of considering the Third World discretely "traditional" and Britain and America exclusively "modern". Studies of urbanization and industrialization<sup>(113)</sup> have shown that models of development involving the wholesale application of European models imply a normative evolutionary scheme. This oversimplifies the process in European history,<sup>(114)</sup> ignores important differences within and between European and Third World countries, and by glossing over the relationships between national economies assumes that industrialization is halted only by internal obstacles to development<sup>(115)</sup> which, once identified and eliminated,

will free the process.<sup>(116)</sup> With respect to the data presented in this study the implicit correlations urban-industrialized which in the African context include a multilingual component, (as against rural/peasant agricultural/monolingual), are countered by the example of the tourism industry. (This is perhaps a special case, but one which pertains to many nations.) Thus change may be analysed not in terms of a progression from rural to urban, but also in terms of social-structural changes within these (simply locational) areas, and the contingent patterns of language use.

Thirdly, implicit both in the discussion of speech communities above and in criticism of Gumperz's work, I suggest that delineation of groups in society which bears in mind a class or social stratificational model as a basis for studying language use may improve our understanding relative to the ethnicity model which does not account for differential power relations. I underline because I have not (and do not think it is possible) directly correlated language and class. Rather I have sought how the issue of language has been manipulated "to crystallize the advantages of class"<sup>(117)</sup> in contexts where

"a class has at its disposal a set of potentially injurious sanctions with which to back up its claims". (118)

Last, but not least, as Parkin points out ethnic minorities (or women)

"do not typically occupy strategic positions in the division of labour that would endow them with the ability to bring things to a halt". (119)

I have indicated in chapter 4 below the factor of race which combined with exogenous control (to Kenya) of tourism has the effect of

rendering Kenyan ethnic majorities equivalent to ethnic minorities  
in the world division of labour. (120)



NOTES

1. Gabriel Garcia Marquez, 1968, No One Writes to the Colonel, 1979, London, Pan Books, p. 57.
2. New York, Harper and Row.
3. Ibid., p. xxiii.
4. Dell Hymes, 1971, "On Communicative Competence" in John Pride and Janet Holmes, (eds.), 1972, Sociolinguistics, Harmondsworth, Penguin.
5. Debates in Congress were taking place in 1967 when Joshua Fishman, R. L. Cooper and R. Ma, (eds.)<sup>7</sup>, study Bilingualism in the Barrio, published 1971, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, was being conducted, and during the period when riots erupted in Spanish Harlem.
6. Norbert Dittmar, 1976, Sociolinguistics, London, Edward Arnold, p. 129.
7. R. J. Diebold, 1961, "Incipient Bilingualism", in Hymes, Language, p.495.
8. Rolf Kjolseth, 1978, "The Development of the Sociology of language and its Social Implications", in Joshua A. Fishman, (ed.), Advances in the Study of Societal Multilingualism, The Hague, Mouton, p. 803.
9. J. B. Carroll, 1963, The Study of Language, Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press.

10. The ILP was disbanded after the war, but the American Council of Learned Societies still maintained a committee on the Language Programme in 1953. The Language Guides and Phrase Books, with language records of the Army Language Section Education Branch (Special Services Division) were subsequently released to the civilian market in the post-war period.
11. Introduction to Discourse Analysis, London, Longman, chapter 7.
12. E.g. John Spencer, 1971, "Colonial Language Policies and their legacies", in Thomas Sebeok, (ed.), Current Trends in Linguistics, vol. 7, Linguistics in Sub-Saharan Africa, The Hague, Mouton. See also the study of pidgins, for example Elizabeth Tonkin, 1971, "Some Coastal Pidgins of West Africa", in Edwin Ardener, (ed.), Social Anthropology and Language, London, Tavistock, pp. 129-155.
13. For example, Einar Haugen, 1969, The Norwegian Language in America, Bloomington, Indiana University Press.
14. See for example, Ernst Cassirer, 1945, "Structuralism in Modern Linguistics", Word, vol. 1, pp. 99-120.
15. For example the anthropology of Levi Strauss.
16. See Sebastiano Timpanaro, 1975, On Materialism, London, New Left Books, also G. Lepschy, 1970, A Survey of Structural Linguistics, London, Faber and Faber.
17. See for example J. T. Waterman, 1963, Perpectives in Linguistics, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, also R. H. Robins, 1967, A Short History of Linguistics, London, Longmans.

August Schleicher's genealogical tree of languages combined elements from Darwin's evolutionary model, which was pervasive in the period immediately pre-dating the work of Ferdinand de Saussure. In sociology, for instance, Durkheim rejected Comte's evolutionary schema as well as psychological factors in looking at society. See Emile Durkheim, 1895, Rules of Sociological Method, 1966, New York, Free Press.

18. See Dell Hymes, and John Fought, 1975, "American Structuralism" in Thomas Sebeok, (ed.), Current Trends in Linguistics, vol. 13, No. 2, The Hague, Mouton. See also Anthony Wilden, 1972, System and Structure, 2nd edition. 1980, London, Tavistock, p. 232.
19. Cited in Coulthard, Discourse Analysis, p.1.
20. "Ethnographic Analysis and Language with Reference to Malinowski's Views" in Raymond Firth, (ed.), 1957, Man and Culture, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, (RKP).
21. Coulthard, Discourse Analysis, p. 3.
22. It might even be argued that the term sociolinguistics is already being replaced by the term discourse.
23. See Coulthard, Discourse Analysis, and Hymes, "Communicative Competence", p. 279.
24. See Kjolseth, "Social Implications", p. 801, and Dittmar, Sociolinguistics, p. 242-3.
25. 1975, "Le Fétichisme de la Langue", Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales, vol. 4, July, p. 11.
26. Fishman, et. al., Bilingualism in the Barrio, p. 565.



27. Fishman, 1965, "The Relationship between Micro- and Macro-Sociolinguistics in the Study of 'Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When' in *Pride and Holmes*, Sociolinguistics, p. 19.
28. Ibid., p. 20, Damian McEntegart and R. B. Le Page in a recent study have similarly attempted to derive the social structure from linguistic utterances within the family's domain", in Suzanne Romaine, 1982, (ed.), Sociolinguistic Variation in Speech Communities, London, Edward Arnold.
29. Dell Hymes, 1974, Foundations in Sociolinguistics, 1977, London, Tavistock, p. 34.
30. Fishman, 1972, The Sociology of Language, Rowley, Mass., Newbury House, p. 3.
31. Dittmar, Sociolinguistics, p. 175. He continues "Fishman does not seem to deal at all with the question of why, in what way and in what type of society language behaviour is differentiated according to domains. Here, in this concrete instance, reference should be made to the historical and social cases which give rise to such differentiations". I have attempted such a contextualization in this thesis. Further comments on domains are included in chapter 6, Talking in Tourism.
32. See for example, Fishman, Societal Multilingualism.
33. Hymes, Foundations, p. 47.
34. Ibid., p. 51.
35. J. J. Gumperz, 1968, "The Speech Community", in Pier Paolo Giglioli, (ed.), 1972, Language and Social Context, Harmondsworth, Penguin, pp. 219-231.

36. J. J. Gumperz, 1982, Discourse Strategies, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 27.
37. 1972, "Social Meaning in Linguistic Structures: Code-Switching in Norway", in J. J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes, (eds.), Directions in Sociolinguistics, New York, Holt Rinehart and Winston.
38. R. A. Hudson, 1980, Sociolinguistics, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 30.
39. See W. H. Whiteley, 1971, "Introduction" to Language Use and Social Change, London, Oxford University Press for the International African Institute.
40. As Haugen, 1969, does in The Norwegian Language in America, Bloomington, Indiana University Press.
41. For example the studies of William Labov. See also David de Camp and Ian F. Hancock, (eds.), 1974, Pidgins and Creoles, Washington, Georgetown University Press. The linguist M. A. K. Halliday had also pointed out the lack of uniformity in codes, using the notion of "register". See Whiteley, Language Use, p. 3.
42. W. H. Whiteley, 1971, "A Note on Multilingualism", in Ardener, Social Anthropology and Language, pp. 121-125.
43. Whiteley, Language Use, pp. 3-4.
44. See Norman Denison, 1971, "Some Observations on Language Variety and Plurilingualism", in Ardener, Social Anthropology and Language, pp. 157-183, also Hymes, Foundations, p. 103.
45. Zygmunt Bauman, 1978, Hermeneutics and Social Science, London, Hutchinson, p. 189 (et.seq.).

46. Hymes, Foundations, p. 65.
47. Despite a partial return to evolution in the 1965, Societies, New Jersey, Prentice Hall.
48. Norbert Elias, 1978, The Civilizing Process, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, p. 230.
49. Zygmunt Bauman, 1976, Towards a Critical Sociology, London, RKP, p. 23.
50. See Rules, p. 3.
51. Cited in Thomas Luckmann, 1975, The Sociology of Language, Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, p. 13.
52. Rules, p. 103.
53. See Bauman, Hermeneutics, for an assessment of this latter tradition.
54. See Janet Wolff, 1975, Hermeneutic Philosophy and the Sociology of Art, London, RKP, p. 121. See also the discussion of Habermas's model of communication in Bauman, Hermeneutics, chapter 10. He comments 'Habermas's model is admittedly a statement of the transcendental conditions of rationally attained consensus (understanding which can be considered true). Its role does not consist of informing us what the actual meaning-negotiations are like, but what the circumstances are in which intersubjective negotiations could lead to a rational agreement', p. 243.
55. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, (eds.), 1970, From Max Weber, London, RKP, p. 172.



56. Cited in Alvin Gouldner, 1970, The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology, 1971, London, Heinemann, p. 362.
57. Talcott Parsons, 1965, Societies, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, p. 26.
58. "Analytic Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification", cited in Gouldner, The Coming Crisis, p. 287. See also T. Bottomore, 1975, Sociology as Social Criticism, London, George Allen and Unwin, p. 41.
59. Although with their combination of psychoanalytic theory, we witness complex and sophisticated models. See for example, Rosalind Coward and John Ellis, 1977, Language and Materialism, London, RKP, also Wilden, System and Structure.
60. Indeed the debt seems to be the other way round: the linguistic model providing the basic model for investigating society. See the programmatic attempts to contextualize language use in society proposed by Jurgen Habermas; an appraisal of this tradition is beyond the scope of this chapter.
61. For example, Gumperz, Discourse Strategies.
62. From the cover of J. J. Gumperz, (ed.), 1982, Language and Social Identity, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. There is nothing intrinsically wrong with social distinction (although the notion of the stereotype has pejorative connotations) unless such distinction leads to differential access to social welfare resources and unequal power; even so this depends on the disadvantaged group being conscious of such differentiation. This homogenizing world view poses the distinctions as the problem in themselves rather than the disadvantages thus derived.
63. Ibid., p. 10.

64. Cited in Daniel W. Maltz and Ruth A. Borker, 1982, "A Cultural Approach to Male-Female miscommunication" in Gumperz, Language and Social Identity, p. 201, also Gumperz, Discourse Strategies, p. 173.
65. "Cultural Approach", p. 215.
66. Gumperz, Discourse Strategies, p. 171.
67. Bauman, Hermeneutics, p. 232: of the ethnomethodologists whom I discuss below he says they "refused to discuss truth as an authority external to the process of reaching agreement".
68. Ibid., p. 231.
69. I am aware that the interpretation of discourse may nonetheless fail to avoid the pitfalls Professor Bauman warns against, ibid., p. 235, of relativity.
70. "one now hears demands for bilingual education programs for linguistically distinct minorities within the United States, whereas not too long ago such a proposal was quite inconceivable as bilingualism and biculturalism were essentially conceived of as maladies", Kjolseth, "Social Implications", p. 802.
71. Ibid.
72. Einar Haugen, 1966, Language Conflict and Language Planning: The Case of Modern Norwegian, Cambridge Mass, Harvard University Press.
73. Sociolinguistics, p. 242.

74. Joshua Fishman, 1968, "Sociolinguistics and the Language Problems of the Developing Nations" in J. Fishman, Charles Ferguson, and Jyotirindra Das Gupta, (eds.), Language Problems of Developing Nations, New York, John Wiley, p. 6.
75. Ibid, for example.
76. The Civilizing Process, p. 243.
77. Language Problems, p. 6.
78. Preface, written 1973, to Societal Multilingualism.
79. "Language Conflicts and Political Community" in Giglioli, Language and Social Context, p. 358.
80. Anthony Smith, 1973, "Nationalism: a Trend Report and Bibliography", Current Sociology, vol. xxi, No. 3.
81. Thus, for example, some Lamu inhabitants defined themselves as Arabs in answering the nationality question in the Kenyan Census of 1979. I also comment on the confusion of labels of nation, citizenship and colour/race below.
82. Bjorn H. Jernudd and Jyotirindra Das Gupta, 1971, "Towards a Theory of Language Planning", in Joan Rubin and Bjorn H. Jernudd, (eds.), Can Language be Planned?, Hawaii, Hawaii University Press, p. 208.
83. Paul L. Garvin, 1973, "Some comments on Language Planning", in Joan Rubin and Roger Shuy, (eds.), Language Planning, Washington, Georgetown University Press, p. 31. He goes on to say "a similar problem is presented by the frequent implication in the language planning literature that speech communities the world over are desirous of 'modernization', which in effect means some form of acculturation to European patterns".



84. J. A. Fishman, 1972, "The Sociology of Language", in Giglioli, Language and Social Context, p. 55.
85. "before any useful theorizing can be done, it is necessary to collect the data and prepare reliable national profiles", Charles Ferguson, 1962, "The Language Factor in National Development", Anthropological Linguistics, vol. 4, No. 1. p. 27.
86. In Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta, Language Problems.
87. Ibid., p. 32. Such linguistic determinism has also characterized some Marxist writings on nationalism, for example those of Karl Kautsky. He noted the impetus for the "gradual withdrawal and ultimately the complete disappearance of the languages of the smaller nations, and for the union of all civilized humanity into one language and one nationality", cited in Frank Parkin, 1979, Marxism and Class Theory: a Bourgeois Critique, London, Tavistock, p. 32.
88. Hymes, Foundations, p. 85.
89. 1977, Marxism and Literature, London, Oxford University Press, p. 26.
90. L. F. Brosnahan, 1963, "Some historical cases of Language Imposition" in John Spencer, (ed.), Language in Africa, London, Cambridge University Press, p. 21. See also Spencer, "Colonial Language Policies", also, W. and J. O'Barr, 1976, Language and Politics, The Hague, Mouton.
91. Herbert C. Kelman, 1971, "Language as an Aid and Barrier to Involvement in the National System", in Rubin and Jernudd, Can Language be Planned?, pp. 21-51.

92. Ibid., pp. 46-7.
93. Although Joshua Fishman, Jyotirindra Das Gupta, Bjorn H. Jernudd and Joan Rubin have asked the question "who has what to gain and what to lose by what language policy decisions?". See "Research Outline for Comparative Studies of Language Planning" in Rubin and Jernudd, Can Language be Planned?, p. 294.
94. Edited by John Spencer, funded by the Leverhulme Trust and Unesco, Proceedings of the Leverhulme Conference on Universities and the Language Problems of Tropical Africa, which took place in Ibadan from 29th September 1961 to 6th January 1962.
95. The contributions are published in Whiteley, Language Use and Social Change.
96. M. H. Abdulaziz, "Tanzania's National Language Policy and the Rise of Swahili Political Culture", pp. 175-6.
97. Cited in the 1975, Department of Education and Science Report, A Language for Life, London, HMSO, p. 5.
98. Greenberg aimed to completely revise Westermann and Bryan's Languages of West Africa. See Clifford H. Prator's Introduction to P. Ladefoged, K. Criper and R. Glick, (eds.), 1971, Language in Uganda, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, pp. 3-4.
99. Although another fact is that it has also been suggested that the 1957 launching of sputnik caused the Americans to reflect upon national interest and indeed spheres of influence.
100. Respectively P. Ladefoged, C. Criper and R. Glick, (eds.), 1971, Nairobi, Oxford University Press; W. H. Whiteley, (ed.), 1974, Nairobi, Oxford University Press; M. L. Bender, J. D. Bowen,

100. (continued)  
R. L. Cooper and C. A. Ferguson (eds.), 1976, London, Oxford University Press; S. Ohannessian and M. Kashoki, (eds.), 1978, London, International African Institute and E. Polome and C. P. Hill, (eds.), 1981, London, Oxford University Press.
101. This is the study of language families and typologies, but also language description.
102. See M. H. Abdulaziz and R. Fox, 1978, Evaluation Report on the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching of Eastern Africa. Unpublished, Nairobi.
103. Personal communication, London, October 1982.
104. Personal communication, London, October 1982.
105. Abdulaziz and Fox, Evaluation Report, p. 72.
106. Ibid., p. 68.
107. Language Use and Social Change, p. 16.
108. Subsequent events in Kenya suggest that future studies of this kind may be restricted.
109. See also Bottomore, Sociology as Social Criticism. He comments on Parsons's apparent refusal to consider interests in society.
110. See Parkin, Marxism and Class Theory.
111. Another concept might be "actors".
112. A. G. Frank, 1969, "The Sociology of Development and the Underdevelopment of Sociology" in Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution, New York, Monthly Review. He also criticizes psychological and diffusionist theories of change.



113. For example, T. McGee, 1971, The Urbanization Process in the Third World, London, Bell and Sons.
114. See for example David Goodman and Michael Redclift, 1981, From Peasant to Proletarian, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
115. Like, for example, language.
116. An alternative is that missing factors are identified such as entrepreneurship. See J. E. Goldthorpe, 1975, The Sociology of the Third World, (2nd edition, forthcoming,) Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; also Ian Roxborough, 1979, Theories of Development, London, Macmillan.
117. Parkin, Marxism and Class Theory, p. 61.
118. Ibid., p. 85.
119. Ibid.
120. The perspective in this subsection has been gained both by a wider reading of the literature than is suggested by these footnotes, and by several years tutoring the sociology of development.

## CHAPTER 2

METHODS OF THE RESEARCH

"The way this transmitting work was done mirrored the exchange between Canopus and Rohanda. There was a grid, or common ground, which made possible the transfer of exact news, but things had to be set up, ordered, arranged."

Doris Lessing (1)

- I Introduction
  - a) Choice of sector
  - b) Choice of techniques
- II Elucidation of Techniques
  - i) Written sources
    - 1. semi-official published sources
    - 2. official published sources
    - 3. private sector publications
  - ii) Interviews
  - iii) Observation
  - iv) Taping
  - v) Questionnaire
- III A Note on Categories
- IV Conclusion

## CHAPTER 2

METHODS OF THE RESEARCHI Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to comment on techniques I have used in my field research. I do not, therefore, engage in a comprehensive critique of each of the methods; rather I note certain shortcomings with specific reference to the data I collected.

One aim in this research was to investigate socio-political factors involved in the choice of languages used and the contingent expression of power differentials in Kenyan society. This involved extending, on one hand, studies of language in education, which formed a major component of the Ford Foundation's surveys of East Africa, in turn deriving from educationalists' long-standing interest in questions of language in Africa. On the other hand, a major premise of my research has been that sociolinguistic settings have been inadequately contextualized. Studies of language have tended to ignore the broad framework of social relations within which languages are used, be they ethnomethodological or conversational analysis (regarded as one from here on) which I discuss in chapter 6, or controversially, the ethnography of communication as well as the language surveys. The ethnomethodologists, in particular, employ the term language in a restricted manner, referring by implication to English, taking this for granted as the common speech of all the participants and neglecting the fact that different people speak different languages and in certain social contexts, switch from one language to another.



I have in this study outlined a history of tourism with reference to Kenya, how the tourist sector was affected at Independence and after and what structural changes have taken place. To situate the microsociolinguistic choices individuals make I also outline general language policy decisions taken in the sphere of education, and parallel these with policy statements at governmental levels. Comments on microsociolinguistic choices are added with reference to interviews undertaken and tape recordings made in the work environments during the period of field research from October 1978 to November 1979.

In looking at speech outside the educational sector, then, in an undescribed occupational context, I was constantly aware of the tension between micro and macro social forces. Although such tension is not completely resolved in the research, I contextualize the microsociolinguistic situations with reference to a variety of levels of analysis, below. I draw conclusions on how far these two aspects of social life may be reintegrated. The hypothesis that dependence on a foreign language occurs in sectors requiring imported technology and with international linkages guided me to the tourism industry. (Considerations on the choice of sector are presented below.) Yet rather than rigorously test this hypothesis, my inquiry constituted a "research situation(s) where the aim is discovery".<sup>(2)</sup>

My inquiry initially aimed to refine sociolinguistic studies and language surveys by incorporating criticisms of concepts used in sociolinguistics, and by applying criticisms of modernization theory from the sociology of development to the conceptualization of society in the language surveys. The literature which provided

the basis for the research was disparate. My conceptualization of a peripheral society, including rural and urban areas, entailed implicitly assessing the usefulness of the concepts of class, political economy and imperialism. How could these, if useful, be applied to sociolinguistic interaction? The dynamic model thus proposed assumed the international links, rather than conceptualizing economic growth within a national context. <sup>(3)</sup> This latter finds comparable expression in the notion of "language planning as an element in modernization". <sup>(4)</sup> For reasons relating to the boundaries of the unit of analysis (either tourism or Kenya) the usefulness of much anthropological literature was minimal. Much sociolinguistic literature also lacks a dynamic perspective for two principal reasons. First it uses the category of "domains" and "networks" to provide a context for sociolinguistic events and secondly, beyond slowly evolving language change, it focuses on micro-sociolinguistic features with relatively little information on broader social forces.

In analysing tape transcriptions in chapter 6 my initial aim extended to considering discourse or conversational analysis, presenting an original contribution synthesizing the notion of code-switching with conversational analysis. This has resulted in a tentative description of multilingual communication also incorporating power differentials.

#### a) Choice of Sector

In the light of my interest in looking at an economic sector of Kenya with external links, a simple expedient was to select an earner of foreign exchange. A sizeable literature on economic

aspects of agriculture exists, investigating, for example, the transfer of settler farms at Independence. A study of language use in the cash crop sector (tea, coffee or other products already investigated such as wattle<sup>(5)</sup>) or in tourism presented themselves. I chose the tourist sector because:

1. it filled the brief of having external links;
2. it required imported technology;
3. as a single commodity, it is one of the largest foreign exchange earners in Kenya outside agriculture; this depends on world market prices (and political factors);<sup>(6)</sup>
4. by its very nature it suggested a wide range and mix of languages, and suggested a secondary hypothesis that linguistic ability within the tourist sector would reflect proportions of overseas visitors;
5. because of its heterogeneity and diffuseness, the tourism industry might reveal interesting patterns of use of the national/official languages, English and Swahili;
6. despite tourism being a large social movement there was a relatively small body of literature concerning its effects, and
7. contingent on point 6 above, some useful data on language change might ensue.



b) Choice of techniques

The research involved collecting a wide range of material over a wide range of social institutions, spatially and throughout the duration of the research. This was a pilot project to test, on the basis of some criticisms of concepts used in sociolinguistics (see chapter 6) the applicability of concepts from the sociology of development in the tourism sector.

I therefore chose firstly to use a wide range of techniques and secondly, to cover as much (geographical) ground as my resources would permit in order to isolate variables.

A permit from the Office of the President of Kenya was a necessary prerequisite for conducting the research. In order to gain access to the University library I was attached as Research Associate to Professor Abdulaziz in the Department of Linguistics and African Languages at the University of Nairobi. Such permits granted me legitimacy in the eyes of interviewees, which might not have been conferred by the sanction of a British university and grant-awarding authority alone.

This is an important point since the omnipresent insider/outsider dichotomy meant that my research was automatically considered more sympathetically when it was apparent that it would possibly benefit, and at least be available to the literate of my interviewees. Being conferred legitimacy by the state also permitted me access to a large range of governmental bodies and I was able to interview government officials, as well as individuals in the private sector with ease. In addition I was permitted to peruse published and (within limits)

unpublished official documents. All the material presented below is derived from sanctioned sources, and references are given.

The choice of techniques, which I shall discuss at greater length below, included

- i) use of reports and official documents concerning tourism; its place in the development of the Kenyan economy;
- ii) interviews: these included interviews with government officials and private individuals in a wide range of institutions;
- iii) observation
- iv) taping
- v) questionnaire.

## II Elucidation of Techniques

### i) Use of written sources and accessibility

Many of the published sources I referred to were suggested by some of the interviews I undertook with individuals who had been involved in Kenyan tourism for several decades.

1. Semi-official published sources: I was given access to the annual reports of the East African Tourist Travel Association for the years 1948-1959, 1962 and 1964 by one of its early members. A synopsis of these is available in the Annual Reports of the High Commission for East Africa, published for the Colonial Office, for the years it existed. These Annual Reports were informative for the early development of tourism.

Annual Reports of various tourist enterprises were available in the library of the Central Bureau of Statistics. Where companies

had been in existence over a period of decades the annual reports suggested not only the pattern of individual company growth but also how the industry had developed, as well as a pattern of investment and expansion followed by other companies. The Colonial Development Corporation Annual Reports are to be found in England. Kenyan company reports are in theory accessible by post. The annual reports for parastatals such as the Kenya Tourist Development Corporation were also accessible.

During visits and interviews at Utalii College, the Kenya tourism College, I was able to examine documents which were used in administration and teaching including the Final Report of the Management Course Revision Committee of November 1978, and information on an Industry Opinion Poll. In addition I collected leaflets advertising the College to prospective students, and advertising the college's Hotel, Utalii Hotel, to tourists.

It should be noted that much of the information I was able to collect in Kenya was not totally inaccessible from England. However the time involved and difficulties in ensuring postal access would have complicated the research process. When collected together in libraries such as that of the Central Bureau of Statistics, or of the Institute of Development Studies of the University of Nairobi, such sources were easily consulted.

2. Official published sources: a wide variety of publications are available. I used the Annual Reports of the Ministry of Labour for the years 1962-1975. In addition the annual Economic Survey, and Employment and Earnings in the Modern Sector of the Central



Bureau of Statistics as well as the Development Plans compiled from all departments were of use. The Central Bureau of Statistics also published periodically Migration and Tourism statistics. The Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife publishes Tourism Market Reports and a publication for the masses in English What Wananchi Should Know about Tourism. It also publishes material for Travel Agents and for tourists. The Government Printer publishes the Laws of Kenya, such as the Tourist Industry Licensing Act (and others referred to in chapter 4,) Sessional Papers, such as the Statement on Future Wildlife Management Policy in Kenya, and reports of Commissions (Review of Statutory Boards, Report on the Ten Mile Coastal Strip of Kenya).

Historical sources, such as the Parliamentary Papers of the Colonial Office, provide much information on labour and education in East Africa for the early part of the century.

3. Private Sector publications: I collected a vast array of material to do the analysis of underlying themes in tourism in chapter 4. The publicity is listed below (p.172-3). It was collected in hotels and travel agencies throughout Kenya. I also collected a number of items from the newspapers Daily Nation, Standard and Coastweek, the first two being national English language dailies, and the third a Mombasa English and Swahili weekly. Other miscellaneous items included a staff magazine published by the Block Hotels group Watu Wetu (Our People), copies in English and Swahili of a Confederation of Trade Unions document, and a photocopy of a letter from the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife to hotels requiring that they display menus

in two languages, English and Swahili.

ii) Interviews

My interviews were mainly non-standardized since this inquiry took place

"where little of a systematic nature is known either about the problem itself or the population from which the respondents are selected". (7)

The interviews were unstructured, focussed on a comparable range of topics and personal experiences, in order to maximize the information received and encompass the range of language competence of the interviewees. Lasting between fifteen minutes and one hour, the interviews were recorded longhand.

<u>Table 1</u>	<u>Interviews</u>				
	Hotels	Tours	Admin	Other	Total
Management	46*	34***	13	/	93
Workers	52	14	9**	/	75
Total	98	48	22	40	208

\*Includes a representative from the Kenya Association of Hotel-keepers and Caterers and one consultant.

\*\* Non-managerial e.g. tourist officers, lecturers at Utalii College

\*\*\* Includes 2 interviews with African Tours and Hotels Tours Sector, and one interview with a representative from the Mombasa and Coast Tourist Association.

I interviewed two hundred and eight people during the period October 1978 to November 1979, in English. Of these interviewees 98

took place in the hotel sector constituting a .9% sample of workers in private international hotels according to a 1976 estimate. (8) Twenty nine were employees in parastatal hotels, that is the state's hotel company, African Tours and Hotels and the training college hotel. Forty eight interviews took place in the tours sector, of these two were from African Tours and Hotels tours section in Nairobi and one in Mombasa. In the Government statistics these operations are classified under Transport and Communication and under Community, Social and Personal Services; the numbers of employees in the tours sector were impossible to disaggregate. Although I had intended my sample to be representative of the range of activities in tourism, it was soon clear that this would not be possible for one person with restricted time and resources. As a result the interviews in the tours operation and travel agents sectors are not as representative as those undertaken in hotels. By their very nature hotels afforded easier access than tour operations.

I interviewed fourteen employees in the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife and the Kenya Tourist Development Corporation mainly in Nairobi (eleven) and one in Mombasa: the government administration accounts for approximately 4,350 employees throughout Kenya (pers. comm.). A further 40 interviews were carried out with employees of a variety of enterprises and government offices, for example the District Officer in Malindi, the Customs Officer at Lamu, curio dealers, union representatives.

With regard to race, one hundred and twenty six Blacks and seventy eight Whites were interviewed; nineteen women and one hundred and



eighty nine men. My interviews over-represent the Whites working in tourism, but reflect the proportions working in the upper echelons.

With regard to gender, women are under-represented in my sample in proportion to the men working in this sector. In 1978 women accounted for 17.1% of total wage employment. <sup>(9)</sup> One hundred interviews were carried out at the coast, which included Mombasa town Lamu town, and Malindi town, as well as interviews in beach hotels up and down the coast, and beach hotels in Malindi. <sup>(10)</sup> Eighty four interviews were carried out in Nairobi and twenty four in Kisumu. The different locations afford a different type of tourism and different sets of social and linguistic variables.

The sample was randomly selected. Initially I attempted to book appointments to interview management employees in tourism enterprises in Nairobi. I soon discovered, however, that since Nairobi was an administrative centre for tourism, my respondents were frequently called away at short notice and therefore missed my appointments. I thus adopted a strategy of walking into hotels or tour operations and requested to speak to the particular person in the higher echelons of the company, particularly in the first set of interviews where my aim was to find out how tourism worked. Since it was immediately clear that higher management operated in an extremely informal manner, <sup>(11)</sup> I was able to ask for suggestions for other key informants or other personnel I might interview and therefore had a further credential when introducing myself and requesting an interview.

Hotels are particularly hierarchically organized. It was an essential requirement for me to interview the manager and obtain

permission before interviewing other members of the staff. (12)

There is a consequent and unfortunate bias in the responses: employees were unwilling to admit to problems or difficulties in their work.

The same applies for tour operations although in one instance where the office manager was absent I obtained much information on work conditions and more particularly on racial discrimination. Some comments on life chances and work conditions, are recorded. I attempted to observe how smooth the running of most establishments was (or not) with particular reference to language.

A shortcoming of my Nairobi interviews is the narrowness in range of interviews according to employment levels. Nairobi hotels and offices, with their administrative obligations, were much busier than hotels elsewhere and as a consequence it was more difficult to obtain access. By contrast, Mombasa and coast enterprises are used to serving and accommodating individual tourist's needs and I found personnel most helpful. (13) My interviews in Kisumu, Western Kenya, were facilitated by my staying in one of the hotels whose employees I interviewed. A further consequence of the bias towards the higher echelons in Nairobi is that the sample is racially biased.

I received no refusals to co-operate. As mentioned above some of my interviews were missed, in which case I conducted an interview elsewhere. There were, however, two instances where difference in status, age and gender made it very easy for my respondents to avoid my questions. As Benney and Hughes suggest, an interview is,

"a relationship between two people where both parties behave as though they are of equal status for its duration, whether or not this is actually so". (14)

Some interruptions occurred, such as phone calls or queries which affected the flow of the interview.

Much of my interviewing was facilitated by my gender, and I have reason to believe that access was accorded to me more easily because of this.<sup>(15)</sup> I was, as Diana Woodward and Lynne Chisholm have pointed out in their research, patronized.<sup>(16)</sup> In addition on two occasions the "conventions of equality" and "naturalness" meant that I had to defend myself from overt sexual innuendo.<sup>(17)</sup> Such a problem is a rarely stated effect of the structural inequality obtaining between men and women.<sup>(18)</sup> Since, as Fowler points out, the interview is a situation where the interviewer has power I was reliant on the interviewees' willingness to relinquish their power.

To cite M. Benney and E. Hughes

"but what happens when, as increasingly happens, a run-of-the-mill, middle class interviewer encounters a member of some financial, intellectual or political elite? Our impression is that such respondents contrive to re-establish equality in the interview by addressing themselves subjectively, not to the actual interviewer, but to the study director or even his sponsor". (19)

I would argue that to refer to my superiors, who may have been seen as the grant-awarding body, or professors of the institutions to which I was attached was unnecessary when the regression into such "affective responses" as mentioned above were an easy and immediate recall to some assumed superiority.



Not all my interviewees perceived themselves as superior. When I was introduced by a manager or other superior, employees responded in a manner I perceived as subservient, and once again the onus was on myself to establish "rapport", although, as indicated in the literature, my respondents were not to "question back". As John Hughes says

"The interviewer needs to be encouraging and rewarding to the respondent while maintaining a permissive atmosphere but still avoiding evaluative gestures or comments that might communicate expectations". (20)

My own superiority in such situations did not rely on introductions by supervisors, but also on racial hierarchies. At another level I was on one occasion introduced by someone who was clearly disliked by the interviewees. My own educational level was a further factor in perceptions of status.

In effect, then, I was operating in a strictly hierarchical environment, and such factors as those mentioned above had, of necessity, to be taken into account. A control would be possible, in theory, by employing a research assistant in comparable environments, who was say Black, Kenyan male, interviewing in Swahili. As a piece of exploratory research, I was using my interviews for a variety of purposes, but here just chart ways in which I found the interviewees' classifications of myself as interviewer affected the interview.

As these interviews were non-standardized and not designed for measurement I was relatively unconcerned with problems of comparability.<sup>(21)</sup> But I was interested in charting and comparing

the results of these interviews with other techniques I used in elucidating social processes. As Elenore Bowen says

"the anthropologist cannot, like the chemist or biologist, arrange controlled experiments. Like the astronomer, his mere presence produces changes in the data he is trying to observe". (22)

Some interesting contradictions emerged as noted below.

All my interviews were conducted during work hours, facilitating my access; I assumed that any interruption to the work process, at a time when work is not too demanding, and which is not routine, adds interest and novelty. Comments about language use are made conservatively on the basis of observations in this work domain, and may not be generalized to all domains. On the other hand where the work was of the nature of providing a service, and my interviews were also in the nature of providing (information), the framework of service may have ensured reasonable "naturalness" of context.

### iii) Observation

Interviews in certain sectors of the tourism industry can be seen as a more rigid form of interaction characteristic of the tourist sector in general. In order to classify, describe and analyse my data, observation was a necessary additional technique. It provides a further means of studying

"the common sense categories of thinking in everyday life". (23)

As Dingwall says

"the ethnographic interest is in the mundane and commonplace routine rather than in the good story". (24)

As my research progressed, however, a curious paradox between my role as sociologist cum citizen and sociologist qua sociologist became apparent; a paradox which I equally drew attention to in the analysis of the linguistic situations. Bulmer has pointed out that the trained eye may begin to look for data even where the context is one of citizen. (25) The context of tourism makes this particularly evident since the United Nations' definition of a tourist covers

"temporary visitors staying at least 24 hours in the country visited and the purpose of whose journey can be classified under one of the following headings:

i) leisure (recreation, holiday, health, study, religion and sport);

ii) business, family, mission, meeting". (26)

I was, therefore, tourist, citizen and social scientist. Linguistically too, a contradiction occurred between the dictates of communicating with and understanding the responses elicited by my own choice of words and structure of questions: later in the research I was code-switching into Swahili in order to explain my questions.

Since a tourist, on holiday, involves the pursuit of leisure and being served, my own role was immediately distinguished by its nature in work, an active role. Some studies, using participant observation where the researcher is gaining entry into a group for the purposes of studying behaviour unobserved, have taken place where an element of group cohesion ensued from members of the group pursuing similar goals. In tourism, such a unity does not exist because the activities of those involved are characterized by their



relationship to or eschewing of work. As a tourist, I was continually observed because the role of those working in tourism is continuously to serve, a role backed up by the negative sanction of dismissal if this work is not fulfilled satisfactorily and the tourist becomes angry. (27) As a research worker, it was I who wished to observe, unobserved.

As mentioned above, work in the tourist industry follows a strict hierarchical pattern, its smooth running depends on the receipt and carrying out of commands as quickly as possible, in a quasi-military manner. My adoption of the role of participant observer would have meant selecting either a role as tourist or worker first. Such a selection would have excluded possibilities of observation at different levels of the work force.

If we take Raymond Gold's four-fold characterization of field observation; complete participant, participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant, complete observer, further remarks on the tourist industry follow. (28) In particular the nature of work and tourism are drawn into relief.

As a complete participant tourist I experienced the paradox of sociologist versus tourist. By the UN's definition even as a sociologist I was a tourist. "Role pretense" which Gold notes

"is a basic theme in these activities" (29)

was not an issue because the roles converged. The contradiction lay in the work versus non-work, active versus passive aspects of such role-playing. In effect I undertook "complete participant" research as a tourist. Many of my observations on the image of Kenya

and the ideological function of tourism in chapter 4 start with the common-sense perceptions of what Bulmer calls the trained eye.

Considering adopting a role of complete participant as a worker in the industry affords illuminating insights. Several levels would have been closed to me. Gold's statement that

"it matters little whether the complete participant in a factory situation has an upper-lower class background or perhaps some factory experience, or whether he has an upper middle class background quite divorced from factory work and the norms of such workers" (30)

demonstrates an idealism based on ignoring ethical aspects of research.

The example he chooses of factory work merely presupposes a neutral approach to the particular factory work he may have had in mind, yet for example a researcher of military training in the US Air Force experienced problems from carrying "role and self" demands to an extreme. (31) Whilst such ethical concerns over the nature of the industry did not arise, as an educated White, non-Kenyan woman, there would have been social sanctions against my undertaking, for example, washing up in a small remote hotel, both from a racial and from a class point of view, which I was not prepared to confront. It is indeed more fruitful to accept and delineate the constraints on the individual in field research, since this forces the inquirer to analyse the types of skews which ensue, than to ignore they exist, as if the inquirer is a completely neutral body. By situating the observer in the social structure a more fruitful control can be accorded another observer in a different social position, and in the cases mentioned, this would be for example a Black Swahili-

speaking male. A further ethical concern is the betrayal of subjects. Researching in a work sphere where there were currently no major conflicts at the time, meant this problem did not arise. However, discussions of, say, theft, strikes, or dislike, may raise the issue in taping talk at work.

The second role Gold mentions, participant-as-observer does not involve concealing the inquirer's role to the same extent. Here Gold notes

"Simmel's distinction between intimate content and intimate form contains an implicit warning that the latter is inimical to field observation". (32)

Considerations of this role are not relevant to my field research in tourism. The definition of tourist, for example, militates de facto against the tourist 'going native'. My role coincides more with Gold's 'observer-as-participant' category

"used in studies involving one visit interviews. It calls for relatively more formal observation or participation of any kind: it also entails less risk of 'going native'". (33)

In Gold's final category "complete observer" he writes

"it is generally true that with increasingly more observation than participation the chances of going native become smaller, although the possibility of ethno-centrism becomes greater. With respect to achieving rapport in a field relationship, ethno-centrism may be considered a logical opposite of 'going native'". (34)

This quotation sheds light on the highly structured and hierarchical fashion by which some research is conceived.<sup>(35)</sup> Gold's comments stress the superiority which inheres in the role of field



worker, construed as a person "interested in certain aspects of society". But if research is construed as an enterprise to gain information which will lead to the improvement of people's lives, such as the early social surveys were defined, then such empathy should not be deemed harmful. (Ultimately if his field workers do "go native" completely they would change their identities.)

If one aim of observation was to supplement information collected in the interviews, another was to compare interviewees' responses to questions on language with observable behaviour. In most cases observation was more difficult than I had anticipated. First of all, many of the locales were crowded which meant a) that hearing was physically impossible and b) choosing a particular speech event to follow, from a variety of such interactions, was also difficult. The difficulty involved recording a speech event between two people (sometimes three, for example, waiter, client or clients and supervisor) where this takes place "on the run": the waiter or other worker records the command and moves quickly away to fulfil it. In theory I could, where my presence was acknowledged, have followed the waiters around for example, but such action would inevitably have made participants feel self-conscious, and created an obstruction in the work process which would have been unwelcome, and possibly physically dangerous. I was, in my capacity as consumer and client, able to undertake some observation, which suggested avenues of inquiry and verified or negated points from the interviews. I recorded sporadic observations in notebooks at the soonest opportunity and some of my tentative conclusions are based on these. Observation

was important during interviews, since these were often carried out in open plan offices, the reception area of hotels or other places where interruptions verified or negated my interviewers' responses. I recorded these simultaneously.

My aim in observation, then, was to discover the nature of communications in the tourist sector, to try and ascertain what types of interaction took place recurrently and hence the communication needs associated with different language use.<sup>(3.6)</sup> Observation was also useful in elucidating contradictions between stated and observed use of languages.

#### iv) Taping

Taping is essential for illustrating the use of everyday language. Over twenty hours of tapes were collected from selected tourist locales in different parts of Kenya (Nairobi, Coast, Kisumu). A variety of strategies presented themselves, from concealed taping, concealing the purpose of the taping to overt taping. Completely concealed taping was only possible where I purposely set myself up as a client in a tourist enterprise. Whilst this would be of undoubted use to those involved in the training and co-ordination of tourism, I was not interested in such an instrumental approach, but preferred to select interaction which went on first and foremost between workers in tourist locales. I did, however, make use of this disguised method to try and catch conversations soliciting my purchase of Kamba wood carvings in Malindi. I kept the tape-recorder in my shoulder basket, and pressed the appropriate switch as I walked past a row of stalls. Unfortunately I was solicited by so many curio

sellers that it was impossible to distinguish any conversation on the tape. If subsequent research were to be tried along these lines, a more sensitive and powerful tape-recorder would be needed.

I did not consider concealing the purpose of the taping: I could have said I wished to capture others' speech than those present. The assumption behind this would be that individuals are less anxious or self-conscious where they do not feel their own language competence is being tested. By explaining the purpose of my taping I felt I maintained my own integrity, not deceiving my informants. I also discovered that there is a strong element of narcissism amongst many people, for those selected appeared to feel that this added to their status and importance. Whilst many of the respondents were "playing" to an invisible audience in the tape recorder, as they became more absorbed in their work, the presence of the tape recorder was forgotten. Elements of "play" at work are noted in Chapter 6.

I include myself in some of the tapes for two reasons. The first is that I considered this a strategy to put my informants at ease. Secondly my own use of language and code-switching of particular items reflected the way people "pick up" languages in an informal, that is extra-institutional, environment.

Some of those whose voices appear on the tapes were unaware of the recording: this is mainly the case where the tape is set up in an office or shop and the workers are aware of it but the clients are not. Although I received no refusals of co-operation in taping, in one instance I was requested not to tape in an area I had suggested but was allowed to tape elsewhere in the same enterprise. This



involved taping in an area where clients were not present.

Most of the transcriptions were done by members of the appropriate language groups, schoolboys at the coast, and students of Kenyatta University College in Nairobi. They were remunerated for their work at an hourly rate they were happy with. Each hour's tape transcription took between ten and fifteen hours to transcribe in longhand. Where possible I subsequently went through the tapes and the translations I requested to ascertain the meaning (and often the handwriting). The translations were undertaken by the students who transcribed the relevant tapes.

A further reason for going over the tapes with the transcribers is that I discovered they were correcting the language for what was considered to be current usage (as evidenced by an anonymous, invisible body of first language speakers "we" or "they say x or y"). I impressed upon my students not to correct for what they thought they had heard, but to transcribe what was on the tape. Apart from this automatic correction, the tape transcription was difficult because of the amount of noise on the tapes themselves. This was due partly to situations in which the taping took place, and partly because the speakers were often moving. As a result the items which are analysed in chapter 6 below are selections from the tapes. A variable amount of material in the tapes is lost.

Tapes recorded at Utalii hotel, the Hotel Training School, were useless because I discovered too late that the batteries on the tape-recorder I used were low. Although I attempted to play them back with the same old batteries, I could not reproduce a comparable

speed which would enable me or a student to transcribe. I was, unfortunately, unable to record again at Utalii Hotel.

v) The Questionnaire

An exploratory questionnaire, devised to explore tourists' perceptions of language problems (if any) in four European languages, French, Italian, German, and English was drawn up and cyclostyled. One hundred copies in each language were produced. (See Appendix I.) Due to restricted financial resources it was not possible to produce an attractive questionnaire and this may have adversely affected the respondents. (37)

I tried a variety of methods to distribute the questionnaire, through a hotel chain, individually to hotels. The most appropriate method was to approach hotel managers and request that the forms be distributed through the reception, to each room number, according to the number of people and their appropriate language, in the pigeon-hole.

I received returns for three hotels in each case where I was myself staying long enough in the area to solicit responses and returns. At two hotels the assistant manager and receptionist (with the manager's approval) agreed to return the questionnaire to my address in Nairobi, but I did not receive them. In a sixth hotel the manager refused to sanction the distribution of forms through the hotel reception, but allowed me to leave them by the reception desk where residents might pick them up if they were interested. When I returned to collect the questionnaires, these had disappeared and staff present could not say where they went.

In one hotel the receptionist asked why I did not do a questionnaire of the workers. I indicated that in my interviews the topics of inquiry were comparable.

I estimated that the results of the questionnaire were uninformative, but had calculated that a long questionnaire was unlikely to be met with much interest from people whose express intent was pleasure-seeking.

I did not pursue the questionnaire further because I felt my primary concern was with intra-enterprise interaction, rather than with the perceptions of pleasure-seekers, which I found an instrumental approach which smacked of market research. No further comments on the questionnaires are included.

### III A note on Categories

In an article on qualitative data Halfpenny notes that

"qualitative research in this sense (exploratory and essentially descriptive after West) is concerned with developing concepts rather than applying pre-existing concepts". (38)

I was constantly aware that I had chosen to do field research in an area where the literature which shed insights onto my subjects of inquiry was as disparate as development sociology of a Marxist character, ethnography with its roots in rural colonial life, and sociolinguistic surveys. Each of these bodies of literature had their own categories of analysis which were frequently at odds with each other, and which I directly sought to improve and apply in an undescribed context.

Concepts of class, for example, suggested themselves for a work-



force located outside agriculture. However, it became clear that the contexts within which class had been theorized, were of a more strictly industrial nature. Although, then, it might appear that such a concept was of little use, what was suggested was analyses of workers in service industries, and industries which had become increasingly multinational. (39) The tourist industry presents an important sphere for analysing the integration of "peripheries" into metropolitan systems in the context of the changing nature of "work". Some work force studies were useful for comparison.

The location of the study in this explicitly internationally oriented sphere raised the question of race. This would be a fruitful field for further inquiry, particularly since questions of race, citizenship and nationality were frequently confused. My interest in the historical dimension led me to look at how Europeans had been replaced by Kenyan Africans. My categories for analysis were thus initially Black and White, with Asians subsumed under Black. Quite clearly such broad categories crosscut those of nationality into which I did not inquire. Nonetheless I found non-Kenyan Blacks volunteered their nationality particularly as Ugandans. Whites called themselves "Europeans" which is neither colour nor nationality nor, arguably, race. Some Whites volunteered their nationality particularly where they had taken up citizenship as a result of government legislation. In the results of interviews I indicate where these issues impinge on the responses particularly when my respondents are clearly expatriate. However overall I maintained the categories of Black and White, first for their simplicity and

second because I consider it is colour which is an important factor in the broader context of social forces.

Insofar as I consider language, the categories Black and White are unilluminating: Black does not necessarily necessitate a mother-tongue speaker of a language of Kenyan origin, and White does not imply English mother-tongue. Further comments are included below.

Categories used in the analysis of talk are comprehensively discussed in chapter 6 below. At this point it is important to note that the distinction between "talk" and "conversation" proved useful and illuminating.

#### IV Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the choice of the sector in which I undertook research, situating this choice within the general aim of extending sociolinguistic work done in classrooms, and the language surveys into an occupational sector. I have commented on the techniques I used in my research, including some indication of the problems I encountered. I have not engaged in a comprehensive critique of the methods used, but have used a variety of research techniques in order to incorporate several levels of analysis.

The results are presented as follows. In chapter 3 I elucidate questions of language policy on the basis of secondary sources, published items, from newspapers, official sources. I was also able to benefit from discussions with scholars working in the field. Chapter 4 gives the context of the tourist industry with indications of historical factors in its origins and emergence. The data are produced on the basis of reading, collection of printed material,

and information from the interviews. Chapter 5 presents data from the interviews, and results of questions on various topics. Chapter 6 gives an analysis of the micro-sociolinguistic data, the tapes.



APPENDIX I

SURVEY OF LANGUAGES USED IN THE TOURIST SECTOR

1. Mother tongue .....
2. Nationality .....
3. Length of stay in Kenya: so far ..... in toto .....
4. Do you speak Swahili? .....
5. If yes, have you used it? ..... To Whom? .....
6. Have you had any difficulty in communicating with:
  - i) hotel restaurant staff .....
  - ii) hotel reception staff .....
  - iii) while making phone calls or sending telegrams .....
  - iv) curio dealers .....
  - v) other, specify .....
  - vi) on safari: to and from destination .....  
       in game parks .....

How many times? 1-5 ..... 5-10 ..... More.....
7. Can you get round language problems (in Kenya) by resorting to gestures? .....
8. In any situation of communication problems did you resort to a language other than your mother tongue? .....  
 If so, which? .....
9. Did you ask the help of another person in translating? .....
10. If yes, whom?
  - i) tour leader .....
  - ii) hotel manager or other member of staff .....
  - iii) another tourist .....
  - iv) other, please specify.....

11. Have you had any communication problems which have caused you and others to request help from outside sources? embassy? consulate? other? Please relate briefly, indicating who translated .....
- .....
- .....
12. What sort of communication problems are they? e.g. cultural problems as defined by language, e.g. time (1 o'clock equals 7 o'clock) or perhaps forms of address?
- .....
- .....
13. Did you mix with: i) other tourists who speak your mother tongue? .....
- ii) tourists who speak other languages, if so which? .....
- iii) residents? which language do you use? (or languages?) .....
14. Which language do you speak most?
- i) in hotel with staff? .....
- ii) on safari: to and from destination .....
- in game parks .....
- iii) in curio shops?.....
15. Which other language do you use? .....
16. Using a scale of: nil, poor, fair, good, fluent, how do you assess the spoken English of:
- i) hotel reception staff .....

- ii) restaurant staff .....
- iii) doctors (if any contact) .....
- iv) other, please specify .....
17. Would you, as a speaker of your mother tongue, advise hotelkeepers to train staff in foreign languages? .....
18. If yes, which in order of importance? i).....  
 ii).....  
 iii).....
19. Have communication problems interfered in any way with your enjoyment or expectations of your stay in Kenya? .....
20. Any suggestions for improvement? new phrase book? .....
- improvement of existing books? .....
- which books? .....
- orientation to tourists before arrival in Kenya, and what sort?  
 .....
- other, please specify? .....

PLEASE ADDRESS ANY QUERIES CONCERNING THE QUESTIONNAIRE TO:

D. CRAMPTON,

c/o DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS & AFRICAN LANGUAGES,

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI, BOX 30197, NAIROBI.



NOTES

1. Doris Lessing, 1979, Shikasta, London, Granada edition 1981, p.56.
2. John A. Hughes, 1976, Sociological Analysis: Methods of Discovery, London, Butterworths, p.117.
3. Aidan Foster-Carter, 1974, 'Neo-Marxist Approaches to Development and Underdevelopment', in E. de Kadt and G. Williams, (eds.), Sociology and Development, London, Tavistock, pp.67-105.
4. This is the title of the Introduction of Joan Rubin and Bjorn Jernudd, (eds.), 1971, Can Language be Planned?, Hawaii, University of Hawaii Press.
5. For the case of tea, see Nicola Swainson, 1980, The Development of Corporate Capitalism in Kenya, 1918-1977, London, Heinemann; for wattle, see M. P. Cowen, 1975, 'Wattle production in the Central Province, capital and household commodity production', Mimeo, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi.
6. For the duration of my field research 1978/9, tourism earned more foreign exchange than tea exports.
7. Hughes, Sociological Analysis, p.146.
8. Associated Research Consultants Ltd., (ARC), July 1978, A Study of the Social Costs and Benefits of Kenya Tourism, a report prepared in association with Pannell, Bellhouse, Mwangi and Co., for the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. The number in hotels and restaurants had decreased by 1.2% between 1978-79. See Government of Kenya, Ministry of Finance and Planning, Central Bureau of Statistics, 1979, Economic Survey, Nairobi.

9. Ibid., p. 52.
10. Beach and coastal hotels afford a different type of social interaction: some comments are included in chapter 5.
11. Business luncheons provide important fact-finding meetings, where news is passed on by word of mouth and information collected.
12. Robert Dingwall, 1980, "Ethics and Ethnography", Sociological Review, Vol. 28, No. 4, p.878.
13. In particular employees at UTC Mombasa and Jambo Hotels accorded me much help and hospitality.
14. M. Benny, and E. C. Hughes, 1956, "Of Sociology and the Interview" in N. K. Denzin, 1970, Sociological Methods, London. Butterworths, p.197.
15. Dingwall, "Ethics", p.881.
16. See their "The expert's view? The sociological analysis of graduates' occupational and domestic roles", in Helen Roberts, (ed.), 1981, Doing Feminist Research, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 159-185.
17. Aaron Cicourel, 1964, Method and Measurement in Sociology, New York, Free Press, particularly chapter 3, on interviews, and Benny and Hughes "The Interview".
18. On micropolitical events see Nancy Henley, 1977, Body Politics, New Jersey, Prentice Hall.
19. Benny and Hughes, "The Interview", p.195.
20. Hughes, "Sociological Analysis", p.152, my emphasis.

21. For Cicourel "comparability is not possible in the sense of the classical experiment of exposing the same conditions to the same sample of subjects in identical fashion with complete controls. But with a theory of social process by knowing what to expect and recording what actually happened we can at least control the situation more". Method and Measurement, p.87.
22. Cited by Ann Oakley, 1981, "Interviewing women; a contradiction in terms", in Roberts, Feminist Research, p.57. Observer effects have long been known, see for example, Elton Mayo's 1933 study of factory workers: The human problems of an Industrial Civilization, 2nd ed. 1946, Boston, Harvard University Press.
23. Cicourel, Method and Measurement, p.79.  
I would not fully endorse the view of Schutz, cited here that such study is the social scientist's first task, but agree that it is an important facet of our work.
24. Dingwall, "Ethics", p.874.
25. "The Ethics of Social Research", paper presented at the Department of Sociology, University of Leeds, 23rd November, 1981.
26. Tourism Policy and International Tourism in O.E.C.D. Member Countries, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development Paris, 1980, p.5.  
For Labov this paradox of research is the Observer Paradox, see W. Labov, 1972, Sociolinguistic Patterns, 1978, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
27. I was informed by a hotel manager, for example, that tourists frequently permitted themselves to shout at waiters in a way, he considered, they probably would not countenance at "home", in their own countries.



28. Raymond E. Gold, 1958, 'Roles in Sociological Field Observations'. Social Forces, vol. 36, March, also in Denzin, Sociological Methods, pp. 370-380. See also W. F. Whyte, 1943 and 1955, Street Corner Society, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
29. Gold, p. 373.
30. Ibid.
31. Dingwall, 'Ethics', p. 875.
32. Gold, 'Roles', p. 376.
33. Ibid., p. 377.
34. Ibid., p. 378.
35. See also Ann Oakley, 'Interviewing women', p. 38.
36. See, for example, C. Sellitz, M. Jahoda, M. Deutsch, and S. Cook, 1965, Research Methods in Social Relations, London, Methuen, p. 209.
37. See also the comments by Diana Woodward and Lynne Chisholm, 'The expert's view?', p. 162.
38. Peter Halfpenny, 1979, 'The Analysis of Qualitative Data', Sociological Review, vol. 27, No. 4, p. 806.
39. For example, G. Adam, 1973, 'Multinational Corporations and Worldwide Sourcing', in H. Radice, (ed.), 1975, International Firms and Modern Imperialism, Harmondsworth, Penguin, pp. 89-103.

## CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGE IN KENYA

"It's we Africans who encourage Europeans to feel too fantastic because we cannot speak and write perfectly in their language. Whenever you make a grammatical error (sic) or pronunciation or misspelling they look at you, laugh you out and think you're very unintelligent - but they themselves can't speak a word in Kiswahili. They only know the word, Jambo and Bwana which they want you to say to them."

David G. Maillu (1)

- I The context of Language Policy in Kenya
  - a) Language policy in education
  - b) Language in the press
  
- II The Language Controversy
  - a) The Place of Swahili
  - b) The Type of Swahili
    - i) Populist Swahili
    - ii) From the Inter-Territorial Language Committee to a Kenya Language Academy?

Planning Language in Kenya.
  
- III Conclusion

## CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGE IN KENYA

In this chapter I look at the context of language policy in Kenya, firstly in education, secondly in the press and thirdly in language controversies in government's higher echelons. In providing a general background to language in Kenyan society, I assess how Swahili and English are emphasized at particular moments and suggest that the question of language is used variously as a manipulative device by one group to exclude another, or as a tool for welding national unity. From this general perspective I investigate cleavages expressed through the question of language, and continuities from the colonial period to the late 1970s. I compare efforts at forming a Kenya Swahili Council with those of the Inter-territorial Language Committee and assess attempts to formulate a national language policy in Kenya.

I Language policy in Kenyaa) Language Policy in Education

Missionaries were the first to be concerned with language in their project to provide education for the native population in the early period of colonization. As Ali Mazrui points out the laissez-faire philosophy of the metropolitan government meant that only the missions provided education, and that therefore such education was Christian education. <sup>(2)</sup> Before the 1909 United Missionary Conference, Sir Charles Eliot had also, however, suggested the administrators learn the vernacular for this would increase efficiency. <sup>(3)</sup>



Early approaches to language in education were bedevilled by a quasi ethnolinguistic characterization of the relationship between thought and language:

"Mental life has evolved in each people in an individual shape and proper mode of expression, in this sense we speak of the soul of a people and the most immediate, the most adequate exponent of the soul of a people is its language". (4)

Many of the early missionary schools had been established at the coast, where Swahili predominated, or along Arab trade routes which also facilitated missionary communications. The missionaries themselves had worked on Swahili in the pre-colonial period: Krapf had produced a dictionary and Steere wrote the Handbook of the Swahili Language published 1870. Some taught in the vernaculars: the Continental Missionary Conference in Bremen resolved that German grants to administration in German East Africa would only be given for educational projects using the vernacular. French and Portuguese authorities, on the contrary, did not consider the vernacular the most important vehicle for preliminary education. (5) Where missionaries worked in Swahili areas all was well and good, but venturing into the interior took them outside Swahili areas. (6) Here Steere advocated the use of Swahili as a lingua franca for it was, he felt,

"a language which, through its Arabic relations, has a hold on revealed religion, and even on European thought while, through its Negro structure, it is exactly fitted to serve as an interpreter of that religion and those thoughts to men who have not yet even heard of their existence". (7)

Others felt such a lingua franca should not be used because it was

"unfitted to reach the innermost thoughts of those undergoing the conversion to Christianity". (8)

Some associated Swahili with Islam, rejecting it for that very reason.

At the United Missionary Conference in 1909 the Protestant representatives adopted a policy of teaching the vernacular for the first three classes, Swahili in class four and five. Central mission schools could teach Swahili in Standard Three and optional English in Four and Five. Details of these measures were given to the 1919 Education Commission. This Commission concluded that English should be taught on "patriotic and political grounds". (9)

While the early East African Protectorate Government was slow in providing education of any kind, the later Kenya Colony and Protectorate Government adopted an educational policy which was instrumental for providing an educated labour force. The latter's efforts paralleled the missionaries' civilizing intent expressed by

"the principle that the controlling power is responsible as trustee for the moral advancement of the native population". (10)

Native education in this context was to be simultaneously "adapted to the mentality" to inculcate "true ideals of citizenship and service". (11)

The provision of some Kenyan government grants for apprentices shows the Kenya government's later desire to provide labour for the settler economy. (12) Largely in response to missionary reaction to Northey's labour circulars, the advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical Africa Dependencies, composed of missionary, government and educational representatives, was established in 1923. (13) It called on the departments of Health, Public Works, Railways and Agriculture and noted that



"provision must (also) be made for the training of those who are required to fill posts in the administrative and technical services". (14)

Government policy on education was influenced by three commissions: the Phelps Stokes Commission to West Africa in 1922, a second Phelps Stokes Commission to East Africa in 1924, and a report by the East Africa Commission of 1925 under Ormsby Gore. The second of these looked at education keeping in mind the experience of the U.S. educational system. (15) It highlighted a general confusion in education deriving from the sectoral interests involved:

"the missionaries .. determined by their desire to impart their religious ideas to the native people; ... government officials by their concern for the running of the administration and the consequent need for clerical help and skilled workers; and ... settlers and traders by the various needs of their occupations". (16)

It espoused the view that the people had a right to their own language, but recommended teaching in four major languages, Swahili, Kikuyu, Luo and Luyia, with English as a second language as soon as possible and the vernaculars eventually withering away. The commission noted the general lack of educational facilities, materials and teaching staff and despite their recommendations on language, the practicability of their proposals was such that a decisive policy on language did not emerge. (17) The Commission under Ormsby-Gore drew attention to lack of primary educational facilities in Muslim areas due to the predominance of Christian missions and religious enmity.

Underlying this early lack of policy was the general problem of



"(in) whose interests were the territories primarily to be developed". (18)

Irrespective of policies, intended or merely hinted at, material for education scarcely existed. (19) Such a situation was partly reversed by the 1925 Educational Conference in Tanganyika which led to the establishment of the Central Publishing Committee concerned with textbook provision, using the Kiunguja dialect. (20) In Kenya, however, difficulties led to proposals for co-operation with Tanganyika. A conference was held in Mombasa, in 1928, attended by Professor Meinhof. The decision to use Zanzibar's dialect in Kenya was reiterated, which caused some bitterness amongst the coastal people. (21) Subsequent correspondence between the Acting Colonial Secretary of Kenya, the Secretary of the Conference of East Africa Governors led to the establishment of the Inter-Territorial Language Committee on 1st January 1930.

The problems of the educators were by no means resolved. What was open to question now was at which stage each language should be introduced:

"everyone is agreed that the local vernacular should be used at the first stages of education and that the higher stages of education will have to be conducted through the medium of English. It remains for a final decision as to whether and, if so, where Swahili should be brought in, and what part it should play in schools". (22)

Whilst the Director of Education, Scott, waxed eloquent on Swahili for its flexibility, standardization and literary culture, Canon Leakey suggested English should be used for fear that public opinion in England hear Major Grogan's view that English should not be taught to people destined to till the land. Leakey, in

contradistinction to Scott, drew attention to the forms of Swahili being used:

"the beautiful language spoken up and down the coast and the kitchen Swahili of up-country". (23)

The language question was also taken up by the Kikuyu Independent Schools Movement who associated Swahili with settler policies.<sup>(24)</sup> English was necessary to become a member of the Legislative Council, and as such was the reason given for representation of African interests by Europeans. (25)

In 1930 there was a change in educational policy: a course in oral English for Standard III was proposed, and elementary business method and further English were added with Standard V, which became a finishing year. In 1937 the Commission for Higher Education in East Africa reiterated the recommendation of teaching English but with the proviso that

"for those in the primary schools who will not continue into secondary classes, English should not come into question even as a subject". (26)

A sub-committee of the Advisory Committee (established in London in 1941) noted not only that

"a popular mass education movement must be based on literacy in the mother tongue" (27)

but also the complexity of the vernacular situation and people's desire to learn English. In its 1943 Memorandum of Language in African School Education, the Committee espoused the principle that education should be given in the vernacular, introducing English after the elementary grades. Where difficulties occurred

"it may be necessary to meet the difficulty either by the introduction of English at a stage earlier than is right on educational grounds or by the introduction of a second vernacular closely akin to the child's vernacular and more easily acquired by him than English"

also

"we must make one assumption of importance and that is that the vernacular is capable of use as the medium of instruction and that the provision of text-books and simple materials does not present insuperable difficulties". (28)

Again the timing of the introduction of English was not specified but left to the local authorities. Where three languages existed in the local situation the committee said little of practical use. In effect although the committee was concerned with

"the creation of new classes of African society separated from the vast mass of their fellow countrymen by loss of contact and ready communication" (29)

many children were only partially educated, and only in their mother tongue. (30)

Only the missions offered secondary education in four schools at this time, of which only two provided for Cambridge School Certificate and less than 400 pupils had passed through.

In 1948 a Ten Year Plan for the Development of Education was published, expressing the objective of increasing education, the provision of teachers and secondary schooling. It noted that Swahili was being taught as the lingua franca from Standard 3 onwards, and that in the junior secondary schools instruction was normally in Swahili with English as a subsidiary language. English was, however, in demand. A new syllabus for primary schools introduced in 1949 aimed at "literacy in the vernacular" in the



first three of the six year primary course. (31)

The plan suggested that

"Swahili be the language of the literature and instruction in primary schools in towns and settled areas, and that for rural areas provision be made for textbooks in Dabida, Kamba, Kikuyu, Masai, Meru, Nandi, Luyia and Luo covering the whole four years and in Giriama, Pokomo, Galla, Sagalla, Taveta, Suk, Kisii, Tende, Tesiot, Boran, Turkana and Somali textbooks be translated for the initial stages only after which Swahili should be used for literature, while the vernacular continues as the medium for oral instruction". (32)

Such a policy could have been expected to reinforce the rural/urban gap. Teaching English in primary schools, it was observed, was restricted by lack of qualified teachers. Yet the 1950 Proposals for the Implementation of the Recommendations of the report on African Education in Kenya (33) noted that English should be "adopted as soon as possible in the post-primary classes".

Education Department Annual Reports for 1950 and 1951 expressed dissatisfaction with the language situation in schools, remarking upon the decrease of Swahili and demand for English, the shortage of teachers of English and the inadequate supply of literature in the vernaculars. Contemporaneously Indian children in some classes in Nairobi and Mombasa primary schools were allowed to learn English in the first couple of years. Some schools applied for reversion to Swahili for examinations. (34) Several thousand school-children were taking Swahili in the Kenya African Preliminary Examination (after eight years' education); many also took Swahili at School Certificate although Whiteley comments this may have been a "soft option". (35)

The East African Literature Bureau was founded in 1948 with the express purpose of providing school textbooks throughout Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. Since such a task was quasi-monumental it initially published in only four languages; Swahili, Luganda, Luo and Kikuyu. (36)

In 1950 sixty four books were published. (37) An orthography for what became "Kalenjin" was agreed upon. (38)

Intermediate Schools should, the Education Department suggested in 1953, teach in English. For preliminary teaching the situation remained with the

"suggested syllabus for the teaching of vernacular languages (which was) said to presuppose the existence of a series of graded class readers: which, it is apparent, were not available for most languages. The recommendation was therefore made that where there was not sufficient material for the teaching of the vernacular in the higher classes, the timetable should be modified to cater for the needs of other subjects". (39)

English became the compulsory language of the final primary examination (that is the eighth year). Swahili use decreased further except in its vernacular areas (the coast). In addition the use of English medium teaching was subject to controls. The Advisory Council on African Education in Kenya were concerned that suitably qualified staff existed to teach it at primary level, that syllabi be submitted to the Department of Education for approval, and that facilities for continued use of English at the intermediate level existed. It was suggested that English teaching in primary schools be approved at the discretion of the Education Department in collaboration with the Provincial Education Officer. Control was exerted by retracting funds from grant-in-aid primary schools if

English was taught without permission.

When the 1953-55 East African Royal Commission Report suggested that

"the teaching of English should begin in as low a class as possible, and should become the medium of instruction as early as it can be followed by the pupils" (40)

a new period of more consistent language policy and policy implementation is observed.

On-the-ground problems associated with the changeover continued. This was particularly acute when English replaced the vernacular in the Intermediate grades (4th - 6th years). In 1957 the Ministry of Education set up a special programme to investigate this problem. A pilot project course involving twenty-five teachers in schools for Asian children in Nairobi was started in 1958. Earlier introduction of English, noted Gorman, was justified on the grounds of practical expedience.

The problems of the changeover to English were assumed to be solved, <sup>(41)</sup> as were those of dearth of materials. Use of English as a medium as soon as possible, rather than concentrating on it as a second language at a time when students would be attempting to grapple with more complex conceptual problems, was considered to enhance pupils' learning. English was railroaded through the educational system: in 1961 the pilot course was extended to other schools and in 1962 all Nairobi first year classes adopted it; <sup>(42)</sup> teacher training colleges were requested to prepare for this course.

The impetus to English teaching in schools meant that other subjects suffered: vernacular teaching in some areas. Vernacular



lessons were found to be replaced by revision. The Chief Inspector of Schools sent a circular in June 1965 aimed at rectifying this state of affairs. (43)

Meanwhile the Education Commission chaired by Professor S.H. Ominde, submitted a report in December 1964, which claimed that

"the vernacular languages are essential languages of verbal communication and we recognise no difficulty in including a daily period for story-telling in the vernacular or similar activities in the curriculum of Primary I, II and III ..."

and that there was

"no case for assigning to them a role for which they are ill-adapted, namely the role of educational medium in the critical early years of schooling". (44)

After Independence employment prospects for many Kenyans in, for example, the Civil Service sector, led also to the expansion of secondary education on an unprecedented scale. The picture of language policy following independence is thus equally complex. The general trend towards English noted by Whiteley in the 1950s, continued uninterrupted and was again noted by Elizabeth Gachukia, writing in 1970. (45)

With regard to the vernaculars we witness the same conflict between the desire to promote vernacular language policy and lack of materials. The Primary School Syllabus, for 1967, for instance, stresses competence in the mother tongue as desirable with emphasis on oral expression, writing and reading skills, yet

"properly graded language and reading courses have not yet been written for most mother tongues". (46)

Teaching staff, as R. J. Hemphill notes, had neither training nor materials for teaching, and the Kenyan Institute of Education was given the task of producing them. (47) In secondary schools,

in the late sixties although some vernacular readers were filtering into schools, their use was restricted. As Gorman comments

"the fact is that even in the major vernacular languages there are no courses available which draw upon modern methods of first language instruction. Most teachers simply do not know what to do in the vernacular period other than to tell stories and regrettably, many teachers and pupils clearly thought this activity to be largely a waste of time". (48)

On the subject of Swahili, the dearth of modern materials in Swahili has again been blamed for the trend towards adoption of English. (49) However, the editorial of a 1978 issue of Lugha states

"it is true that more Kiswahili is taught in schools than used to be the case in the 1960s; it is also true that it is taught better today and that schoolchildren scarcely despise the language any more, as once unfortunately happened". (50)

Whiteley's view of the rejection of Swahili in the 1950s was that it was

"part of a frustrated desire to acquire European privileges and power, a drive which, in other parts of the Colony is expressed more peaceably in the belief that mastery of English is the key to success in the material world". (51)

Given the comments above on early colonial language policy (p.84) it is hardly surprising that this should be the case or that groups campaigned around the Swahili language as an issue in the attempt to reject it. Indeed it was difficult to imagine a competent administration at Independence functioning in an international political system on the basis of Swahili. And yet with the example of neighbouring Tanzania and with nationalist discontent after

the advent of formal political independence, but continuing economic dependence, the question of Swahili use had provided an important forum both for the expression and manipulation of wider discontent and as a potential instrument for creating unity.

In Whiteley's words

"great matters even in language matters are not unknown and the appearance of language as an election issue, though novel, can hardly be dismissed as an anachronism". (52)

Before enlarging on the issue of language as a political weapon, I shall comment on Kenya's press.

#### b) Language in the Press

".. Different authorities have at certain periods openly exerted their power to prevent or limit the growth of reading, or to prevent or limit the education from which it naturally follows". (53)

In this section I look at the extent of printing and publishing of newspapers in Kenya's languages. (Some comments on publishing appear in Appendix 2.) Newspapers provided a forum for ideas and material which gave incentive to the learning and use of Kenya's languages. John Ndegwa, for example, observes that by 1940

"readership of all races had (now) grown tremendously, and awareness, political and social, had increased. It was consequently inevitable that newspapers would increase in number, be they national ( in the sense that they were published for all residents in the colony), factional or regional". (54)

The earliest journals were mission journals, written in English. When Kenya became part of the East African Protectorate, in 1895, the foreign readership of newspapers changed to include civil



and servants, railway engineers. English newspapers took four months to arrive so a local entrepreneur started the East Africa and Uganda Mail in 1899. This paper, with its news, stories and advertisements for hotels, caravan outfitters and overseas suppliers, catered for the early adventurers. This was the voice of the early settlers and English people whose interests were already shown to have crystallized and be under attack by printed attacks on Jevanjee who was winning government contracts. This led to the establishment by Jevanjee of the African Standard in 1902, edited by a Mr. W. Tiller. But according to the Taveta Chronicle,<sup>(55)</sup> the standard of English was not good. Other competitors for these newspapers appeared and disappeared, generally not surviving more than two or three years.

Government publications provided an exception. The Official Gazette for the East Africa and Uganda Protectorate (1899-1908) included social events and advertisements, and incurred the wrath of the truly commercial papers because it sold at half their price. Government printers were also responsible for the earliest non-English newspaper Habari, in Swahili, for the "natives", started 1922 (Swift Press). The Asian community, however, published the Mombasa Samachar in Gujarati from 1913, and the English Indian Voice of British East Africa, Uganda and Zanzibar published in Nairobi from 1911. Later the Colonial Times was also published in Gujarati (from 1932). A Kikuyu newspaper was started in Nairobi in 1925 called Muiguithania.<sup>(56)</sup> The Government Swahili Baraza was taken over by the East African Standard in 1940. A few copies of a Swahili paper Tangazo were published by Harry Thuku in 1921, until he was jailed and his printer went bankrupt.<sup>(57)</sup>

An informal racial barrier in commercial newspapers existed, since these were for Asian and White elite consumption. Black Kenyans depended on the missionary publications: newspapers, for example, the CMS Lenga Juu (meaning "Aim High", Swahili, 1911), the Consolata Catholic Mission's Wathiomo Mukinyu (Kikuyu, Nyeri) and Rafiki Yetu (Swahili, Mombasa), as well as translations and educational primers printed in Kamba, Kikuyu and Kipsigis by the Africa Inland Mission in Kijabe (from 1912), in Luo and Luragoli by the Friends' Africa Industrial Mission Press, Maragoli (from 1914) and Luo (Advent Press, Kisumu from the late 1920s).<sup>(58)</sup>

Such a division of reading material was not to last. The African press exploded after 1945 and was very important in the development of political consciousness.<sup>(59)</sup> The early monthly Muiguithania was started by the Kikuyu Central Association (banned in 1940), and edited sometimes by Kenyatta. It covered news about meetings, included advice on being educated and comment on unnecessary arrests. It followed the KCA's attempts at transtribalism, publishing material about the North Kavirondo Central Association's protest to the Secretary of State about destocking measures and similar Kamba protest in 1938,<sup>(60)</sup> thus establishing an embryonic national consciousness. It was an influential newspaper, banned from publication after 1945, but replaced by the weekly Mumenyereri.<sup>(61)</sup>

Between 1945 and 1952 about forty papers were started by Black Kenyans, with another sixteen in 1952. The war had brought to the fore the contradiction of people fighting for freedom who then perceived, if they had not done before, their own lack of freedom. The readership for the papers came mainly from the Rift



Valley, Southern, Central Provinces and Nyanza, with the latter two providing educated people as editors. (62) Most papers were printed in Nairobi, which, with Kikuyu (province) benefitted from ease of distribution; however the Nyanza Times, Abaluhya Times and Dunia Kenya were printed in Kisumu, the Coast African Express (owned by the Coast African Association) Hodi, and Kenya ni Yetu were printed in Mombasa, and Mugambo wa Ruguru was printed in Nakuru. (63) Swahili was

"used in papers aiming at an urban or national readership". (64)

The same author suggests the following divisions for the African press

"moderate nationalist papers advocating constitutional change written in Swahili and English aiming at a colony-wide audience; the vernacular papers catering for one language group with primarily local or ethnic interests; and the populist press predominantly a Kikuyu press, which intended to politicize the poor for radical action and came to reject the moderate politics of the educated". (65)

To a certain extent, then, these classifications reflect the different strategies of those fighting for power. (66) Yet the division should be considered heuristic, as Fay Gadsden suggests, for the White population responded with some alarm to the fertile growth of African newspapers, and attempts at suppression were met with a differential response such that a clear cut division dissolved. Editors moved on to other papers, or,

"changed the names of their newspapers or the language used". (67)



The Government's attitude to the Press had been liberal: this may have been because apart from the occasional paper mentioned above, there were no African papers before the forties. (68)

Legislation concerning the press was as follows. The 1906 Books and Newspapers Ordinance required only registration with the government and the names and addresses of the proprietors, with returns showing circulation numbers required annually by the Registrar. In 1934 a Telegraphic Press Messages Ordinance was passed, aimed at protecting Reuter's service from use by non-subscribers. Most papers relied for news on a combination of radio, personal communication, Information Office handouts and the English language press. (69) The government could hamper news, as occurred when the Post Office delayed reports from Nairobi to the Mombasa Coast Guardian and Nakuru Weekly News concerning the Legislative Council's hearing of a report on atrocities in the reserves by the Member for African Affairs. When the report was sent, it was accompanied by government comment.

In 1915 and 1939 a Press Censorship Ordinance and British Emergency Powers (Defence) Regulations (extended to Kenya and other colonies) protected information concerning troop movements and

"reports calculated to create alarm or despondence or otherwise likely to prejudice the public tranquillity or resolution", (70)

In addition to barriers to the smooth flow of information and the restriction of a particular type of information, charges of libel and sedition formed constraints, as well as out and out

suppression as in the case of Muiguithania. In 1922, for example, the Indian East African Chronicle had to close because of heavy fines. In 1945 G. L. Vidyarthi, editor of the Colonial Times, was prosecuted for publishing an article declaring that a successful campaign in Burma would slow Burmese independence following attacks on British activities in India and <sup>on</sup> the attitude of Europeans to land in Kenya in the Gujarati section of the paper. (71) In 1947 Vidyarthi was taken to Court for an article in Habari, owned by the same company, imprisoned for eighteen months and the Colonial Times Works decided to close the paper.

The radical Indian press was at this stage demanding revolutionary rights for Africans. In 1947 Muoria, editor of Mumenyereri was prosecuted for criminal libel and a case was brought against Radio Posta. (72) In 1950 the editors of Hindi ya Gikuyu were charged three times and the editor of Muramati was fined in 1952. Muthamaki, the Kikuyu paper, and Zabulon Oti, its printer, were charged with sedition in 1951, but were not convicted; the case was dismissed. (74) Generally speaking the African press was relatively moderate in the late forties.

"Habari and Radio Posta in 1946 and 1947 looked to a future when there would be equal representation of all races on decision-making bodies". (75)

The hegemonic view of Black inferiority and inadequacy was, apparently accepted by a certain clique of Africans

"Awori commented that India could become Independent because it had sufficient men capable of running a country; Kenya had not. Muoria felt that the people lacked ideas and were doing nothing to improve their position and that a newspaper could help remedy this". (76)

Such an attitude was perhaps held by those who accepted the capitulation of government to settler pressure concerning the composition of the Assembly, like the paper Mwalimu.<sup>(77)</sup> But this did not pass without criticism. Other sections of the vernacular press demonstrated a "violent militancy" to such an extent that government was requested to impose some form of censorship by the European Electors' Association in 1945,<sup>(78)</sup> although the radicals only started to predominate in the press a few years later (1950-51). A committee was appointed by the Legislative Council in 1949 to look at the Information Services. It

"considered that it might become necessary for the Governor in Council to be granted powers enabling him to suspend papers guilty of 'deliberate and persistent misrepresentation of facts'".<sup>(79)</sup>

One member, Madan, abstained since in his view the press provided a useful means of expression

"too vital ... to be left to the mercy of an executive, and particularly in a multi-racial society where power is largely concentrated in the members of one race ... Suppression, or danger of suppression ... would spread the roots of distrust and fear even more widely than is normal in such a society".<sup>(80)</sup>

In which community fear lay is rather an ambivalent issue. Spencer argues that during the war European farmers attempted to establish the foundation for continuing dominance in Kenya. Their response to the press was based on the fear that

"the press was an important factor in aggravating African unrest"<sup>(81)</sup>

and therefore a useful medium for "irresponsible agitators". Yet



the legitimacy of grievance and protest was not generally set in the context of

"people embittered by earlier losses, consistently refused the security of individual title, and who had feared in 1943 that more land in Kenya was to be alienated to European settlers". (82)

Neither was the racial aspect of inequality considered

"the Government was particularly concerned by the anti-European feeling voiced by the African press, ... but the privileged position of the European minority in Kenya, where African political development had to involve a reduction of European influence, made this inevitable". (83)

Forms of censorship taking issue with articles' content were not effective. Sedition was extremely difficult to prove since the courts had to rely on interpreters whose translations could be contested. Articles also made frequent use of allegory. Government, on the one hand, started its own vernacular newspapers, sure that the Colonial Office would not sanction suppression. Twenty one district newsheets were started between 1946-1952. (84) On the other hand, and despite the comment that charges of sedition had toned down the newspapers, (85) an amendment was passed to permit government confiscation of the presses of those charged with sedition. Neither measure quelled the African press: the Printing Presses (Temporary Provision) Ordinance of 1952 enacted for one year in the face of African and Indian opposition but lasting till 1960, drove the radical printers onto duplicating machines, and the government papers were not widely read. (86) Meanwhile Muthamaki and Mumenyereri became more radical, and were banned after the declaration of a state of Emergency in October 1952. The 1952 Ordinance had the effect of turning printers into

censors for fear of loss or cancellation of their licence. Thus the Tribune Press lost its licence in January 1953, although some papers it produced continued untouched through October 1952 when two Swahili newspapers, including Sauti ya Mwafrika, one Embu, one Kamba, and eight Kikuyu newspapers were suppressed. <sup>(87)</sup> Twenty nine leaflets and pamphlets in Kikuyu were similarly banned. Habari za Dunia was banned in 1954, Uhuru in 1959 and the Independent. <sup>(88)</sup>

The newspapers had a variety of problems with finance and distribution. Some were more successful than others. Habari (after 1945) was originally a weekly paper which grew in size and increased its circulation to 2,000 including Tanganyika and Uganda. It lasted two years as did Mwalimu, <sup>(89)</sup> which started as a monthly but became a weekly with an estimated distribution of 4-5,000. Mumenyereri started as a monthly, was subsequently issued twice a week: Muoria wanted to make it a daily paper but could not afford to. Its circulation was between 6-11,000 according to sources, <sup>(90)</sup> but it reached many more people than the number of copies sold, due to group readings. Ramogi started as a fortnightly in 1945 and became a weekly by 1950 with a circulation starting at 800 and increasing to an estimated 2,500. Where papers were able to attract advertisements they were more likely to survive. Thus the Indian printers who owned Habari were able to draw on business contacts. Ramogi, too, acquired advertising revenue. Mumenyereri had fewer advertisements. Papers moved from printers to printers to attempt to escape debts. In addition agents who undertook to sell papers were not guaranteed to pay for copies ordered. Papers were sold



in shops but also in the streets. Many copies were returned, or the money was not returned. As an attempt to forestall such bad debts, Muoria, for example, started to request (1950) that copies of Mumenyereri were paid for in advance: he had sold the first few copies himself in Nairobi market.

Given financial problems it was relatively easy for government to use fiscal methods of controlling newspapers. Emergency (Publications) Regulations were introduced in 1953 aimed at those printers who had escaped through the loophole of the Printing Presses Ordinance by using duplicators. Duplication of newspapers in Kikuyu, Embu, and Meru now became an offence: the penalty two years prison or a fine of 10,000/-. Failure to comply with the Ordinance could lead to a fine of 600/- to 10,000/-. The regulations were made more strict: papers had to be registered within the first two weeks rather than the first month, and contravenors faced prison sentences which were not a penalty under the 1906 Ordinance.

If Government papers had not been widely read before, by 1953 they were now no longer suffering any competition. Ramogi survived because its Printing Company had been reorganized and formed the African Vernacular Press and later the Kenya Vernacular Press.<sup>(91)</sup> The paper itself had protested against radical Kikuyu politics in 1951 and later Europeans had joined the company's governing board.<sup>(92)</sup> Government papers included Kikuyu, Meru and Swahili weeklies for the Emergency, discontinued in 1956; district newssheets, replaced by Department of Information provincial newspapers in 1957; <sup>a</sup> three <sub>h</sub> monthlies in Luo, Kikuyu and Kamba in addition to Pamoja, a Swahili



paper started during the war. Some of the material in these latter monthlies was reproduced in translation in each of them. There was also a free Maasai paper started in 1955 (continued till 1963) and a workers' paper by government, started in 1958, Habari za Thika, which became simply Habari when extended to other areas. There was also a Kamba weekly for urban workers.

Emergency regulations ensured government censorship and self-censorship by some papers who did not wish to run the risk of prohibition. The supersession of African vernacular papers by government papers meant that information was more easily withheld: for example the death of detainees at Hola.<sup>(93)</sup> When the emergency regulations expired, a new Books and Newspapers Ordinance exploited the fiscal method of restricting the redevelopment of Black vernacular presses and newspapers: by demanding a £500 guarantee before a paper could be registered it ensured that a large number of small newspapers were not started on duplicating machines. Eight members of the Legislative Council argued that

"it interfered with the freedom of the press that its effect would be to prevent Africans from starting newspapers. Asians and Europeans would have less difficulty in raising the £500 surety". (94)

Two copies of every published edition were to be deposited with the Registrar general and the police were given powers to search those suspected of contravening the Ordinance. This latter had occurred before 1960

'Mugo Gatheru tells in Child of Two Worlds how he was threatened with the loss of his job with the Medical Department should he continue to write strongly worded letters to the Kenya Weekly News. Expatriate Europeans working for the Indian Press were threatened and sometimes were deported.

Newspaper offices were ransacked by CID officials searching for incriminating Communist literature". (95)

Despite a campaign started by the Nation (itself started in 1960) the Bill was enacted after the third reading. African owned papers were registered in 1960.

From early mission papers, to the vernacular papers, and duplicated newsheets of the forties and fifties, this medium was reaching an increasingly large audience. The official response represented in Corfield's Historical Survey and of the Origin and Growth of Mau Mau, was that the African press was a hotbed of subversion. (96) Yet, as James Scotton points out

"according to the CID files, many of the African periodicals preached not violence but education, work and gradual improvement". (97)

Irrespective of the variety of opinions presented, vernacular papers and mimeos were equated with subversion by the very fact of the language used, unless the papers were produced in the vernaculars by the Government itself. Until the 1950s, then, the press was not national but it was widespread.

Legislation and concerted repression of the vernacular presses left a vacuum not filled by Government newsheets but facilitating the entry and establishment of multinational enterprises in the national press. Indeed, by the 1970s, Gorman (98) was able to write that there were neither Government owned daily newspapers nor Ministry of Information publications in any of the local languages. With regard to the large multinational corporations, the Nation

group was established in 1958 with English language and Swahili language daily newspapers. This group is financed by the Aga Khan. The multinational, Lonrho, took over the East African Standard, which by 1967 was part of Consolidated Holdings owning the largest printing establishment in Kenya. (99)

In looking at the press we may draw the general conclusion that it has functioned as a medium of expression for the educated and a stimulus to the promotion of the various Kenyan languages. In the sixties while Kenyans adopted the colonial and administrative and institutional frameworks, the newspapers were, however, no longer under the control of Kenyans.

The takeover by multinationals, which was also the consequence of Government legislation in the pre-Independence period, had two effects. First, news production was restricted to English and Swahili. Secondly, it was now impossible to correlate a particular form of nationally available and nationalist newspaper with a particular language. With respect to the relationship of Swahili and English to other languages, Gachukia commented

"the lack of vernacular newspapers periodicals and literature is another factor that has hindered any enthusiasm or motivation that could have encouraged the teaching of the vernacular languages". (100)

A combination of Swahili and/or English were presented as the only alternatives for language policy.

Whilst the case of language in education and the press historically exemplify the conflict between the settler administration and African protest within Kenya, I shall argue below



that since Independence and most particularly since 1970, the issue of language incorporates forces both national and international.

Indeed, H. Goldklang indicates a new political force entering the arena in the 1960s:

"the flow of Swahili-language materials does not emanate from just within the Swahili-speaking countries themselves. The Russians and Chinese have been particularly active in this sphere by disseminating, free or at a very nominal fee everything from children's picture books, to treatises on the functioning of a modern state, to the texts of the exchange of letters between Moscow and Peking, outlining the differences in the Communist tactical and strategic lines." (101)

## II The Language Controversy

In this section I look at statements regarding language made at the higher levels of government and suggest an interpretation in the context of groups advocating competing economic strategies in post-Independence Kenya. I suggest that language, or more correctly policies regarding the languages English and Swahili, are manipulated by groups in controlling positions, and come to symbolize particular strategies. In the second part of the section I look at views expressed in the newspapers which throw into relief the emotive force of language loyalties. Finally I assess the impact of non-governmental bodies in the crystallization of a consciousness of language as a specific issue, considering historical precedents and current attempts to form such a body.

### a) The Place of Swahili

"Decisions on language use in a particular society are almost invariably subordinate to,

or a reflection of underlying political and social values and goals". (102)

In December 1964, President Kenyatta addressed the House of Representatives informing them that Swahili should be used in the National Assembly

"Bwana Spika mimi nataka kusema maneno kidogo kwa Kiswahili kwa sababu mimi natumaini kwamba wakati si mrefu katika nyumba hii yetu tutaweza kuzungumza Kiswahili ambacho ni lugha yetu" (103)

because it was "our language".

It is interesting to assess what motivated the President to make such a statement. Throughout the struggle for Independence neither Kenyatta's party KANU, nor KADU had rigid prescriptions for language use. Their statements were restricted to the following

"KANU shall strive for unity and understanding among all the peoples of Kenya - breaking down tribal, linguistic and cultural barriers"

or, for KADU, members can use

"what language they would like to be used at that meeting or conference. All minutes of the union shall be written in English except those of the locational or ward branches which shall be kept in the language preferred by the members". (104)

Karega Mutahi points out that success in national leadership depended upon control and influence of groups, that the language issue was very sensitive and not one likely to be broached by a leader for fear of losing popularity. Yet the question of language had been evoked historically at the governmental level when the political system was threatened. (105) The alternatives presented were a Swahili language policy or English language policy.

Kenyatta's 1964 statement on language was not followed up by a systematic set of planning proposals and policy decisions. It did, however, coincide with a period of some conflict in the ruling party,

"Kenya, which became a one-party state 'by consent' in 1964, a year after her independence, has now become a two-party state by disagreement, with both sides feeling, and expressing, that there is something wrong about this". (106)

The conflict then derived partly from problems between the Cabinet and the party. These may have reflected a lack of function for a party which came together on the high tide of national independence, with nationalist struggle as its motivating force.

"In the competition for employment, and more generally, for the allocation of limited resources, ethnic rivalries are exacerbated and the general consciousness of national unity developed during the campaign for independence is dissipated". (107)

But although it may be argued that KANU's problems derived partly from this lack of potential to

"achieve its aspirations and intentions of building an all-embracing centralized and unitary type of mass party" (108)

the party had remained dominant and, so far, able to withstand tension (by fair means or foul). George Bennett points out that certain aspects of the conflict also resembled

"another round in the long battle between Tom Mboya and Oginga Odinga". (109)

These two political figures drew their support from urban workers and from Western Kenya respectively. Although Mboya had been the President of the Kenya Federation of Trade Unions, representative,



therefore, of the working class, he had also in 1957 criticized the colonial government for the obstacles it put in the path of the development of African producers. (110) In this respect he therefore came to represent the frustrated local capitalists who could not compete with multinational capital. Whilst Mboya as a workers' representative came into conflict with the status quo, he later (1966) introduced a motion of confidence in the Government which indicated his alignment with Kenyatta.

Odinga, as an early trader, having started the Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation in 1948, continued to espouse the views of local capitalists. (111) Since he was also a traditional figure in the West and a populist leader, Kenyatta was not keen to break with Odinga,

"which meant a break with at least a large share of Luos in Kenya". (112)

Nevertheless he resigned from his position as Vice-President of KANU, attacking

"those who had become the prisoners of the helpers namely the donors of foreign aid, and claimed that there was an 'invisible government' controlling Kenya". (113)

A new party, the Kenya Peoples' Union was registered in 1966; Odinga joined. (It was banned in 1969.)

Such were some of the events around the 1964 language proclamation. Behind the facade of personality clashes, the issues were that

"Africans controlled the Government but Nairobi's commercial centre remained in the hands of European firms and Asian shopkeepers and in the highlands large European estates still existed. Could the government convince the electorate

that practical economic considerations had prevented rapid change, that it was necessary to maintain large estates for production and that foreign businessmen must have confidence so that capital and aid would continue to flow into Kenya?". (114)

As Ben Kipkorir points out, education and literacy had been an important means for Africans to take the parliamentary road to power. (115) Since the educational infrastructure had provided for at least a modicum of knowledge of Swahili amongst many Kenyans an appeal to the use of language could be used as a useful rallying point against critics of open policies to foreign capital. It was used as if a Swahili language policy would, per se, resolve the economic conflict concerning foreign capital in Kenya. At this time Sessional Paper No. 10 on African Socialism was published by Mboya's Planning Ministry, rejecting Marxist solutions but suggesting a land ceiling as a possible restraint on land grabbing. (116) Conflicts were partially resolved by the Little General election of 1966, which witnessed only a 40% poll turnout, and by the introduction of a Public Security Act which provided for detention (contested unsuccessfully in Parliament and with wide criticism in the press). (117) Such solutions, as noted, were partial for

"the 1960s were devoted primarily to the taking over of the existing economy with as little disruption as possible". (118)

Criticisms of party policy, then, were taken to the electorate. Complete resolution of the conflict between national and international interests has not been possible. It was partially alleviated by the take-over of Asian enterprise after 1967. (119)

When a further crisis erupted at the end of the sixties, the pattern is repeated. As Swainson points out

"the programme of the KPU made a populist appeal to the exploited masses of workers and peasants drawing on very real contradictions of capitalism, landlessness, unemployment and corruption". (120)

In 1966 democracy had appeared to reign since open discussion took place as MPs spoke out against the Public Security Act

"by doing so they demonstrated that Kenya remained a democracy, but it was open to doubt whether she would remain so if the KPU proved vexatious and awkward". (121)

In 1969 Mboya was assassinated with apparent repercussions on Luo-Kikuyu relations. (122) Some KPU leaders had been detained and a further general election was in the offing (December). The KPU had been banned in October. As Swainson points out

"the timing of KPU's suppression was important since the next General Election had been due in 1970". (123)

Both Henry Bienen and Nicola Swainson note tribalistic appeals

"in times of crises, leaders try to create tribal unity" (124)

and in class terms:

"this expression of opposition politics reflected the failure of the ruling group to integrate the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie proper. An example of this failure was the resort to tribal-based political appeals after 1969 (a tactic which was not superseded by class-based politics until the 1970s)". (125)

In this crisis we see two opposing tendencies in terms of language. First, with respect to elections which were called candidates had to pass an English test taken under the aegis of the provincial administration. (126) This gave the more highly educated Africans



a particular advantage. Newspapers had apparently reported a fairly high failure rate. Secondly Kenyatta once again appealed to the use of Swahili

"we are soon going to use Swahili in Parliament whether people like it or not". (127)

In this instance the appeal to a language which was not associated with the dominant peoples in the heart of the conflict over Mboya's death gave the appearance of an attempt to forge unity. Since Kenyatta had banned opposition parties and since power lay in the Civil Service "a more docile instrument than party" (128) such a statement can be seen as an appeal to an unhappy unity both in the Civil Service and the Party. (129) It was also an appeal to workers and peasants whose knowledge of Swahili was superior to their knowledge of English. At this time the official language was English. It had been widely employed as a medium of instruction in schools since Independence, and was the language of the High Court. Its place in the National Assembly had been confirmed in April 1969 when the revised constitution was issued. (130)

In April 1970 a language plan was issued by Government following a resolution passed at KANU's governing council that

"Swahili as our national language shall be encouraged and enforced by all means and at all places in Kenya and (that) Swahili be used in our National Assembly". (131)

The plan outlined two phases; in the first

"all Kenyans shall speak in Swahili at all times either to fellow Kenyans or to non-Kenyans whether officially or non-officially, politically, or socially"

In Phase Two

"the official language in all Government duties will be conducted in Swahili, Law Courts and places of higher learning will be exempted during this period. The President, Ministers and Government officials shall communicate to all people whether Kenyans or foreigners or aliens in Swahili, using an interpreter if necessary".

In addition

"all civil servants in all Government, quasi-Government bodies, and in the Diplomatic Service will have to pass oral and written Swahili tests. Promotion, demotion, or even forced retirement will depend and be based mainly on the outcome of these tests... All future candidates for the National Assembly, County Councils, municipalities, or any of the elected bodies shall be made up of people who can address a group of people in good Swahili for a duration of not less than ten minutes". (132)

Lyndon Harries comments that

"it must have been obvious that the plans, such as they were, would not be carried out". (133)

Such a statement was, however, rather a political response, not, as Harries suggests, merely to be seen against other possibilities, that is firstly: the status quo, with the growing dominance of English, and Swahili as

"useful and deserving of a certain measure of encouragement as a lingua franca, perhaps just enough to ensure competence in the Swahili media and to maintain the language as a viable bridge language" (134)

secondly: proclaiming English as the national language and therefore de-emphasizing an African language or thirdly: choosing Kikuyu.

Rather it was the choice of Swahili

"to discourage the use in face-to-face communication in central government offices of languages exclusively associated with one of the major ethnic communities" (135)

(136)  
at a time of "extreme heightening of Luo-Kikuyu tensions".

But if the specific events of crisis included Mboya's assassination, the general unresolved problems of the extent of foreign penetration, of local capitalist interests frustrated by foreign capital, and of competing groups, though partially alleviated by the new immigration and licensing laws (1967), were deflected temporarily into the realms of language. (137) Political crises were successfully contained but were exacerbated by the oil crisis of 1974, extrinsic to the Kenyan economy, and, for example, opposition to Lonrho's role in Kenya, and the political debate over succession to Kenyatta. Once again general elections were called and held, the second since Independence, in October of 1974. These elections were preceded by further statements on language policy which could be seen in the light of an attempt by sections of the government to restrict the candidacy of other members. Oginga Odinga was banned from standing for Parliament. Others, in an article entitled "It's Swahili" were more or less challenged to use Swahili

"those who feel they cannot do without English may as well pack up and go" (138)

and the Minister of Information

"warned the enemies of Kiswahili against trying to frustrate the Government's efforts by telling others the old story that Kiswahili is not adequate for expressing ideas". (139)

KPU members (the KPU was still banned) who had been detained would have to be members of KANU for three years after their release from detention before being nominated for local Government and National



Assembly elections. Meanwhile as a symbolic gesture Kenyatta addressed two thousand delegates from seventy five countries in Swahili. (140)

All measures to quell opposition were taken. (141) The MP for Tinderet, drawing attention to confusion surrounding the Swahili proclamation, had moved that

"under standing order number 23 the House adjourned until a constitutional amendment on the use of the Swahili language was approved by Parliament". (142)

Explaining, the MP said,

"MPs were not against the use of Swahili in the House but they had to safeguard the Constitution ". (143)

In response the Attorney General summoned all MPs to the House for the vote on the 11th July 1974, asking MPs not to

"add other meanings and even poison to the President's announcement of the KANU governing council".(144)

The language measures were likely to heighten tension over elections which were frequently the cause of rows. For example a Bill to make elections fair had been misconstrued as

"trying to reduce the power of the President". (145)

This was soon resolved when Kenyatta was made KANU'S life President at the Governing Council delegates' conference in Nairobi.

Within six months what amounted to a step backwards in policy occurred. A Bill

"to retain the necessary requirements that all written laws, all Bills, all financial resolutions and all amendments should remain in English" (146)

and thereby amending section 53 of the Constitution was introduced in November 1974 and passed in February 1975 with the comment that

"the Government recognized that some MPs had encountered language difficulties following the complete phasing out of the use of English by the previous Parliament in 1974." (147)

The language measure had served as an addition to restrict the number of candidates. Once the elections were passed, liberalization was temporarily possible.

There was more tension when J. M. Kariuki was murdered on 2nd March 1975. Kariuki

"although a KANU member of Parliament, had been strongly critical of the Government". (148)

In Colin Leys' words

"in 1973 when the inflationary crisis finally imposed a seemingly decisive halt to the country's post-Independence record of economic growth, the critics became more vocal". (149)

The workers had been appeased by a rise in minimum wages. Strikes had been banned in August 1974. (150) A Parliamentary select committee on the murder was established and presented its report in early June. (151) Meanwhile

"the Government of President Jomo Kenyatta took a series of actions designed to strengthen its popular support, to promote unity within the ruling Kenya African Union (KANU) and to reassert its own control over Parliament". (152)

A campaign was launched against dissident MPs

'who deviate from KANU policy (which) ... they have an obligation to support at all times" (153)

and after three meetings called by Kenyatta on 12th and 19th of

July and 20th September 1975, disciplinary action was decided upon,

"dismissal from the party, leading automatically to the loss of the parliamentary seat concerned", (154)

An MP, whose comment that someone was trying to kill democracy was ruled in order by the Deputy Speaker, was arrested in October, as was the Deputy Speaker himself. Mark Mwithaga and Peter Kibisu, who had protested about the murder of Kariuki, were arrested, charged with assault and imprisoned for two years and fifteen months respectively. Subsequently three other critics were imprisoned. (155)

Achieng Oneko, imprisoned since 1969, was released. (156) Parliament adopted a resolution of loyalty to the President. (157)

Meanwhile an amendment to the Constitution was passed enabling Kenyatta to pardon anyone the High Court had convicted for electoral malpractices. (158) Further measures for renewing the KANU Constitution were suggested, including a requirement of life membership to KANU for those attaining responsible positions at a cost of 1000/- as opposed to the previous 2/- for ordinary membership. (159) Some elections took place in 1976 without any change occurring in the Constitution.

Party divisions again rose to the fore at the end of 1975 and through 1976 on the issue of succession. At this juncture the Attorney General attacked

"ambition in the KANU leadership among MPs which had sparked off recent events" and "condemned politicians who were 'ganging up around those whom they think will be the future President'", (160)

At a Nakuru meeting in October 1976, a proposed amendment to stop the Vice-President automatically taking over from the President



should he die or retire, made the divisions quite clear. (161)

But eventually the Attorney General stepped in

"warning that speculation about the death of the President was a criminal offence carrying a mandatory death sentence". (162)

The political camp now seemed clearly divided between men in power and their subordinates, with the moderate conservatives, discreetly hostile to nepotism, critical of the multinationals versus populist opposition who had been progressively imprisoned between 1975-77. (163)

At the political level

"the trappings of bourgeois democracy have been slowly eroded during the 1960s and 1970s as the ruling class gradually consolidated an immense amount of power in the hands of the executive". (164)

In the event Kenyatta's death posed little problem

"after the death of the President in August 1978, the ruling class proceeded to realign at the political level with remarkable cohesion". (165)

The new President launched a campaign against corruption, including passing a new law against smuggling. The detainees were released. Yet the Cabinet had been dissolved after Kenyatta's death and in response to this political realignment we again witness the appeal to language. The Attorney General stated that it was up to MPs to alter section 53 of the Constitution,

"Members would get into problems using the English language ... what was required in the country ... was to do away with tribalism ... 'we should have two official languages Swahili and English' he said amid applause" (166)

and

"every member should be at home in Swahili and English" (167)

In effect the invitation to the choice of either English or Swahili, or both constituted the appearance of liberalization in language use again.

In April 1979 the National Assembly amended the Constitution to include English. The press breathed a sigh of relief, for

"too often do newspapers come under fire for misreporting the proceedings of Parliament. Whereas it is human to err, and newspapers are by no means perfect, a number of mistakes in Parliamentary reports stem from the ambiguous language used by MPs who do not have total command of Kiswahili; this then has to be translated by reporters working for English language newspapers". (168)

Yet the crisis was not over: the now familiar pattern recurred with the wananchi (masses, citizens) called to the centre of the debate in elections. In August and September amendments were proposed to include the introduction of Swahili tests for Parliamentary candidates, as well as the English test. (169) Whilst some felt that this was merely a tactic to restrict the number of candidates, this was denied by the Office of the Supervisor of Electors. (170)

Such tests once again provided the focus for election battles. The Ministry of Local Government answered appeals from those who felt they had been unfairly failed, issuing letters which stated

"he was tested by us and we were satisfied that he can read, write and speak English Kiswahili for the purpose of efficiency in taking part in the deliberations of the local authority". (171)

The major issues, then, were the role of foreign capital in the Kenyan economy, competition over land, with an increasingly discontented rural populace, and faction fights within the two

parties, or later within the one ruling party, KANU, and the methods for resolving such conflicts. As I show below, the tourist industry exemplifies the penetration of foreign capital, together with the increasing participation of the Kenyan state as controller and mediator of national interests. Increasing international pressure was building up in the late 1970s: for example the Assistant foreign Minister suggested that Kenya should be a "partner in progress with the United States" (172) Kenya was also the arena for coldwar politics.

This, then, is the context in which language became an election issue (p.109 above). Whilst under the colonial regime competence in English was the vehicle for advance, in the post-Independence period it has also come to symbolize the presence of foreign capital in Kenya. The position of Swahili is complex. Associated once with farm workers and promoted by Mboya amongst an urban working class, it has assumed the symbolism of nationalism against multinationalism, this latter acceding a dominant role to foreign investment in Kenya. Yet Swahili has also been used as a political tool to appeal to non-English speaking peasants and workers of Kenya in periods of national crisis by those whose economic and political persuasions are multinationalist. The struggle of the nationalists against the multinationalists cannot be simply or directly equated with the supporters of Swahili versus the supporters of English, since Swahili use has also been manipulated politically by conservative factions in the government to keep other factions out of the elections and subsequently out of parliament.



b) The Type of Swahili

In this section I shall note first some comments on Swahili from the national press. I shall then consider debates about the type of Swahili, and Swahili dialects as they have occurred historically. These debates will illustrate some of the difficulties in formulating language policy in Kenya, which will be the subject of the final section.

i) "Populist" Swahili

Controversies about the place of Swahili have occurred in the English language press. (173) Here the debate takes a variety of forms but what is at issue is a notion of the historical home of Swahili. According to two "Coast Swahili scholars"

"because Tanzania unlike Kenya has very few Swahili dialects, it is unconsciously spoiling the language by adopting words from other languages or coining them recklessly whilst the words are already in existence in many of the dialects.

The most competent people to develop the vocabulary of Kiswahili in order that the language may be able to meet the contemporary requirements are we Kenyans because Kenya is the cradle of Kiswahili and has most of the Swahili dialects within its boundaries". (174)

Its legitimate possessors, then, are those who should be developing the language.

Others remain confused

"the different brands used on the radio and telly however are sometimes confusing. We used to have three types: KiMvita (Mombasa) KiUnguja (Zanzibar) and KiAmu (Lamu) ... the worst medley of words come from Zaire where Swahili is basic and often back to front". (175)

How "Kenyan" is Swahili? According to writers in the press, the answer lies in counting its lexical items, but even that is the subject of controversy:

"Swahili has always been basic. Steere criticised Krapf for producing a Swahili dictionary which was 80% Arabic". (176)

However,

"these (Arabic loan words) constituted about 30% and not more as claimed by some European pioneers like the late Bishop Steere". (177)

Yet once again the explicit correlation of the language Swahili with the people of Kenya, over and against "outsiders", appears in the publication of The Liberation of Swahili from European Appropriation. (178)

The impassioned author calls for the unity of Kenya through the medium of a Kenyan dialect of Swahili. It is irrelevant for the purposes of this section, but ironic in view of the first quote, that Abdala wa Khalidi is not one of "we Kenyans". Much mileage was made of this in letters to the press following this book's publication, also drawing attention to the obvious fact that "Kenyans" are not a homogeneous social or linguistic group:

"because of that experience (colonialism both Arab and European) Kenyans tend to be most pragmatic; hence their choice of 'neutral' English and 'Standard' Swahili in preference to Gikuyu, KiMvita, and other local languages". (179)

The writer refers to Khalidi as "a fanatical Muslim convert" and "half-baked European enthusiast". Also

"he (Khalidi) should travel a bit and visit Kenya and he will find that the majority of Kenyans live in Central and Western Kenya; to them Swahili is a foreign language that has to be learned at school or in someone's shamba or factory". (180)

The venom which characterized these communications indicates how deep feelings on language and identity run. Yet, as I have shown above the emotions expressed have historical precedents related to the social dynamics of colonialism and the struggle for independence, and to the desire for national economic independence. Some of the attitudes expressed are echoes of debates which took place in the Inter-Territorial Language Committee. Khalid's book itself refers to the decision to adopt Standard Swahili in Kenya, rather than a Kenyan dialect.

I shall, then, draw out similarities in attitudes expressed in earlier decades and then discuss the attempts at policy formation.

ii) From the Inter-Territorial Language Committee to a Kenya Language Academy? Planning Language in Kenya

If it appears that the decision to opt for a specific language resolves the problem of which language should be used, very soon a new range of problems present themselves. The issues debated both in colonial Kenya and post-Independence Kenya concerned the choice of dialect, the varieties of Swahili and their functional differentiation. Some of these debates can be traced through the development of the Inter-Territorial Language Committee (ITLC). This body was formed within the context of the early educational expansion of the East African Territories. As Whiteley points out

'Much of the early work in education had been carried on by Mission Societies who had tended to use the local dialects. Krapf and Rebmann and their successors favoured that of Mombasa (KiMvita) while the Universities Mission to Central Africa adopted that of Zanzibar (KiUnguja) - though there is now some evidence for thinking that this dialect was scarcely less indigenous than the Missionaries themselves, being associated with the ex-slaves from the Southern Tanganyika coast'. (181)



As this illustrates, the first problem in the selection of a language for promotion is the choice of a dialect. In effect the two dialects mentioned, or at least their practitioners, the respective missionaries, were in competition. (182) Marcia Wright points out that German/British rivalry probably also played a part. (183) Zanzibar had been the site of much British missionary endeavour since the 1860s and a variety of publications had appeared from the 1880s. Although Krapf and Rebmann had been at Rabai near Mombasa since 1846 (Krapf arrived in Mombasa in 1844), they had been less prolific in publishing educational texts. (184) A Committee for the Standardisation of the Swahili Language sat in Dar es Salaam in 1925. At a 1928 conference in Mombasa an agreement was passed to formulate policy for Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar. In 1930 the KiUnguja dialect of Zanzibar was formally chosen with the establishment of the Inter-Territorial Language Committee. (185) According to two "Coast Scholars", it was chosen simply because the Universities Mission to Central Africa Representatives predominated at the 1925 Dar Conference. (186) The subsequent choice of this dialect as the basis for Standard Swahili for all four territories did not resolve the dialect problem. As Whiteley points out

"differences between scholars from these two areas were of long standing, and the bitterness which this decision engendered was slow to subside", (187)

furthermore this dialect did not have the richness of literary tradition of the northern dialects, especially KiAmu (Lamu) and KiMvita (Mombasa). (188)

With regard to the development of the language the Committee for the Standardisation of the Swahili Language had resolved, in

Dar es Salaam in 1925, that

"Bantu words be employed wherever possible but due regard should be paid to Arabic words and those of other foreign languages which are established and have become part and parcel of the Swahili language". (189)

This and other resolutions were confirmed at the 1928 conference in Mombasa. In 1930 a bulletin was established so that

"notes of idiomatic and peculiar uses of words and phrases could be recorded and it would be of use not only in the preparation of the proposed dictionaries but also as a means of collecting material which would be of value to persons interested in and learning Swahili". (190)

The Bulletin also called for word lists for the teaching of different subjects, and provided a forum, since the

"discussion of disrupted points is essential so that the reasons for holding particular views may be presented and examined fully before decisions are made". (191)

Elementary rules for the choice of words were suggested

"it would appear to be advisable to adopt the English terms used (in most cases Arabic could not supply them, even if it were considered better to go to the Arabic for them) adapting the spelling so as to make it phonetic and as far as possible to fit in with the general characterisation of the Swahili. In some cases where the terms are scientific and the English word does not make a good Swahili one, a better way be obtained by considering the Latin or Greek (etc) origin of the English word". (192)

The process was not without its critics. In an article entitled

"The Development of Swahili: is the ITLC working on the right lines?"

an officer of the Kenyan Education Department commented that

"surely the development must come from the Swahili mind?". (193)

The new Swahili had the faults of appearing like a literal



translation of English, applying rigid "grammatical rules without regard to idiom", disregarding euphony, not applying grammatical rules which did apply to Swahili, introducing new unknown forms, using words in a sense they could not bear as well as arbitrarily forming

"new nouns, many of them in the 'u' class and many of them expressing abstract ideas, though the Swahili generally avoids them and in many cases would use the infinitive of the corresponding verb". (194)

G. W. Broomfield replied that

"no language which comes into contact with other languages can remain pure" (195)

and drew attention to the existence of dialects. (196) He stated the role for Europeans was to compile dictionaries, introducing new words since due to their superior knowledge they were also the introducers of new concepts

"not accessible to Africans ... and with their(Europeans') training in linguistics". (197)

For Broomfield, Europeans should also standardize dialects.

By the end of the thirties Africans had been appointed to the Committee: one from each of the four participating territories. (198) Madan's Swahili dictionary of 1903 was revised, providing, according to Whiteley, "one of the most comprehensive available for any Bantu language" and serving as a "model for others". (199) A Central Publishing Committee had been established to look at secular school textbooks, and an authorship competition was publicized in 1939 to encourage writers.

The role of the ITLC, then, was clearly to develop and extend the language fit for "the development of agricultural, economic,



medical, mechanical and other sciences". (200) Questions were raised concerning where the words should be borrowed from. Some of the comments expressed the relationship of a language to its population, a unified community of mother-tongue speakers, reminiscent of Westermann, cited above, p. 81. For example

"The Swahili employed is that of the Sixth Form in any school on the mainland and it is doubtful if any real Swahili would have himself chosen any of these texts for an anthology of works in his own language". (201)

Items from the press, Mamba Leo, Habari za Leo and Rafiki Yetu, were included in this anthology, which the reviewer criticized further

"they do not represent Swahili life and thought in its proper home on the coast, but only the thoughts and ideas of members of other tribes like the Chagga or the Kikuyu. A Swahili would not be interested in writing an account of Mr. Mathu's visit to England". (202)

A grammar, published independently, stated

"all previous Swahili books have dealt with correct coastal Swahili, but the average up-country African definitely does not understand the intricacies of correct Swahili, neither does any settler, miner, business man, or wife ever attempt to speak it to him, and the official deals with him largely through interpreters into his own dialect". (203)

These three excerpts exemplify the hegemony that some Europeans claimed over Swahili: for while stating that "true" Swahili was in some sense linked to the particular geographical area, they nonetheless claimed the ability to judge its use by other Africans. The grammar, for example, implies that should they care to exercise it, the "settler, miner, businessman or wife" do understand "the

intricacies of correct Swahili, which is a "very complicated language", (204)

In the wider society a dismissive attitude to labourers' attempts to communicate derived from the general racist disposition of many settlers and Europeans, and from communicative needs restricted to the acceptance of orders by Africans:

"Kisettla is found in its purest form where coffee and where wheat flourish in preference to coconuts, seed potatoes or wimbe". (205)

When the East African High Commission was established in 1948, the ITLC came under its jurisdiction. It was to function independently of the East African Literature Bureau. Now

"any pre-war agreement on educational policies in the various countries had long since given way to divergences and the place of Swahili in those policies was yielding, to a greater or lesser degree, to English. The major drive to get Swahili books into the schools had slackened, the new standard dictionary had been published", (206)

The ITLC continued to investigate matters of orthography and research, while the EALB took over the literary role of stimulating authors. The Committee's headquarters moved from Dar es Salaam to Nairobi in 1942, Makerere in 1952, Mombasa in 1962 and then Dar. Whilst its efforts at standardizing and propagating new forms of Swahili were generally less intense than in the pre-war period, and whilst this was undoubtedly due in part to the emphasis placed on English as a medium of education, a further discouragement to the Committee's expansion was its budget, decreased in real terms, from £2,000 in 1930 to £2,200 in 1951. (207) The Committee functioned more as a focus for research on Swahili dialects. During the Emergency period



it served the European community who wished to

"know what is being written, read  
and listened to in Swahili". (208)

When the Committee moved to Dar, in 1964, it eventually became the Institute of Swahili Research (now Institute of Kiswahili Research) in the University of Dar es Salaam. International communication was more difficult and the difference in language policy (where it existed) between the countries reinforced such difficulty. While

"the inter-territorial standardisation  
of Swahili certainly benefited from the  
lively prospect of East African Federation  
between 1928 and 1930" (209)

the breakup of the East African community in the 1970s evidently had the converse effect.

There is a further important factor in assessing the status of Swahili. Whilst the ITLC was working on Swahili dialects, a newer dialect was forming which only came to be named in the 1950s, and which Whiteley had documented:

"the European settler variety of Swahili (KiSettla) in particular, with its limited vocabulary, highly attenuated grammatical structure, and occurrence in invidious social contexts did a great deal to encourage the myth that Swahili was unfit to cope with the requirements of the twentieth century and discouraged any consistent policy". (210)

Echoing the attitude of Le Breton, the following may exemplify the later settler claim to knowledge of Swahili, and African lack of knowledge of the language

"I was visiting a settler friend of mine and admiring his estates. The problem of labour was raised. 'Very difficult' he said 'to get things across, can't use Swahili, none of these chaps understand it, they're all Kikuyu, Luo, Kamba, etc'. A little later on over dinner, the



subject came up again, and my friend complained 'Of course, we have so many different tribes on the farm we have to use Swahili to put things across''. (211)

The existence of this low status dialect in the power-holders in the pre-Independence period may have accounted for the period of English use of the 1960s. Indeed Harries could still comment in 1976 that

"generally in Nairobi the standard of competence falls short of the requirements for its status as a national language". (212)

By the end of the 1960s certain influences drawing attention to language as an issue in national affairs were discernible. One was the Swahili language policy in neighbouring Tanzania. A second influence should also be accorded to the Ford Foundation's teams of "experts" who appeared in Kenya in July 1968 (see below). These latter, although expressly in the field for academic purposes, discussed their plans with and were approved by government officials. (213)

In addition voluntary professional organizations, the Language Association of Eastern Africa and the Kenya Language Association grew and saw as part of their tasks

"serious and honest discussions ... by all interested parties (government and educational bodies) in order to find solutions to the linguistic problems" (214)

and

"to facilitate communication and exchange of ideas". (215)

Some functions of the ITLC were taken over by the Language Association of Eastern Africa, which published a journal from 1970 onwards and the Kenya Language Association, (216) whose journal

Lugha was published from late 1969, when it registered as a society. They publish articles on Swahili, but also cover a wide range of applied linguistic topics such as language policies. The Kenya Language Association (KLA) is clearly committed to Swahili

"it is time for Kiswahili to start to replace English in a more effective way at all levels of Kenya society than it has done so far", (217)

At a three day Unesco sponsored symposium held in 1977 the KLA made a number of recommendations (see Appendix 3) and expressed the hope that

"our Government, the Ministry of Education, and all the other institutions involved in communication and language development will act promptly in order to implement the (above) recommendations", (218)

The paucity of the Swahili vocabulary was still frequently indicated as a shortcoming to its use as exclusive national and official language, particularly terms for budget speeches. (219) This was particularly acute in the house where MPs were suddenly required to use Swahili. How, one MP asked (MP Gatugata for Kikuyu) would terms such as "Mr. Speaker" and "Point of order" be translated? Would MPs be allowed to mix English and Swahili? The Speaker

"ruled that the question of mixing the two languages was out except when an MP had extreme difficulty in finding a Swahili word for the English equivalent" (220)

and

"it is felt that a Member will have to use the language he opts to speak in throughout his contribution. We cannot allow this mixing to continue". (221)

Yet the heightened consciousness of language displayed in governmental debates, with a bevy of experts, donations of foreign aid and the

development of linguistics as a discipline in the national university as a prelude to a language plan, provided an environment in which the response to such problems was immediate. An MP called for the establishment of a committee to consider suitable Swahili terms in July 1974; his concern was that Swahili should be adequate for debates in the House. (222) A partial solution was offered almost immediately by the Kenya Institute of Administration publishing a twenty four page document with a list of the words most used in Parliament. (223)

In summary, assessment of the linguistic situation by educationalists alone was insufficient to promote a language policy, in pre-Independence Kenya. As I have shown, this was partly due to the variety of opinions of administrators and educationalists as to which language or languages should be taught, whether as a subject or as a medium and at what levels in the educational system. The rejection of Swahili as imposed from above and without, and the demand for English set the precedent for post-colonial debates. The positions of English and Swahili represented the interface between settlers and African labour. Whilst a vernacular press had burgeoned, in the Emergency period these newspapers were restrained. By the end of the fifties, multinational presses published Swahili and English newspapers: the terms of the debate on language were thus restricted.

As Gorman has suggested language planning policies do not follow studied planning procedures for other resources. (224)

Language as a human attribute is intrinsic to all parties concerned, not a divisible good whose distribution can be negotiated through



the political process. Yet language had been manipulated as a political tool:

"the impetus for the extension of the official functions of an indigenous language has been channelled through the organs of the ruling political party ... rather than through the Ministries concerned and the bureaucratic system". (225)

Such manipulation of the language question in government was unlikely to result in stable policy formation.

A group of experts had worked in Kenya from 1968 under the aegis of the Ford Foundation on one of a series of language surveys in multilingual countries of Africa.<sup>(226)</sup> One of their aims was to provide data for policy makers in the realm of language use. However, as Professor Abdulaziz says

"the structural organization of the Survey was such that it was destined to be more of an academic exercise than an activity that could have had direct practical influence on matters of policy and implementation." (227)

Even amongst the team members there was lack of agreement over the role of the Survey. As the report says

"the preponderance of expatriates proved to be a mistake". (228)

The Survey appeared to have been ignored in the May 1978 report of the Kenya National Committee on Education. This recommended use of African languages as distinct from previous trends towards increased use of English in early education at the time of the Survey fieldwork.

A policy on language, then, cannot be formulated independently by any single interest group in society. To resolve the language question more clearly and definitely than has been the case to date

would require closer integration of statements made in government (which, in turn, require a resolution of the issues which are closely bound up with nationalist or multinationalist economic policies) with educational policy on the one hand and general guidelines throughout commerce and industry on the other. As one group have indicated, the project would benefit from being integrated around a cohesive semi-official body

"National language academies, councils and committees exist in many developed and developing nations. Language problems are universally considered some of the most important aspects of national development.

The workshop would like to recommend to the government authorities concerned that a Kenyan national language body be set up as soon as possible to look into the problem of promoting and developing our languages. Such an official body could be set up by an Act of Parliament on the lines of the Kenya National Science Council. If these recommendations were acceptable to the authorities a committee could be officially established to spell out the nature of such a body, its aims and objectives, its constitutions, its membership, terms of reference and how much recurrent annual funding it should be allocated to ensure it continued efficient working". (229)

### III Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided the context of language policy in Kenya. I have commented on educational policy in historical perspective, showing some of the differences in opinion of missionaries and government secular educationalists. I have shown some of the factors impinging upon the different status of Kenya's languages and on the use of English. I have commented on the press in Kenya, suggesting it provided a stimulus for the learning of vernacular languages, but also showing the context for the constraints on continued development of the vernacular presses.

In the second section I commented on some controversies which appeared in the English language national press. I drew attention to statements made at the governmental level concerning the use of English and Swahili, in the post-colonial period. I showed how the language question has been used as a political tool, to manipulate the position of groups in government, or to appeal to national unity. Swahili has been used as a political tool to restrict access yet also as a tool to unify across class boundaries. It has symbolized nationalist economic policies, where English symbolized partnership with foreign investment in Kenya. I have examined the role of the Inter-Territorial Language Committee and compared post-Independence attempts at coherent policy formulation with specific reference to groups of linguists in Kenya.

I have, throughout this chapter, attempted to provide the context for the changing status of Swahili and English in Kenyan society.



## APPENDIX 2

## NOTES ON PUBLISHING

It was beyond the scope of this chapter to assess the extent of publishing of novels in Kenya's languages. The following notes are from an interview with Ms. E. Knight who had undertaken interviews with publishers in Nairobi as part of her field work for the Ph.D. dissertation "Earthsong, Wandering, Homecoming: A Study of East African Literature from 1968 to 1979 with Special Reference to the Emergence of New Fictional and Poetic Forms of Expression", presented to the Department of English Literature, Sheffield University, March 1981.

The East African Literature Bureau had been responsible for publishing a large amount of vernacular literature. When the East African Publishing House was established in 1965 specifically to look for work by African authors, "taking more risks", it nonetheless concentrated on Swahili, with one novel in Luo, 4 school primers in Kikuyu and the Acholi Wer pa Lawino, Song of Lawino.<sup>(1)</sup> Since 1973 fuel costs had increased the cost of publishing by approximately 300%. Publishers were loath to publish in languages other than Swahili, except those, like the East African Publishing House who catered for the educational market. The East African Literature Bureau, later the Kenya Literature Bureau, funded by the Kenyan Government, had subsidized Ngugi wa Thiong'o's Ngahika Ndeenda in Kikuyu, but when this was banned they were obliged to renege the contract. Heinemann were to use the original Kikuyu version of Devil on the Cross to assess the possible future market for Kikuyu novels. Since the 1982 coup it is unlikely that such a

market will be provided, although it had seemed for a short period that vernacular publishing might be on the increase.<sup>(2)</sup>

1. Ndegwa, John, Printing and Publishing in Kenya, Essay for the M.A. in Librarianship, University of London, published by SCOLMA, 1974.
2. See, for example, "No Bars to Expression" by Sasha Moorsom, New Society, 19th February 1981. This includes an interview with the writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o concerning his Kikuyu works.

## APPENDIX 3

Recommendations of the Kenya Language Association to promote the status of Kiswahili in Kenya, from a Unesco sponsored symposium, 14th-16th April, 1977, at Kenyatta University College, Nairobi.

- "1. Kiswahili should be taught in all primary schools in Kenya and be made a compulsory examination subject in C.P.E. as from 1978. Kiswahili should also be made a compulsory subject in secondary schools at least up to 'O' level.
2. Every province should have an Inspector of Kiswahili, and the post of Inspector of Kiswahili - now vacant - should be filled with immediate effect.
3. There should be a National Language Council which should take full charge of all matters relative to language policy and especially the promotion of Kiswahili as the national and official language of the country.
4. In order to alleviate the present shortage of teachers, a special two-year course should be designed and instituted at teacher training colleges and the University turning out competent Kiswahili teachers. In-service courses should also be established for teachers already in the field as is customary in other subjects.
5. The teaching of Kiswahili should be accorded the same kind of importance and recognition as the teaching of other



subjects in terms of time-allocation, resources, etc.

Psychologically, this was felt to be a crucial point if Kiswahili is to be taken seriously by both teachers and pupils.

6. A student teacher at a Primary Teachers' College who passes his examination but fails in English, should not be considered a failure provided that he scores a credit in Kiswahili.
7. There should be an overall co-ordination in the teaching of Kiswahili covering the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels.
8. Kiswahili teaching at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels, should be conducted in Kiswahili in order to improve the standards, especially the oral skills.
9. The number of students doing Kiswahili at the University should be increased.
10. Finally, but by no means least, the Government should pronounce a clear national language policy as soon as possible."

From: Lugha, volume 5 No. 3, 1978, pp 10-11.

NOTES

1. 1974, "The right kind of injection", in After 4.30, Nairobi Comb Books, p. 157.
2. Ali Mazrui, 1971, "Islam and the English Language in East and West Africa", in W. H. Whiteley, (ed.), Language Use and Social Change, London, Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, p. 177.  
The implication of this was that Muslims were excluded. At least part of the exclusion of the Arab community, for example, lay in resenting education provided in Swahili, not Arabic. See A. I. Salim, 1973, Swahili-Speaking Peoples of Kenya's Coast, Nairobi, East African Publishing House, chapter IV.
3. W. H. Whiteley, 1969, Swahili: The Rise of a National Language. London, Methuen, p. 66.
4. D. Westermann, cited in T. P. Gorman, 1974, "The Development of Language Policy in Kenya with Particular Reference to the Educational System", in W. H. Whiteley, (ed.), Language in Kenya, Nairobi, Oxford University Press. p. 449, n.47.
5. This and the following material relies heavily on Gorman unless otherwise referred.
6. In an interview in Leeds, Mr. R. N. Lindup who had worked as a teacher for 20 years in Kenya, expressed doubt that the Swahili use areas were as widespread as suggested.
7. **Cited in** Whiteley, Swahili, p. 55.
8. Ibid.
9. Cited in Gorman, "Language Policy", p. 406.

10. See Parliamentary Papers, 1924-5, vol. XXI, Accounts and Papers, volume 6, Colonies and British Possessions, Africa, Cmd. 2374, 'Memorandum submitted to The Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies'
11. Ibid.
12. J. E. Goldthorpe, 1965, An African Elite, Makerere College Students 1922-1960, Nairobi, OUP for the East African Institute of Social Research, p. 3. See also Parliamentary Papers, 1920, vol. XXXIII, Accounts and Papers, volume 7, Colonies and British Possessions, Africa, Cmd. 873, 'Despatch to the Governor of the East Africa Protectorate relating to Native Labour and papers connected therewith'. See also R. M. A. Van Zwanenberg, 1975, Colonial Capitalism and Labour in Kenya, 1919-1939, Nairobi, East African Literature Bureau.  
The situation was one of considerable conflict. As Oliver says "It was clear both to missionaries and to many officials that a further influx of European employers could be supported only by the continuance and intensification of a policy which came perilously close to compulsory labour by Africans for the private gain of individual Europeans", Roland Oliver, 1952, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, 2nd edition, 1965, London, Longmans, p. 248.
13. Ibid. p. 251.
14. (Op. cit., note 10). See 'Native Education'
15. The report noted that it was important to find the appropriate education for Blacks in Africa, and was influenced by General Armstrong at the Hampton Institute in Virginia. "He saw that book learning of the old type was entirely inadequate: that the



plow, the anvil, the hammer, the broom, the frying pan and the needle must all be used to supplement the customary instruction. In other words, that education must be vitally related to the needs of the people as they took up their work as freemen on the plantations and in the towns of the south." Education in East Africa, Report prepared by T. V. Jones, Ph.D., Chairman, Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1924, pp. xv and xvii.

16. Gorman, "Language Policy", p. 408.
17. Ibid. p. 409.
18. Oliver, Missionary Factor, p. 257. Oliver points out that the Government's paper Indians in Kenya, though "probably never intended as a thoroughgoing statement of internal policy" (p.263), indicated the principle of African paramountcy.
19. 15 texts in Swahili, 4 in Kikuyu, 1 primer in Luo, 1 in Maasai, a primer and a first reader in Kamba, from the Appendix to the first Education Department Annual Report, cited in Gorman, "Language Policy", p. 411.
20. Joan Russell describes KiUnguja as "an artificial construct based on the form of Swahili used and taught at the UMCA mission in Zanzibar in the final decades of the nineteenth century", see "Networks and sociolinguistic variation in an African Urban Setting", in S. Romaine, (ed), 1982, Sociolinguistic Variation in Speech Communities, London, Edward Arnold, p. 127.
21. Whiteley, Swahili, p. 81.
22. Department of Education Annual Report, 1928, cited in Gorman, "Language Policy", p. 416.
23. Cited in Gorman, ibid. p. 417.

24. This movement arose specifically out of the controversy surrounding female circumcision: see Carl G. Rosberg, Jr., and J. Nottingham, 1966, The Myth of Mau Mau: Nationalism in Kenya, New York, Praeger, Chapter 4.
25. See Gorman, "Language Policy", p. 420, The first African member, E. Mathu, was not appointed till 1944. See also Cherry Gertzel, 1970, The Politics of Independent Kenya, Nairobi, East African Publishing House, p. 10.
26. Cited in Gorman, "Language Policy", p. 421. Writing in 1938, N. Laughton however, noted the demand for English instruction. He commented that "in Kenya Colony at the present time the language position is complicated by the presence of Swahili", whose spread is accelerated by the Indian trader who has "a very poor vocabulary and is entirely lacking in grammar" and by "the contact between Africans and Europeans in business and on farms: here again, on the whole, the quality of the Swahili used by either party is not very good". See "The Teaching of African Languages in Schools: a note on the Position in Kenya", Africa, vol. xi, No. 2, pp. 221-225.
27. Gorman, ibid.
28. Ibid. p. 423.
29. Ibid. p. 426.
30. Since 1946 of 80,000 children in elementary classes only 6,000 had passed beyond Standard III, ibid. p. 427.
31. Ibid. p. 428.
32. Ibid. p. 429.
33. Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1950, Government of Kenya.

34. See Government of Kenya, Department of Education; Annual Report, 1952.
35. W. H. Whiteley, 1956, "The Changing Position of Swahili in East Africa", Africa, vol. XXVI, No. 4, p. 348.
36. Gorman, "Language Policy", p. 426.
37. Twenty three were in Swahili and twenty one in Kikuyu, Luo, Luyia, Meru and Kamba, ibid. p. 431.
38. Of Nandi, Kipsigis, Elgeyo-Marakwet and Tugen dialects, ibid.
39. Ibid. p. 432.
40. Cited in Gorman, ibid. p. 434. The Report was published in 1955.
41. See Report of the Work of the Special Centre by G. Perren, cited in Gorman, p. 436.
42. Also that year racial divisions of the Kenya Preliminary Examination were abolished.
43. E. Gachukia, 1970, "The Teaching of Vernacular Languages in Kenya Primary Schools", in T. P. Gorman, (ed.), Language in Education in Eastern Africa, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, p. 21.
44. Cited in Gorman, "Language Policy", p. 441-2.
45. Gachukia, "Teaching of Vernacular Languages", p. 20.
46. Government of Kenya, Ministry of Education, Primary School Syllabus, 1967, Nairobi, Government Printer, p. 83.



47. R. J. Hemphill, 1974, "Language Use and Language Teaching in the Primary Schools of Kenya", in W. H. Whiteley, (ed.), Language in Kenya, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, p. 461.
48. T. P. Gorman, 1974, "The Teaching of Language at Secondary Level: Some Significant Problems", in Whiteley, Language in Kenya, p. 491.
49. Ibid. p. 496.
50. Lugha, A Journal for Language Teachers in Kenya, vol. 5, No. 3, 1978, p. i. Journal of the Kenya Language Association.
51. Whiteley, "Changing Position of Swahili", p. 348.
52. Ibid. p. 353.
53. Raymond Williams, 1961, The Long Revolution, 2nd edition, 1965, Harmondsworth, Penguin, p. 179.
54. John Ndegwa, 1974, Printing and Publishing in Kenya, Essay for the M. A. in Librarianship, University of London, published by SCOLMA, p. 12.
55. This was Kenya's first periodical; started in 1895 with news on mission stations and articles on the history and social life of Taveta, as well as articles on languages.
56. According to Rosberg and Nottingham, Myth of Mau Mau, Muiguithania was started in 1928.
57. This information on the press relies heavily on Ndegwa's Printing and Publishing. See also James F. Scotton, 1975, "Kenya's Maligned African Press: Time for a Reassessment", Journalism Quarterly, No. 52, pp. 30-36.

58. The informal racial barrier corresponded roughly first to the locus of labour: town and country, and second to the form of labour, industrial and administrative or agricultural; though these divisions were fluid and subject to change through time.
59. Rosberg and Nottingham, Myth of Mau Mau, p. 211.
60. Ibid. pp. 163 and 169.
61. Ibid. p. 212.
62. Fay Gadsden, 1980, "The African Press in Kenya, 1945-1952", Journal of Modern African History, vol. 21, p. 515.
63. Ibid., footnote 4. The Nyanza Times was associated with Oginga Odinga's Luo Thrift and Trading Company. The Sauti wa Mwafrika was a Kenya African Union paper.
64. Gadsden, "African Press", p. 517.
65. Ibid.
66. A similar argument is presented by Scotton, who points out that the African press, rather than being a hotbed of revolutionary fervour, presented complaints, genuine grievances and preached moderation. See "Kenya's Maligned African Press".
67. Gadsden, "African Press", p. 528.
68. The following relies heavily on F. Carter, 1970, "The Kenya Government and the Press, 1906-1960", in B. A. Ogot, ed., Hadith 2, Proceedings of the 1968 Conference of the Historical Association of Kenya, Nairobi, East African Publishing House, pp. 243-259.

69. Gadsden, "African Press", p. 521.
70. Cited in Carter, "The Kenya Government", p. 244. Press Censorship was not imposed in the period 1914-18.
71. Ibid., p. 244-5.
72. Muoria (or Mworia) was the Assistant General Secretary of the Kenya African Union in 1946: the KAU had started as the Kenya African Study Union in 1944. Radio Posta was edited by W. W. Awori who became Treasurer of the KAU but after leaving the party, edited this paper. He had previously edited Omuluyia, 1945-47, and had also edited the KCA's Sauti ya Mwafrika. Both Awori and Muoria visited Europe and published articles on their travels. See Gadsden "African Press, p. 521.
73. Its editor was Victor Wokabi.
74. Carter, "Kenya Government", p. 246.
75. Gadsden, "African Press", p. 521.
76. Ibid., p. 522.
77. This was edited by Francis Khamisi, one of the early members of the KAU in 1944, founded in part to support Eliud Mathu in his post on the Legislative Council. He later began Kenya, a Swahili (in 1947) fortnightly, which did not last, then edited Hodi, after moving to Mombasa where he became president of the Coast African Association. See Rosberg and Nottingham, Myth of Mau Mau, pp. 213-4.
78. Carter, "Kenya Government", p. 247.
79. Ibid.



80. Cited in Carter, ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid. On the issue of destocking, see Rosberg and Nottingham, Myth of Mau Mau, p. 211.
83. Carter, ibid.
84. Gadsden, "African Press", p. 532.
85. Ibid. The comment was made by the Kiambu D.C. in 1947.
86. Carter, "Kenya Government", p. 254.
87. Ibid. p. 252.
88. Uhuru was the paper of the Nairobi People's Convention Party. The Independent was formerly Comment, a right wing paper catering for Europeans, which had received warnings in 1953 of possible withdrawal of licence, had been refused publication of a cartoon and editorial, and had appeared in February 1955 with gaps. As Carter comments "by 1959 the forthright advocacy of white supremacy and the abusive cartoons of the Independent were ... unacceptable", Carter, "Kenya Government", p. 252.
89. Cf. note 77. Distribution figures underestimate the audience for the newspapers. As Scotton points out "a single issue of an African paper was often read by one African to dozens of illiterate villagers", "Kenya's Maligned African Press", p. 32.
90. Gadsden, "African Press", p. 526.
91. Ramogi Press printed Ramogi, Mumenyereri, Afrika and Radio Posta. It was owned by the Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation established 1947 in Nairobi, founded by Achieng Oneko and edited by him from 1945-1948. Gadsden, "African Press", p. 519 and p. 527.

92. Ibid., p. 523 and p. 532.
93. See Rosberg and Nottingham, Myth of Mau Mau, pp. 342-346.
94. Carter, "Kenya Government", p. 257.
95. Ibid., p. 256.
96. 1960, London, HMSO, cited in Scotton, "Kenya's Maligned African Press".
97. Ibid., p. 36.
98. Gorman, "Language Policy", p. 440.
99. National Christian Council of Kenya, (NCCCK) 1968, Who Controls Industry in Kenya? Nairobi, East African Publishing House, p. 108. The printing establishment was called Printpak. Consolidated Holdings, part of the Lonrho group came eleventh in a list of Kenya's largest public companies in 1967. See NCCCK, p. 133.
100. Gachukia, "Teaching of Vernacular Languages", p. 23.
101. See H. A. Goldklang, 1967, "Current Swahili Newspaper Terminology", Swahili, vol. 37, No. 2, pp. 194-208. In 1950, however, The Attorney General of Kenya had suggested it was necessary "to protect Africans from communism", see Scotton, "Kenya's Maligned African Press", p. 34.
102. Gorman, "Language Policy", p. 397.
103. Cited in Karega Mutahi, "Contradictions between Language Policy and Language Practice in Kenya", unpublished paper, presented to the Department of History, Staff Seminar, University of Nairobi, November 1978, p. 7.

104. Cited in Karega Mutahi, p. 9.
105. Ibid.
106. G. Bennett, 1966, "Kenya's Little General Election", The World Today, London, August, p. 336.
107. T. P. Gorman, 1973, "Language Allocation and Language Planning in a Developing Nation", in Joan Rubin and Roger W. Shuy, (eds.), Language Planning, Washington D.C. Georgetown University Press, p. 74. A similar point is made by Bienen, "a dominant alliance of tribes could prevail but it could not obliterate opposition (which was in turn tribally based). Consequently, attempts were made to bring dissident leaders into KANU. This was possible since oppositions were not fundamentally rooted in policy differences nor in deep social cleavages but in ethnic competition for spoils". H. Bienen, 1974, Kenya: The Politics of Participation and Control, Princeton, Princeton University Press, p. 68.
108. G. Bennett, and C. Rosberg, 1961, The Kenyatta Election: Kenya 1960-61, London, Oxford University Press, p. 42.
109. Bennett, "Kenya's Little General Election", p. 336.
110. N. Swainson, 1980, The Development of Corporate Capitalism in Kenya, 1918-1977, London, Heinemann, p. 180.  
Mboya, a Luo, reportedly spoke Kamba and Kikuyu as well as Swahili and English. See Bienen, Kenya, p. 79, note 2.
111. This irrespective of having sought funds from Russia and China, which gave his critics the opportunity of classing him a "communist".



112. Bienen, Kenya, p. 79.
113. Bennett, "Kenya's Little General Election", p. 341.
114. Ibid, p. 341-2. See also Cherry Gertzel, 1970, The Politics of Independent Kenya, 1963-1968, Nairobi, East African Publishing House, pp. 74-75.
115. B. Kipkorir, 1972, "The educated elite and Local Society", in B. A. Ogot, (ed), Politics and Nationalism in Kenya, Nairobi, East African Publishing House, p. 251.
116. Colin Leys, 1971, "Politics in Kenya: The Development of Peasant Society", British Journal of Political Science, vol. 1, p. 337, note 112.
117. The poll figure cited is from Bennett, "Kenya's Little General Election"; Bienen, gives a figure of 33%, Kenya, p. 91.
118. Leys, "Politics in Kenya", 116, p. 310.
119. Swainson, Corporate Capitalism, p. 192.
120. Ibid., p. 184.
121. Bennett, "Kenya's Little General Election", p. 343.
122. Bienen, Kenya. p. 107.
123. Nicola Swainson, 1978, "State and Economy in Post-Colonial Kenya", Canadian Journal of African Studies, vol. XII, No. 3, Winter, p. 364.
124. Bienen, Kenya, p. 108.

125. Swainson, Corporate Capitalism, p. 184.
126. Bienen, Kenya, p. 91. In addition candidates had to have been members of KANU for six months.
127. Reported in the Daily Nation, Nairobi, 1st September 1969, cited in Lyndon Harries, 1976, "The Nationalization of Swahili in Kenya", Language in Society, vol. 5, p. 153.
128. Bienen, Kenya, p. 77.
129. Kenyatta's slogan was "Harambee" meaning "self-help" or "let us all pull together".
130. Gorman, "Language Allocation", p. 80.
131. Ibid., p. 76.
132. Ibid.
133. Harries, "Nationalization of Swahili", p. 54.
134. Ibid.
135. Gorman, "Language Allocation", p. 77.
136. Bienen, Kenya, chapter 3.
137. "The book value of direct foreign investment in Kenya was estimated at K£130 m in 1971-72, about 21% of GNP. As well as manufacturing, where the ILO Report's estimate that about 60% of investment involved foreign capital was roughly confirmed, multinational corporations were found to occupy a key position in the wholesale and retail trade, banking, transportation, tourism and primary production", M. Godfrey and Steven Langdon,

137 (continued)

1976, "Partners in Underdevelopment? The Transnationalization Thesis in a Kenyan Context", Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, vol. 14, No. 1, p. 45.

138. Cited in the Daily Nation, Nairobi, 5.7.74.  
An East African Standard article noted that "large sums of money will be spent by the Government to enable Kiswahili to be used in schools and Government offices. The money will be used to train more Swahili teachers and in publishing more Swahili books and other forms of literature". Nairobi, 6.7.74.
139. East African Standard, Nairobi, 5.7.74.
140. "Kiswahili bursts onto the international scene", Daily Nation, Nairobi, 17.7.74.
141. Swainson noted that some opposition came from the ranks of those African trading interests who did not have such successful ties with the foreign companies as fractions of the ruling group itself. See Corporate Capitalism, Chap. 7.
142. Reported in the Daily Nation, Nairobi, 20.7.74
143. Ibid.
144. The Daily Nation.
145. Reported in the East African Standard, Nairobi, 3.4.74.
146. See the East African Standard, Nairobi, 1.11.74.
147. Keesing's Contemporary Archives, 1975, p. 27122
148. Keesing's, 1976, p. 27849.



149. Colin Leys, 1979, "Development Strategy in Kenya since 1971", Canadian Journal of African Studies, vol.13, Nos. 1-2, p. 304.
150. There had been an unprecedented number of strikes in schools also, which caused some consternation. See Kabiru Kinyanjui, 1976, Secondary School Strikes: the Art of Blaming the Victim, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, Discussion Paper, No. 243,
151. Kariuki had himself in March 1974, drawn attention to "people being trained to eliminate some M.Ps by violent means". East African Standard, Nairobi, 6.4.74.
152. Keesing's, 1976, p. 27849.
153. Ibid.
154. Ibid.
155. Chelegat Mutai, former student leader, George Anyona and Ngugi wa Thiong'o. Anyona had raised the question of the welfare of detained M.Ps; Ngugi had written a play with Ngugi wa Mirie, which was performed in Kikuyu and was critical of the ruling factions.
156. Keesing's, 1976, p. 27849.
157. The Weekly Review, Nairobi, 27.10.75. p. 8, cited in D. Martin, 1978, "Dépendance et luttes politiques au Kenya 1925-1977: la bourgeoisie nationale à l'assaut du pouvoir d'état", Canadian Journal of African Studies, vol. XII, No. 2.
158. Ngei, Minister of Local Administration, accused of violently persuading one of his competitors to withdraw, was pardoned; Angaine, Minister of Lands and Settlement, accused of using the services of a witchdoctor to mobilise voters, was not. Shikuku and Seroney had voted against this Bill. See Martin, ibid.

159. The exchange rate was about 16 Kenyan shillings to the £ sterling in 1978.
160. Keesing's, 1976, p. 27849.
161. See D. Martin, "Luttés politiques".
162. Keesing's, 1977, p. 28476.
163. This follows Martin's argument: when the party looks stronger, he argues that the locus of conflict shifts from Parliament and party to the Unions. Partial relief from the recession afforded by a rise in primary commodity prices led to an ambitious budget which again became a focus for wrangling, with the critics drawing attention to unemployment. After this the locus of conflict again changes to the associations, which provide the means of accumulation of Kenyan traders, "Luttés politiques"; Swainson also makes the point that conflict derives from how successful the bourgeoisie is at handling the protest of the petty bourgeoisie: how the conflicts between the multi-nationalists and the nationalists are handled, Corporate Capitalism, p. 183. X
164. Ibid., p. 183.
165. Ibid., p. 289.
166. "House is free to use Swahili", Daily Nation, Nairobi, 1.11.78.
167. "Up to The House if Swahili and English wanted", Nairobi Times, Nairobi, 5.11.78.
168. "The Place of English", Daily Nation, Nairobi, 27.4.79.

169. "Poll hopefuls have to know two languages", Daily Nation, Nairobi, 11.8.79; "Aspiring M.Ps to take simple test", Sunday Nation, Nairobi, 23.9.79; also Keesing's, 1980, p. 30265. Candidates who had passed the CPE (Certificate of Primary Education) were exempt, see Daily Nation, Nairobi, 22.9.79.
170. Daily Nation, Nairobi. 27.9.79
171. Daily Nation, Nairobi, 28.9.79.
172. The United States Government was promising to "give Kenya security", Daily Nation, Nairobi, 1.11.78.
173. The Swahili press would best be considered by a scholar whose knowledge of Swahili is better than mine!
174. Coastweek, Mombasa, 24-30th November, 1978, p. 6.
175. E. Rodwell, "All the World's a Tower of Babel it seems", East African Standard, Nairobi, 17.3.78. Congolese popular music is widespread: its lyrics are often in Swahili.
176. Ibid. This illustrates how academic ideas are sometimes slowly digested and then passed into popular culture. See for example A. N. Tucker's "Foreign Sounds in Swahili"; he cites Krumm "Approximately there are in spoken Swahili 20%, in written Swahili 30%, and in the old poetry 50% words of foreign origin", Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. II, 1943-6, p. 854.
177. Ahmed Shakh Nabhany and M. Kamal Khan, "Swahili: a challenge to Kenya", Coastweek, Mombasa, 24-30th November, 1978.



178. Abdallah Khalid, 1977, The Liberation of Swahili, Nairobi, East African Literature Bureau. He signs himself as Abdala wa Khalidi in various newspaper items.
179. "Interesting book but intellectual nonsense", letter to the Daily Nation. Nairobi, 17.5.79.
180. The date of this second letter to the Daily Nation, Nairobi, was not recorded. Letters forming part of the controversy covered the period June 1978 to July 1979. The debate was abruptly terminated by the editor.
181. W. H. Whiteley, 1957, "The Work of the East African Swahili Committee 1930-1957", Kongo-Ovezee, Vol. XXIII, p. 243. See n.20 above.
182. See Lubos Kropacek, 1977, "Main cultural factors in the making of modern Swahili", Asian and African Studies, (Bratislava) Vol. 13, p. 88.
183. Marcia Wright, 1965, "Swahili Language Policy 1890-1940", Swahili, Vol. 35, No. 1, p. 48.
184. See Whiteley, "Changing Position" p. 345.
185. Wright, "Swahili Language Policy", p. 48.  
The literature shows some confusion about when the decision to standardize KiUnguja for all four territories took place. According to Whiteley, "Changing Position", the date for the promotion of Swahili was 1.1.1930, when the ITLC came into being. In 1928 however when Professor Meinhof attended the Mombasa conference as adviser, Kenya had been looking for a standard for Kenya Colony. Notes in Africa say "the Committee for the Standardisation of the Swahili Language sat in Dar in

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1925 and chose Standard Swahili, confirmed by the Mombasa Conference in 1928", "Notes on the Inter-Territorial Language Committee Meeting Resolutions", 1931, vol. IV, No.2. pp. 239-40.

186. Ahmed Sheikh Nabhany and M. Kamal Khan, "Swahili".

187. Whiteley, Swahili, p. 81. See also p. 84 above.

188. "their absence from school syllabuses in both Tanganyika and Kenya certainly impoverished the Swahili courses of several generations of students", ibid.

189. See "Notes on the Inter-Territorial Language Committee Meeting Resolutions".

190. Bulletin of the ITLC, No. 1, October 1930.

191. Ibid.

192. Ibid. These notes contradicted the original Dar resolution.

193. Bulletin No. 7, February 1934.

194. Ibid.

195. Ibid.

196. A further function of the Bulletin was to list works on the Swahili language, coastal history and dialects.

197. Whiteley, Swahili, p. 86.

An interesting discussion in the Bulletin (No. 1) featured the word for "school" and shed light on the hierarchical form which obtained: Ratcliffe for Kenya suggested leaving the local

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Arabic-derived word; Hellier for Tanganyika said use "shule" and Broomfield, for Zanzibar suggested "sikuli" (English derivation) for central and Teacher's Training Schools and "shule" (German derivation) for village schools. I was informed (1979) that the "darasa" remained the Muslim Koranic school and that between "sikuli" (or "skuli") and "shule" there was no distinction.

198. Bulletin, No. 16, October 1942.

199. Whiteley, Swahili, p. 16.

200. Whiteley, "East African Swahili Committee", p. 246.

201. Lyndon Harries, 1949-51, 'Review of A Swahili Anthology with Notes and Glossaries', Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. 13, pp. 529-531.

202. Ibid. See also notes 72 and 77.

203. H. Le Breton, 1936, Up Country Swahili, Richmond, 16th Edition, 1968.

204. Ibid., p. 3.

205. Whiteley, Swahili, p. 5.

206. Ibid., p. 89.

207. Ibid., p. 88.

208. Bulletin, No. 23, June 1953.

209. Wright, "Swahili Language Policy", p. 48.



210. Whiteley, Swahili, p. 65.
211. See W. Whiteley, 1957, "Language and Politics in East Africa", Tanganyika Notes and Records, vol. 47/8, p. 162.
212. Harries, "Nationalization of Swahili", p. 158.
213. "even (by) such neutral observers as linguists have a way of influencing policies in a way which their creators neither wish, nor are, in most cases competent to handle" Whiteley cited in "Language planning in Kenya", I. Mbaabu, 1978, Lugha, Vol. 5, No. 3, p. 13.
214. Journal of the Language Association of East Africa, 1979, Vol. 4, 1, p. 3.
215. Lugha, Journal of the Kenya Language Association, 1976, Vol. 5, 1, p. 3.  
The presence of teams of experts as a stimulus for intellectual activity was acknowledged.
216. This Association acknowledges the forerunning Kenya Language Group, founded with three members in 1957.
217. Lugha, Editorial, 1978, vol. 5, 3, p. i.
218. Ibid., p. 11. See Appendix 3.
219. See "The Place of English", Daily Nation, Nairobi, 27.4.79.
220. The M.P. who raised the question was Mr. Gatugata for Kikuyu. See the Daily Nation, Nairobi, 6.7.74.
221. Debate in The National Assembly cited in the Daily Nation, Nairobi, 9.5.79.

222. See the Daily Nation, Nairobi, 12.7.74.
223. These included words like "hoja" for motion; "kumbukumbu" for minutes. See the Daily Nation, Nairobi, 13.7.74.
224. Gorman, "Language Allocation", p. 74.
225. Ibid.
226. These included Ethiopia, Uganda, Zambia and Tanzania.
227. M. H. Abdulaziz, and M. J. Fox, Evaluation Report on The Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching of Eastern Africa, Unpublished, Nairobi, September 1978, p. 62.
228. This statement was measured against the success of the Zambia survey, which became "much more effectively linked to the national policy dialogue on language development", ibid, p. 78.
229. From the Report from two language workshops held on 20th January and 24th February 1979, at the University of Nairobi.

## CHAPTER 4

TOURISM IN KENYA

"... some non-restrictionist response will have to be found to the flow of manufactured exports from developing countries in growing competition with domestic industries in the rich world. Tourism, as an export industry that does not significantly threaten employment in industrialized countries, may find increasing favour in international discussions and negotiations"

Emmanuel de Kadt (1)

"... identify the precise tourism product ... capitalize on the unique features of the country ... (including) the cultural and natural patrimony of the country ... develop recreational and touristic assets to satisfy demands by their own residents"

Emmanuel de Kadt (2)

"... that's all they're good for, underdeveloped countries good for fulfilling our instinctive drives, killing wild animals, fishing and basking in the sun."

Edmundo Desnoes (3)

- I Introduction
- II Tourism in Historical Perspective
- III Tourism Now
- IV The Image of Kenya



- V           The Organization of Tourism in Kenya
- a) Brief history
  - b) The East African Tourist Travel Association (EATTA) and tourism promotion
  - c) The Kenya Tourist Development Corporation (KTDC)
  - d) The Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife
  - e) The Kenyan Association of Hotelkeepers and Caterers (KAHKC)
  - f) Major legislation
- VI           Internationalism
- a) International Institutions
  - b) The Impact on Kenyan Tourism Development
- VII          Labour - The Grass Roots
- a) The Work Force
  - b) Training and Recruitment
- VIII         Conclusion

## CHAPTER 4

TOURISM IN KENYAI Introduction

In the Foreword to the volume of papers presented at the 1976 Unesco and World Bank Conference on the Social and Cultural Impacts of Tourism in Developing Countries, it is suggested that many of the arguments against tourism have been superficial.<sup>(4)</sup> The aim of the conference was to provide a forum for "persons drawn from government services and the academic and business worlds"<sup>(5)</sup> to confront the "superficial" debates. The arguments regarded as superficial were those not dealing with the economic factors of foreign exchange, employment generation, multiplier effects, etc. In this chapter I do not evaluate economic arguments in favour of tourism, although I do touch on some aspects of tourism employment.<sup>(6)</sup> Rather, I will consider sociologically certain tourist/worker relationships and the developing bourgeoisie in relation to some symbolic aspects of tourism, in one country. I suggest that tourism's product should not be analysed in terms of raw materials or material merchandise. This is not to suggest that economic considerations are superficial, but that social and cultural questions are equally central. The very advent of tourists in the country of the product and the esoteric nature of that product (based as it is on a series of images which run counter to an ideal of independence) suggest that future policy decisions regarding increased productivity of tourism are rendered problematic. This matter is further complicated by the existence of a class of entrepreneurs who have acquired interests in tourism development.

This chapter provides the broad context for the study of

language use at work. I look at the creation of the tourist industry and the images it has produced, the institutionalization of the industry, both in Kenya and internationally, and at how the Kenyan state has become involved in tourism. Finally I examine the workforce in the tourist industry because the tourism product relies on the service relationship between tourism workers and tourists. Whilst tourism may provide employment in areas where there are few work alternatives, it is questionable how much the tourist industry in developing countries can go on expanding and, if so, whether the number of jobs in tourism will continue to increase. I suggest the problem lies in the nature of the industry and in the international relationships which have ensued.

## II Tourism in Historical Perspective

Tourism is a modern phenomenon. Its rise is directly related to levels of development in today's industrialized nations, to an ideology of work and leisure and to the creation of resorts whose images replicate social relationships in the countries where tourism is organized. The images used in tourism reinforce and legitimate feelings of superiority and relationships of dependence, in sharp contrast to ideals of democracy.

Yet tourism's roots lie in different times, at an earlier stage of societal development, when British imperialism was expanding and "imperial control began to tighten in the reign of George III".<sup>(7)</sup> Travel, of course, predates tourism, which we may tentatively define as travel for purposes other than, or additional to, purely economic pursuits. Thus, those universal forms of travel directly associated



with going to market to trade or exchange commodities fall into a sub-category of business tourism; whilst scientifically oriented travel may still be classified as tourism of a type directly descended from eighteenth and nineteenth century exploration.

Irrespective of the economic motivation, early exploration had adventure as part of its impulse. It needed also a consideration of host populations. This was built on the works of travel writers and biologists and created the image of these populations. The travellers' journals were written in an atmosphere charged by the debates about the monogenetic or polygenetic origins of people, following Linnaeus' attempt to classify nature (1735). Biologists, meanwhile, were concerned to "classify and arrange the whole order of nature in a rational order".<sup>(8)</sup> What characterized the writings of both was a consensus of a particular image of Africans as inferior, in contradistinction to the English.<sup>(9)</sup>

The early tours were qualitatively distinct from today's tourism, since travel was then regarded as occasional light but luxurious relief from toil. Early journeys to "exotic" areas were important because of their potential for discovery, either of a new species or of the travellers' own cultured personality. The exigencies of travel demanded careful planning of routes and organizing people needed as porters, cooks, guides. The "noble savages" of these Romantic landscapes were in service to the travellers. By its very nature, contact between travellers and host populations was superficial, predicated upon relationships of unequal power. Thus the stereotypes, the 'standardized mental picture(s) representating an over-simplified

opinion or an uncritical judgement"<sup>(10)</sup> about the local people were derived. As Peter Worsley says of these contacts:

"people tend to see members of other unfamiliar groups in terms of stereotypes precisely because they only 'know' them externally: they do not interact with them as total personalities and only meet each other in restricted capacities". (11)

Such relationships were characteristic of early travel and so are they endemic to tourism today. The actual organization of both the early tours and the present tourist industry is such that no true interaction takes place between the tourist and the host country's peoples that might demystify such stereotypes. Insofar as tourism at the periphery emerged from the adventures of travellers, individuals interested in the discovery of new species in what one German traveller called this "colossal botanical garden",<sup>(12)</sup> tourists had very little contact with "total personalities". Host peoples were cooks or porters: i.e. servants to the travellers or, at best, the object of anthropologists' inquiries. The educational content of the journey was provided principally by nature, species of animals or plants, or by the "wilds", all of which were urban European conceptualizations of nature. The peoples resident in those wilds or natural landscapes, were implicitly regarded as hardly one step above the animals.

Initially a philanthropic and political intent in mass tourism could be discerned. Thomas Cook, one of tourism's earliest entrepreneurs, organized in 1861 the journey of 1500 people to support a workers' demonstration in Paris. But as the profit motive eventually took over from the democratic enterprise, tourism could no longer claim its egalitarian intent.<sup>(13)</sup> In 1887 Cook opened a hotel at Luxor, and



three years later he gained the monopoly of passenger traffic on the Nile: now tourism was a source of pleasure for aristocrats and colonials and of profit for entrepreneurs.

However one interprets these early ventures, it is clear that the journey was stressed in itself, whatever the knowledge so derived was used for. It is also clear that whilst in one sense travel may have "broadened the mind", it hardly added to cultural understanding; reinforcing, instead, certain images of "the wilds" and of the (albeit sometimes noble) "savages" who lived there. (Another important aspect of travel is the element of time, to which I shall return below.)

The dictum of Thomas Cook that "we must have railways for the millions"<sup>(14)</sup> was particularly prophetic for Kenya. From its inception, the Uganda railway administrators were aware of its potential to generate surplus from a variety of economic activities, e.g. commerce and the export of labour. But by 1899 the railway reached the site of Nairobi and the railway company advertised:

"the Highlands of British East Africa as a winter home for Aristocrats has become a fashion, Sportsmen in search of Big Game make it a hobby. Students of Natural History revel in this field of nature's own making. Uganda Railway observation cars pass through the greatest natural game preserve in the world". (15)

After Nairobi's famous Norfolk Hotel was built in 1904, a Standard editorial declared:

"here you can meet the younger son looking around with a view to settling; the visitor from Europe who winters in BEA only returning to Europe for the summer months; the big game Sportsman who is just starting or returning from an expedition or taking a short spell of civilization between times; or again the capitalists seeking new fields of investment". (16)



Jan Hemsing has summarized the patrons of this period:

"Big Game Hunters whose names made history, aristocrats whose names read like listings from Burke and Debrett, all came to Kenya to see the new country, to enjoy the Great Adventure, to have, in the Ennui which overhung Europe in the days before the First World War something to write home about". (17)

Such then was the nature and context of early tourism outside Europe. The era of the suntan would come later and, even then, it was Europe's beaches, not yet crowded, that would provide holiday resorts. Africa remained to be plundered for game.

### III Tourism Now

The character of tourism retained the structure sketched in the last section until the 1960s. Tourists to Africa are still invited to participate in an "adventure" to the wilds, as we shall see below, but certain additional tendencies are discernible. Far from being an individual tour of discovery, tourism, through the 1950s and 1960s has become an industry in the sense that it has become organized in such a way that a product has been created. Put in economic terms, the annual holiday has become, alongside the rise in disposable incomes of large sections of the affluent of metropolitan countries, a product to be consumed, like a fridge or a car. In addition, since the Second World War there has been a drop in the number of hours people spend at work and a change in attitudes towards work and leisure. As Louis Turner and John Ash write:

"the passive spectators of urbanized society are using their greater mobility to take up activities which the large cities make difficult, like fishing, sports and mountain climbing or, at the lower level

of extra activity, getting into their cars going sightseeing. Purely passive activities, like watching television are considered somewhat demeaning. Active pursuits are what one is increasingly judged by". (18)

For the individual, continuous work at alienating production lines or other work, may be alleviated by the purchase of consumer goods and services, of which the annual holiday is one. For some it may be the one week, fortnight, or month in a year when they feel able to order another person about rather than be the butt of a manager's or supervisor's commands. One motivation of travel may still be for adventure but since holidays can be seen in terms of an annual routine, defined according to the needs of work or non-work, such holidays can become mere events to be chalked up on a score sheet of destinations. Symbolically this is represented by identical T-shirts, emblazoned with Pattaia Beach, St. Tropez, California, or other regions in opposite corners of the globe.

The transport industry has developed and expanded. New nations have new national airlines, all vying for customers and creating a demand. Airlines, once involved in communications for more instrumental functions such as transporting entrepreneurs, armies, mail and freight, are now involved in the portage of leisure. Leisure has become big business as we see the conversion of contemporary capitalism from "a production-and-work ethos, to a consumption-and-fun ethos". (19) Part of the economic need for tourism derives from a saturation of consumerism in industrialized nations. As an OECD document explained:

"the increase noted in 1975 in domestic and international tourist demand, despite the unfavourable general economic situations and in particular, the rise in prices in the tourism sector, makes it evident that tourism consumption has become an important means of satisfying essential needs ... the greater needs of populations, particularly in the large urban centres for relaxation and a change of scene". (20)

People justify their continuous work at alienating production by buying more goods and services like a holiday. As more people crowd metropolitan beaches, travel firms go to ever-increasing lengths to find new locations for expensive leisure. "Long haul" travel becomes a novelty, to countries where, in addition to offering a certain "exotica", hotels can be built on cheap land using cheap labour.

In conforming to those needs, the impetus for education in tourism is de-emphasized. A further factor which decreases the possibility of learning is the method of buying the holiday. Travel, once necessitating detailed plans, no longer needs for the consumer, more than a date in a calendar and a journey down to a travel agent where the "product" may be purchased. The amount of time the average tourist spends in one place, the types of environments created for the tourist and the motivations of the tourist to escape urbanism, do not predispose the tourist towards regarding the trip as a learning experience. As travel agents, tour companies, hotel groups and airlines have become more closely integrated, they have produced the package tour, a cellophane wrapped environment, to be bought for cash as a holiday "product". This product is sold by a combination of its uniqueness and its familiarity. A bevy of tourism consultants, hotel specialists, hotel supply specialists and marketing consultants



construct resorts and their image. The tourist destinations are dispossessed of their uniqueness by the existence of companies specializing in hotel construction and hotel furniture encoding certain international standards, according to images created by international marketing, advertising and tourism consultants.

A thoroughly familiar and standardized environment on the holiday adventure relieves the "subliminal anxiety" of travelling to remote areas, since this may constitute a "negative sales factor".<sup>(21)</sup> The image of the resort rests on a contradictory tension between the creation of uniqueness and the standardized environment created by engineers.<sup>(22)</sup> The consumer is barely part of the process of choice as s/he has very little to organize and thinks concomitantly little about the destination. Whether or not the tourists experience subliminal anxiety is irrelevant, since choice is out of their control when it comes to the details of features of the hotels the majority stay in. Even the countries concerned are subject to standardization:

"the charter tourist goals offered by the travel agencies are direct products of these agencies' advertisement campaigns, where favourable factors and the price of the package tour are of major importance and the choice of country per se is secondary". (23)

At a recent seminar on tourism another consequence of standardization was mentioned:

"BOAC pointed out that African governments are not sufficiently aware of the standards that the European tourist has come to expect". (24)

The result has been that the educational component of the modern tourist holiday has decreased (though the potential may still be there).

There can be no genuine interaction between tourists and the working people of the host countries since the tourists' time is packaged, organized almost minute-by-minute, by airlines, charter companies, and car hire firms. The structure of the tourism industry schedules provided for travellers, do not permit people meeting as "total personalities". Interaction with segments of host populations is restricted to relationships of servitude. Tourists meet service labour and "tribes", the latter having gradually become the unique marketable product of the nations at the periphery.

So much for the economic factors leading to the trivialization of tourists' experiences: important also is the creation of the image of Africa, which is pervaded by a general Western twentieth century image of thought and life. As Curtin remarks:

"The image of Africa, in short, was largely created in Europe to suit European needs - sometimes material needs, more often intellectual needs". (25)

I will now deal with how that image is perpetuated in the case of Kenyan tourism.

#### IV The Image of Kenya

"The division of labour is already more developed. We already find the antagonism of town and country; later the antagonism between those states which represent town interests and those which represent country interests... The antagonism between town and country begins with the transition from barbarism to civilization, from tribe to State, from locality to nation, and runs through the whole history of civilization to the present day". (26)

Those two quotations from Marx about the antagonism between town and country provide the principle through which I will interpret

the origins and perpetuation of the image of Kenya. Tourism as an industry engenders under capitalism antinomies between industry and agriculture, culture and nature.

A wide range of tourism publicity is produced by a large number of advertising and publicity agents, both in Kenya and overseas. They may be classified as follows:

1. Publications of international tour companies and airline charter companies dealing with:
  - (i) a general geographic area, e.g. coast or safari area;
  - (ii) a specific area, e.g. Lamu;
  - (iii) a specific activity, e.g. ornithology;
  - (iv) a particular market sector, determined by cost of package or nationality; or
  - (v) a combination of (i) - (iv).
2. Publications of individual tour companies, either multi-nationals or Kenyan, dealing with information as above, but written bearing in mind whether:
  - (i) the tourist is already in Kenya and mini-tours are being offered; or
  - (ii) the tourist is planning to undertake the holiday; or
  - (iii) the material is directed at travel wholesalers.
3. Individual hotel pamphlets and publications of multi-national or Kenyan hotel groups dealing with the topics mentioned in 1(i) and (ii) and 2(i) and (ii).



4. Publications of tourism and trade organizations:
  - (i) internationally, e.g. Travel Trade Gazette; or
  - (ii) nationally, e.g. Kenya Association of Hotelkeepers and Caterers.
5. Publications of the Kenyan Government, which can cover the subject matter of the entire range of the other publications.
6. Commercial publications marginally relating to tourism but mainly of advertising value, e.g. Swara and other publications of wildlife societies.
7. Publications of general commercial enterprises, newspapers and journalism including:
  - (i) Kenyan national, tending to include voices of protest about tourism;
  - (ii) international, tending to advertise material for a journal's audience, e.g. Vogue, 1.9.80, Africa, Feb. 1978 article on Tanzania; and
  - (iii) advertising articles on tourism related to the specifically international audience, e.g. Diner's Club Signature magazine or American Express publications.
8. Coffee table glossies, often published as scholarly works, ranging from photographic studies of tribes (Leni Riefenstahl) to works on African history (Basil Davidson).

The significant factor about this wide range of literature is that in the publications listed under groups 1-3, 5 and 7 (ii) - (iii) there is a remarkable conformity in the image of Kenya, which I will describe shortly. The publicity of category three differs in its emphasis on the facilities offered. Category four's publicity is less cliché-ridden. But whether the tourist is going to spend £300 as part of a mass package or is part of "the international Jet Set who could afford a better kind of holiday than the overcrowded European resorts"<sup>(27)</sup> and will spend up to £1000 for the same period of time, the images are homogenous<sup>e</sup>. Publicity directed at different national audiences is frequently translated from English to other languages: the images remain the same.<sup>(28)</sup> Tourism perpetuates a vicious circle of negative stereotypes. It is, furthermore, a package of stereotypes that many people accept. As three commentators put it:

"the picturesque pastoral warrior ... provide(s) a spectacle especially for the camera enthusiast". (29)

The following discussion of Kenya's image is based on pamphlets collected from a variety of tour operators, travel agencies and hotels in Nairobi, Mombasa and other parts of Kenya, as mentioned above. It does not take into account the coffee table glossies of category 8, which are expensively produced, large format books not directly aimed at attracting tourists. Nonetheless, some of the comments on the tourist pamphlets apply also to some of those books. (The quotations below are from a range of pamphlets taken from the groups mentioned above as containing a conformity of image.)

The basic message of publicity about Kenya which I examined is that it is a country of wildlife and open landscapes. Cashing in on the world of the Hemingways, the Roosevelts and of King Solomon's Mines, the leaflets say that the international Jet Set can "put on the mantle of the explorer" and experience "untamed nature", "reminiscent of pioneering days". They can gain "a fascinating insight into the real safari before progress interfered" on "safaris fit for presidents, princes or honeymoon couples" with "the romance of the old bush-champagne safaris". Here, the tourist can "escape the hustle and bustle of everyday city life". "Real" life, then, is that of the city and it is juxtaposed to a Romantic image of the wilds, the environment of the noble savage. The tourists are encouraged to revel in a sort of superiority, created by making them feel like past explorers and present presidents.

And how are the host people presented? There are tribes-people who live in the bush, villagers and townspeople, thus: "you may see young men wearing black head-dresses, they are passing through an important set of rituals that follow circumcision" or "Maasai, leaning on his spear, smiling as you pass", "retaining their traditional culture as though they really are a lost tribe of Israel". And should the tourists suffer "subliminal anxiety" from these unfamiliar sights, they are reassured: "nor should it be less secure as long as the commonsense rules of travel and camping in rural Africa are followed - principally that people and wild animals are due careful respect". People and wild animals are hardly mentioned in a compassionate light: "imploing chatter of the curio sellers as they tug at one's elbow",



or Lamu "so little changed over centuries ... a living example of life several hundred years ago" where "grizzled locals sell their wares".

Happy "Sambo" is everywhere, in Nairobi "a happy multi-racial city", on the coast where people are "cheerful, happy and carefree."<sup>(30)</sup> One journal even details a sexual experience noting that "travel reports seem to have been written by persons vowed to chastity and lacking any sexual drive".<sup>(31)</sup> Here the victim of the tourist's attentions is portrayed as similar to White stereotypes about Blacks in America: a childlike being with primeval desires, first sex, then sleep, then "she opens her eyes and is hungry". This last example of how people are presented is an exception to a general rule that Kenyans appear in groups, tribes and communities, whereas the world of the tourists is portrayed in terms of individuals and personalities, such as Roosevelt, Churchill, "pioneers" or "young bloods".

The pamphlets, then, proceed by consistently advertising dichotomous representations of two (at least) worlds. One, where tourists come from: crowded cities; or second where they travel to: the primitive countryside, peopled by anonymous groups with unfamiliar customs who have little else to do than stop and stare and smile. The implication is that in this tourist world people do not work at all. Kenya is "ideal for people who want to forget the work-a-day world", has aspects of that "modernity" "or even futuristic in Nairobi"; "but it is still almost an island of the twentieth century in what Theodore Roosevelt saw as a prehistoric wilderness", for here "culturally the human span is from Stone Age in the Boni and

Aberdare forests". The people the tourists are likely to meet, however, are servants: "at the end of the journey the barmen at the lodges make the finest dry martinis in East Africa". Yet from explorers' porters to servants, the images of non-work, or idleness and servitude conform to racist racial stereotypes.<sup>(32)</sup>

Descriptions of the material environments further reinforce the legitimacy of such differentials and obfuscate possibilities of understanding the cultural dynamics of these encounters. Descriptions of the lodges revel in a pseudo-authenticity where the semantics of culture are held in abeyance. One lodge is "carefully derived from Masai culture, without the sacrifice of comfort", and the "very detail of the bedrooms recalls local cultural tradition". In this world of mixed architectural metaphors tourists find "manyatta bedrooms" and "African-style chalets" and at the coast "authentic Arab architecture". One pamphlet shows White tourists in a motorboat with, overleaf, a Black fisherman in a dugout: "an African fishing boat of a design as old as the Pyramids" or "barques à voiles inchangées depuis des siècles"! Thus technology, too, confirms: modern boats with Whites, old-style unchanged with Blacks.

There is another intermediate world which tourists are invited to identify with, existing on coffee estates "with private gracious living" or in "les luxueux hotels-clubs de tradition britannique au coeur de la brousse" or in "an English country hotel set in the Heart of Africa". This is the historic — romantic world of the railway builders: here images correspond to imperial expansion, the penetration by Europeans, to extract surplus raw materials like ivory and later

coffee and tea. Here the associations are with plantations and slavery.

In what ways do these images legitimize the continuing differentials between tourists and "hosts"? The images gloss over the real hardships of people's existence and the poverty. They reinforce feelings of superiority that where the tourists come from is better, but by throwing people together in artificial relationships in luxurious settings, they mask the true relationship between the affluent foreigners, the outsiders, and the "tribespeople", in this "world of commodities where nature is perhaps only a poster for a holiday resort".<sup>(33)</sup> The Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o said of this process:

"Our history up to now has been distorted by the cultural needs of imperialism. That is, it was in the interest of the imperialists to distort Kenyan history with the view of showing that Kenyan people had not struggled with nature and with other men to change their natural environment and create a positive social environment".<sup>(34)</sup>

## V The Organization of Tourism in Kenya

In this section I will give a brief history of the organization of tourism in Kenya, describe the formation and functioning of three mainly government agencies and one private trade association concerned to promote, organize, develop and control tourism, and comment on the relevant legislation.

### (a) Brief history

Even before Kenya was converted from Protectorate to Crown Colony in 1920 it was established partly as a colonial playground.



It was "shooter's country"<sup>(35)</sup>, which also "offers unrivalled opportunities to the scientific world for the observation of some of the great animals of the globe".<sup>(36)</sup> A Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire formed, in 1904, a lobby which presented various proposals for preservation to the Colonial Office. Concerned at the wholesale slaughter of elephants for ivory, and of other game for hides and skins, the Society pressed that the Colonial Office, in conjunction with the Railway Company, form a policy to protect wildlife. (The railway itself provided the means of transport of such trophies - 18% of all goods carried down in 1898 were ivory, skins and hides.<sup>(37)</sup>) Delamere (a leading settler) himself suggested that the Government might take a monopoly of the ivory trade.<sup>(38)</sup> Game was seen as a method of encouraging visitors, stimulating revenue and providing a means of recreation for officers in the service of the Empire.<sup>(39)</sup>

Gradually a policy towards conservation was formed. The attitudes of the colonial authorities towards wildlife were shaped partly by conferences, for example the First International Conference on Wildlife Management in 1900, and, considerably later in 1933, a London conference at which a definite attempt was made to institute natural open-air zoos by banishing people from Park Areas. Kenya was described as "a sportsman's paradise", a "vast natural zoological garden".<sup>(40)</sup>

If the push to adventure was heightened by naturalist societies in Britain, then eventually the pull would be heightened by the emergence of social forces to organize and invite tourists to Kenya. Travel at this time was an individual exploit for the most part,

although Thomas Cook organized a package to Kenya in 1908 by sea and rail. Publicity was considered to be of the utmost importance. To this end a group of Europeans attempted to form an organization in the 1930s, the East African Publicity Association, building on the travel films of hunters and extending to formal tourist publicity.<sup>(41)</sup>

(b) The East African Tourist Travel Association  
(EATTA) and tourism promotion

After the 1939-45 war the embryo publicity association was resurrected and became the East African Tourist Travel Association centred in Nairobi, a specialized semi-official agency. Of its eighteen founder members, four were representatives of oil companies, others represented such commercial interests as the Union Castle Mail Steamship Company, East African Hotels, airways, transporters, travel agencies and banks. The chairperson was the Economic Secretary of the East African High Commission in London and representatives of the colonial governments sat on the executive committee.

Close, but by no means unambivalent, co-operation between the private sector and the colonial and metropolitan governments, reflected a laissez-faire philosophy and the Colonial Office's consequent unwillingness to commit itself to an industry whose losses it might have to bear. EATTA expressed a concern that private interests should not be subjected to undue government control:

"despite the majority holding of the official (Government) members of the Association the day-to-day running of the affairs of the Association is vested in a committee made up predominantly of representatives who are themselves the operators or direct beneficiaries

of the tourist, travel and transport industries of East Africa". (42)

It was eager to enlist the support of as broad a section of commercial interests as possible since, in its opinion:

"it would in fact be difficult to name any single business, industry, or profession that would not stand to gain as a result of the activities of the Association". (43).

The commercial *raison d'etre* for the industry was its value as an invisible export yet the aid of various state interests was solicited in order to seek changes in exchange control and import duty regulations. Although aimed at helping the imbalance of sterling, the tourist trade's reliance on an emerging American tourist market and on US imports for use in the tourist industry, such as vehicles and equipment, led the commercial parties into conflict with metropolitan interests unwilling to increase their dependence on the dollar in this period. (44)

For the next ten years, then, EATTA worked on various facets of publicity, i.e. on promotion of tourism in Kenya and East Africa both within the country and internationally by, for example, establishing links with travel companies abroad. It opened its own independent office abroad in London in 1956 in addition to the East African office and directed the emphasis of tourism "to place greater emphasis on scenic and photographic touring, since hunters already know about East Africa". (45) The EATTA also capitalized on the promotional potential of films being made in East Africa such as King Solomon's Mines (Metro Goldwyn Mayer), filmed in 1949, West of Zanzibar (Ealing Studios), and those by Armand and Michaela



Dennis. It provided a lobby to government to facilitate frontier formalities, internal transportation and movement as well as promoting the collection of statistics, and, particularly, the accommodation of visitors.

Accommodation in Nairobi became insufficient as overnight in-transit passengers competed with residents who stayed in hotels as semi-permanent guests. Nairobi suffered from chronic housing problems, which peripherally affected the tourist industry. The amount of traffic had risen from 8,000 to 51,000 between 1948 and 1955 and no new hotels had been constructed.<sup>(46)</sup> Airlines were therefore lobbied to provide their own accommodation. Alternative sources of finance for hotel construction suggested by EATTA were from the Colonial Development Corporation, East African Railways and Harbours and East African Governments themselves, in order to: "inspire confidence in the private investor from whom the remainder of the capital would be found".<sup>(47)</sup>

The EATTA was in fact ahead of its time in these suggestions, although it could cite examples of other states which had supported the hotel sector: Norway, Greece and Portugal with direct state financial assistance for building, extension, reconditioning and equipping, France with short-term loans; and Switzerland with a government hotel trust. Hotel accommodation was provided by family enterprises, but the state was very slow to aid the hotel industry and the involvement of airlines in hotels would come later.<sup>(48)</sup>

In 1955, seven years after its inception, EATTA noted that no new hotels had been constructed and suggested another alternative that anticipated future development by multinationals:

"the solution to the problem may lie in proving to external financiers the enormous tourist potential of the territories and to encourage them further by concessions such as those granted elsewhere in the world. Such potential investors would be encouraged still more if they found that local financiers or Corporations were prepared to invest in hotel construction". (49)

Meanwhile, it was still lobbying the government and a Memorandum was sent in 1956 calling for a wide range of financial incentives to stimulate investment. These were: (1) to encourage building (a) grants of Crown Land at nominal rent; (b) relief from income tax for a maximum period of ten years, provided the relief was used for the repayment of loan capital; and (c) capital loans at 1% below the bank loan rate; (2) for existing structures (a) income tax relief as for (1) (b), provided that owners produced evidence that tax not paid had gone into improvements; and (b) low interest rate loans to hotels which produced plans for rebuilding, reequipping and refurnishing (on the understanding that the hotel would devote income tax relief to the repayment of loan capital), and a freeze on rate increases. In addition, EATTA suggest<sup>ed</sup> exemption from custom duties, the provision of African housing by the Authorities and "to give the indigenous population an opportunity to learn the trade, a training scheme for workers established by Government". (50)

The issue was debated in the Kenya Legislative Council, which approved in principle the recommendations but no provisions were made in the 1957/60 Development Plan. The Uganda government had, meanwhile, formed a Tourism and Hotels Advisory Board and the Uganda Development Corporation had taken over the operation of lodges. Yet the massive increase in arrivals, at over 10% per annum, assured the Kenya government

that despite fluctuations caused by political crises (e.g. that of Korea, which affected the American market in the early 1950s and the Kenya Emergency which caused a 10% fall in visitors in 1952/3, but did not apparently affect the Safari business) hotel and tourism were profitable industries.<sup>(51)</sup> Indeed, in 1958/9 tourism in Kenya was second only to coffee in export value.<sup>(52)</sup> Total takings from the main safari firms were £500,000 in that year.<sup>(53)</sup> Kenya established the Ministry of Tourism and Common Services and several financial concessions were granted to hoteliers throughout East Africa. These included income tax relief, concessions on extensions and improvements to existing hotels and relief on import duty on some items of heavy equipment.<sup>(54)</sup>

Tourism, then, was instituted as a European "hedonocracy". European feelings of superiority were reflected in statements by EATTA about employment and labour such as: "the inefficiency of staff has made hotel management extremely difficult";<sup>(55)</sup> and "it is most important that not only should African staff be trained but also that European and Asian imported staff should be trained in the handling of the African".<sup>(56)</sup> However, speaking of the agricultural economy, Nicola Swainson stated that:

"by the late 1950s settler hegemony in Kenya had reached its twilight and was to give way under nationalist pressure expressed through the Mau Mau".<sup>(57)</sup>

Yet such a decline in hegemony was not apparent in the tourist industry nor would it occur unambivalently later.

The East African Travel Trade Association then represented the



various interests which lobbied for the development of tourism in Kenya. The industry had, at Independence (in 1963), grown from a series of small family enterprises catering mainly for rich hunters, European residents, civil servants and settlers, to, later on, enterprises catering for tourists on photographic safaris. The majority of early tourists were individual travellers. Some package holidays were arranged, for example a Saudi Arabia-Nairobi scheme in 1950.<sup>(58)</sup> But "mass" packages were a later development, accompanying beach holidays. Tourism in the early 1950s was the direct descendant of travels to the "hunter's paradise". For White Kenyan entrepreneurs, experienced in wildlife safaris, photographic trips were one step away from hunting,<sup>(59)</sup> and the exotic wilds was the image Kenya was stuck with. EATTA reported:

"despite all that might be said about low cost travel, the safari business remains for the while at least, the mainstay of our tourist industry, and continues to account for much of our dollar earnings". (60)

(c) The Kenya Tourist Development Corporation (KTDC)

By Independence, then, the State and private enterprise seemed integrated in a highly profitable tourist industry which, in the 1960s, would experience unforeseen growth. Although a variety of interests were firmly interlinked, the industry was mainly in the hands of Europeans in Kenya.

The massive expansion of beach holiday packages, which started in 1963, brought about a qualitative change in the industry. The early 1960s saw tourist enterprises as small family ones, whose success or failure to confront expansion depended upon their success in

encouraging investment. Access to capital for expansion was a crucial factor.<sup>(61)</sup> Some of the smaller enterprises had negotiated financial support from the Colonial Development Corporation.<sup>(62)</sup> Others had sought financial aid from such private interests as Neckermann's and TUI (Tourist Union International), the massive German tourist firms who financed expansion at the coast, particularly in Malindi. Tourism then became one more means for the integration of private, (mainly foreign), and Kenyan capital. To secure such integration state participation was encouraged. The economic rationale for this was succinctly expressed by F. Mitchell:

"government can reduce the effects of imperfections in the private market for capital by entering the market as a lender and by guaranteeing loans (perhaps for a few) from private financial institutions ... any investors will wish to attempt to 'insure' their investments against adverse official actions and administrative obstruction by seeking Government participation".<sup>(63)</sup>

Yet after Independence, the Kenyan government was keen to see the industry Kenyanized. To this end The Kenya Tourist Development Corporation (KTDC) was established by Act of Parliament in 1965.<sup>(64)</sup> In many ways the work of this organization paralleled that of EATTA but, because it had funds of its own to dispose of, it was able to take a far more instrumental role in the development and control of tourism and, particularly, to encourage the development of indigenous capital. A promotional leaflet claimed that KTDC aims at:

"promoting and developing tourism in Kenya and serves as the organ through which Government financial participation in the tourist industry is channelled... The KDTC operates a loan programme for the purpose of assisting Wananchi (citizens) to enter and fully participate in the tourist industry".<sup>(65)</sup>



At the end of the 1960s most of the hotel business was in private hands, which the KTDC set out to change. Any new projects would have to have 51% Kenyan participation in ownership. But it was necessary to leave 49% for tour operators and travel agents since it was acknowledged that the vertical integration of Kenyan tourism made Kenya depend increasingly on the tour operator who sold Kenya tours abroad and provided a platform for some hotels, whose viability was affected by their access to European markets.<sup>(66)</sup> The KTDC also provided loans for the purchase of hotels previously owned by non-Kenyans.

While EATTA's problem had been the uneasy partnership between private and state interests, resolved when the state finally supported tourism, the KTDC's problem was to find a suitable balance between national, private or state, capital and foreign capital on the one hand and increased Kenyan citizen participation on the other (this was a situation of potential conflict if foreign capital is seen to be too involved). The KTDC, keen to encourage investment in accommodation, noted that participation in new projects was necessary before foreign capital would be invested. An official comments:

"we have to accept to go in with foreign investors, not only to attract that money but to assure them that we mean well and that the Government in the long run will protect their interests". (67)

The KTDC in effect reflects the interpenetration of foreign and Kenyan capital in the other financial institutions of the country as well as highlighting the key role of members of Parliament in tourism development. For if the success of European enterprises depended on access to capital, then this was even more crucial for Kenyans. The Industrial



Development Corporation had been set up in 1954 and had suffered a series of losses,<sup>(68)</sup> but its successor, the Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation (ICDC), established in 1964, aimed to finance and aid Kenyan enterprises. Hotel companies such as Block Hotels, benefitted from interlinking directorships. For example, Charles Rubia an Assistant Minister and M.P. (once Mayor of Nairobi) was a director of ICDC, Block Hotels and the Development Finance Corporation of Kenya (DFCK) and Block benefitted from a £90,000 loan from the ICDC in 1967. Some £500,000 of ICDC's total investment of £1,171,888 went to DFCK in which the CDC (now the Commonwealth Development Corporation) and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit<sup>(59)</sup> participated equally. This institution also funded tourist enterprises. ICDC itself was funded by Kenyan government funds (57%), commercial bank loans (18%), the Swedish government (1%) and the West German government (7%), as well as Kenyan revenue reserves (14%), with the remaining 4% coming from a variety of other foreign sources.<sup>(70)</sup>

In summary, since Independence, former control of the tourist industry has shifted from private interests to the KTDC, hand-in-hand with increasingly multinational capital investment, hence increasing dependence on exogenous markets.

(d) The Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife

The Ministry has as its brief licensing, national promotion, research and planning, control of wildlife in the form of anti-poaching activities, wildlife research and assistance to Kenyan county councils to manage game reserves. It employs approximately 4,000 people<sup>(71)</sup> and is financed by revenue from park fees, tourist

licenses, the rent from Park lodges and import duties.<sup>(72)</sup> It now has a substantial role in the promotion of Kenyan tourism abroad and produces promotional material which does not depart from the stereotypes mentioned in section IV above. The Ministry has taken over the Tourist Offices abroad, but these are apparently ineffective because of competition from the large tour operators who do their own promotion. More effective is a package, usually with an airline and a travel wholesaler, whereby the Ministry invites a group of Kenyan travel agents to participate in the venture. The agents may request a tax allowance to do this and the airline offers the tickets. Then a show is set up: the Ministry has a multivision Unit, which comprises slide projectors, synchronizers and music.<sup>(73)</sup> Using this equipment the Ministry is also able to call upon other Ministries and private and public organizations to participate in the numerous international travel trade fairs and tourism seminars.<sup>(74)</sup>

As far as research and planning are concerned, the Ministry has been keen to see tourism spread all over Kenya. Together with the KTDC, it formulates policy for opening up new circuits and tapping new markets. Speaking at the KAHKC seminar in 1972, a KTDC official noted that civil servants had considerable salaries and free time which they would no doubt like to spend in hotels. At the same seminar a National Parks official commented: "the feeling develops that perhaps the hotel industry, the tourist industry is not geared for the people of Kenya because of prices of hotels". The Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife also functions as a platform for the grievances of affluent Kenyans who feel excluded. The aim is to open



hotels in all the provincial capitals "to serve the needs of business and commerce".<sup>(75)</sup> The advent of Foreign Aid officials further suggests provision of the "international standard" accommodation in all areas of Kenya. Thus the development of the Western Circuit, down to Nyanza and Lake Victoria, is assured success by aid to fishing industries on the lake and by the volume of business tourism that derives from the sugar schemes in that area, much as Brooke Bond itself set up the Tea Hotel in Kericho.<sup>(76)</sup>

Conservation, wildlife management and prohibition of poaching have elicited much aid from such organizations as the World Bank. In effect there is a continuity from the early Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire, to such institutions as the World Wildlife Fund. As an International Congress noted in 1949

"the preservation of wildlife in Africa which stimulates tourist travel is likely to be just as much in the interest of indigenous races in the course of time as it is already in the interests of immigrant races".<sup>(77)</sup>

The Ministry has also taken over some responsibility for training in order to ensure that Kenyanization proceeds apace. It has received aid from foreign governments for this which will be detailed later.

The major differences between the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife and the KTDC are that the Ministry is a political institution which has considerable controlling power, whereas the Corporation, which is a "parastatal", exercises some economic and financial control over the industry and is expected to be self-financing from its own investments. But the KTDC is also a political institution because its chairperson is appointed by the Minister and the other



appointments to the committee are also appointed by the Minister.<sup>(78)</sup> The KTDC also receives foreign aid in the form of technical assistance. In effect, the KTDC and Ministry work in close co-operation: the Ministry provides the arena for complaints from within the industry, through the Tourism Advisory Committee, a body with representatives from Government departments, tour operators and the Kenyan Association of Hotelkeepers and Caterers (see next subsection), which discuss problems such as customs, water and electricity, facilitation etc.

(e) The Kenyan Association of Hotelkeepers and Caterers (KAHKC)

There are definitional problems when one tries to classify the organizations involved in Kenyan tourism. It is possible to distinguish state and private or commercial organizations, but the case of the East African Travel Trade Association illustrates the difficulty with the distinction in practice. If it were possible to define the organizations according to their functions then one might suggest that the welfare concern which has come to be associated with government institutions, lends an additional definitional criterion. But generally, the simplest criterion for definition is, following Medlik,<sup>(79)</sup> whether they are government sponsored or voluntary.

With the expansion of tourism it is possible to distinguish a proliferation of interests and activities which were initially represented by the basic organization of a trade association and later by the Government Ministry and a trade union. As Medlik shows, a similar process occurred in Britain where "growing Government interest and intervention in the industry created further links and platforms within the industry".<sup>(80)</sup> In Kenya too, increasing

differentiation of functions led to the establishment of further organizations. Thus EATTA originally represented a wide variety of financial and geographical interests which then divided, Uganda, for example, leaving the Association in 1963. As the Government took over several of the functions of EATTA, private interests were subsumed under the KAHKC with regional branches, the Kenyan Society of Travel Agents and the Association of Tour Operators. A Mombasa and Coast Tourist Association represents the regional interest. Again, similar processes of decentralization and fragmentation occurred in Britain:

"the individual character of those engaged in the industry has tended to reinforce the trend to separate organizations, many of them quite small, and the wide geographical spread of the industry with numerous concentrations has been conducive to the formation of local associations". (81)

It is sufficient to note that in the Kenyan context private organizations such as the KAHKC and the Tour Operators Association exist as a forum for private interests in the industry and have served as important lobbies at various times in the three decades of Kenyan tourism, both in promoting policy and in defending (or attempting to defend) private interests from restrictive legislation.

The significance of these organizations for our purpose lies firstly in their attitude towards labour and Kenyanization; and secondly in how successful Kenyans have been in penetrating the ranks of what were essentially tourism assets owners' clubs with formal and informal international links.<sup>(82)</sup> The first issue will be dealt with in the subsequent section on labour. With respect

to the second issue, the election of Kenyans to the ranks of the trade associations, although I do not include detailed information on all associations, I shall take KAHKC as a representative example. The following interview records what were probably representative attitudes of the White members of the Association:

"Interviewer: How long do you think it will be before you have an African manager really looking after one of your hotels?

Association: Well, I can't see one in the foreseeable future, Member there is nobody we have in our organization with the training to manage a large hotel". (83)

The KAHKC did not elect a Black President till the mid 1970s, by which time it was quite clear both that the Independent State and elements of the Kenyan elite were committed to the continuing development of tourism.

#### (f) Major Legislation

The Hotels Ordinance was one of the earliest pieces of legislation aimed at regulating tariffs, providing for the training of personnel and classifying hotels. It was passed in 1948 with subsequent additions and clarifications. Substantial provision was made for regional authorities which were later considered inefficient. The Kenya Tourist Development Corporation Act was put into effect in 1965 for "the investigation, formulation and carrying out of projects for developing the tourist industry of Kenya".<sup>(84)</sup> Although the Act granted the Corporation substantial powers to control and practically nationalize the tourism industry, it should be considered in conjunction with the Foreign Investments Protection Act.<sup>(85)</sup> This Act embodied the philosophy of Kenyan and international capital partner-



ship, allaying investment fears and encouraging foreign investors. Such policy was subsequently reaffirmed in the Second Development Plan for the period 1969-73 when special tax relief, including accelerated depreciation on buildings, was offered to tourism investors.<sup>(86)</sup>

The Tourism Industry Licensing Act of 1969 listed eighteen enterprise categories (both individuals, such as guides and interpreters, and enterprises, such as travel bureaux, shops and airlines), and also charted licensing tariffs.<sup>(87)</sup> That Act was complemented by The Hotel and Restaurants Act of 1971 which extended licensing provisions to hotels, hotel managers and restaurants. More important was its objective of "a levy for training persons to be employed in hotels and restaurants".<sup>(88)</sup>

Thus the functions of the earlier Hotels Ordinance were increasingly differentiated and subsumed under different departments. The Hotels and Restaurants Act itself provided for a Hotels and Catering Authority, Hotels and Restaurants Appeal Tribunal and the Catering Levy Trustees. Appointments to the Boards were made by the Minister.

That was a brief sketch of the major legislation concerning tourism. Other legislation which had direct bearing on the industry (apart from financial legislation which I do not consider) related to wildlife. This was the Wildlife Conservation and Management Act, which repealed the National Parks of Kenya Act and other legislation enacted under the colonial Government.<sup>(89)</sup> It is difficult to find written evidence to substantiate the point, but it would seem, particularly taking into account the Statement on Future Wildlife Management Policy

in Kenya and considering the historical factors mentioned above, that the Government was responding to international pressure.<sup>(90)</sup> The ban on hunting (May 1977) followed America's refusal to import ivory curios. The economic importance of wildlife was stressed not only in the context of hunting and photographic safaris but also for herding for sources of meat and skins: to quote Government Papers from 1975:

"the Government shall explore the possibilities for, induce the establishment of, and regulate consumptive forms of wildlife utilization, wherever these will make a net contribution to Kenya's economic and social development".<sup>(91)</sup>

## VI Internationalism

Such, then, is the basic institutional framework of tourism in Kenya. To return to some general points made above I will now make some observations firstly on the structure of international tourism and secondly on how this has affected the structure of the tourism industry in Kenya.

### (a) International Institutions

The East African Travel Trade Association became a founder member of the International Union of Official Travel Organizations (IUOTO).<sup>(92)</sup> This organization was inaugurated in 1947 and collected statistics on international travel which were subsequently used by, for example the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), as well as publishing other material such as the Economic Review of World Tourism.<sup>(93)</sup> When the IUOTO became The World Tourism Organization in 1975, it espoused in its article 32 the philosophy that it should "enjoy in the territories of its Member States the privileges and immunities required for the exercise of its functions."<sup>(94)</sup>

Together with its Article 3.3 to "seek a co-operative relationship with and participation in the activities of the United Nations Development Programme",<sup>(95)</sup> its supranational status as the thirteenth UN organization was established. Its expressed aims are:

"contributing to economic development, international understanding, peace, prosperity and universal respect for and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion [and] to pay particular attention to the interests of the developing countries in the field of tourism".<sup>(96)</sup>

Ideals of democracy are thus embedded in the constitution.

The organization explicitly eclipses the role of private interests by restricting membership to affiliation by commercial bodies "as endorsed by the State in which the headquarters of the candidate is located".<sup>(97)</sup> The potential for large-scale commercial enterprise to lobby is diminished by its subsidiary role to sovereign states who are full members. Membership finances the organization which holds such seminars as that on Tourism Training in Africa held in Nairobi, in May 1979.

In 1964 a request had been made to the UN Special Fund for the establishment of a Management Training and Advisory Centre in Kenya. This was approved in June 1965, just four months before the International Labour Office Technical Committee on Hotels and Restaurants met in Geneva (4-14th October 1965), attended by a Kenyan Representative.<sup>(98)</sup> The ILO has acted as an executive agency for training and education over a number of years, frequently in collaboration with Unesco, and in a variety of countries.<sup>(99)</sup> Unesco, itself has financed a



number of studies of historic monuments and sites with a view to assessing tourism potential. One of its most recent products was the Joint World Bank and Unesco Seminar on the Social and Cultural Impacts of Tourism held in Washington, 1976, of which a selection of papers was published.<sup>(100)</sup> The World Bank has considerable investments in tourism of commitments or approved investments in the form of equity and loans of US dollars made through the International Finance Corporation: 5,710,000 went to Kenya and Uganda for touring services and hotel projects, which was over a quarter of its commitments to nine developing countries.<sup>(101)</sup> Between 1972-76 the World Bank was financing or lending 404,000,000 dollars to forty-four tourism projects.<sup>(102)</sup> A Tourism Projects Department was set up in 1969<sup>(103)</sup> which sent out fourteen missions in its first year.<sup>(104)</sup> Thus aid was given for pre-feasibility studies in tourism (aid on how to ask for aid).<sup>(105)</sup> Such aid also went to a German research institute which handles tourism statistics in 28 countries.<sup>(106)</sup> Since 1974, the World Bank has been making grants to environmental projects such as range management and wildlife conservation.<sup>(107)</sup>

In effect, such international, or "transnational"<sup>(108)</sup> institutions are following patterns laid down by such organizations as the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, established 1960 (formerly the EEC/CEE), which subsequently became more integrated with the United States tourist industry. In 1970 the US passed the International Travel Promotion Bill which was aimed at strengthening the structure of the Travel Service.<sup>(109)</sup> The European Economic Community itself **financed** tourism projects in southern Italy

following the theory that it might lead to that region's economic "take-off": and the UN has funded studies to develop Yugoslav tourism.<sup>(110)</sup>

Such institutionalization should be seen partly as a response to a now massive industry. Tourism emerged as the largest single item in world trade in the 1960s,<sup>(111)</sup> equivalent to 6% of world trade by the early 1970s<sup>(112)</sup> and estimated to account for receipts of between 62-65 billion US dollars in 1978,<sup>(113)</sup> of which the OECD earned 50 billion US dollars, or between 79-83%.<sup>(114)</sup> For sixteen countries in 1975 tourism represented over 3% of GNP: this included Kenya.<sup>(115)</sup> At the beginning of the 1970s, however, only one percent of the world's population had ever flown in a plane.<sup>(116)</sup> The figures below give some indication of the scale of the increase in tourism:

Table 2  
Tourist Arrivals in OECD  
member countries

	(Millions)	
1962	50	(117)
1968	137	(118)
1973	215	(119)
1977	262	(120)
1980	285	(121)

Of the 1,200 million world tourist movements in 1978, Africa received 2%. Of Africa's tourism 70% is concentrated in Kenya, Morocco and Tunisia.<sup>(122)</sup>

(b) The Impact on Kenyan Tourism Development

As state control over the industry increases, other processes can be discerned. A process of differentiation in the ownership of

tourism assets has occurred. Tourist or Game Lodges in National Parks were never freehold properties but involved the leasing of land from local authorities such as County Councils or Government (for example Kilaguni from the Wildlife Management and Conservation Department). Such rents are highly profitable since there is little alternative land use in parks where people are no longer permitted to dwell. Since the development of coast tourism in the 1960s the possibility for some individuals to gain from rents of coast land to private hotel companies has led to a change in ownership, witness the Report of a Select Committee:

"In Kilifi, Mombasa and (to a smaller extent) Kwale Districts changes in ownership took the form of a rapid substitution of land owners of all races with local and up-country politicians, civil servants, managerial staff in private industry, forces personnel and multi-national corporation". (123)

The Report also expressed concern for "the conduct of land transactions in the area" which indicates that land grabbing for speculation has been taking place, with price rises estimated at 5,000% between 1972-8.<sup>(124)</sup> In the mid 1970s a directive was given requiring Presidential clearance for land transactions on beach plots. Kwale District for example, was to have been the site of a large tourist complex to cater eventually for about 6,500 tourists. An international consultancy firm worked for two years drawing up a plan which was eventually scrapped. Much of the land which is "up for grabs" is good agricultural land and restriction of access to fishermen to the coast frequently accompanies the purchase of plots for hotels, resulting in the deprivation of a source of nourishment (fish) to the resident population, plus increased food prices.



Nairobi land rents are high and land and buildings are owned by property companies like Kenya National Properties Limited (a subsidiary of ICDC), Motor Mart, Industrial Promotion Services and House of Manji. The last two have either invested in tourism companies or formed part of groups with tourism holdings.<sup>(125)</sup> Whilst I have no written evidence, it seems that the family hotel enterprise was probably on land owned by the management or rented. The tendency is now for these two economic functions to be split between a land holder and a hotel holding company. Further differentiation involves the land holder, hotel property company and hotel management company, where once these three came under one umbrella.

The advent of companies specializing in hotel management dates back to 1967 when the Hilton Group took over the management of the Block Hotels Group's New Stanley Hotel.<sup>(126)</sup> Another hotel management firm, the CDC's own Hallways Hotels Overseas (linked with Trust House and United Transport Overseas Limited), started to negotiate contracts and was incorporated in Kenya in 1968.<sup>(127)</sup> Kenyan-based companies soon followed suit: the Block Hotels Management Company was formed with a restructuring of the company in 1975 and the State KTDC also formed its own management company in 1973 which permitted independence from foreign firms for its increasing hotel holdings.<sup>(128)</sup> As the economist G. K. Helleiner points out, one consequence is that

'management contracts undertaken may involve costs every bit as heavy as cost to the economy would be if the corporation in question were under direct foreign ownership'.<sup>(129)</sup>

The KTDC itself noted

"the Corporation considered that it was necessary to involve itself with the management function of hotels and Lodges into which it had invested large sums of money in order that the country would reduce its dependence on overseas hotel management companies and thereby save on foreign exchange and at the same time develop local manpower". (130)

Towards the end of the 1960s, also, private hotel firms began to issue ordinary shares to the public, starting with Brunners Hotel in 1967. (131)

The Block Hotels Group provide an exemplary case of how a hotel group might develop. In 1964 it split its shares from 20/- to 5/- (Kenyan shillings) units for "wider distribution of the ownership of capital". (132) It acquired part of the equity in East African Wildlife Lodges Limited, a company formed to operate lodges at Amboselli, Keekorok and Samburu and purchased an interest in Kenya Hotels Limited which owned Outspan Hotel, White Rhino Hotel and Treetops. In 1966, it participated in a new hotel venture with the KTDC, El Al, TWA, and Standard Bank and took an interest in Caterair, which became NAS (Nairobi Airport Services). Over the next nine years the Amboselli Lodge lease and management were lost (in 1968) and the NAS holding was sold. Wildlife Lodges was consolidated by a takeover by Kenya Hotels (in 1970) but Block took a controlling interest in Kenya Hotels (in 1971). Coral Strand in the Seychelles was purchased. More significantly, the restructuring of Block in 1975 permitted the group

"to enlarge its activities both in the hotel management field and in other areas which need not necessarily be restricted to our traditional hotel business". (133)

Thus a controlling interest was taken in the Business Machines Group in 1976, Kaj Hansen (Kenya) Ltd., property in the form of Norfolk Towers Limited, as well as diversified tourism interests in the United Touring Company. The New Stanley Hotel was sold in 1978 and although the Annual Report noted that "the sale ... does not demonstrate a policy of dis-investment" it should be seen in terms of freeing capital for new ventures (some outside Kenya), as well as risk aversion by diversification.

The general trend of diversification and differentiation of interests into holding company, landowner and hotel construction company in order to negotiate with consortia, finance companies, management companies and consulting firms, involves a complicated process of internationalization. The pattern of diversification exemplified by Block, for instance, has been followed by the Kenya Tourist Development Corporation. But for the latter, such diversification necessarily stops short of investing capital outside Kenya. (134)

The International Development Association noted in 1971

"the striking importance of tourism for the development projects of so many countries ... propelled by the jet engine and financed by payrolls in Europe".(135)

Kenyan tourism was well incorporated into development plans. But the very nature of the tourism industry as outlined above and the volatility of both its overseas investors and consumers, might suggest it is a risky investment.

Two points need to be stressed. The first concerns the role of the state in controlling and developing the industry; the second,



related, point concerns those involved in the industry. Clearly the state, through the KTDC, can pursue policies of diversification and risk aversion like private companies. Hence KTDC has started its own management company, as noted above. Also, by decreasing its dependence on overseas importers, it can invest in capital equipment firms. It is noted in the Kenyan Government's 1979-83 Development plan that:

"Among the newer activities under consideration, one is the possibility of strengthening the capacity of the Corporation to invest surplus funds in activities closely associated with the tourism industry. The second initiative concerns a proposal to establish some form of vertical integration between hotels and the sources of basic hotel requirements such as furniture, furnishings, equipment, electrical goods and others".(136)

But the KTDC is constrained by its functions as a tourism development corporation from investing in wider-ranging activities. This factor is important because the expansion and success of e.g. beach tourism is in a sense self-limiting: crowded beaches automatically impose a ceiling on the number of tourists and the consequent development possible. It is also constrained to some extent by its national boundaries.(137)

The second point concerns those involved in the tourism industry. They are, on the one hand, controllers and workers and, on the other hand, those receiving tourism services. To take the last group first, one response of the Government is to promote new markets; hence the Fourth Development Plan (quoted above) suggests tapping local markets for off-season tourism. It is undoubtedly a question of choice whether a luxury consumer elite is promoted or not and whether this

hedonocracy is Kenyanized. As the industry stands, there is an inequality in the provision of services, deriving from the colonial heritage. As Nairobi's Daily Nation noted:

"it is a shame that 15 years after Independence we still have to plead to management of tourist class hotels not to discriminate against Africans who patronize such hotels ... differential treatment is something we Africans have had to cope with for years. Prominent personalities (Ministers and the like) have never faced the frustration ordinary Africans face when they visit hotels". (138)

Perhaps more important is the incorporation of a fraction of Kenyan entrepreneurs into the industry, i.e. the Kenyanization of both ownership of resources and of the management levels.

An element of Kenya's elite have been able, through positions in the Civil Service, directorships in various state financial and development corporations (including the KTDC itself), to acquire interests in tourism assets. The Ndegwa Commission Report of 1971, which sanctioned business interests held by Civil Servants, has meant that some have used speculation in real estate, supplemented by leasing property in the form of land to property companies, to develop tourist hotels. Partnerships with multinational enterprises appear to bring real gains to Kenyan entrepreneurs and significant benefits have been reaped. Additional interlocking directorships in such companies as Kenya Breweries and Kenya Wine Agencies prove useful in the hotel industry.<sup>(139)</sup> Positions in the Civil Service alone were evidently not sufficient to ensure this, but measures taken by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry since the Trades Licensing Act in 1967, have proved tactically useful. Swainson notes that 463 notices to quit were issued in 1975 by the Ministry of Commerce

and Industry and a further 130 were issued in 1977.<sup>(140)</sup> Nonetheless, the tourism industry has been criticized for lagging behind in Africanization. In answer to such criticisms an Assistant Minister in the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife gave the following figures in Parliament:

"234 travel agencies were in the hands of wananchi, while 163 were foreign-owned or jointly owned by wananchi and foreigners. There were 187 curio shops owned by wananchi and 13 more owned jointly by wananchi and foreigners". (141)

Yet entrepreneurs may gain advantage from the Government's aim of investing in hotel equipment firms. What is at stake is a larger share of this cake.

There are some sections of the petit-bourgeoisie who do not see themselves obtaining any share of this cake. These are an embryo managerial elite who continuously find themselves frustrated by expatriate managers and unable to progress. The Kenyan state has clearly attempted to Kenyanize in this area. Writing in 1968, Mitchell<sup>(142)</sup> noted that of 4,606 people employed in hotels, 193, or 4%, were non-citizens, whilst there were 47% in air charter and tour operations, 22% in car hire and 10% in safari outfitters. A consultants' report written in 1976 said that out of an estimated 10,000 working in international standard hotels there were 257 expatriates of whom 118 were directors, 80 were managers and 59 caterers and chefs.<sup>(143)</sup> The establishment of the Tourism and Hotel Training College, which I discuss below, has undoubtedly alleviated the situation. Yet the newspapers still contain letters of protest:



"After hearing the Minister for Tourism talking recently of the Utalii College and how qualified its graduates are, one wonders why almost all big hotels and lodges in Kenya are managed by Whites. These expatriates are no better qualified academically or professionally than African managers who are well-trained and whose academic qualifications are quite high". (144)

The major impact on the Kenyan state has been for the development of tourism to provide further opportunities for the development of indigenous capitalism, including the use of state agencies for entrepreneurs to advance their own positions. Yet as Swainson comments

"the dominant fraction of the bourgeoisie in economic terms have managed to make the most use of these coercive measures to Africanize the commercial sector, although some of the most powerful and racist rhetoric has emanated from the petty bourgeoisie". (145)

Meanwhile the rural and urban poor and unemployed have not been silent. Not only do these groups not get a large enough share of the cake, but their income is not sufficient to permit them to get anywhere near the hotels at all. Letters to newspapers probably articulate the ambivalent sentiments of many relatively disadvantaged Kenyans. These may take the form of a chauvinist cultural reaction against "Tourists with no courtesy" as one such letter was headlined

"some tourists who come to our country have no respect for wananchi. Some of them exploit the ignorance of our people by imposing their dirty practices on them - things like kissing in public, caressing and other similar conduct are anti-African". (146)

Interestingly, the pseudo poverty of the "nomads from affluence"<sup>(147)</sup> is singled out for adverse comment:

"tourists bring with them funny tastes in dressing, music, food, which largely influence the local population - especially the youth. Hippy mannerisms in dressing roughly, with unkempt hair and going about as madmen is the typical example of tourist influence on the youths in the Third World. One even finds the manner in which the youths speak changes considerably by tending to ape the way the hippy tourists speak". (148)

Attempts by the KTDC to develop either Black or White resident tourism are likely to exacerbate the hostility of poorer sections of the populace, whose income is not sufficient to permit them to stay in tourist hotels, or whose only experience of tourism is the expropriation of their land.

#### VII Labour - The Grass Roots

Faced with the above-mentioned political and cultural tensions which tourist development sets in train, its advocates often fall back on an economic argument. The tourist industry is said to be a good development choice because of its labour intensity: it creates much needed employment. Thus Elkan:

"whether having poor waiters serve rich tourists is to be deplored is largely a matter of personal judgement ... this is viewed as more of a problem by well off moralists ... than the poor who are rather glad of the opportunity to earn a livelihood". (149)

But this employment generating potential cannot simply be assumed a priori: it should be investigated empirically.

A comprehensive analysis of the labour force employed in tourism would give a breakdown of the workers by age, sex and skill composition both by average years of schooling and by categories of skills, as well as a discussion of the origins of the labour force, by geographical area, by language group and by workers from other

professions. The issue of labour organization would also be investigated according to the degree of unionization, occupational divisions, size of establishment, the length of employment at the establishment, the inequalities deriving from wages and earnings differentials would be assessed. What I present below, however, are some brief notes only on Kenya's tourism industry workers.

(a) The work force

The actual numbers employed in tourism are difficult to adduce. The numbers benefitting from employment include taxidriviers, entertainers, makers and sellers of curios and souvenirs, guides, restaurant workers, travel agents, tour operators and so forth.<sup>(150)</sup> The figures presented below are included to give an idea of the degree of employment in tourism. Sets of figures which would show employment in linked industry do not exist. However, given the breadth of establishments featuring in the schedules of the Tourism Industry Licensing Act, it should in principle be possible to find the exact number of people working at least directly in tourism enterprises.<sup>(151)</sup> (As a comparison, talking of the British hotel and catering industry, Medlik notes that of the 200 groups in the 1970 classification of occupations, employment in hotel and catering alone covers "a large number" of them.<sup>(152)</sup>)

The Ministry of Labour Annual Reports provide some figures of those employed in the hotel and restaurant sector. Annual Reports between 1962-1975 give the following information. (It should be noted that the quality of the statistics has improved over this period, but that categories of employment have changed.) The total population



employed in 1962 was 581,274, rising to 1,218,100 in 1975.<sup>(153)</sup>

Employment in hotels and restaurants (extracted from the category "services": later hotels and restaurants are classified together with trade) was 6,732 in 1962, 16,556 in 1964. Part of the increase can be accounted for by increased coverage resulting from sending out enumerators to the main urban areas, thus augmenting the postal returns of private employers of small private enterprises. In 1966, of a total enumerated labour force of 603,059, 16,275 were employed in the hotel and restaurant sector. A lower figure of 11,719 is shown for 1967.

A private consultants report estimated 10,000 employees in hotels in 1976.<sup>(154)</sup> These figures are for international standard hotels. The Government's Employment and Earnings in the Modern Sector for 1976 gives total wage employment of 857,530 people (and total population of around 13½ million) with 34,092 employed in "Restaurants, cafes and other eating and drinking places, hotels, rooming houses, camps and other lodging places", thus indicating numbers employed, including self-employed and unpaid family workers, in lower class establishments.<sup>(155)</sup>

Workers in tourism cover the entire age range, from below fifteen (schoolchild tourist guides, usually boys, not formally employed, or sometimes employed for example as messengers, boathands) to over fifty-year olds. The latter frequently form the core of an old established work-force in long established hotels, like Block Hotels and African Tours and Hotels. The vast majority of workers are men: this includes employees in jobs traditionally considered "women's work" in industrialized nations, such as domestic work and

housekeeping.<sup>(156)</sup> The skill composition of the work force is as varied as the age range: the older Kenyan age-group tend to have less formal education both in hotels and in touring companies. Many of those employed in touring companies have a long history of employment in safari firms. A statistical analysis of origins of the labour force would probably confirm Rempel's surmise that:

"a typical migrant is likely to be relatively young and either single or married with a wife resident elsewhere than in his urban centre. In addition he will have completed more formal education than the average Kenyan his age." (157)

The older employees in the hotel sector are most frequently locally recruited. However, Luo, Kikuyu and to some extent Luhya speakers have a long history of migration to work, which reflects early colonial forced labour policies.<sup>(158)</sup> Giriama speakers may move out of their area up and down the coast, but not usually up-country. This history of migration also affects the employment histories of migrants who have moved more frequently into the tourism sector from other professions.

With regard to unionization, in the 1960s, the Domestic and Hotelworkers Union had the largest membership after the General and Agricultural Workers Union, 22,897 and 27,870 respectively in 1962.<sup>(159)</sup> The former Union was formed from the Kenya Houseboys Association in 1949 and formally registered two years later.<sup>(160)</sup> The tourist sector of the industry's workers is supported by what was formerly the Kenya Game Hunters and Safari Workers Union, now the Safari and Allied Workers Union, and the Transport and Allied Workers Union.

Wages in the hotel industry are negotiated between the Kenya Association of Hotelkeepers and Caterers, representing management, and the Domestic and Hotelworkers Union representing the workers. The wages negotiated are roughly 20% higher than the minimum wages set out in the Kenya Legislative Gazette Supplement (No. 64, 1st. October 1977). Medical provisions, uniforms and housing or housing allowance are formally provided. However, the working week for hotel employees is 54 hours as opposed to 45 hours per week in industry (except for gardeners), which is 20% higher and often includes working unsocial hours. The distribution of wage employment by income group in 1976 for restaurants and hotels was as follows:

Table 3  
Wage Employment in Restaurants and Hotels

Monthly Wage (Kenyan Shillings)	less than 150/-	150- 199	200- 399	400- 599	600- 799	800- 999	1000- 1499	1500- 1999	2000- 2999	3000- 5999	6000 & over	Total
persons employed	531	980	8201	4857	1757	682	1121	336	367	278	162	19,272

These figures give average earnings of 800/- per month but a *mode* of only 200 - 399/- per month, thus suggesting that the higher echelons are highly remunerated. <sup>(161)</sup>

Much of the information about employment in the hotel industry assumes a fairly constant capital/labour ratio. In fact, the 1979 Economic Survey noted a 1.2% decrease in hotel and restaurant employment. The costs of creating jobs in tourism are, however, higher than in manufacturing. <sup>(162)</sup> Measurement of labour in the hotel industry is



done by comparing the numbers of employed to the number of beds in the hotels. Kenya's hotel employment is measured at about .8 persons per bed. Since the numbers are employed in Switzerland at the rate of .3 per bed, there is no reason to assume that the rate in Kenya will remain constant. The hotel training school (Swiss Aid and Kenya Government funded) turns out qualified hotel staff, <sup>and</sup> also runs courses for staff already employed in hotels who were trained on the job. Increasing efficiency of labour is assumed to result in a higher capital/labour ratio. Furthermore, a trend to self-service restaurants in hotels decreases labour requirements.

b) Training and recruitment

The following statement by a representative of the Tour Operators Association indicates one perception of the importance of recruitment and training:

"we can show a man herds of elephant, buffalo, rhino, snow-capped mountains, fabulous scenery, and fail to provide him with ice in his whisky, and he goes away disappointed and blaming Kenya". (163)

Early hotel enterprises operated a "look over my shoulder and I will show you" approach to training<sup>(164)</sup> much as in the early stage of the industry in Britain.<sup>(165)</sup> Semi-skilled and unskilled labour was drawn from the labour reserves of the local area, including people who had only a little formal education if any.<sup>(166)</sup> The advent of mass tourism in the late 1960s saw a marked change. The call for Kenyanization meant a more intensive and formal approach to training took over, in order to produce trained Africans in greater numbers. A KAHKC representative commented

"it is not easy in the absence of full-trained qualified staff to dispense entirely with expatriate staff until replacements are available, and as a result there develops an attitude of suspicion as to the extent which real support is given to Government policy". (167)

The KAHKC, which had for three decades been concerned with the level of training, saw itself as instrumental in pushing the government to establish a training scheme. (168) A four-year management course was started at the Kenya Polytechnic in 1969. There were about twenty students sponsored by the industry who were taught some basic courses in a small training kitchen and restaurant.

The Government, meanwhile, made an application to the Swiss Government for aid in hotel training. French and German language training was provided at the Kenya Polytechnic by French and German technical aid. A consultancy firm did a feasibility study and soon aid was approved for the hotel and catering training college, which also established courses in tourism for tour operators (from 1977) and a training hotel, of international standard on the outskirts of Nairobi. The College was partly financed by the Catering Training Levy of 2% paid by hotels and restaurants. The table below (Table 4) shows the number of graduates between 1973 and 1978 and gives a breakdown of the courses they completed.

Recruitment policies are varied. The establishment of Utalii College represents a sifting of recruitment, particularly at management level. Utalii itself recruits from the eight provinces on the basis, in principle, of weighted representation by (a) population (a factor of 2), (b) the number of beds per province (a factor of 2); and (c) the number of school-leavers with 'A' and 'O' level certificates

KENYA UTALII COLLEGE GRADUATES 1973 - 1978<sup>+</sup>

Year	Management Courses	Basic Courses				Advanced Courses				Refresher & Special	Graduate totals by year	
		Kitchen	Service	House-Keeping	Front Office	Tourism	Kitchen	Service	House-Keeping			
1973	12											12*
1974	21											21*
1975	21 (40)@							8	7	6	72	114*
1976	19 (40)@	50	65	42	23	-	6	6	6	-	138	349
1977	22 (40)@	52	67	41	27	53	15	15	15	16	94	402
1978	27 (32)@	52	64	60	28	29	8	7	7	-	105	380
Totals by Courses	122 (152)@	154	196	143	78	82	37	35	22	409	1278	

\* Courses run at the Hotel Management Training School, Kenya Polytechnic, Nairobi

@ Denotes intake

+ Data by courtesy of Utalii College (including totals of rows, some of which are apparently internally inconsistent)



(a factor of .5). From these figures percentages are calculated to give a fair representation in the College intake.<sup>(169)</sup> However, a concern with the educational standards of entrants as a first priority means that if one province is low on this dimension, then its allocation is re-allocated. Recruitment of Utalii graduates led to complaints early on that they "knew it all". Now many hotel groups say they recruit from Utalii wherever possible. Refresher courses provided by the College are very popular with the hotel groups (possibly because they are of very short duration).

Hotel groups like Hilton have their own management training school in Montreal and prefer to recruit from within their own ranks. Block hotels, too, prefer to pursue their own management training programmes, recruiting according to education and experience. African Tours and Hotels, the government hotel company, who run eighteen hotels, recruit on the basis of educational qualifications. Such hotel groups recruit the lower echelons in the area of the hotels for which staff are required and higher echelons centrally. These latter include (in addition to management staff) receptionists, cooks and accounts clerks. Block Hotels also have a policy of recruiting from families of staff who retire.

Recruitment policies of group enterprises constitute the formal level, but informally some shifting and moving occurs, particularly at managerial level. The executive of hotel groups are frequently watching out for better staff and since opportunities for visiting other hotels are frequent (within the industry the upper echelons form a sort of elite club), staff are often invited to work elsewhere,

i.e. "poached". Occupational visits to overseas hotels are a tempting carrot. Thus a hierarchy of enterprises operates according to size and capacity to send employees abroad via the group's own international hotels (e.g. Hilton, Intercontinental) or via their arrangements with other groups abroad. Comments of workers' experience of recruitment are included in chapter 5.

Finally, one important point has been indicated by the comment quoted at the beginning of this section that poor waiters serve rich tourists. Workers in tourism are relatively few in a widely dispersed industry. Where there is push off the land, for whatever reason, many workers are glad not to have to move away from their homes to find work. In some cases the opening up of tourist hotels meant that some workers have been able to find work near home without having to search elsewhere, a process described to me as "tarmacking".<sup>(170)</sup> But the lucky are few. Although the workers in tourism have been unionized for 40 years, the union is in a weak position, partly because unemployment is so high (people are said to knock on the hotel doors to get jobs at the rate of 20 per day in the high season<sup>(171)</sup>) and partly because the development of workers' consciousness is impeded by the geographical dispersal of the work locales. In addition, state and private interests are acutely aware that the slightest hiccup in the provision of facilities gives Kenyan tourism a bad name and incipient labour problems are rapidly negotiated.

### VIII Conclusion

It should be clear from the above that both in terms of the cultural preoccupations immanent in tourism in the last century, as well as the inequalities between today's tourist consumers and tourism workers, tourism is a highly hierarchical industry both nationally and internationally. The industry was initiated by foreigners for foreigners, and even since Independence has been the locus of continuing foreign capitalist integration.

Nonetheless I have indicated that Black Kenyans have effectively participated in tourism ownership particularly since the 1970s. Substantial sectors of tourism assets have been taken over, particularly with the help of state legislative measures, either in conjunction with international capitalist enterprises or as a result of a process of accumulation based in agriculture or other industry. Whereas settlers and White Kenyans had accumulated capital through tourism investments, subsequently diversifying into other industries, or abroad (or both), Black Kenyans have accumulated capital through agriculture or land holdings, investing subsequently in tourist enterprises.

Yet what is at stake is not so much the colour of the national flag which flies over capital accumulation in, and flows to and from, Kenya. It is more the ambiguity of an industry which has for decades been of critical importance to the Kenyan economy as an earner of foreign exchange but whose "product" is esoteric.<sup>(172)</sup> There are both intrinsic and contingent factors here.



On the one hand, even if tourism does have (or had) the potential of a leading sector industry, with important linkage effects to stimulate the creation or expansion of other industry, it is nonetheless vulnerable: whether to competition from other countries' national tourism industries, or to metropolitan consumers' whims (themselves partly dictated by the metropolitan industry's controllers). The question of Kenyanization, given the above comments, becomes more complex. The political appeal to indigenize is a request to take over the ownership of assets within Kenya, rather than to indigenize the consumers of the tourism product. But given that some Kenyans have appropriated these assets, the issue becomes one of class competition for the booty. One response to such competition would be the expansion of tourism either through the encouragement of more mass tourism or through the promotion of resident tourism. But as I have suggested, even assuming ceteris paribus political stability (i.e. no fuel crisis, no economic recession - a tall order), tourism reaches a saturation point by its own very success: its attractions diminish through overcrowding.

On the other hand, promotion of resident tourism raises the question of, firstly, how Kenyans respond to consuming this "image" and, secondly, how Kenyan masses will react to consumers of luxury, when the sanctions of that ambiguous dimension of foreignness lapse to reveal vast class differences. But the possibility of resident tourism also highlights other contradictions, in the history and self-image of the entire enterprise in Kenya and elsewhere. Arguably, tourism is a service industry which expresses racist master-servant

relationships at international levels. This has the effect (at the level of imagery) of reinforcing peripheral nations in servitude: imperial playgrounds, holiday resorts which imply rest from work, implicitly suggesting the "laziness" of those nations' peoples being the reason for their continuing poverty. Tourism is situated well within a protestant work ethic where idleness is sanctioned for a short period only. The abodes of rest are wide open spaces, natural zoological gardens, the resorts of animals, or beaches where people might lie in the sun, hardly places where people might truly live and work.

Intrinsically the product of tourism is not an inanimate raw material or piece of machinery. The social relations of production of this esoteric product are irreducibly those of the server and the served. Even though some Kenyans have taken important economic positions in Kenyan tourism, there has been no evidence of any change of the imagery. And it remains the case that the dominant social forces in the tourism industry - whether in the form of big capital, or the marketers of images- are still outside Kenya.

In the next chapter workers', managers' and administrators' comments on particular aspects of the tourism industry are presented.

NOTES

1. E. de Kadt, 1979, Tourism - Passport to Development?, Washington, Oxford University Press for World Bank and Unesco, p.xiii.
2. Ibid, p. 339.
3. E. Desnoes, 1971, Memories of Underdevelopment, Harmondsworth, Penguin, p. 48.
4. See de Kadt, Tourism, p. i.
5. Ibid., p.vi.
6. For an appraisal of the economic effects of tourism see J. Bryden, 1973, Tourism and Development: a Case Study of the Commonwealth Caribbean, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; H. P. Gray, 1970, International Travel - International Trade, Lexington, Heath Lexington Books; M. Peters, 1969, International Tourism, London, Hutchinson; and R. Wood, 1979, "Tourism and Underdevelopment in Southeast Asia", Journal of Contemporary Asia, vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 274-287.
7. P. Curtin, 1964, "British Images of Africans in the Nineteenth Century", in Paul Baxter, and Basil Sanson, (eds.), 1972, Race and Social Difference, Harmondsworth, Penguin, p. 131.
8. Ibid., p. 133
9. For parallel concerns in French literature, see William B. Cohen, 1974, "Literature and Race: Nineteenth century French Fiction, Blacks and Africa 1800-1880", Race and Class, vol. xii, No. 2, pp. 181-205.



10. Joseph Boskin, 1970, "Sambo": the National Jester in Popular Culture", in Baxter and Sanson, Race, p. 152.
11. Peter Worsley, 1964, The Third World, London, Weidenfield and Nicholson, second edition, 1967, p. 24.
12. Cited in M. H. Ylvisaker, 1975, "The Political and Economic Relationship of the Lamu Archipelago to the Adjacent Kenya Coast in the 19th Century," Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Boston.
13. Louis Turner and John Ash, 1975, The Golden Hordes, London, Constable, p. 53. See also George Young, 1973, Tourism, Blessing or Blight?, Harmondsworth, Penguin, particularly chapter 2 on the History of Tourism.
14. Cited in Turner and Ash, The Golden Hordes, p. 51.
15. Cited in Jan Hemsing, 1975, Then and Now: Nairobi's Norfolk Hotel, Nairobi, Sealpoint Publicity, p. 80.
16. Cited in Jan Hemsing, 1974, Old Nairobi and the New Stanley Hotel, Nairobi, Church, Raitt and Associates Ltd., p. 19.
17. Hemsing, Nairobi's Norfolk Hotel, p.10.
18. Turner and Ash, The Golden Hordes, p.14.
19. Juliet Mitchell, 1972, Woman's Estate, Harmondsworth, Penguin, p.147.
20. Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, (OECD) 1976, Tourism Policy and International Tourism in OECD Member Countries, Paris, p.39.

21. These phrases are from the 1975 Report of the Diani Plan, Nairobi, Maxwell Stamp Associates, a pilot project costing 350,000 Kenyan shillings (about £22,000 sterling), to develop a tourist village on the Kenyan coast south of Mombasa: the project was shelved.
22. A similar point has been made by E. Cohen, 1972, "Towards a Sociology of International Tourism", Social Research, vol. 39, p.166. He, however, focuses mainly on the tourist without considering tourism as an industry whose metropolitan managers manoeuvre and manipulate both tourists and nation states, aided by international agencies and institutions. For further work on the tourist see also E. Cohen, 1973, "Nomads from Affluence: Notes on the Phenomenon of Drifter-Tourism", International Journal of Comparative Sociology, vol. xiv, 1-2, pp.89-103; E. Cohen, 1979, "A phenomenology of tourist experiences", Sociology, vol. 13, No. 2, May, pp.179-202; and Dean MacCannell, 1976, The Tourist, London, Macmillan.
23. Tina Esh, and Illith Rosenblum, 1975, Tourism in Developing Countries - Trick or Treat? A Report from the Gambia, Research Report No. 31, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, p.21.
24. Quoted in University of Edinburgh, 1974, Tourism in Africa and the Management of Related Resources, Proceedings of a Seminar held in the Centre of African Studies, 3rd and 4th May.
25. Curtin, "Images of Africans", p.141.
26. Karl Marx, 1974, The German Ideology, London, Lawrence and Wishart, pp.44 and 69, respectively.

27. This particular phrase comes from an "up-market", i.e. expensive, travel agent's brochure.
28. There is little difference between French travel agents' literature and British literature, although there did seem to be a subtle evocation of more "colonial"-type images in relation to France's own ex-colonies than in French publicity of British ex-colonies. I was not able to review German publicity in depth, but the visual images are equivalent.
29. A. M. Kisongo, J. B. Bagambe, and J. D. H. Meru, 1969, The Tourist Industry in East Africa, cyclostyled, Nairobi, April.
30. The "carefree" people of this province had an estimated GNP per capita income of 15-24 US dollars in 1978 (personal communication, Aid Agency Representative, Nairobi, 1978).
31. It is rarely mentioned that tourism is also the handmaiden of militarism nor are the deleterious effects of this mentioned. On sex tourism see for example Outwrite, No. 3, March 1982, also Khin Thitsa, Image and Reality for Women in Buddhist Thailand, Change International Report No. 2, London.
32. Boskin, "Sambo", p.154.
33. E. Fischer, 1970, Marx in his Own Words, Harmondsworth, Penguin, p.52.
34. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Interview given to Weekly Review, Nairobi, cited in "Where is Ngugi?" by Chris Wanjala, 1978, Black Phoenix, No. 2, Summer, p. 24.
35. C. H. Stigand, 1966, The Land of Zinj, London, Frank Cass and Co., p.190.



36. Parliamentary Papers (PP), Accounts and Papers, Twelfth Volume, Colonies and British Possessions, Africa No. 9, 1901. vol. XLVIII, 'Report by HM Commissioner on the East African Protectorate', Cd. 769, August p.393.
37. PP., Accounts and Papers, Tenth Volume, Colonies and British Possessions, Africa No. 7, Vol. LVI, 'Report on the Mombasa-Victoria (Uganda) Railway Committee of the Progress of Works 1899-1900', Cd. 355, p.911.
38. PP., Accounts and Papers, Fifteenth Volume, Colonies and British Possessions, Africa, No. 15, 1906, vol LXXIX. 'Correspondence relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa', Cd. 3189, Enclosure No. 74, p.165.
39. 'Great numbers of sportsmen from Europe and America are now visiting the country and others in increasing numbers will follow', Commissioner Jackson of Uganda, memo to HM Commissioner, 1906. Accounts and Papers, Colonies and British Possessions, Africa No. 15, Cd. 3189, No. 220; see also 'deputation of the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire to Lord Elgin', June 1906, ibid., No. 225.
40. Cited in Hemsing, Nairobi's Norfolk Hotel, p.36.
41. See for example, Joseph P. M. B. Ouma, 1970, Evolution of Tourism in East Africa, (1900-2000), Nairobi, East African Literature Bureau.
42. The East Africa Travel Trade Association, Annual Report, 1948, p.5.
43. Ibid.

44. Nicola Swainson, 1976, The Role of the State in Kenya's Post-War Industrialization, Working Paper No. 275, Institute for Development Studies, Nairobi, p.24.
45. EATTA, Annual Report, 1948, p.19.
46. See EATTA, Annual Report, 1955.
47. See EATTA, Annual Report, 1948, p.18.
48. Whilst it was airline traffic which was particularly responsible for the hotel bottleneck with overnight stops for passengers in transit, it is an anomaly that major airline involvement in hotel properties occurred later.
49. Cited in EATTA, Annual Report, 1955.
50. Ibid.
51. Figures for the increase in tourist arrivals are as follows:  
 15% increase in the 1948 to 1963 period (source: EATTA Annual Report, 1964);  
 20% increase in the 1958 to 1967 period (cited in Kisongo, Bagambe and Meru, The Tourist Industry);  
 11% in the 1968 to 1976 period - compared with world figures of 7%, hitting a 'high' of 23% in 1966-7 (sources: A Study of the Social Costs and Benefits of Kenya Tourism, Report by Associated Research Consultants Ltd., in association with Pannell, Bellhouse Mwangi & Co. for UNECA, Nairobi, July 1978, p.5, and the National Christian Council of Kenya, (NCCCK), 1968, Who Controls Industry in Kenya? Nairobi, East African Publishing House, p.68).  
 The figures may appear artificially high because of multiple frontier crossings.

52. Ouma, Evolution of Tourism, p.24.
53. Government of Kenya, Game Department Annual Report, Nairobi, 1959. See also R. Clarke and F. Mitchell, 1968, "The Economic Value of Hunting and Outfitting in East Africa", East African Agricultural and Forestry Journal, vol. 33, Special Issue, June, pp.89-97.
54. See EATTA, Annual Report, 1957.
55. EATTA, Annual Report, 1951, p.21.
56. Cited in EATTA, Annual Report, 1955.
57. Nicola Swainson, 1980, The Development of Corporate Capitalism in Kenya 1918-1977, London, Heinemann, p.107.
58. EATTA, Annual Report, 1950, p.10.
59. Susan Sontag points out the imagery used to market cameras: "aim, focus, shoot" ... "guns have metamorphosed into cameras in this earnest comedy, the ecology safari, because nature has ceased to be what it always had been, what people needed protection from", 1979, On Photography, Harmondsworth, Penguin, p.14 and 15.
60. Cited in EATTA, Annual Report, 1951.
61. National Christian Council of Kenya, (NCCCK), 1968, Who Controls Industry in Kenya? Nairobi, East African Publishing House, p.69.
62. They were perhaps, aided in this by the fact that a former President of the EATTA had become an official of the Colonial Development Corporation.



63. F. Mitchell, 1968, The Costs and Benefits of Tourism in Kenya, Report prepared for the Kenya Tourist Development Corporation, Nairobi, November, p.40.
64. EATTA was liquidated in 1965. See Ouma, Evolution of Tourism, p.9.
65. From a Kenya Tourist Development Corporation promotional leaflet. Wananchi means "citizens", sometimes "masses".
66. O. Achieng, 1978, "An Assessment of Kenya's Coastal Tourism" in C. O. Okidi and S. Westley, (eds.), Management of Coastal and Offshore Resources in Eastern Africa, Occasional Paper No. 28, Institute for Development Studies, Nairobi.
67. KTDC official speaking at the Kenya Association of Hotel-keepers and Caterers' Seminar on Tourism, held at the Inter-continental Hotel, Nairobi, 16th and 17th November, 1972.
68. NCKK, Who Controls?, p.186.
69. One of its directors in 1967 now has substantial tourist holdings.
70. Swainson, Corporate Capitalism, p.191.
71. Personal communication, Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife Official, Nairobi, May 1979.
72. Study of the Social Costs and Benefits of Kenya Tourism, 1978, Report by Associated Research Consultants Ltd., in association with Pannell Bellhouse Mwangi and Co., for UNECA, Nairobi.

73. Personal communication, Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife Official, Nairobi, December 1978.
74. The demonstration effect of fairs, and not only trade fairs, is considered very important. Thus one of the US Federal Government's stated objectives during 1978 was "to contribute to the success of international exhibitions attracting large tourist flows to the country", OECD, 1979, Tourism Policy and International Tourism in OECD Member Countries, Paris, p.19.
75. Government of Kenya, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 4th Development Plan, 1979-1983, p.397. This plan reiterates "it is the policy of Government to welcome foreign private investment ... The Government expects that in the future such opportunities will be found increasingly in export-oriented activities, in manufacturing, processing, mining and tourism", (p.30).
76. A joint Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife and Kenya Tourist Development Corporation survey of the West was carried out in 1970. See Weekly Review, Nairobi, 11th July, 1977.
77. Proceedings of the Third International Congress of African Tourism, 1949, Nairobi, p.159.
78. See Government of Kenya, Laws of Kenya, Cap 382, revised ed., 1967, The Kenya Tourist Development Corporation Act. It should also be noted that the institution is also a sphere of conflict of fighting factions, for example the Ndegwa Commission Review of the Statutory Boards, May 1979, provided Moi's government with legitimate justification for establishing a "parastatals" Advisory Committee which would enable Parliament to "remove ineffective officers". The Kenya Tourist Development Corporation (KTDC) was named as one of a group "showing a poor

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- return on investments or having problems other than financial ones, arising for example from over-expansion or multiplication of subsidiaries or lack of clear policy guidance', pp.23-24.
79. S. Medlik, 1978, Profile of the Hotel and Catering Industry, 2nd edition with D. W. Airey, London, Heinemann.
80. Ibid., p.189.
81. Ibid.
82. The Kenya Association of Hotelkeepers and Caterers for instance was affiliated to the British Hotels and Restaurants Association (now the British Hotels, Restaurants and Caterers' Association) and the International Hotel Association.
83. From "Let the Private Sector Get on with it", the Sunday Nation, Nairobi, 5.6.1966. This did not represent a completely exclusive attitude to Blacks because the Company represented in this interview had Black Directors on its Board.
84. Government of Kenya, Laws of Kenya, Cap. 382, 1965, revised edition, 1967.
85. Government of Kenya, Laws of Kenya, Cap. 518, revised edition, 1967.
86. Such fiscal policies alter according to Kenya's general balance of payments situation. Thus, for example, credit restrictions were relaxed in 1977 as a result of "lucrative world prices" for coffee, but in just over a year a new credit squeeze aimed to cut the money in circulation by 10%. See Africa, No. 70, June 1977 and No. 85, September 1978.



87. Government of Kenya, Laws of Kenya, Cap. 381, 1968, revised edition, 1970.
88. Government of Kenya, Laws of Kenya, Cap. 494, 1971, revised edition, 1972.
89. Government of Kenya, Laws of Kenya, Cap. 376, 1976, revised edition, 1977.
90. Government of Kenya, Sessional Paper Number 3 of 1975,
91. Ibid., p.14. Also "because Kenya is one of a small group of countries pioneering the technology of wildlife utilization as a form of land use, the amount of resources it must devote to research and development effort, relative to the current returns from wildlife utilization, is much greater than for more established economic activities, which can rely more heavily upon foreign experiences or past experience in Kenya. Most research will be in the biological sciences, but economic and sociological studies will also be required to identify viable management programmes and to monitor performance", (p.6). The hunting ban has recently been lifted.
92. Ouma, Evolution of Tourism, p.8.
93. Published in Geneva, 1968, cited in Ouma, p.14.
94. World Tourism Organization (WTO) Statutes, Mexico, September 1970, p.11.
95. Ibid. It affiliated to the UN in 1976. See EIU Special Report No. 60, London, May 1979, The Economic and Social Impact of Tourism in Developing Countries.
96. Ibid., p.2.

97. Ibid p.4.
98. Government of Kenya, Ministry of Labour, Annual Report, 1965.
99. For the case of Gambia, see Esh and Rosenblum, Report from the Gambia.
100. de Kadt, Tourism.
101. International Bank for reconstruction and Development (IBRD), Tourism Sector Working Paper, June 1972.
102. Esh and Rosenblum, Report from the Gambia.
103. Robert MacNamara later disbanded the Department although the technical personnel to advise remained (personal communication, Nairobi, November, 1978).
104. Wood, "Tourism and Underdevelopment", p.278.
105. The World Bank's Annual Report, 1976, indeed stressed the need for "increasing efficiency and project preparation" as "an essential element in the design of effective projects"; and noted "increasingly difficulty in preparing and implementing the many 'new style' Bank projects concerned with institutional and policy change - especially in the agriculture, education, population, tourism and urban sectors", p.22 . As a result a special Project Preparation Facility was created.
106. "Comparative hotel operating statistics for about 479 hotels", IBRD, Tourism Sector Working Paper, p.16.
107. World Bank, Washington, Annual Report, 1979.

108. See M. Godfrey and S. Langdon, 1976, "Partners in under-development? the transnationalization thesis in a Kenya context", Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, vol. 14. No. 1.
109. OECD, 1971, International Tourism and Tourism Policy in OECD Member Countries, Paris, p.31.
110. Cesare De Seta, 1977, Città, Territorio e Mezzogiorno in Italia, Turin, Einaudi, p.97
111. Wood, "Tourism and Underdevelopment", p.274.
112. L. Turner, 1976, "The International Division of Leisure: Tourism and the Third World", World Development, vol. 4, No. 3, March, p.23.
113. OECD, 1979, Tourism Policy and International Tourism in OECD Member Countries, Paris, p.57.
114. Ibid.
115. World Bank, Washington, World Development Report, 1978, p.11.
116. Turner and Ash, The Golden Hordes, p.13.
117. OECD, 1964, Tourism in OECD Member Countries, Paris, p.5.  
The figures in this document are based on the International Union of Official Travel Organizations (IUOTO) figures for 1962, for 60 countries.
118. OECD, 1969, Tourism in OECD Member Countries, Paris, p.19.  
(Based on IUOTO figures for 1968)
119. OECD, 1974, Tourism Policy and International Tourism in OECD Member Countries, Paris, p.48. (The figures are for 1973)



120. OECD, 1979, Tourism Policy and International Tourism in OECD Member Countries, Paris, p.47. (World Tourism Organization figures for 1977.)
121. OECD, 1981, Tourism Policy and International Tourism in OECD Member Countries, Paris, The World Tourism Organization figures for 1980 representing an increase of 6% over 1979: the 1979 increase over 1978 was 4%.
122. J. I. Arrillaga, "Present and Future Tourism Training Requirement in the African Countries", paper presented at the World Tourism Organization's Seminar on Tourism Training in Africa, Nairobi, 28-31 May 1979, p.5.
123. Government of Kenya, 1978, Report of the Select Committee on the Issue of Land Ownership along the Ten-Mile Coastal Strip of Kenya, Nairobi, Government Printer, p.6.
124. Ibid., p.7.
125. Examples are Industrial Promotion Services and Tourism Promotion Services: see NCKK, Who Controls?, pp.75-6. According to the Companies Registry, Nairobi, in 1979 several of the Directors were Ugandan businessmen and one director was also on the board of Tourism Promotion Services (Uganda) Ltd. Such interlocking Directorships are indicative of the state of oligopoly within tourism; and of the policy of tourism investment as risk aversion.
126. Within 2 years management returned to Block, who were apparently unhappy with Hilton's management: the original rationale was to permit the New Stanley to benefit from Hilton's computerized booking facility. See Block Hotels, Annual Report, 1966.
127. This information derives from the Companies Registry, Nairobi, 1979.

128. In 1975 KTDC acquired a controlling interest in African Tours and Hotels  
In 1978-9 KTDC was running 18 hotels.
129. Cited in I. Shivji, 1972, "The mixed sector and Imperialist  
Control in Tanzania", in P. Gutkind, and P. Waterman, 1977,  
African Social Studies, London, Heinemann, p.215, n.6.
130. See KTDC, Annual Report, Nairobi, 1975-6.
131. The hotel industry expanded: it was estimated that about half  
the number of total rooms of international type were less than  
10 years old in 1978 (ARC, Social Costs and Benefits).
132. See Block Hotels, Annual Report, 1964.
133. See Block Hotels, Annual Report, 1975.
134. KTDC's management company ran three hotels in Tanzania until 1978  
(Source: KTDC Annual Report 1978).
135. International Development Association (IDA), Annual Report  
1971, p.28.
136. Government of Kenya, 4th Development Plan 1979-83, Nairobi,  
Government Printer, p.401.
137. This constraint did not fetter the Colonial, later Commonwealth,  
Development Corporation, but the Colonial option is no longer  
open. Tourism is a highly competitive industry and it should  
be noted that Kenya is only one of many African countries vying  
for tourist markets. Scanning the pages of Africa magazine I  
found references to developing tourist industries in the following  
countries: Seychelles (No. 52, December 1975, p.138): Tanzania  
No. 45, May 1975): Mauritius (No. 54, February 1976): Comoros  
(No. 58, June 1976, p.75): Ivory Coast (ibid., p.45,):

137 (continued)

Malawi (No. 64, December 1976): Sudan (No. 81, May 1978): and Nigeria (No. 102, February 1980). The latter issue noted a European Investment Bank loan to Niger for a hotel in Niamey (p.92). In addition Nigeria is noted as giving the Colonial civil servants' home leave allowance as a holiday subsidy, provided those holidays are taken within Africa.

138. "Hotel Double Standards", Daily Nation, Nairobi, 3.9.1979.
139. See also Swainson, Corporate Capitalism, p.193 and Chapter 5: and Steven Langdon, 1975, "Multinational Corporations, Taste Transfer and Underdevelopment: a case study from Kenya", Review of African Political Economy, Jan-April, pp.12-35.
140. Swainson, Corporate Capitalism; see also Africa, No. 67, March 1977.
141. "Asians hired for Corruption, House is Told", Daily Nation, Nairobi, 2.11.1978.
142. Mitchell, Costs and Benefits, p.52. His figures relate to the period 1966-1967.
143. ARC, Social Costs and Benefits, p. 40.
144. "Give Africans, too, a chance", Daily Nation, Nairobi, 2.10.1979.
145. Swainson, Corporate Capitalism, p.193.
146. Letter to the Daily Nation, Nairobi, 17.8.1979.
147. See E. Cohen, 1973, "Nomads from Affluence: Notes on the Phenomenon of Drifter-Tourism", International Journal of Comparative Sociology, vol. xiv, 1-2, pp. 89-103.



148. "Tourism is a Smoke Screen for Third World Economic Frustrations", The Nairobi Times, Nairobi, 5.11.1978.
149. Walter Elkan, 1974, "The Relation between Tourism and Employment in Kenya and Tanzania", paper presented at a seminar on Tourism in Africa and the Management of Related Resources, held at the Centre for African Studies, University of Edinburgh, 3rd and 4th May.
150. Ibid.
151. The Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, have completed schedules of the entire work force, but this was not the major focus of my study. In addition to hotel and tourism workers, for completeness calculations of the number of workers in so-called "informal" sector, i.e. non-enumerated workers, should be included to give a more detailed picture of the tourist workforce.
152. Medlik, Hotel and Catering, p.160. Medlik gives the following breakdown in percentages: management positions 30%; cooks and food workers 9%; kitchen hands 4%; bar service 12-13%; domestic and housekeeping 12%; uniformed staff (porters, pages) 2%; clerical and commercial (reception etc.) 5%; and miscellaneous (stores, maintenance) 7-8%. These figures are for the British hotel and catering industry. See Medlik chapter 15.
153. Government of Kenya, Ministry of Labour, Annual Report, 1962-1975.
154. ARC, Social Costs and Benefits, p.40.
155. The Government of Kenya, Ministry of Economic Planning and Community Affairs, Economic Survey, 1979, gives a total enumerated labour force of 911,500 (1978 figures) in a total population of over 15 million. The working population (15-49 years of age) is estimated at around 7 million.

156. Counter Information Services have produced a report on workers in the British hotel industry, called Hardship Hotel, CIS, Anti-report, No. 27, London.
157. H. Rempel, 1970, Labour Migration into Urban Centres and Urban Unemployment in Kenya, Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, p.41.
158. See for example Sharon Stichter, 1975, "The Formation of a Working Class in Kenya", in R. Sandbrook and R. Cohen, (eds.), The Development of an African Working Class, London, Longman and R. van Zwaneberg, 1975, Colonial Capitalism and Labour in Kenya, 1919-1939, Nairobi, East African Literature Bureau.
159. Government of Kenya, Ministry of Labour, Annual Report, 1962.
160. M. Singh, 1969, History of Kenya's Trade Union Movement to 1952, Nairobi, East African Publishing House, p.207 & 247. One of the union's campaigns in 1951 was to ensure that its members were not called "Boy" a term of denigration which confirms the point made above that Blacks have frequently been viewed as children, p. 176.
161. Based on Government of Kenya, Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Economic Planning and Community Affairs, 1978, Employment and Earnings in the Modern Sector, Nairobi, Government Printers, p.111.
162. Elkan, "Tourism and Employment".
163. Representative of the Tour Operators Association speaking at the Kenya Association of Hotelkeepers and Caterers' Seminar on Tourism held at the Intercontinental Hotel, Nairobi, 16th and 17th November, 1972.

164. ARC, Social Costs and Benefits, p.41.
165. Medlik, Hotel and Catering, p.62.
166. In the opinion of one hotelier, people with higher education tend to feel frustrated and dishwashers, for example, are best straight from the bush; personal communication, Mombasa, 6.6.79.
167. Representative of the Kenya Association of Hotelkeepers and Caterers (KAHKC), speaking at the KAHKC Seminar, 1972.
168. One might speculate that hoteliers were happy to pay for training when Europeans were in control, but if Kenyanization is viewed as an attack on their interests, then the former were more likely to avoid or attempt to avoid the training bill.
169. Sources used are the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife and the Statistical Abstract of the Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Economic Planning and Community Affairs, Nairobi (various years).
170. Personal communication, Waiter, Kisumu, July 1979.
171. Personal communication, Assistant Hotel Manager, Mombasa, May 1979.
172. For a recent discussion of foreign exchange earnings in tourism in neighbouring Tanzania, see Steve Curry, 1982, "The Terms of Trade and Real Import Capacity of the Tourism Sector in Tanzania", Journal of Development Studies, vol. 18, pp.479-496.



## CHAPTER 5

WORKING IN TOURISM

"Now a strange voluptuousness was lulling my scruples. And a force was slowly invading me through my ears, my pores; the language. Here once more was the language I had talked in my infancy; the language in which I had learned reading and sol-fa, the language that had grown rusty with disuse, thrown aside like a useless instrument in a country where it was of no value to me."

Alejo Carpentier (1)

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## CHAPTER 5

WORKING IN TOURISMI Introduction

In Chapter 3 I outlined language policy with reference to education and language statements made in explicit political contexts to show the broad contexts within which individuals make their language choices. In Chapter 4 a discussion of the tourist industry in Kenya drew attention to its development from family enterprises in the colonial period to an internationally oriented, and multinationally controlled business in the 1960s and 1970s. I highlighted certain features which I consider rendered the success of nationalist policies difficult to achieve.

In this chapter I provide a middle range analysis of the tourist industry workers and managers by presenting the results of interviews undertaken in the Kenya tourist sector. This provides a transition between the structure of and constraints on the tourist industry, and the minutiae of interaction in everyday work talk. The overarching theme is embodied in the question of how the use of different languages interweaves with factors such as the nature of work in tourism, the nature of the tourism product, and the ownership and control of the tourism industry. At the level of the individual, how does the languages s/he uses in specific and defined contexts relate to the system of dependence and exploitation which functions at a national and international level?

I have selected from interviews the perceptions of workers, managers and administrators concerning language use and language problems. This includes comments on the importance of English as



a lingua franca, varieties of English according to syntax and accent, and the use of Swahili. Changing levels of educational achievements required have contributed to a change in the composition of the work force according to language competence. These are reflected in the age and skill structure of the workforce. I have classified "international standard" hotels in order to assess differences in recruitment procedures (where these occur). I suggest that whereas management assert that language skills are important, this is reflected neither in recruitment procedures, nor in financial remuneration to those workers who possess such skills. Language does provide an added bonus in competition for employment, but the language competences required relate to European languages not to African languages. Some information on where and how languages were learnt is included. Finally I comment on language problems following the perceptions of managers, workers and administrators.

## II The Structure of Tourism

Since access to the hotel sector was relatively easy compared to tours operations, I have been able to detail information on the hotel industry derived from my interviews. Information on tours operations is less detailed.

### 1. Hotels

I have drawn up a categorization of hotels. Type 1 hotels are those enterprises, now comprising several units, which started as family hotels run by White Kenyans during the colonial period. They include enterprises which, as a result of earlier capital accumulation, have invested outside the tourist sector or outside Kenya or have been

able to expand through access to sources of finance outside Kenya.<sup>(2)</sup>

What is significant is that, unlike earlier British firms when

"most parts of the industry offer(ed) considerable attractions to men with limited capital resources: they offer economic independence in a business which provides a means of livelihood in an activity of human interest, and which appears to require little technical skill to conduct it" (3)

such opportunities exist only at the level of small indigenous hotels in Kenya. The small indigenous hotel and international hotel sectors are sharply differentiated.

Type 2 hotels are group enterprises, started, not as an initial part of the process of capital accumulation, but rather purchased by people who have accumulated capital by access to bureaucratic employment (posts rapidly Kenyanized after Independence) hence also capital accumulated in other sectors such as agriculture and trading. These hotel enterprises, from their inception, involved large amounts of foreign and state finance.

Type 3 hotels are those enterprises which directly involve the state: that includes the units, formerly part of an enterprise built up from a small family firm and taken over by the state and the Tourism Training College Hotel.

Type 4 hotels are those which form part of a multinational conglomerate based outside Kenya: in fact this includes only two hotels, the Hilton and the Intercontinental in 1979.

A fifth mixed category which I used to classify my interviews included single hotel holdings in private hands, a hotel owned by a financial conglomerate<sup>(4)</sup> and a hotel group about which it was difficult to find information. This categorization proved useful

because the approaches to recruitment and training differed, thus affecting the types of opportunities offered, as well as the approach to Kenyanization.

The geographical situation of the hotels is important for several reasons. Firstly, the existence of hotels in a particular area affords opportunities to enter the industry, to be trained and to move to other areas, either through the hotel group or by applying to other hotels. Tourist hotels are frequently situated in areas where there is little opportunity for work outside agriculture.<sup>(5)</sup> Secondly, the area and type of tourism affects the nature of the interaction between guests and hotel workers, hence language requirements differ. Thirdly, the existing language mix, as well as patterns of educational facilities and attainments in the area, afford different patterns of language use.<sup>(6)</sup> Both type of enterprise and geographical area are shaped by historical factors outlined in chapter 4; for example "mass" tourism so-called, is strictly speaking beach tourism which grew in the 1960s, although the first beach hotels were small family enterprises catering for administrators etc.

The type of tourism and geographical area dictates the length of stay of tourists: very short stays in gameparks (one or two nights), several weeks at the beach. I undertook interviews in Nairobi, Mombasa (town), Mombasa Beach, Malindi, Lamu and Kisumu. Both Nairobi and Kisumu hotels are also characterized by short stay and business tourism.

Although Lamu is an offshore island its tourism is characterized by appeal on one hand to more educated tourists, who are interested in contact with a completely different culture, in an environment



which even architecturally expresses this difference<sup>(7)</sup> and on the other hand to "hippy" tourists. Stays in Lamu tend to be shorter: the volume of tourists is low and the consequent impact on the community is not to be compared with, for example, Malindi. Malindi's tourism is beach tourism: the hotels are on the beach, a large number of tourists come to Malindi for two-week stays, the worker-tourist interaction is great, but proximity to the village (with a population of about 11,000) means that tourism's impact on the local community is also great. It differs from Mombasa beach tourism in that prima facie this latter has little impact on an existing community. However the Mombasa beach hotels have altered the access of local fishermen to the sea, and have taken valuable agricultural land from the coastal strip.<sup>(8)</sup>

The size of each hotel unit also has a certain impact on the nature of worker/tourist interaction, and worker/worker interaction. Hotels are organized in departments which correspond to their functions in the provision of food and services, dealing with inquiries, and the general running and maintenance of the hotel. Each department has an internal hierarchy of manager and/or supervisors and staff.

## 2. Tour Operations

My information about tour operations is not adequately detailed to give a breakdown according to the foreign or Kenyan-financed nature of the enterprise. The following general points may, however, be noted. The success of tour operations is critically dependent on overseas links. A large number of tourists nonetheless, buy short trips

after they arrive in Kenya, rather than buying a complete holiday and safari from their country of origin: this is a recent development (i.e. the last 10 to 15 years). These short trips are frequently sold from tour operations' representatives' desks in beach hotels' lobbies, or touted by tour leaders.

Tour operations' offices at the coast are most often small agencies of Nairobi firms. This reflects the point of entry of tourists to Kenya, but one which is likely to change since the opening of Port Reitz international airport in Mombasa. Since 1977 the airlines package tours enter Mombasa directly. Coast representatives could therefore become more important and more employment opportunities likely to occur. Throughout the 1960s, however, international tourists arrived in Nairobi and were frequently driven to Mombasa, or taken from Nairobi on their tours of the Game Parks.

I did note that small tour operations which opened recently, that is between 1972-77, appeared to maintain only a small amount, if any, capital stock in the form of vehicles, but rather sub-contracted group tours to other large established tours operations (pers. comm. Nairobi, 20.11.78). In addition I did hear of one enterprise which established itself purely as a pool of drivers and vehicles, presumably in response to this trend. More opportunities to Black Kenyans may ensue.

Another trend which was merely hinted at was the integration of hotel groups with tours operations.

### 3. Other

The Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife (MTW) has its main offices in Nairobi providing opportunities in clerical and administrative jobs.

It has a small office in Mombasa (4 employees). I undertook interviews in other offices to see whether different attitudes emerged in occupations not directly related to the tourist industry, i.e. tourist contact.

### III Attitudes to Languages in Tourism

Three general points may be made about language requirements in the tourism industry.

The first is that at the management level, although I expected to find a consensus of views on language requirements according to the experience of working in either the hotel or the tour operations sectors, this did not emerge. Thus I was told by one interviewee in the hotels sector that a variety of language competence was

"not as strong a requirement as in a tourist agency handling incoming tourists"

Nairobi, 23.11.78, No. 33,

but was told by an interviewee in tours operations that

"hoteliers are closer to tourists and therefore have to speak more languages"

Nairobi, 1.11.78, No. 8.

The second general point (from the interviews) is that Kenyan tourism emerges as a predominantly English speaking industry with no question that both the tourist industry and the tourists rely on English as a lingua franca. Yet the reduction of nationality to colour, that I suggested in chapter 2, has proved useful in illuminating the hegemony Europeans consider they possess on English use, over and against the Black host population: recognized too by White Kenyan managers. This compares with settler hegemony over Swahili which I commented upon in chapter 3 above (p. 126).



This has important ramifications since if, as appears to be the general trend, the industry adopts a policy of promoting a specific language, that is English, then, as in the case of Swahili at the level of a national language policy, this will not solve the problems experienced, and expressed as language problems. Language focuses attention as a problem where perhaps other factors may be more important.

The third point is about tourists' expectations of finding someone who will speak their mother tongue running a hotel. This raises the question of whether, apart from tourists using Hilton's "little Americas",<sup>(9)</sup> intra-European tourism to Italy<sup>or</sup> Greece, is or was adversely affected by waiters not speaking Italian or Greek.<sup>(10)</sup> Indeed, perhaps arguably, finding people who do not speak one's language on the one hand partially creates the exotic and on the other hand means that romantic stereotypes are less easily challenged.<sup>(11)</sup>

The two latter points are contingent on questions of whether speech differences are a "barrier to communication" and "obstacle to national progress" raised in chapter 1 above, which are assumed in the language planning literature.

These interviews focus on spoken language only.

## 1. Management

### i) General

Of the 208 interviews, eighty were in the management sector of the industry. Forty four interviews were in the hotels sector, and thirty one interviews were in tour operations; *two* interviews were with African Tours and Hotels management,<sup>(12)</sup> one interview was with a consultant, one with a member of the Kenya Association of

of Hotelkeepers and Caterers and one with a member of the Mombasa and Coast Tourist Association. (13)

As pointed out above (chapter 2), the interviews were exploratory and it is not therefore possible to quantify the results. In this section I have selected information relating to managers' perceptions of language requirements in the tourist sector. I also give responses to questions on training and recruitment since these are significant both for identifying how perceptions of opportunities are shaped, whilst providing interesting comparisons with responses concerning language needs.

a) Hotels

Managers in hotels included those who have a degree of control over several employees, or over decisions affecting a hotel unit, or over decisions affecting a whole group. It includes assistant managers of hotels and of departments within hotels. It does not include personnel whose function was primarily administrative such as those working in some capacities at the Government's hotel training college. These will be discussed below together with interviews in the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife.

Managers' perceptions of language use in tourism related predominantly to the use of English as a lingua franca, both amongst tourism workers and amongst visitors to Kenya. For example I was told

"the average tourist has reasonable proficiency in English"

Nairobi, 30.4.79, No. 82a.

However I was also given the following views on other nationalities'

attitudes to languages, for example, that once a group (Italians) knew a person in a hotel spoke their language they would refuse to speak English, that one group (French)

"will not speak English even if they know it"

Mombasa Beach, 7.6.79. No. 130.

I was also informed

"tourists don't expect people to speak their language"

Nairobi, 23.11.78. No. 33

On the other hand I was informed that some groups

"are getting fed up with being addressed in German"

Nairobi, 2.5.79. No. 84

that

"the English are insulted by being spoken to in German, as are the French"

but that

"if Germans are spoken to in English they will answer in German"

Coast, 19.4.79. No. 74

and that

"some Germans don't know English"

Malindi, 19.5.79. No. 105

but they

"learn Swahili very quickly" (14)

Malindi, 19.5.79. No. 105.

Responses relating to tourists' language competence can be explained by the fact that since tourism is essentially a service industry, those working in and controlling it are sensitive to tourist needs. These are partly perceived in terms of the sorts of



complaints received. I questioned managers on the sorts of problems and types of complaints: one said there were

"confusions over job differentiation with people asking gardeners to book a table for two"

Mombasa Beach, 7.6.79. No. 130.

Since reliance on English as a lingua franca predominated, I was informed that language problems are related to particular groups who do not speak English (Nairobi, 9.11.78, 15), for example

"there are no problems of communication apart from with Italians"

Malindi, 19.5.79. No. 107.

although

"with Italian groups there's very little communication with the driver or anyone, generally they can make themselves understood"

Malindi, 23.5.79. No. 117.

One manager told me

"all problems are problems of communication"

Nairobi, 28.2.79. No. 67. (15)

However, others told me there are no language problems. One manager volunteered the opinion that

"one of the major issues is the language problem, but not so much on the coast, because there are many return visitors and many hotel staff go to Germany"

Malindi, 22.5.79. No. 115.

Some of the complaints received were mistakes on the part of tourists

"often the guests make a mistake"

Kisumu, 10.7.79. No. 203.

These were not complaints about lack of use of the discrete language unit English, but about type of use: thus one respondent told me:

"there are a fair amount of complaints of communication, mainly misunderstandings of use of English; clients complain about use but they use language in a way staff are not used to"

Mombasa Beach, 10.5.79. No. 88.

This manager noted the difference of syntax, characterized as "germanic", which created the problem. In tourism, such regional identifying indices predominate over status or occupation.

Accent was identified as a problem, and the following comments are worth noting

"the drivers' English is very good although people (clients) say they have difficulty with the accents"

Nairobi, tours, 16.11.78. No. 18

"even if they (a Chinese group) speak English people (tourism workers) cannot understand the accent"

Nairobi, tours, 20.11.78. No. 26

"at Samburu their English accent is not as good as the English of the Maasai, it is easier for clients to understand Maasai English rather than Kikuyu who have difficult English pronunciation"

Mombasa Beach, 10.5.79. No. 89

"the locals do not understand American English as well as European English"

Malindi, 22.5.79. No. 115

at Utalii

"in three years one (Norwegian) client complained that one of the students could not understand English: the student couldn't understand the client"

Nairobi, 15.6.79. No. 191

"the students are not exposed to different accents of English"

Nairobi, 23.6.79. No. 195.

English, then, is widely relied on throughout the Kenyan tourist sector. Yet any policy resolution concerning prolonged training in a specific language may not necessarily entail immediate interpretation and translation of the wide variety of accents. Nor would universal perfect competence in all languages resolve the problem that

"some people are not happy unless they always complain"

Mombasa Beach, 19.4.79. No. 74

Interviews with older members <sup>(16)</sup> of the management sector, regarding staffing, however, show how language requirements have changed

"in the old days people came to apply for jobs in Swahili; now they ask for a job in English: the situation has just been changing over the last four years"

Mombasa Beach, 10.5.79. No. 89.

The change was seen by one informant to be due to the changing educational attainment of employees taking place in the last eight years (Malindi 23.5.79, 120). Such a change has been reinforced through recruitment as I shall indicate below. However this also means that there is a distinctly segregated labour force in some of the older hotels, particularly at the coast. One respondent in Malindi informed me that approximately ten per cent of his staff spoke Swahili and their mother-tongue, with no English. The older staff are protected by the union and cannot be sacked.<sup>(17)</sup> With



the advent of the hotel training college, whose educational entrance requirement is Form 4, the general educational standard has improved because hotels in particular subsequently request Form 4. This means that knowledge of English and of Swahili is presumed through the attainment of the East African Certificate of Education. As one informant said

"staff in hotels and lodges are taken on if they speak English only - not because of the English requirement but because of the educational requirement"

Nairobi, 9.11.78. No. 16a.

This particular change has occurred "within the last five years" (since 19~~47~~), according to one respondent (18.5.79, Malindi, 101). It does mean that there is now no longer any requirement for expatriate managers to speak Swahili. Two of my interviewees came to Kenya's hotel sector during the 1950s. They were required to do courses in Swahili as all business was conducted in Swahili. I was informed that

"junior (Kenyan) staff were not taught English at all and this was done on purpose to keep people out of positions"

Nairobi, 29.11.78. No. 41.

Hotel menus were written in English and Swahili, but orders were taken according to numbers, although in one Nairobi hotel orders were taken in English by an expatriate maitre d'hotel. All training during this period (1950s and early 1960s) was done in the hotel (until 1969).

In Malindi

"hardly any of the local staff spoke English at all: but from 1968 onwards, with the period of mass tourism, school-leavers began to be employed"

Malindi, 18.5.79. No. 99.

After Independence, then, the use of English became more widespread. More recently, however, there have been moves to reintegrate Swahili by requesting that menus be displayed in English and Swahili. (18)

If, however, staff are segregated according to whether or not they speak English, then a further differentiation obtains according to the degree of experience. In one hotel for example I was informed that there were about a dozen employees who had been working for thirty years and did not speak English. (19) They do, on the other hand

"know 'tourist English': 'good morning'  
'can I help you?' 'What would you like  
to eat?' - they understand, but speaking  
is a problem apart from the same old  
phrases"

Mombasa Beach, 10.5.79. No. 89

or

"the older ones may not be able to  
write a language, but they may have  
picked up conversational language:  
they pick up more German than English"

Malindi, 18.5.79. No. 101

"staff don't know the language (German)  
but they know a few words for breakfast  
and specific contexts"

Malindi, 21.5.79. No. 108.

Sometimes

"the more specific requests are often  
misunderstood, like 'I want a lightly  
boiled egg'".

Malindi, 19.5.79. No. 105. (20)

Where such problems occurred, they were resolved by referral:

"all languages are covered by top  
management"

Mombasa Beach, 11.5.79. No. 94

"complaints go to tour guides for the first week, and in the second week complaints go to the Deputy Manager as people realize that he speaks German"

Malindi, 21.5.79. No. 108.

In the longer run language courses are either encouraged

"we do encourage people to do evening courses, generally old people"

Mombasa Beach, 11.5.79. No. 94

or have been provided

"classes were started for the waiters (in English) but the teacher wanted them to write things down: writing is a waste of time: people will pick up the basics"

Malindi, 19.5.79. No. 105.

or are provided. I attended a German lesson provided twice-weekly for department heads in a Malindi hotel.<sup>(21)</sup>

Two points emerge from this: the first is the frequency with which my respondents in hotels referred to reliance on tour leaders: and the second relates to differences between the hotels and tours sectors.

I shall give more indications on the role of tour leaders and their place in Kenyan tourism below. Here I shall just note that tour leaders were frequently evoked by management as problem-solvers, language brokers or intermediaries, (go-betweens). Resolutions of problems by tour leaders in hotels may be explained by the responsibility given to tour leaders for the large number of package tours which come to Kenya. Hotel managers' references to the role of tour leaders were as follows

"tour leaders and tour representatives are good here; they insist on a briefing: what not to do (nudism is prohibited), they talk about the company, the hotel,



about tours, entertainments, about Kenya".

However

"some companies are better than others in terms of how tour leaders relate"

Mombasa Beach, 7.6.79. No. 130

"correspondence is mainly in English, otherwise we check correspondence in German with the tour leaders; there is no written work in Swahili, but it is used around head office with the staff"

Malindi, 22.5.79. No. 115

"there are no complaints regarding language: tour groups have a tour leader and many people pick up languages"

Nairobi, 15.11.78. No. 17.

If English is a lingua franca and if it is only within the last five years firstly that formal educational qualifications have been a basis for recruitment in hotels and secondly very little formal provision of other language teaching occurs, informal learning is widespread. The incentives are various: the possibility of a job, the possibility of foreign travel:

"people pick up languages very easily; they get too informal" (22)

Malindi, 21.5.79. No. 112.

"people learn very quickly by experience and interaction"

Mombasa Beach, 6.6.79. No. 128.

In response to the question of whether Swahili was a formal requirement I was informed by one interviewee:

"the basis for management staff is Swahili; senior management and staff have been changing to English over the past five years"

Nairobi, 2.11.78. No. 9.

Mainly my interviewees responded that Swahili was not a requirement, for example, because:

"here it is a lingua franca and people learn it at school"

Nairobi, 29.11.78. No. 41.

or

"most Kenyans speak a tribal language, Kiswahili, and English"

Nairobi, 23.11.78. No. 33.

But differences between different areas were also noted

"in Nairobi a person must be able to speak English, Swahili is not a prerequisite"

Lamu, 18.8.79. No. 170

"waiters in Nairobi have less of a range of languages" (than at the coast)

Malindi, 21.5.79. No. 112.

But not all managers speak Swahili; one

"speaks German, English, a little French, some Swahili, which I picked up"

Beach, 11.5.79. No. 94.

Whether non-Kenyan managers speak Swahili or not depends partly on when they went to Kenya (p.254) and therefore their age, but also partly on the attitude of the individual manager:

"I felt the necessity to know the language and worked in the kitchens"

Nairobi, 28.2.79. No. 67.

It is perceived that

"If you do (speak Swahili) it is appreciated that you have taken the trouble"

Nairobi, 29.11.78. No. 41.

With respect to requirements of other non-Kenyan languages the most predominant requirement expressed was for German or French competence. (23) Courses in these languages have been provided mainly through the hotel and tourism training college, which had its first intake in 1975, or through Kenya Polytechnic's hotel management course since 1969, and these were also attended by non-Kenyan Africans. Partly because of reliance on English, partly because of the number of German or French speakers in this sector, the Black management graduates do not appear to have wide opportunities to practice what they have learnt:

"I learnt some German and French, at x hotel I did not use much German and French so I forgot"

Malindi, 18.5.79. No. 101

or

"I did both French and German to begin with but it didn't work - too confusing - we were given an option after the second year; either French or German"

Nairobi, 23.6.79. No. 195.

The lack of practice was also commented on by a Nairobi manager, (7.12.78. 48).

Frequently courses have been accompanied by periods of practical "in-service" training in Europe and several of the interviewees had been able to benefit from these.

I noted some conflict between the usefulness of courses and the importance of experience. One informant commented on his H.N.D. training

"it was a useless qualification"

Nairobi, 28.2.79. No. 67.



A frequent complaint about early Utalii College graduates was that

"managers often thought they were better than others; now there is no problem"

Nairobi, 15.11.78. No. 17.

Another informant told me that managers are sometimes prejudiced against graduates (Mombasa, 10.5.79). One commented that he does sometimes recruit from amongst the most educated but that

"people with more education get frustrated"

Mombasa Beach, 6.6.79. No. 128.

In effect, then, tourist industrialists pushed for government provision of training facilities, but have expressed dissatisfaction with the trained, even though, as a foreign tourist consultant pointed out

"Kenya has tremendous emphasis on training: far more than other countries"

Nairobi, 24.6.79. No. 200.

As Peter Marris and Anthony Somerset point out

"success in business is not likely to be closely and continuously associated with education or vocational training". (24)

The major issue appears to be one of control: as those who are frustrated comment

"I do not see why Africans cannot manage hotels". (25)

In summary, while English is relied upon as a lingua franca, the various European nationals prefer to speak their respective languages. For some managers problems arise where tourists do not speak English, however in some cases breakdown in communication occurred over the type of English. The advent of mass tourism and

spread of education with increased job opportunities in tourism led to the employment of school-leavers. Both English and Swahili competences are assumed through the educational attainments but differentiation in the workforce ensued according to educational levels and language competences. Swahili competence of non-Kenyan managers themselves depends upon whether they came to Kenya before the period of mass tourism in the 1960s (age), or on individual willingness to learn the Swahili language. Courses in German and French have been provided. Black Kenyan interviewees were sceptical of the use of the courses; they had little opportunity to practice. This reflected some of the ambivalences of White management about the courses provided by the Hotel Training College.

b) Tour operations

I elicited less information from managers in tours operations. In particular, problems of communication in tours operations tend to be handled by the driver guides. Also the tour groups are frequently accompanied by tour leaders who handle problems. A premium is placed on experience. As we shall see below many problems in the tour operations sector, relate to the high degree of competition between Kenyan and non-Kenyan tour guides.

The following responses characterize opinions on drivers:

"a long period is needed to be a good driver; the driver becomes the mini tour manager, responsible for 30,000/- and for the clients and to overcome language problems"

Mombasa Beach, 6.6.79. No. 128

"drivers are the strongest selling point; office personnel are invisible ... we look for PSV licence, good references and experience" (26)

Nairobi, 16.11.79. No. 181.

In the tours sector rather more frequently than in hotels, the informal learning by driver-guides of various languages was referred to. Thus:

"many groups from Finland speak only Finnish; drivers pick up the language over 3 years"

Nairobi, 1.11.78. No. 8

"there is French tourism at the coast, the Scandinavians travel around and more recently Italians have come; languages are picked up very fast: fluent but not formal, key words and phrases for set situations"

Nairobi, 2.11.78. No. 11

"drivers are generally recruited and then pick up Italian in about a year because they do a lot of safaris"

Nairobi, 2.11.78. No. 12.

With regard to Swahili, for example,

"a Japanese group brings a Japanese tour leader who translates from English: very little Swahili is spoken"

Nairobi, 1.11.78. No. 8.

It is assumed with respect to Kenyan employees:

"people all speak Swahili"

Mombasa Beach, 19.4.79. No. 70.

In tours operations, marketing is clearly controlled by non-Kenyans; as expressed by one manager:



"they're mainly expatriates (in Malindi):  
we like to keep it that way: and the  
local people are happy with it"

Malindi, 21.5.79. No. 110.

ii) Recruitment

Recruitment procedures are hierarchically differentiated with the upper echelons recruited centrally in Nairobi, or Malindi and other scales recruited at specific locations (except of course where my interviewees were members of a single unit holding). Central recruitment procedures generally involve a panel of management staff. The initial written application is considered important. Although some respondents did inform me that they advertised in the newspapers, during my period of field research I saw very few advertisements for posts in the English language press, but did notice a considerable amount of mobility. Hotel groups in particular like to move their management personnel about to different units yearly. In addition, now that enterprises are committed to employing Utalii graduates, I assume that many advertisements for posts in management are directed straight to the College.

On the other hand I was frequently informed that inquiries for jobs went straight to a particular enterprise or that employees informed their relatives and friends about posts becoming vacant and indeed some of my interviewees had been advised to apply by relatives (more particularly at lower levels as I shall indicate below). Following are specific statements on recruitment in hotels and tours operations.

a) Hotels

Comments on recruitment follow the typology mentioned above. Of twenty four interviews conducted in the two hotel groups, twelve interviewees spoke about recruitment. Recruitment is centralized in both groups

"personnel does recruitment and each department head advises what they want ... most of the staff are from Western Kenya, and Nairobi: people give news of a job and their 'brothers' come down"

Mombasa Beach, 11.5.79. No. 94.

But recruitment procedures have changed. One group, for example, used to have a policy of family recruitment

"family recruitment is no longer practical - now we recruit either from Utalii or from the open market ... part of the policy is to expect people to move up".

Nairobi, 12.11.79. No. 187.

There is a lot of transferring

"internal transfers from one department to another: from stewarding to waiter takes an average of one year but some do it in six months: transfers between units are only at management level - very few junior staff are moved"

Nairobi, 12.11.79. No. 187.

Much emphasis is placed on the written application in English, and now, on certificates

"for people with no experience, school-leavers, they are all Form 4 with some exceptions, but only in the last three years: recruitment for specialized jobs, we recruit (those) with experience and on recommendation"

Nairobi, 12.11.79. No. 187.

But a management employee in a coast hotel of the group said they

"encourage junior staff to see other units; the young especially look forward to a shift. The staff come from all over the country"

Malindi, 19.5.79. No. 107.

Recommendations from former employers are important and applicants are security vetted.

These older hotel groups have changed their recruitment procedures since the opening of Utalii College. One interviewee said

"hotelkeepers looked askance at the College when it started: they preferred self-training"

Nairobi, 30.10.78. No. 7.

However the College has clearly had an impact on recruitment procedures since

"older housekeeping staff don't have English: since about two years ago they have been strictly holding to the qualification (CPE, EACE) because Utalii demands EACE; it is also a way of changing old staff for new and with competition it is good to get the best"

Malindi, 18.5.79. No. 115.

Following Utalii requirements is important since the College provides refresher courses for long-term staff who find themselves disqualified either by age or by academic qualifications. Selection procedures for front office staff in this group included appraisal of

"personality, appearance and way of expression in primary selection: and secondary selection: taking dictation (in English) giving general words (vocabulary test), also I look at handwriting and calculations"

Lamu, 21.7.79. No. 131.



I undertook five interviews in Type 2 hotels: two in Nairobi and three at Mombasa beach. Interviews for junior staff at one group take place in English with no language test. The tourism training College is used for refresher courses. In the other hotel group, senior staff are recruited in Nairobi

"for waiters, German is required, but it is not a precondition for employment: junior staff learn fast"

Mombasa Beach, 7.6.79. No. 120.

Of six interviews in state hotels (type 3) three interviewees mentioned recruitment. One respondent was a unit manager at a recently opened hotel which had recruited through the labour exchange. In addition the manager of this new unit, in an area not noted for international tourism, had been directly approached by applicants: some employees had come from other units of the group

"the initial recruitment was done on the basis of experience"

Kisumu, 10.7.79. No. 203.

At the Head Office (Nairobi) of this group, managerial staff, and skilled personnel such as receptionists and cooks are recruited: about 5% of the 1716 employees. (27) They now insist on Utalii graduates, who have been trained abroad, for management, with written tests. For receptionists, an interview panel does a thirty minute interview and the interviewers look at the certificates. Of the eighteen hotel units there are twelve European managers

"in five years' time we may not have Europeans except that at the Coast people tend to demand their own nationality"

Nairobi, 2.7.79. No. 201.

Recruitment to Utalii College follows strict and formal procedures for which the precedent was a management training course originally established at the Kenya Polytechnic from 1969. (28) I was informed that there were 1,000 applicants for thirty places on the first Kenya Polytechnic Management Course. (29) Recruitment procedures

"lasted one day from eight till five, with two hours for lunch: I did Maths, English, IQ tests, orals, was asked general questions on world affairs with the emphasis on tourism, tests in spoken English, and in the evening had to debate a motion, related to a situation in a hotel"

Nairobi, 23.6.79. No. 195.

Comments from some of my informants showed that employment in tourism was, ten years ago, seen to be of low status

"in 1971 tourism was not so popular - people said 'what are you going to do at Kenya Poly?'"

Malindi, 18.5.79.

"Ten years ago there was more possibility of work so that school certificate holders would not go to hotels first but would go and look for jobs elsewhere: now the jobs are scarcer"

Nairobi, 12.11.79. No. 187.

What did emerge was a change of attitude concerning the status of tourism over the past ten years: partly in response to mass tourism, partly as a response to pressures within the industry to promote a "professional" approach, and partly relating to pressures to Africanize and the opportunities for promotion and capital accumulation which gradually opened to Black Kenyans. For example in an interview reported in the Sunday Nation, 1966, with a member of the Block family, the following interchange took place

"How long do you think it will be before you have an African manager really looking after one of your hotels?"

'Well, I can't see one in the foreseeable future. There is nobody we have in our organization with the training to manage a large hotel'". (30)

With respect to working in different hotels as I have typified them, one respondent said:

"Block is a Kenyan company and therefore there is faster Kenyanization; the Hilton and the Intercontinental have eight to ten expatriates in each hotel, although the junior managers and heads of departments will be African"

Nairobi, 2.11.79. No. 10.

One respondent in the management sector had moved from one to the other of the "settler" enterprises and felt that one of them was

"an old company, well established: one's contribution was less felt".

At his present post he had set up the department (personnel) himself

"and the company is being built up and there are more opportunities for contributing to improvements"

Lamu, 21.7.79. No. 132.

Another had worked for a single hotel unit as waiter and trainee cook for two years, had been sent to Germany. After three years in a Type 1 group, he had become an Assistant Manager in Malindi, after working in Lesotho and the Seychelles. His mobility was, he said, due to

"hard work and luck"

Malindi, 10.5.79. No. 107.



But also his experience in Europe had equipped him with a European language at a time when that particular language was considered important.<sup>(31)</sup> Another had moved from a multinational to a settler enterprise because he

"got a better job with x; promotion in the Intercontinental would have taken too long"

Nairobi, 12.11.79. No. 187.

Two hotels, part of multinational chains are situated in Nairobi. One, the Hilton, has its own Career Development Institute in Montreal. My informant told me Hilton is

"a major trainer in the world, so we lose a lot of our trainees" and "among the forerunners of house training in audio-visual techniques"

Nairobi, 23.11.78. No. 33.

I have no information on recruitment procedures in these hotels.

Finally, of the other hotels where I interviewed one was a small single unit where the manager recruited locally. A second was a hotel group where the managing director informed me that

"dishwashers from the bush are best, because they don't think they will become managers"

Mombasa Beach, 6.6.79. No. 128.

Comments cited above from the recently graduated Utalii managers show that these employees do not consider their chances of promotion are as open as in any Kenya-based hotel company.

At the time of the field research there were no apparent differences of interest expressed to me between Kenyan hotel managers and expatriate managers; although, as I commented above, some frustrations have been voiced in the press.

I spoke to no Black hotel owners.

b) Tour operations

As mentioned above my data on the structure of tours operations does not provide as complete a picture as the hotel sector. Of thirty four interviews, twelve were in different offices of three companies. I elicited the following comments on recruitment and training

"English is required for drivers; there's no specific standard, the interview, is in English; booking and everything is in English, there's no written test (for the tours department) but the interview is conducted in English, though the standard of written English is not really high enough"

Nairobi, 1.11.78. No. 8.

In the Mombasa office of the same company applicants were given a written test, and "personal presentation" was important. The coast offices deal most directly with tourists and a variety of language needs obtain. Staff are sent on German courses and training schemes are arranged with European tour companies to train employees abroad. The manager of the Malindi office had come to the private sector from the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife: when he has to recruit drivers he takes

"those who speak German: I look for experience; most do not have CPE but have Standard 7; drivers get basic training in Nairobi"

Malindi, 21.5.79. No. 112.

In another large company

"we don't recruit because of language other than English - very few speak others ... we look for experience"

Nairobi, 20.11.78. No. 26.

One executive manager commented on language:

"driver-guides must be English-speaking: their applications are in English and they're interviewed in English: perhaps one or two speak Italian or French because they come from different parts of Africa ... but if (they) he was clever enough to speak two languages he'd be in a better job"

Nairobi, 20.11.78. No. 24.

One manager had recruited a French-speaking driver who had worked for the French Embassy for eleven years (Nairobi, 16.11.78. No. 18).

The manager of a large tour company dealing with the German market principally (70% of their trade was German at the time of the interviewing) said that they gave written tests in English at the interview. He would not let me see the test

"it is company policy not to give the tests away"

Nairobi, 27.11.78. No. 36

but he said the tests were changed frequently. This was for staff recruited in Nairobi only. (32)

In another company

'most drivers have more than six years' experience but education is irrelevant as long as people (tourists) are happy with them'

Mombasa, 11.5.79. No. 91

and

'most of the drivers are from the coast and they don't drink; a couple are from Ruanda and speak fluent French; a couple have been to Germany; one had been there for three years as a lorry driver'

Nairobi, 16.11.78. No. 20.



One company did send driver guides to Utalii to do language courses but since they were short (three months) they were not considered very successful (1.11.78. Nairobi, 8). With respect to Swahili

'most of the Africans are brought up speaking it'

Nairobi, 9.11.78. No. 16.

My general impression was that although formal procedures did exist, much recruitment took place on an informal basis with management always "on the look out" for good workers and ready to invite them to change companies.

Finally I asked some questions about incentives to learn more languages in both hotels and tour operations. One hotel company

"once had a policy to give a premium for those who spoke a second (European) language"

Nairobi, 7.12.78. No. 48.

Subsequently there were French classes for staff where the staff paid the fee and after they had taken and passed the examination the company reimbursed them. The Personnel Manager of the Hilton said that if a financial incentive were given for language courses taken then "people (workers) would go for the money"; however French courses have been arranged at the Hilton

"to begin with the response was very enthusiastic so the numbers had to be cut according to needs; that is, all non-guest-contact people were cut: the group of 20 dwindled to ten after six months, now, after two years, four continue" (33)

Nairobi, 27.11.78. No. 34.

Another manager commented

'we tried to increment for language,  
but people bragged about their  
proficiency'

Nairobi, 2.7.79. No. 201.

The general attitude of management with regard to viewing additional language competence as a skill worthy of remuneration is typified by the following comments

"there is no increment in pay for  
language ability - basically the one  
advantage is an extra qualification  
in the labour market"

Malindi, 21.5.79. No. 113

"there's no premium for languages:  
language learning is encouraged;  
promotion prospects are enhanced"

Nairobi, 30.4.79. No. 82a.

In summary, then, managers, since the rise of mass tourism, see language competence as important and have pushed the state into the provision of training, but appear sceptical about the language courses (indeed any courses) provided. They are not prepared to remunerate for language skills but see enhancements of employment and promotion opportunities as the major benefit. There appears a considerable consensus of views on language across race and age differentials. A Kenya Institute of Management, recently established in juxtaposition to the proprietors' Kenya Association of Hotelkeepers and Caterers, crystallizing Black management's interests, might manifest different views on the question of language but has not done so yet.

## 2. Workers

There seems a considerable overlap between the type and range of

work handled by the upper echelons of the 'workers' and, for example, assistant managers in departments of hotels or small tours operations offices. This related partly to the number of workers controlled. It seemed clear, however, from the types of career patterns some of my respondents followed, that such variables as the size of the establishment, whether the unit was single or part of a group, as well as the range of experience each worker had accrued, were important in determining promotion prospects. For the purposes of this chapter it is sufficient to note that higher wages and higher status are acquired with management job descriptions.

There are several grades of workers. The Memorandum of agreement between the Domestic and Hotelworkers' Union and the Kenya Association of Hotelkeepers' and Caterers (1978) gives eight grades for the range of staff employed and pay schedules. Pay is regulated also according to the geographical location of the hotel work under three divisions: 1. Nairobi and Mombasa, 2. listed provincial towns, including Malindi, and Kisumu, and 3. other areas. Although I do not have details of similar agreements between the unions which cover tour operations' staff and management, drivers are paid extra (per diem) for time spent away from their place of residence (work).

My interviews do not cover the entire range of workers so I have distinguished between only supervisors and workers and between hotels and tour operations, with some comments on age differentials and differences in geographical location. The situation of the seven women interviewed perhaps deserves comment in the light of my observation above. I noted that women have very few jobs in the tourism industry



even in those sectors traditionally classified "women's work" in the industrialized nations: in domestic and housekeeping. Of my seven respondents, however, one was in charge of housekeeping and the other five, particularly two, who were front office staff in a large tour operations office, were recruited on the basis of appearance: a combination of "pretty/sex object", with the functional role of "caring".

A total of sixty six workers were interviewed in tours operations and hotels. Their age distribution was: fourteen over forty, twenty one in their thirties, and thirty one up to twenty nine years. The large number of young workers may be representative of the rapid expansion of tourism in the 1970s, and higher educational attainments required. Fourteen worked in the tours operations sector and fifty two worked in hotels. Three were White, sixty three were Black.

i) Tour operations

My sample of workers in tours operations drew attention to cut-throat competition at the coast which obtains in this area. The general level of education for tour guides is low relative to the requirements of the tourist hotels. This is partly explained by the fact that many adolescents are initiated into guiding whilst still at school, particularly at the coast. Their competence relates to their knowledge of a particular area, and the speed with which they acquire a working knowledge of the languages of tourists. On the other hand many companies have been established to cater for tourists and offer a variety of opportunities, some not requiring many formal qualifications.

Of the fourteen interviewees two were non-Kenyans, representatives of European tour companies and one was a tour representative with the Mombasa office of a large tours operations enterprise. The comments of the latter are worth noting

"the coast is a very difficult market to operate in, there's cut-throat competition. The biggest problem is tour leaders demand exorbitant commissions and because there are so many people the tour leaders can pick and choose: people compensate for the price commission for tour leaders so prices go up"

Mombasa, 20.4.79. No. 81.

When asked whether he had problems of communication another respondent replied that he had problems from

"competition with foreign recruited tour leaders who don't speak Swahili: White tour leaders are given transport, locals are not even offered transport, when I asked I was told 'it's too expensive'"

Mombasa, 11.5.79. No. 95.

In another company the same tour leader said

"other tour leaders (White) were allowed to drink in the hotel, and dance in the hotel, I was not".

Another Black tours representative commented with respect to a particular company

"the problem was management's discrimination: we had no house allowance, low salary, no transport - only when we went out on safari"

Mombasa, 10.5.79. No. 87.

The first interviewee commented, the companies are

"unfair to locals, the foreign tour leaders are a drain on foreign exchange and Africans aren't helped ... there's no tour leaders' association locally which could instigate Africanization and/or screen people ... the companies could set up qualifications for tour leaders, requiring a knowledge of the local area and language knowledge, particularly Swahili"

Mombasa, 20.4.79. No. 81.

One of my informants was a Kenyan woman who had grown up in Sweden and worked as a tours representative for a large Swedish travel agents. (34)

Her comments on some cultural aspects of tourism are of interest with respect to chapter 4 above.

"I notice tour drivers aping themselves for Germans on the 'Bush tour'; people (tourists) are told to buy sweets by the drivers and people throw them out of the window ... drivers try to show them the worst". (35)

Mombasa, 19.4.79. No. 72.

Such a context contributes to what a Kenyan Professor of Sociology has called

"the delayed development of a separatist Black consciousness". (36)

The average age of my tours informants was 29.4 years. The oldest informant was a driver with many years' experience and standard 8 education. The youngest informants were both nineteen, working in Lamu: one, with Form 4 education, worked in the tours office, keeping records, and dealing with tourists. The other had never been to school but did tours around Lamu in English and claimed some competence in Italian (37) and German



"I understand and speak a few words, for example I take people to shops - People always ask the same questions: How old? (are the houses), about the vidaka (designs on houses), why are the houses black?"

Lamu, 31.7.79. No. 140.

As with the management respondents, the tours workers frequently mentioned the predominance of English as a lingua franca and problems deriving from groups who did not speak English. This included comments on nationalities

"the French demand French-speaking guides"

Nairobi, 22.11.78. No. 5

and their impact on the industry

"the private sector are using French: trying to get French-speaking drivers from Utalii or refugees from Burundi"

22.11.78. No. 5.

Or, with the Swedish tourist groups

"the problems with language are that most people don't speak English" (from these groups) (38)

Mombasa, 19.4.79. No. 72.

But one tour representative noted:

"there are some breakdowns of communication: here people theoretically understand English but sometimes they don't - some people (workers) rather than ask when they don't understand, won't ask (tourists) to repeat"

Nairobi, 29.11.78. No. 42.

Problems with other Kenyans were never mentioned.

Of the fourteen interviews three were in Nairobi, nine were in

Mombasa and two were in Lamu. Whereas at the time of the Ford Foundation's survey in Mombasa

"results of the survey indicated that the first language speakers of Swahili, for example, do not characteristically learn a second language other than English and vice versa" (39)

ten years of mass tourism has had its impact. Although Gorman was talking of languages learnt outside the home in pre-school years, during and after school we observe a growth of competence in German. In addition those other than Swahili mother-tongue speakers used Swahili in their work. One of the three White tour representatives for example, claimed fluent Swahili competence. (40)

Whereas central management relied on the Swahili competence as a result of a formal educational requirement, in Mombasa my interviewees were from areas bordering on or within the Swahili area, and whose competence extended beyond words or phrases: this is not the case with all the hotel workers as we shall see below.

I was interested in two specific aspects of language amongst this sample: where they learnt other languages, particularly German, and what languages they claimed to use in work.

One interviewee had won a French government scholarship to study tourism in Paris for two years; one had lived in Sweden, as mentioned above; one was among three sent by her employers, a large tours operations office in Mombasa to German classes.<sup>(41)</sup> One respondent said he spoke German, but, commenting on problems of communication with Finns noted

"after a few minutes people get used to each other, we use a little English a little German"

Mombasa, 19.4.79. No. 75

This respondent had eight years' experience as a driver and sometime office worker with the small Mombasa office of a tours operation. A Goethe Institute scholarship to Germany had enabled one respondent to learn German and practice it over three years working as a tour guide with a large company dealing with the German market. He had also been teaching himself French at home with cassettes and was attending courses at the Mombasa Alliance Française. One respondent had been trained over five years in Germany as a nurse, and had then moved to tourism with a large tour operator which dealt with the German market. Two others had picked up their knowledge from tourists, one during work at a tourist hotel on the coast, but was sent by a subsequent company to German lessons, and the other as an informal tour guide.<sup>(42)</sup> One commented that his company, a Swiss travel agent, sent Kenyan employees abroad for training, although Swiss tour leaders were not required to know Swahili. X

With regard to claims about domains of language use, most respondents clearly expressed functional spheres differentiated according to choice of specific languages. Thus, for example:

- i) "English and German at work, Kamba at home, Swahili with other tribes rather than English" but "in the office I speak English, outside, with other Kenyan tribes, I use Swahili"

Mombasa, 10.5.79. No. 87



ii) "I use Swahili at home but not in the office"

Lamu, 30.7.79. No. 134

iii) "Swahili is not spoken in offices in Kenya"

Mombasa, 20.4.79. No. 77

iv) "sometimes people use Swahili, but written work is all in English and instructions to drivers are in English"

Mombasa, 20.4.79. No. 76.

Although the respondents were not identifying with whom they spoke what, their replies illustrate how apparently useful the notion of domain might be, were it not contradicted by observation. Since I was in a position to observe my respondents' language behaviour I noted the following contradictions:

- i) used Kamba and Swahili predominantly in the office;
- ii) used Swahili in the office;
- iii) immediately turned round and commented to a colleague in Swahili; when I commented she complemented what she had previously said with "Oh between staff we speak Swahili ... people speak Swahili in the Nairobi office too"; (43)
- iv) added an instrumental objective "I like to speak in English because I want to improve - Swahili is my mother-tongue and I can speak it at home" she also reported

"instructions to drivers are read out so that the driver fully understands in English, then I translate into Swahili".

Now, without stating that linguistic heterogeneity is so perplexingly hotchpotch that sociolinguistic generalization may not be made,

committing myself to

"a metaphysics in which simplicity  
is only appearance deep and awareness  
seeks to capture and portray the  
complexity of things" (44)

I would like to suggest that if the complexity of language choices and uses is not taken into account the degree of difficulty in communication tends to be exaggerated, as has been the case, (cf. chapter 1). Also social factors which account for such complexity are likely to be overlooked. (45)

What was clear from these interviews was that the functional range of different languages varied considerably, and that some of the workers' claimed competence in English was at variance with my observations, yet nonetheless seemingly adequate for the purpose of their work. One of the management respondents appreciated

"people are quick to understand because  
of their history of communication"

Nairobi, 9.11.78. No. 16a.

The interesting questions, then, pertain, to workers' strategies for making themselves understood, or for communicating. I shall comment on this below.

ii) Hotel workers

There are two comments about responses from hotel workers. Firstly there were no notable differences of attitudes to languages between supervisory or non-supervisory staff. Secondly although management expressed a requirement for German or French competence in such functions as front office, it appears that up until the time of writing, effectiveness at conducting routine functions was a more important prerequisite than language competences. This being the

case it is likely that language as a specific issue affecting such functions can be de-emphasized by routine procedures which minimize problems. Many of the contexts within which language problems do occur are well known.

After elucidating hotel workers' experience and claimed language competence I shall discuss the resolution of language problems.

Of the fifty two interviews in hotels, eleven interviews were with supervisory staff, ten men and one woman. Their average age was 31.7 years as opposed to 28.8 years for the entire workers' sample and 27.9 for non-supervisory. Three interviewees were women and forty-nine were men.

I was interested in two aspects of relevance to language competence: the type of training my interviewees received, whether it included language training, whether recruitment procedures involved assessment of language competence and where the workers had learnt the languages in which they claimed competence. In the Kisumu sample I was interested in whether in particular respondents had learnt Swahili at school or out of school, since their answers would compare with management's replies that Swahili was learnt as part of the school curriculum.

Geographical areas are represented as follows

	Nairobi	Mombasa	Mombasa beach	Malindi	Lamu	Kisumu	Total
Superv:	2	0	0	1	3	5	11
Non- superv:	1	0	3	4	18	15	41
Total:	3	0	3	5	21	20	52

Table 5 Interviews of Workers by Geographical Area



Seven interviewees from this sample had been sent to Utalii and three interviewees worked at Utalii Hotel and had been trained there. Six had attended one year courses with language courses: one had attended a two month refresher course. Of the three interviewees within Utalii two had gone straight to the College for courses and one had employment experience in a range of hotels. A further employee was to be sent for a one year course the following year. Most students of one year courses are sent from the industry. The large hotel groups systematically send their staff to the Hotel Training College.

From the rest of the sample, one had been at a coast hotel which had organized a two-week course run by Utalii lecturers. Five others had training relevant to the industry, one had attended a twelve week tourism course run by the Kenya Institute of Administration<sup>(46)</sup> before Utalii College opened; one had attended the Kenya Polytechnic's house-keeping course, two had clerical qualifications (one in hotel accounts and one as a copy typist) and one was trained by the GPO. Others were trained "in-service": one expressed a desire to be sent to Utalii.

The procedure for applying to Utalii was recounted as follows: a particular company writes to unit managers requesting names of those wishing to go to Utalii: this respondent suggested that a combination of self-selection and selection by management occurs. The applicant was then required to send a letter directly to Utalii on the basis of which he was requested to attend interview. This consisted of two thirty minute tests in English and Mathematics, a fifteen minute intelligence test of 250 multiple-choice questions, an interview in

English with four Utalii lecturers about why he wished to attend Utalii, and

"no questions about Swahili at all"

Lamu, 13.8.79. No. 164.

To join the company which sent him to Utalii, he was interviewed in English by the manager who asked him about his education and whether he had worked elsewhere. A relative of his was working in the same hotel.

Several respondents had been persuaded to apply to hotels by relatives: this sometimes involved moving. One respondent, for example, had been persuaded to move from training as a mechanic in Technical School in Central Province, to applying for a hotel job at the Coast by his brother, himself assistant manager in a coast hotel. He had been given an interview lasting about ten minutes in English, asked why he had come, and why he was interested. He was then trained in the hotel for three months, without pay

"the supervisor watches, watches service  
and recommends the waiter for a certificate"

Lamu, 6.8.79. No. 152.

He received a letter of recommendation on the basis of which he applied and was given a job in the hotel. Another respondent working in the same hotel group, an ex-teacher (2 years), had been interviewed in Swahili. He had been asked about his education and then offered a contract in either English or Swahili. He had learnt English for four years in school. His job, restaurant supervisor, required a knowledge of written English in the preparation of bills and orders. He commented

"some waiters can't write but they understand the service - they 'hear' but can't speak" (47)

Lamu, 1.8.79. No. 143.

A further respondent in the same hotel group had been interviewed in English for about fifteen minutes and just asked if he could speak Swahili (he had Form 4 education, 163).

Applicants were predominantly interviewed orally, even for employment involving much written work: thus an accounts clerk had a thirty minute oral interview in English, but had an academic qualification which included an accounts option on hotel accounts. Emphasis is placed on the written application and respondents were aware of this. Some opportunities are offered by personal contact

"I met manager x at the restaurant,  
and he suggested I went to his restaurant"

Lamu, 9.8.79. No. 160.

None of my respondents said they had been asked if they could speak other non-Kenyan languages in their interviews. Although I was informed by a management respondent that

"the locals speak German very well indeed"

Malindi, 19.5.79. No. 105

very few of my respondents claimed competence in German, although amongst coast waiters and receptionists I was led to expect some knowledge of this language.<sup>(48)</sup> Their comments are as follows

"some German, I can explain what people want - I learnt it at the reception"

Mombasa, 11.5.79. (beach) No. 92

"German - greetings and service, understood but not written, and some other conversations"

Lamu, 9.8.79. No. 160.

"I wanted to learn for work"

Malindi, 19.5.79. No. 194.



This latter gave me a list of phrases which always occurred at the reception desk. He had also taken up invitations to go to Germany and to Switzerland by hotel guests: his first hosts had been to Malindi four times. He has improved his knowledge of German by asking for books from the hotel guests, and language tapes had been posted to him from Germany. Such instances provide a strong demonstration effect to others working in the area. Another receptionist from the same hotel had been sent by his first hotel employer, to a German school, for two weeks, operated by an Asian in Malindi, (109. 21.5.79).

As with the other groups of interviewees, problems of communication were most frequently presented as problems relating to tourists' lack of knowledge of English. Seven respondents identified this as a general problem. One interviewee added

"with some people who don't speak English  
or Swahili"

Lamu, 16.8.79. No. 166.

Other interviewees included specific national language groups whose lack of English was a problem: hence four cited the French, one the Dutch, one the Italians, and one a Kenyan language group. Three answered that their own lack of competence in English was a problem. One expressed a desire to learn German to avoid problems. Eight respondents said they had no problems with language: four of these worked in kitchens (3) and stores (1). One respondent replied

"communication here is about work and there is nothing difficult because there is (are) always staff who can speak the language"

Malindi, 23.5.79. No. 118.

Again, as p.253 above, language is not always primarily the problem. Comments from receptionists are as follows:

"problems concern visits; how to go where to go, or who to contact about room service - problems come through reception"

Mombasa Beach, 11.5.79. No. 93,

"Complaints always come to reception: about accommodation, about facilities about friends staying around"

Malindi, 22.5.79. No. 114,

and a waiter

"I have difficulties with some tourists: some just demand a particular waiter; the British are particularly fussy"  
Lamu, 9.8.79. No. 160.

One respondent did, however, indicate that there were some lexical difficulties for the inexperienced

"women ask for the cloakrooms or washroom when they mean toilet" (49)

Nairobi, 23.6.79. No. 199.

On the other hand just as a management respondent noted that some people (tourists) will complain about anything, one receptionist said

"complaints are about the room not being done, or the light not working, or the sea being dirty, the weather bad, room moving or about the dining room"

Malindi. 19.5.79. No. 104.

Routines for dealing with complaints are important. In the reception area

"complaints always come to reception and then are referred to department heads"

Malindi, 22.5.79. No. 114.

In this respect it is significant that supervisory staff do not see language as a specific issue: of eleven supervisors interviewed the comments were as follows: of front office staff:

1. a head receptionist differentiated clearly general complaints from problems of communication which he said were few (104);
2. a cashier's supervisor and a head receptionist said there were no problems of communication (190, 218);
3. a front office supervisor commented on lexical items, cited above (199) ;
4. a head receptionist commented that guests who did not speak English were a problem (205) ;

of restaurant staff

5. a restaurant captain commented on problems between the staff and management (143),  
(see p. 292),



6. a head waiter commenting on some problems said  
"many people come with different languages"  
Kisumu, 12.7.79. No. 225,
7. a head barman reported no problems of communication (206);
8. a principal housekeeper replied that there were no problems since "most of the staff speak the national language"  
Kisumu, 10.7.79. No. 204,
9. a head cook said there were no problems because  
"we can use Swahili"  
Lamu, 13.8.79. No. 163,
10. a head bedroom steward had no problems with language (164).

These respondents had attained supervisory levels after several years' experience and training: an average of 7.7 years over the group. Of note, then, is comment 6; this headwaiter is in an hotel in an area where a large amount of foreign aid is being invested, and where, previously, tourism had been principally restricted to business. Comment 4 is from an interview in the same area.

What is clear is that problems are most commonly stated as

deriving from tourists and not workers themselves.

How, then, are problems resolved? Quite clearly in the restaurant and front office/reception situations supervisory staff have an important function in watching that proceedings run smoothly, and experience ascertains familiarity with the principal problems encountered. Hence one supervisor commented (on lexicon)

"there are problems when people (workers)  
are new but people overcome them"

Nairobi, 23.6.79. No. 199

an assistant head waiter commented that he had

"many years of experience"

Kisumu, 11.7.79. No. 109

a receptionist commented he was used to the contexts (109).

When 'experience' does not suffice two other methods were offered:  
the first is referral:

1. as above through reception to department heads or colleagues;
  2. to the head waiter if he has not already spotted the impasse
- or
3. through a fellow tourist.

The second method is to gesture or

"talk with actions, can use fingers for numbers"

Lamu, 6.8.79. No. 152

"use hands and then people understand"

Malindi, 2.5.79. No. 109

"the customer will point to the menu, or if the customer doesn't understand the menu, I can go to the kitchen and pick up, for example, a lobster"

Lamu, 9.8.79. No. 159

"the guest will point to beer"

Lamu, 16.8.79. No. 166.

Whilst problems seemed to be thus resolved, two other comments are worth noting which would suggest that this field of paralanguage is rather less clear than appears from these answers: one manager commented

"as soon as managers see guests gesticulating they must go and find out what is up"

Mombasa Beach, 6.6.79. No. 128

with the implication that tourists did not like to have to resort to this; a second manager commented

"waiters hate being called by a finger"

Malindi, 18.5.79. No. 101.

I did not, however, pursue this area of inquiry.

Departmental meetings are a part of hotel routine, but their frequency varies: and the language in which they are conducted is reported as English or Swahili. In one hotel, for example,

"the language of the meeting is Swahili whereas minutes are taken in English, and then read back to members and translated back into Swahili - the English is then passed on to management"

Kisumu, 10.7.79. No. 205.

In another, according to the personnel manager

"works committee meetings are held in Swahili for all staff, illiteracy is quite high - minutes are then written in English for the executive, but staff receive them in English - you can't change the employers so employees have to put up with it - employees might not complain because of fear, because they're afraid to show illiteracy, or non-ability to speak English"

Lamu, 21.7.79. No. 132.



A restaurant captain drew attention to the problems of workers required to sign contracts in English when they cannot write English and sometimes cannot read or write Swahili.

Yet Swahili is an important lingua franca amongst hotel workers. As amongst the tour operations sample, workers delineated the spheres for each language but Swahili use in work was frequently claimed. Of my sample the results were as follows, for use of languages claimed at work

Only Swahili	Only English	English + Swahili	Swahili + Other	English + Swahili + other	No reply
17	3	19	4	6	3

I found that when asking what languages workers used at their jobs, I received a different answer if I asked what languages they used with their colleagues. Hence English and Swahili were reported in work, but the six respondents who added their mother tongue as a language they used in work answered this additional question: this was as a result of my noticing the difference later in the interviewing. However, certain comments from management suggested that the use of mother tongues other than Swahili or English was disapproved of and therefore workers might have chosen initially to deny their use of mother tongues. Only one respondent suggested Swahili had low status, a receptionist

"I use Swahili only rarely, only to the hall porter or people who have difficulties with English"

Mombasa Beach, 11.5.79. No. 93.

He reported using English to fellow receptionists apart from with a

fellow Taita. Others, however, cited use of Swahili with pride

"Swahili is a national language and we use it"

Lamu, 6.8.79. No. 152

"people like to use Swahili: Swahili is now a national language and people like to use it"

Kisumu, 11.7.79. No. 212

"I use it because it is the language of Kenya"

Kisumu, 12.7.79. No. 220,

Of those who claimed only English and Swahili or exclusively English use in their work, I was able to observe the following contradictions in their practice: one explained that he never used English words in Swahili, although he used both languages at work

"for a proper combination, use English first and then Swahili, that is for explanations"

Kisumu, 12.7.79. No. 218,

he then promptly turned around and referred to the (junior) copy typist in their mother tongue. Another interviewee, who reported he used Swahili and English at work, was being addressed in Luhya (it is, of course, questionable whether he would have replied in Luhya). A trainee cook reported using only English in a kitchen where the other workers spoke Giriama, and one spoke no English at all.

Some respondents also claim competence in other Kenyan languages. In my sample nine claimed competence in a fourth language as follows: 2 Luo mother tongue in Luhya, 2 Luhya mother tongue in Luo, one Kikuyu in Turkana, Maasai and a little Giriama, one Meru in "fluent" Kikuyu and Kamba, one Taita in Giriama, one Taita in

Giriama, one Taita in Kikuyu, one Pokomo in Giriama. Three of these respondents had attended secondary schools in other mother tongue areas. (50)  
 ))

With respect to the claimed Swahili competence of the Western Kenya sample (20 interviewees); twelve reported they had learnt Swahili in school for periods ranging from 2 years to 8 years (the same level of schooling - Form 2); four had experience at the coast; three in work and one in his childhood; one claimed he had learnt Swahili "partly" at school, three said they had not learnt it at school. Of these one had been taught in Luo, another said the Tanzanian teacher made Swahili too difficult, and the third reported that Swahili had been taught in the school he attended but he had not learnt it in school.

Workers in tourism, then, have a wide range of experience in work, education and within the tourist sector itself. For many of them the work means a job in areas either where other work is not available or where the alternative is agricultural work where farms are overcrowded and much fragmentation causes a "push" off the land. Workers also rely on English as a lingua franca, but Swahili is widely used. Tours operations' workers were aware of considerable competition with tour guides from overseas but had not grouped themselves to voice specific protests about differential treatment. Kenyan tour guides show considerable skills in learning languages adequate for guiding and touting for services. They constitute a group who are most receptive to adapting themselves to such formal learning.

I noted differences in stated use and observed use of languages



at work. Interviewees gave information on their varied experiences of learning languages and how they were trained and recruited, but demands for language skills relate to European languages only. In hotels, routines for performing functions outweigh the issue of language as a problem between tourists and workers. Supervisors' roles were important for anticipating and defusing problems which may have been associated with language. Problems with tourists are simply resolved by upward reference to supervisors or reception: sometimes other tourists step in to help. Language is, however, an issue between workers and management with respect to signing of contracts for example, and the conduct of works' meetings in hotels.

### 3. Workers in Administration

I conducted twenty two interviews with employees in the Administration. Of these twelve were in managerial positions, which included four expatriates working in a) the Treasury, b) the upper echelons of the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife, c) a Canadian/Kenyan ecological monitoring project in conjunction with wildlife management and d) the Principal of the Hotel and Tourism Training College. Of the sample six were White and fifteen were Black, all were men.

My aim in these interviews was mainly to elicit information on the functions and operations of these offices. Interviewees were not requested to comment on their own language competences; I should however reaffirm that none of these interviewees would be in these positions without knowledge of English - but not Swahili.

i) Utalii College

In supplying trained personnel to the hotel and tours sectors, in training workers from the industry, Utalii College has a crucial role in determining and influencing standards. At the time of my field research I was informed that

"those (workers) who don't speak English don't stand a chance because of the lecturers"

Nairobi, 21.6.79. No. 193.

But in discussing training with my informants I was led to believe that certain levels of the occupational hierarchy had been prioritized, that the concern had initially been to Africanize the middle range personnel

"middle cadres before top management"

Nairobi, 13.3.79. No. 68.

On the other hand, the first informant also commented

"we now have a team of Kenyan professionals who can conduct courses in both languages"

No. 193.

Quite clearly the issue involved selection of students according to either academic qualifications or occupational experience within the industry. Whilst hotel groups expressed earlier preference for self-training, this also provided a rationale for training only to a level beyond which outside arbitration would be necessary for positions of control to be Africanized. Promotion of specific functions was necessary: stimuli for encouraging staff to train as, for example, cooks, included competitions and awards. But whereas

"there are no problems of language because people have to pass English tests ... the problem is with technical language, French, like 'mise en place' or 'guéridon'"

Nairobi, 23.6.79. No. 196,

Utalii's courses evolved, in effect, towards a two-tier system whereby the Refresher courses provided an important transition from work experience to academic qualifications or professionalism, and management courses demanded bright students frequently straight from school who would enter the industry at higher levels. This two-fold endeavour to Africanize also reflects the increasingly specialized needs of the industry, which had outgrown courses provided at the Kenya Polytechnic. Utalii for example

"has specifically designed kitchens for training, for pastry and mass production cooking etc.; the personnel at Kenya Poly were not so specialized or dedicated; Utalii is a parastatal organization; it operates on a semi-governmental basis"

Nairobi, 21.6.79. No. 193.

The industry had, as the example on p.268 above indicated, used training and qualifications as a reason for not Africanizing from within. With Utalii this was no longer possible: instead management graduates were chastised for "knowing it all".

Professionalism, however, is not exclusively a question of academic qualifications, and recruitment procedures take account of factors such as motivation: thus selection criteria are

"examination results; to qualify for interview requires credits in Maths and English; for the interview they have to do a written exam in Maths and English, and then an oral exam looking



for example at whether the person is fit for the job - we won't take left-handed people to work as waiters because they are supposed to place with the right hand and to serve from a platter serve from the left, we look for motivation because people may lose interest when they find they have to work Saturdays, Sundays and holidays, and an extra language, but very few applicants do"

Nairobi, 23.6.79. No. 196.

There was, amongst the hotel workers reported above, a quite clear difference between those who were motivated by an interest in the industry and in meeting people from different countries, and those who worked in hotels because it had been suggested to them by a relative, or because it was a job like any other or an alternative to under- or unemployment. Working in tourism, then, provides both instrumental and integrative orientations for language learning. (51) Workers in the tours sector however were, more clearly, specifically interested in meeting people from different areas and manifested evident inclinations to learning languages.

One informant from Utalii who had experience outside Kenya, was able to comment on a particular aspect of language which other informants overlooked, perhaps because of more restricted experience. There were, he noted

"particularly in accounting systems, different systems and terminology, particularly between American and English systems. The English element is very strong in Kenya, but the Inter-continental and Hilton use the US system and others the English"

Nairobi, 23.6.79. No. 197.

Such differences reside in registers and the teacher's function is to explain the nuances. Against this imported terminology he noted

"there are hotel chains developed from inside the country - the local environment has a chance to influence and involve"

23.6.79. No. 197.

In this context, in the words of one informant

"the use of Swahili because it is a national language, is a matter of pride"

Nairobi, 23.6.79. No. 196.

ii) The Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife (MTW)

A vehicle for the control of the tourism industry is the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife. It is also a channel for the promotion of Kenyan tourism, providing marketing functions for the industry. It provides about 4,000 jobs.

The MTW has provided brochures in several languages under a brief of

"provision for language according to market needs"

Nairobi, 18.9.79. No. 182.

Brochures in the different languages were published as follows: English and German around 1969, French and Swedish 1972, Arabic, Danish, Japanese, Spanish and Italian between 1974 and 1975 (Nairobi, 8.12.78. 49). There is no substantive difference between these brochures, they are direct translations from the English. (52)

The specific institutional channel between the MTW and the industry is the Tourism Advisory Committee which provides a forum for consultation between Government departments, tour operations, the Kenya Association of Hotelkeepers and Caterers. Its dealings are in English although I heard a variety of languages used around its central offices in Nairobi. This English language context for legal

and administrative dealings accords with the constitutional measures mentioned above, chapter 3, p.114 . The MTW then is under pressure to maintain English, over and against a situation whereby institutionalized use of Swahili may discourage use of major mother tongues. (53)

An international agency also exists whereby Kenya's tourism can be integrated internationally. One informant from the MTW was also representative to the World Tourism Organisation, (WTO), which he described as,

"useful for developing countries with problems of know-how"

Nairobi, 8.12.78. No. 49.

The official languages of the WTO are English, Spanish, French, Russian and most recently Arabic. His comment was

"lots of people are talking of adding Swahili, but there is a problem of costs, even though adding another language is a matter of pride. In another decade Swahili may have spread so much that it might be internationally accepted"

Nairobi, 8.12.78. No. 49.

A further international channel is provided by the MTW's own offices outside Kenya. These are situated in London, Frankfurt, Zurich, Paris, New York, Los Angeles, Canada, and one was due to open in Tokyo in January 1979 (Nairobi, 18.10.78. 4).

"In these areas wholesalers who sell packages to retail agents speak English; the MTW send officers who have the option of learning the language of the country and are paid to do so"

Nairobi, 18.10.78. No. 4.

One interviewee had worked in the Los Angeles Kenya Tourist Office for two years. His work was



"mainly promotional and teaching agents about Kenya, in particular the travel wholesalers".

There his work was

"all in English without exception. The ministry encourages people to learn languages: provision is made in the Foreign Service provisions, you get extra pay for learning or using French. But the Government will not pay you for knowing French in London, but will in France - the incentive is not that big"

Nairobi, 13.3.79. No. 68.

A small number of personnel work in these offices. This may account for the low incentive, although where national markets increase one may expect more incentive. Two people from the Kenyan Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife, for example, speak Japanese (7.11.78, Nairobi, 14). National markets depend on the type of tourism (though this is not reflected in the brochures).

"Nairobi hotels are quite mixed; coast hotels depend on marketing (by the MTW and airline) and tend to be more national-based"

Nairobi, 7.11.78. No. 14.

The MTW is said to operate partly in response to markets but it also creates markets. Subsidiary offices, like the Mombasa office, where I interviewed the tourist officer, provide a supplementary channel for complaints from tourists. The Mombasa office

"caters for the classification of tourist hotels and tour operators, the security of beaches in conjunction with the police force, receiving the Ministerial parties and journalists"

Mombasa, 10.5.79. No. 90.

Like management in hotels, within Kenya,

"the Government encourages the learning of languages but employees do not get a bonus, but fees are paid ... where you start depends on the number of qualifications: the Ministry in collaboration with other foreign embassies, organizes scholarships like, for example, tourism management in France, Germany, Austria, and seminars at Utalii College for workers"

10.5.79. No. 90.

Another function of the Ministry is licensing. There are no official language requirements. Registered interpreters need to take copies of certificates to the Foreign Affairs office who translate but do not require further tests (Nairobi, 17.11.78. 22).

iiia) The Kenya Tourist Development Corporation - KTDC

I undertook only one interview in this parastatal organization. Sixty people work in the office. According to my interviewee, Swahili is spoken in the office, but correspondence is in English, including inter-ministerial correspondence. In his opinion

"very few people would say they don't speak Swahili"

Nairobi, 4.11.78. No. 13.

The KTDC's brief is to provide loans for tourism projects, to facilitate Kenyanization. The application forms for loans are only in English

"this does not really exclude non-English speakers; but lawyers could explain the situation to people"

Nairobi, 4.11.78. No.13.

For KTDC what is more important is

"the person needs some business acumen, some collateral etc. for the loan to be approved".

KTDC participates with foreign companies but does not give full foreign loans. In this sense it is Africanizing. The Government

has the objective of opening first class hotels in all provincial capitals (12.11.79, 184): it is in this sense that the clientele is being Africanized too. The Eldoret hotel, for example, is

"not for tourists but for the business community: since there are new factories there"

Nairobi, 12.11.79. No. 185. (2nd Int.)

At the time of interviewing the future of parastatal bodies was in question.

### iii) The Labour Office

Two interviews with experts working on the Kenya Rangelands Ecological Management Unit and in the Treasury were not revealing. An interview with the Kenyanization officer in Mombasa was: he did not, however, focus on language. The tourism sector at the coast provides an alternative to employment in the plantations: sugar, sisal, cashew nuts and peasant coconut production: the cashews are co-operatively produced. In an Unemployment Relief exercise the numbers of unemployed registered at the end of February 1979 were about 20-22,000; with 16,000 in Mombasa alone. In his opinion there had been little competition for jobs in the tourist sector.

"because educated people did not like working in hotels, but as job opportunities seriously decreased school-leavers turned to tourism"

Mombasa, 12.5.79. No. 97.

There were, he said, 80-90 expatriate managers in beach hotels, with 32 in one single hotel group. But since 1975 training programmes have been very successful

"four years ago there were probably 40% more expatriates" (1975)



The criterion for extending the stay of an expatriate is training. The Kenyanization bureau, under a government directive, advises Immigration on the acceptability of the expatriate staying in the country

"by the end of say 2 years the employer can say the trainee hasn't made any progress and they have to say why; they report every 6 months. There were plenty of problems like this - over the last two years problems have been minimized, now employers know they are not allowed to keep expatriates longer - there were more problems earlier because fewer trainees met the basic requirements: Utalii has helped tremendously. Generally assistant hotel managers are citizens, generally from up-country, very few are from the coast".

On the question of language

"it is a matter of opinion how assistant managers perceive their frustrations: there are instances where they may disagree on the point of issue"

Mombasa, 12.5.79. No. 97.

With the relative success of the Kenyan state in assuming control of the tourist industry, as outlined in the previous chapter, opinions of the interviewees in the administration reflect the nationalist commitment. In the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife, concern with the marketing of tourism has led to remuneration of tourist officers abroad who have the appropriate language skills. The possibility of greater use of Swahili than at present has been suggested. Attempts at Kenyanizing hotel management have been most successful in the last five years.

#### IV Conclusion

It is of note that stated language use and language behaviour, as observed during this field research, are at odds. The notion of differential language use according to specific domains has not been substantiated amongst this sample working in tourism in Kenya.

One conclusion to be drawn from these interviews, <sup>(54)</sup> is the variance between management's expressed perceptions of language requirements, and their recruiting practices. The predominance of oral interviews seems to contradict the expressed importance of language competence. Educational qualifications are constantly relied upon. The shift from family to large hotels with in-service training, and eventually state provision of training has entailed changes in procedures for recruiting, and also for applications to tourist enterprises: from personal references to written applications. This both presupposes and reinforces trends to the employment of better educated personnel. Whereas working in tourism once had little status, the growth of the industry and conscious attempts by management, with the establishment of Utalii College, to attract an educated labour force, together with decreases in employment opportunities in other sectors of the economy, has led to an increasingly well-qualified tourist labour force.

Management, then, consider that languages are important, but they are unwilling to remunerate workers who possess such skills. Where incentives are given, the premium is on European and not on Kenyan languages. Swahili was, before the period of mass tourism - the 1960s and 1970s - used by workers, required of and taught to non-Kenyan managers. It is not a requirement at present. Problems

which arise are not exclusively presented as problems of communication or language.

Lack of training was for many years a good excuse for White managers and owners to resist Africanization. Since the state has taken on the provision of training, resistance to Africanization has taken the form of prejudice against "know-it-all" graduates. In showing scepticism of language courses provided, management expresses the same resistance. Utalii College is providing a professional managerial cadre with keen appreciation of standards who constitute a dedicated managerial elite of nationalist persuasion. Yet the appropriation of perfect English competence by some shows that the criterion is colour - and not effective competence.

Amongst workers there are divisions of age and educational qualifications. These are differences, perhaps in response to professionalization of the tourist industry, or reinforced by it, between those workers who went into tourism because of pressures to find work, any work, and those who are working in tourism as a means of meeting different people. It is amongst these latter that the incentive to learn different languages is high: this includes not only

"vertical media ... the imported European languages are not learnt spontaneously and their spread depends on a consequent policy which either prescribes their use (e.g. in education, administration) or else provides incentives for acquiring them"

but also

"horizontal media ... languages like Swahili in East Africa, Lingala in Zaire and Congo ... acquired by the majority of their speakers informally in every day social intercourse", (55)



Amongst these workers there is a strong impetus to learn the language of their colleagues, as well as spontaneous learning of "imported European languages".

NOTES

1. Alejo Carpentier, 1968, The Lost Steps, Harmondsworth, Penguin, p. 30.
2. These firms are what Robin Murray would call "local firms made good (i.e. a multinational) whose base remains in Kenya", see "The Chandarias: The Development of a Kenyan Multinational" in Raphael Kaplinsky, (ed), 1978, Readings on the Multinational Corporation in Kenya, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, p. 287.
3. S. Medlik, 1972, People of the Hotel and Catering Industry, 2nd edition with D. W. Airey, 1978, London, Heinemann. p. 137.
4. National Christian Council of Kenya, 1968, Who Controls Industry in Kenya, Nairobi, East African Publishing House. p. 68.
5. If that: I am referring to hotels in game parks
6. Indeed the historical factors relating to the employment of particular groups in the creation of a colonial labour force can be said to predispose certain groups to travel long distances in search of work. See for example Sharon Stichter, "Labour and National Development in Colonial Kenya", unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Columbia, 1972, and, 1975, "The Formation of a Working Class in Kenya", in Richard Sandbrook and Robin Cohen, (eds), The Development of an African Working Class, London, Longman.
7. This environment is one which is not created purely by a tourist industry for a tourist market as in chapter 4.
8. Development of beach tourism has been halted: hence shifting from fishing to waiting(waitering) is no longer an available employment option. Resentment has ensued.

9. Louis Turner and J. Ash, 1975, The Golden Hordes, London, Constable, p. 146.
10. It is indeed questionable whether each national tourist industry has only its mother-tongue speakers predominating: one interviewee who had worked in London noted that there were considerable difficulties because staff were not mother-tongue speaking, and also because it was difficult to maintain a reliable labour force since people were low paid, but fed, and therefore worked in hotels to learn English and then move on. One of his guests had commented: "It is so nice to come to Kenya because everyone speaks English", Nairobi, 28.2.79. No. 67.
11. A retired settler commented: "in my day people used to go to Italy and fall in love with waiters. I suppose now they go to a place like Kenya". Malindi, May 1979.
12. This company comprises both hotels and tours operations: a type 3 hotel group.
13. This is a tourism industry pressure group covering both hotels and tours operations.
14. These comments relate to the absorption of non-Kenyan languages. I was frequently informed that tourists also try to learn Swahili: I comment further on this with respect to greetings in chapter 6 below.
15. This respondent took the conversation outside language and stressed that the problem was "to know people" and "how people think" with particular reference to hotel staff. He also noted that "people appreciate the use of Swahili".



16. Over forty years old..
17. I was informed that the older workers could not be retired because nobody knew how old they were, and although it would be possible to retire them on medical grounds, some doctors would frequently not co-operate.  
My respondents who had worked in the lodges informed me this was the case there too. One mentioned that in some lodges the older people did not speak Swahili either.
18. I am unable to indicate the precise dates, but can deduce that there was a period between about 1963 and 1973 when English predominated. One informant commented on the presence of Swahili culturalists but pointed out that he thought it didn't work in Parliament "some will consciously make an issue out of language". Nairobi, 28.9.79. No. 176. It is important to note once again a common sense identification of language and nation (or territory) which is over simplified. Some of the Swahili culturalists are precisely expatriates recently Kenyanized who form part of a Lamu Society.
19. Utalii does refresher courses for people with work experience in the hotel sector and those older more established hotel groups found some of their older employees disqualified from these either by age or by lack of formal qualifications.
20. I observed waiters asking specifically "How many minutes?"
21. The teacher spoke rapid English which would not have been syntactically recognized as mother-tongue English by a native speaker. I queried in my notes whether the students followed terms such as "conjugate" but was not able to follow this up with subsequent interviews.

22. The Managing Director of a group said that his hotels were very strict on mixing, that about one hundred tourists per year get sent away for "mixing" (specifically going to the bedrooms). He was of the opinion that
- "all tour guides are African, they are only expected to speak German and tested by an informal interview"
- but he also told me
- "any young man who said he could speak German has probably been with an old lady and been 'spoilt'."
23. With respect to interaction I was also informed
- "a lot of waiters speak German, they fraternize (with tourists) at other hotels but not in their own workplace"
- Beach, 19.4.79. No. 74.
24. Peter Marris and Anthony Somerset, 1971, African Businessmen, Nairobi, East African Publishing House, p. 207.
25. "Give Africans, too, a chance," Daily Nation, 2.10.79.
26. PSV is a public service vehicle.
27. 1,744 employees according to another informant.
28. I understand this was for hotel training, whereas the Hotel Training College is properly a Tourism and Hotel Training College which includes courses for driver guides and other employment within tours operations.
29. 22 according to another respondent.
30. "Let the Private Sector get on with it," Daily Nation, Nairobi, 5.6.1966.

31. But the national markets fluctuate, as workers in the industry are aware. One respondent told me his brother wanted to work in tourism but he had advised the brother not to because of problems in Uganda which might adversely affect tourism.
32. The Mombasa office manager was away when I visited Mombasa.
33. This contradicts comment at Utalii that for example kitchen staff "benefit" from a knowledge of French.
34. The distinction between travel agents and tours operations is that travel agents take tourists out of a country and tours operations cover functions into or in a country.
35. The "Bush tours" were one day coach trips into the hinterland aimed at showing tourists how people lived (see also chap. 4). I was informed that families were paid 60/- per visit (at 16/- per £ sterling) whilst the clients paid 140/- each. My interviewee persuaded the company to visit three families per trip instead of one.
36. Personal communication, Nairobi, 7.5.79.
37. Since Lamu is near Somalia, claimed competence in Italian was not surprising because of trade up and down the coast particularly by the fathers of this generation. Italians who ran tourist enterprises "picked up" Swahili: there are phonological similarities: no diphthongs for example.
38. Tours from Sweden are still very expensive partly because of the distance since cheap charters have not been negotiated. The Swedish market, then, is older, richer people who do not speak English, but have often read about Kenya before they go.



39. T. P. Gorman, 1974, "Patterns of Language use among School Children and their parents", in W. H. Whiteley, (ed), Language in Kenya, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, p. 361.
40. I did not conduct tests on stated competence, but wish to provide with this material, a background for my next chapter, analysing tapes.
41. She reported that management said they would pay more if the "students" passed exams.
42. By informal I mean that he was not employed but did it either for the interest in people, showing his own area, or for tips presented. Rather than being part of an "informal", that is unenumerated, sector in the economic sense, beachboys form part of a lumpen proletariat, jobless porters, drug traffickers, and "gigolos".
43. I did not hear what she said and therefore cannot comment on whether the switch could be accounted for by topic shift.
44. Alvin Gouldner, 1967, Enter Plato, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, cited in Colin Bell and Howard Newby, (eds), 1977, Doing Sociological Research, London, George Allen and Unwin, p. 19.
45. For example theories which base differentials on urbanism as opposed to rural living, overlook differences within rural areas. See also the introduction by W. H. Whiteley to Whiteley, (ed), 1971, Language Use and Social Change, London, Oxford University Press for The International African Institute. In Language in Kenya, too, maps show the greater provisions of Swahili language education nearer Swahili speaking areas rather than further away. Mr. R. N. Lindup, a teacher, pointed out that even near Mombasa, in the early 1950s, the extent of Swahili speaking was somewhat exaggerated. Personal communication, Leeds, January, 1983.

46. Query: Kenya Polytechnic? The information is from an interview.
47. I noted frequent use of "hear" for "understand", a literal translation of Swahili "kusikia" - to hear, to understand.
48. Some competence is more often declared amongst the informal sector, the lumpen proletariat; woodcarvers, beachboys, whose employment is temporary or seasonal.
49. Two of my respondents were unfamiliar with the word "job" for "work".
50. Although Gorman warns of the limitations of accepting claimed competence without looking at degree of competence I felt I should include the information I had together with the experience of workers. See Gorman, "Patterns of language use", p. 357. Because of the mobility of hotel workers such competence may be expected to increase.
51. See, for example, W.E. Lambert, 1967, "A social psychology of Bilingualism" in J. B. Pride, and J. Holmes, (eds.), 1972, Sociolinguistics, Harmondsworth, Penguin, pp. 336-349.
52. This, even though tour operations distinguish between the sorts of activities supplied to and required by different nationalities.
53. Such factors must be taken into consideration when language policies are formulated. Tourist industrialists constitute a powerful lobby whose opinions may run counter to attempts by "political leaders to regulate what might be termed the communicative conduct of the activities of the members of the bureaucracy or public service" (whether this is desirable or not). See T. P. Gorman, 1973, "Language Allocation and Language Planning in a Developing Nation", in J. Rubin, and R. Shuy, (eds), Language Planning, Washington, Georgetown University Press, p. 74.

54. The remaining interviews were used to test the analysis advanced in chapter 4.
55. B. Heine, 1979, "Vertical and Horizontal Communication in Africa", Journal of the Language Association of Eastern Africa, Vol. 4 No. 1, p. 108-109.

I wish to take exception to Heine's argument however, since his definition of the political processes inherent in the spread of "vertical media" obtains for Swahili, which he has dubbed a lingua franca. By so doing he is implicitly equating language with national territorial boundaries. He ignores both colonial and post-colonial political processes, and his terms vertical and horizontal are excessively value-laden. In the case of tourism we do indeed find that European languages are learnt spontaneously.

Indeed, he goes on to say, "the use of horizontal media is largely free from normative evaluations", ibid., p. 113. However, as I showed in chapter 3 above, Swahili has precisely provided a ground for value-loaded statements.



## CHAPTER 6

TALKING IN TOURISM: AN ANALYSIS OF TAPE TRANSCRIPTS

"The legal father sat opposite the interrogators, who asked his name, his village, where he was born, his birth date - easy questions.

'Can you read and write?' the white demon asked in English and the Chinese American asked in Cantonese. 'Yes', said the legal father. But the secretary demon was already writing No since he obviously couldn't, needing a translator."

Maxine Hong Kingston (1)

- I Introduction: Discussion
- II a) Talk in Work Locales
  - b) Networks
  - c) Code-switching
  - d) Service Encounters
- III The Kenya Data
  - a) Service Encounters
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  - d) Stereotypes and Identity
- IV Conclusions

## CHAPTER 6

THE LANGUAGE TAPESI Introduction - Discussion

The range of approaches to the analysis of taped material is extremely wide. Interest in language has increased exponentially in the last twenty years, particularly in relation to educational policy.<sup>(2)</sup> The eclectic collection of speech, conversation, utterances, interaction involving language has been stimulated by the perspectives offered by sociolinguists, and sociologists interested in interaction, or by linguists researching variation and "natural speech" as a "grown-up disciplinary practice".<sup>(3)</sup> Analyses derive indirectly from a critique of the inadequacy of linguistics in accounting for social factors in language and rather more directly from ethnomethodological concerns.

The literature on discourse, and conversational analysis has provided insights on the corpus of tape transcripts, suggesting useful directions of analysis. In aiming to supplement the basic data provided by the Ford Foundation surveys I have, then, proposed interpretations using the findings of these approaches. I suggest the sociolinguistic question "who speaks what language to whom for what purpose, and what reasons may be adduced for this?" cannot be answered without a fuller assessment of the social context than that afforded by use of the concept of domain. This research question extends the scope of sociolinguistic inquiry beyond the educational sector. Sociolinguistic surveys have been conducted according to a theoretical focus on either the language or languages of the individual

or on the assumption of the common linguistic behaviour of a group. From these perspectives in the Surveys of African countries,<sup>(4)</sup> and the work of Fishman<sup>(5)</sup> there is a tendency to ignore the social factors of post-colonial dependency, both at the individual and group levels, as well as situating these in the wider social (global) context. The preceding chapters therefore constitute an attempt to show that broader contextualization is possible, and, I consider, necessary. Although the simple juxtaposition of my commentary on social forces in tourism to the taped material does not intrinsically provide an explanation, the data on language use cannot be interpreted without knowledge of the social context.

Through the assessment of institutional and functional relationships in the tourist sector, basing the analysis on a fundamental asymmetry of language, I have found that the consideration of social forces implicating language choices in the work locale has indicated important points of divergence from the assumptions of earlier work on communication roles of language.

In the analysis of transcripts presented in this chapter I consider similarities and differences between this data and the work of J. J. Gumperz on conversational code-switching, in the light of the varied approaches to discourse.<sup>(6)</sup> Firstly, I distinguish between conversation and talk on the basis of the instrumentality of social interaction, nonetheless indicating that much informal discussion does take place. I suggest that such informal discussion functions to relieve boredom at work. Secondly, where Gumperz analyses conversational code-switching, in closed network conversations I raise the question of the usefulness



of the concept of network in analysing talk in the complex tourist locales. The instances of code-switching I discuss, therefore differ from those of Gumperz, since they include reference to the tools of work. Having distinguished conversation from talk, I propose an interpretation of the transcripts applying the analyses of Marilyn Merritt and that of Gunther Kress and Roger Fowler, suggesting how power differentials are ritualized in service encounters.<sup>(7)</sup> I assess what greetings tell us about power differentials. I suggest how language is manipulated in language games and present an interpretation of code-switching, as a strategy of courtesy related to the maintenance of contact with a participant, non-conversant with the language spoken by others. In a final extract I look specifically at an informal conversation, where religious racial stereotypes are discussed. I suggest that the context of tourism has provided a middle ground between in-groups and out-groups, insiders and outsiders. The extract examines the creation of identity.<sup>(8)</sup>

## II a) Talk in Work Locales

I will start by making some general statements. I make no attempt to provide further definitions of the lengths of utterances, moves, acts or any of the categories which have been used in the analysis of conversation. Nor do I attempt an exhaustive categorization of all types of utterance. I would suggest that this may be a necessary enterprise for the progress of sociolinguistics, but that while it cannot be undertaken with the present splits between speech act theory, ethnography of speaking and conversational analysis, my attempt to do this would be beyond the bounds of this chapter. The eclecticism

of my own approach, is, I feel, justified by the current state of knowledge and the immanent divergence of these analyses.

I take work locales as my field of study in order to present a view of talk within continuous activity. My initial conception of work was of an unproblematic common-sense category. However, as shown in chapter 4, I came to realize there were important ambiguities in the type of work in the tourist sector. In addition my tapes show that topics not directly related to work, apparently non-instrumental in content, are frequently discussed. I suggest that during the work process, reference to external and unrelated topics provides light relief and relaxation, and further that this may be signalled by code-switching. I am not, however, suggesting that code-switching always performs this function (indeed I would suggest that failing competence in two discrete languages which the concept of code-switching entails, we would witness a switch in registers, or indeed the development of what M.A.K. Halliday has called anti-languages<sup>(9)</sup>). However a common sense view that this is the case perhaps accounts for the professionals' desire to stress the use of one language and workers' underemphasis of their own code-switching to accentuate their own seriousness at the task. Tapes of work in management areas are missing, yet clearly management's organization of space and mobility around the workplace would reinforce their capacity to move away from a tape recorder and their capacity to resort to this in order to give the impression of working continuously.<sup>(10)</sup>

Methodologically, by the arbitrary placing of the tape recorder,

irrespective of time of day, subject only to the constraint of the length of the cassette, I attempted to compensate for the assumptions of

"a social theory that dwells upon the episodic and sees life only as it is lived in a narrow interpersonal circumference, a historical and noninstitutional, an existence beyond history and society, and one which comes alive only in the fluid, transient 'encounter'". (11)

It is the social theory which informs much of the literature on conversational analysis, other than that of Gumperz, and to which I refer. The context of my tapes, then, is institutional; the conclusions I draw are of limited generalizability, i.e. not to non-work situations, but suggestive of future lines of inquiry. One criterion of selection, then, has been to illustrate the continuity of talk, rather than "on-going" conversation or even "naturally occurring talk". (12)

The selection of work locales further raises a question of the definition of "conversation". I shall illustrate this point by reference to Gumperz

"to be sure there are some cases of situational alternation, where passages in the two varieties may follow upon one another within a relatively brief timespan". (13)

The examples he gives to illustrate the point are the usage of Latin and vernaculars in the Catholic mass (the domain of religion, according to Fishman (14)) or rules of etiquette which demand translation, this latter presumably, accounting for formal contact of cultures. He says

"there is a simple, almost one to one, relationship between language and social context, so that each variety can be seen as having a distinct place or function within the local speech repertoire". (15)



The implications of this are that where the above does not hold true, we can, by empirical research and analysis, derive a set of rules for conditions governing further aspects of code-switching. This is precisely what Gumperz sets out to show. Much of my data, as we shall see below, corroborates his points.

However,

"in conversational code-switching, on the other hand, where (as in our example), the items form part of the same minimal speech act, and message elements are tied by syntactic and semantic relations equivalent to those that join passages in a single language, the relationship of language usage to social context is much more complex".(16)

Gumperz does not, however, offer us a definition of "conversation"<sup>(17)</sup> nor why such a social context is more complex. He thus follows the precedent set by the ethnomethodologists, focusing on interaction. Indeed, it may be argued that this reinforces a consensus view of dialogue or discussion by implying a "togetherness": knowledge of the social worlds "shared". As Gumperz says

"there is a need for a sociolinguistic theory which accounts for the communicative functions of linguistic variability ... such a theory must ultimately draw its basic postulates from what we know about interaction. It must account for the fact that being able to interact implies some sharing". (18)

Social inequality between speakers is ignored, or not questioned: it does not impede this sharing in these theorists' view.

Furthermore, as J. M. Atkinson and P. Drew have pointed out,

"by concentrating on conversational materials, the analyst does not have to embark on the indefinitely extendible descriptive enterprise that necessarily follows from an ethnographic focus on contextual features".(19)

Where analysts have focused on talk other than conversation, they have focused on the phenomena of turn-taking and sequencing, for example Atkinson and Drew themselves, following Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson <sup>(20)</sup> and Hughes <sup>(21)</sup>, in the rigidly hierarchical context of courts and doctor-patient consultations. Both of these settings provide material for the analysis of question-answer sequences, as does my own. The former, in addition, draws attention to "un-spoken activity sequences" illustrating how non-talk can be as important as talk. <sup>(22)</sup> Though the action of work does demand the speakers' attention, it also provides the topic of much of the discussion. Much of the interaction relies on references to the objects and tools of work, or to the presence of persons who de facto signal a particular topic, for example a taxi driver. My own data then is frequently fragmentary; this reflects the nature of the work. It is important to note that much of the interaction takes place over items that are clearly present in the interaction but are not always referred to linguistically. The differentiation of "conversation" from "talk", then, has yielded different structures of talk. This point is worth stressing and restressing because there is as yet little work on sociolinguistic interaction in work locales.

#### b) Networks

A further point to be made about talk in work is that the code-switching which occurs on my tapes dissects Gumperz's category of networks and his conception of functionally differentiated domains "work" and "home" presented in stronger or weaker form. For example in a 1977 article discussing a Yugoslav Austrian border village, he says:



"German is the exclusive language of most business and work relations". (23)

However, in his later work "situational norms"

"associate a variety or mode of speaking with particular types of activities. Included here are the preference for Slovenian in family and informal local friendship circles, the prohibition against Slovenian in mixed company, the tendency to use standard German or an approximation thereof for official business. But there is by no means a one to one relationship between extralinguistic context and language use". (24)

Indeed, as we have noted in the previous chapter, there is in addition considerable divergence between what language people think they use, and which languages, or mix of languages they use: an oft-remarked observation.<sup>(25)</sup> The corpus I analyse below raises questions of the usefulness of the concepts "domain" and "network".

Gumperz's work has been of relevance because his material is selected from three different areas of which one is directly comparable with the work sphere I selected. This Yugoslav-Austrian border village is in the Gail valley, where tourism is making significant inroads on a social structure based on Slovenian farm and manual work, with Austrian business control.<sup>(26)</sup> Commenting on the changing social status of the communities, Gumperz says

"Slovenian speakers, although numerically in the majority in their own villages, were largely marginal farmers and landless labourers," (27)

and historically

"Slovenian speakers were tenant farmers and labourers ... On all accounts this tenant population occupied **the lowest** rung in the social hierarchy". (28)

With tourism



"the economic differential between German and Slovenian speakers has largely disappeared and with it ethnic prejudice is waning" (29)

(my emphasis).

Yet three sentences later he claims that

"all village residents agree, for example, that it is impolite or even rude to speak Slovenian in the presence of German speakers, be they foreigners or German-speaking residents. So strong is the injunction against speaking Slovenian in mixed company that tourists can live in the village for weeks without knowing that any language except German is spoken". (30)

While the area may not have evidenced the language riots of N. India and Pakistan, by his own admission Gumperz indicates that the languages symbolized differential access to gainful employment. Gumperz draws attention to the repressive language laws of the Fascist occupation and qualifies his statement by reference to "the history of prejudice and discrimination".<sup>(31)</sup> It is not clear from Gumperz's treatment whether network analysis would take the racially segregated community as its basis or not.

Whilst my data corroborates that use of specific languages, English Swahili and German, is required in business in the tourist sector and competence in these languages does lead to increased employment opportunities for working in tourism, rather than leading to decreasing economic differentials within a previously homogeneous language group, I suggest such factors may lead to increased differentials. In addition language use leads to occupational stratification according to language competence.

For Gumperz, the concept of network, then, is fruitful for

"network analysis examines both internal ties, i.e. those with individuals of similar backgrounds, and external ties, among people with different types of background experience. In fact it is possible to set up formal indices of network closure or overlap, i.e. the extent to which participants in different networks share the same background, within a particular community or group". (32)

Concepts should be used as heuristic devices in analysis and refined or developed, as Gumperz is aware

"exactly how many separate networks are recognized in any one study and how the distinctions are defined depends on research goals". (33)

Nonetheless in trying to account for how networks change, Gumperz can only appeal to an ill-defined relationship between networks and language

"if our hypothesis that code distinctions and pragmatic conventions are directly related to the structure of interpersonal networks is true, the changes in those networks should also lead to basic linguistic change". (34)

Thus linguistic change is a result of network change, but we can define network according to the goals of our research. In Gumperz's work in Austria we witness such factors as "the rapid growth of tourism and of service industries",<sup>(35)</sup> education and, historically, the low status of Slovene farmers and Fascist legislation as processes of change exerted upon a backward, rural, closed network Slovene community confronted by the politically and economically powerful German-speaking community. "Network" has provided Gumperz with a tool for almost tautologically relating social change and linguistic change. In this he is inspired by dialectology and he differs from most conversational analysts, who are interested in providing a linguistic interpretation of how interaction is negotiated. However where "network"



and the interaction approach share similarities is in the difficulty of attributing any sense of agency or intent to their participants. Indeed the interactionists unlike Gumperz would probably argue that this is outside their endeavour, that their project is to look at the participants' negotiations of meanings. Where Gumperz differs from the ethnomethodologists and conversational analysts is in according importance to the role of age and urbanism in social differentiation. Hence in Gail Valley,

"the importance of German has increased greatly"

and

"children are in fact encouraged to learn German in school to maximize their opportunities for employment". (36)

The social differentials, Gumperz suggests, are important in peer group situations. In geographical locations, or work locales additionally, we should raise questions of rank and economic differentiation. Gumperz hints at this with respect to "modern urbanized societies" where

"intensive communication with speakers of differing backgrounds is the rule rather than the exception". (37)

A comparison of my own data with Gumperz's approach has, then, been fruitful in also raising the question of the types of areas he and conversational analysts have chosen to look at, and the definition of conversation itself. There are significant differences in the quality of my tapes accounted for by the continuous reference to objects, or work functions, and the necessity of movement (38) which differ from conversations in that these latter take place in one locale and command the mutual attention (although sometimes partially)



of participants. As we have seen above (chapter 5) the age differential amongst Kenyan tourist workers does account for variation in language competence and use based on educational opportunities. The tourist sector, however, as indicated in chapter 4, provides an intersection between the rural, characterized simply by working in agriculture, and the urban.

With specific reference to network, Gumperz says

"Code-switching is typical of the communicative conventions of closed network situations". (39)

It is possible to argue that the workers represented on my tapes share the same backgrounds and therefore form part of a closed network. However, although in terms of age, education and work experience workers may be peers in a closed network situation, reference to differences in educational experience and their differences of language group would rather suggest the notion of an open network. A more systematic and explicit use of the concept has been developed by Lesley Milroy<sup>(40)</sup> as a background for a statistical analysis of phonological variables in Belfast. My own study considering speech at work differs from Milroy's whose study is based on the measurement of network patterns, including kinship, friendship, work and "territorial loyalties", using a scale of multiplexity and density.<sup>(41)</sup>

Difficulties of defining the openness or closure of the network according to the presence or absence of client, tourist or other unknown participant,<sup>(42)</sup> suggest that reference to differentiating factors such as age, education, occupation, and race are more fruitful for the corpus I present below.

c) Code-switching

With the above reservations on the nature of talk and the concept of network, some comment is due on the code-switching phenomenon Gumperz identifies. In particular I shall compare the general relevance to my data; examples will be given below. Gumperz identifies and illustrates six functions of code-switching: quotation, addressee specification, interjection, reiteration, message qualification, and personification versus objectivization (discussing a general problem subsequently relating it to oneself e.g. smoking being bad for 'one's' health and how difficult it is for 'me' to give it up). I expected to find several examples of quotation, due to the frequent repetition of messages concerning work, but did not. It may be that use of this device is restricted to story-telling, or that work functions affect conventions ruling its use, and as such it would be a fruitful area for further investigation. My tapes showed several instances of addressee specification but this category overlaps that of message qualification particularly where two workers are dealing with one client, or where a worker subsequently refers to another worker for clarification, and indeed the distinguishing factor in Gumperz's examples seems to be repetition. Indeed a refinement of Gumperz's useful categories would involve further analysis of recipient and setting, <sup>(43)</sup> since he comments on addressee specification

"the switch serves to direct the message to one of several possible addressees". <sup>(44)</sup>

The criterion for this category is extra-linguistic whereas for message qualification the criteria are linguistic. In my own data repetition occurs frequently and I shall comment more fully below. Of the other

two categories, firstly, I found no instances of personalization versus objectivization, and account for this by the nature of the work and contingent talk, secondly: phrases do occur functioning as interjections or "sentence fillers": again I shall comment more fully below.

Gumperz goes further in his analysis and investigates speakers' perceptions of rules governing the grammatical relationship of phrases in code-switching. I was not able to subject my data to such analysis, however the following points have emerged through discussion with Africanists studying Swahili.<sup>(45)</sup> Gumperz provides ten types of examples of "syntactic relationship with the juxtaposed construction with variations ranged in order of acceptability". I tested my data against these types and noticed the following: although Gumperz stated that the particular type "conjoined phrases"<sup>(46)</sup> held for all three language pairs (Spanish and English, Hindi and English, and Slovenian and German), his assertion that "the conjunction always goes with the second switched phrase" does not hold true for Swahili.<sup>(47)</sup> His examples, identified as acceptable, are

I was reading and she was working

I wanted to stop smoking but I couldn't

John stayed at home because his wife was at work

The following were unacceptable in his examples

I was reading a book and she was working

I wanted to stop smoking but I couldn't

John stayed at home because his wife was at work. (48)

In my data (49)



nĩngukĩmwira arafu/I will call you back

(I will tell him and then/ I will call you back)

najua lakini/I'm coming there as well

(I know but/I'm coming there as well)

It is possible that where the phrases imply temporal contingency the rules vary: thus "arafu" (Kikuyu: Swahili = halafu) can mean "after", but my translator interpreted it conjunctively. The Swahili "lakini" is translated "and then", or "but", "yet", "however", "nevertheless". (50)

As Dr. Russell pointed out agglutinating languages appear not to correspond to the same rules, and therefore demand further investigation. (51)

A rather more serious reservation bearing upon the formulation of general rules for code-switching is thus identified, but one which I can only indicate at present in this chapter. This concerns the criterion for distinguishing code-switching from loanwords. Gumperz's examples of code-switching all involve phrases, barring five of which four involve verbs, illustrating

"that both grammatical features and lexical roots can be borrowed". (52)

Leaving aside the question of borrowed nouns, which I will deal with below, it does appear that there is an inherent Indo-Europeanocentrism. Are we to identify code-switching as phrases only, not words, and if so what would happen if we tried to compare code-switching in two agglutinating languages? Swahili, for example, incorporates markers for person, singular or plural, place and tense with the root of the verb. Thus a word in Swahili may necessitate a phrase in English translation. I raise this question since my data shows a remarkable

mix of words within phrases and between languages as I shall show below. I have not, therefore, restricted myself to phrases, but wish to show that word mixes are particularly of interest in the construction of repetition.

d) Service Encounters

Having stressed the importance of continuity in the talk in work locales, I was nonetheless left with a problem of which items to select for analysis. The approach of the Ford Foundation surveys was grosso modo related to domains, collecting language items through interviews or observation, and in this sense my own data is more specific. David Parkin's comments on game playing in Nairobi are of interest but are based on material "heard and afterwards written down".<sup>(53)</sup> The approach of the conversational analysts presented problems since their focal points have so far been openings and closings,<sup>(54)</sup> sequencing,<sup>(55)</sup> turntaking,<sup>(56)</sup> politeness,<sup>(57)</sup> access rituals,<sup>(58)</sup> and error correction.<sup>(59)</sup> As Coulthard says

"Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson do not and do not claim to, offer an analysis which will cope with the whole of any text".<sup>(60)</sup>

Only Grimshaw, noting

"the paucity of texts of complete speech events involving more than two participants and of events focussed on different topics and/or ends"<sup>(61)</sup>

has recently presented an attempt at comprehensive discourse analysis, yet his analysis avoids issues of status.<sup>(62)</sup> Grimshaw's data, using video-technology, has also been more audible than much of mine.<sup>(63)</sup>

Where audibility is poor it is extremely difficult to analyse speech in terms of turn-taking and adjacency pairs, such as question-

answer sequences, and inquiry into chaining rules.<sup>(64)</sup> On the other hand, given total audibility, ethnographic knowledge, and access to participants' own interpretations, there is no guarantee that the analyst will gain a "correct" insight. With regard to the event he chose to elucidate Grimshaw notes

"I believe that something was going on -  
I still don't know exactly what was". (65)

This is clearly a case of what is not said being as important as what is said. Furthermore Grimshaw does not heed Cicourel, whom he cites, suggesting it may be better to leave the unexplained unexplained.

In a sense this is what I would call an Interpreter Paradox: a desire to find everything meaningful, resulting in the problem of selecting a most appropriate from several interpretations.<sup>(66)</sup> In my own analysis such a problem does not exist: I do not attempt to fill in the blanks.

With regard to the unit of analysis, the advantage of work locales is that the tasks to be undertaken do facilitate identification of reasonably discrete units: the performance of a function for example. In this context, an enlightening article by Marilyn Merritt based on "particular aspects of interchange within the service encounter" has directed my attention to service encounters as being of interest.<sup>(67)</sup>

I will analyse these with specific reference to my own data below.

Service encounters have provided a useful field of analysis of greetings, politeness, and of power differentials.<sup>(68)</sup> My analysis

will focus on the expression of power differentials in service encounters (a factor Merritt does not discuss) rather than on eliciting further chaining rules in this multilingual context.<sup>(69)</sup>



The texts presented below are selected from tapes collected in hotels and tours operations offices in Kenya. I suggest that within the hierarchically organized tourist industry the notion of conversation is inadequate in accounting for the ordering of speech. For the purposes of assessing how linguistic structures reflect and reinforce power differentials I have therefore distinguished conversation from talk. The distinction is premised upon an inherent asymmetry in sociolinguistic interaction, as opposed to "an environment of mutual monitoring possibilities"<sup>(70)</sup> between members, which informs much conversational analysis. Studies in conversational analysis have however provided a useful starting point for analysing the data if only because they are the sole attempt to analyse. The work of Gumperz has provided insights for studying code-switching, although his use of the concept of network proved unsatisfactory in this case.

### III The Kenya Data

#### a) Service Encounters

I shall start by focusing on service encounters defined by Merritt (following Goffman) as

"roughly equivalent to an encounter that is in some sense 'officially' oriented toward the transaction of service, whether or not such a transaction is actually consummated" (71)

Service encounters, in my data, were amongst the most discrete units of discourse and the most informative. They are based notionally on some sort of sequence, question and answer, request for information, or soliciting of service, plus reply, entries and exits.

Example I (Appendix 4)

Appendix 4 gives a complete one-hour transcription to indicate the tenor of work. Comments are additionally based on sections from other tapes which I found either supported my interpretation or were indicative of further lines of inquiry. This tentative interpretation is not exhaustive: I have not transcribed the tapes phonetically, and intonational details are included only to indicate for example negative or affirmative where the utterance looks graphemically similar. I have not interpreted paralinguistic features.

This transcription comes from the reception desk of a Type I Hotel at the Kenya coast. It is a large hotel, guests stay a varying number of nights. The level of formality differs from a Malindi hotel, as I shall compare below, evidenced by the greetings. I have bracketed relatively discrete units, measured by the arrival and departure of a client, visitor or guest at the reception desk.

Of note is that greetings do not formally open the encounter, although "thanks" and a response of "you're welcome" closes the encounters. Neither does the encounter open with the receptionist offering a service. I suggest that the business of the reception desk makes clients ask for what they want before waiting to be addressed. I have, for example, divided the transcript into elements comprising openings and closings: this does not exhaust the transcript, there are other service encounters which I was unable to hear. An interpretation of the openings follows.

The openings were then (asterisks denote a codeswitch)

- \*1. guest comes to pay, and states departure day:  
query greetings (they may have occurred before  
the tape started)
2. openings lost, a second guest wants to pay:  
query greetings
3. visitor requests a room: greets the receptionist
4. guest expresses enjoyment of holiday, before  
requesting information about a service provided
5. guest requests information: no greetings
- \*6. waiter requests direction for a breakfast ordered
7. visitor requests information about another guest:  
no greetings
8. visitor requests information about room prices:  
no greetings
9. involves a guest's request for a bag to be brought  
down and the receptionist asking for x (a porter?):  
no greetings
- \*10. guest greets receptionist in Swahili, requests key:  
no greetings
11. guest requests key: no greetings
- \*12. receptionist greets woman (tour leader?) and she  
solicits request
- \*13. coworkers discuss: opening indistinct
14. guest greets and requests key
15. indistinct: request for key



- 16. receptionist greets woman
- 17. indistinct: request for key.

None of the requests for keys mention the word "key". The number alone suffices to signal the guests' requests for keys. The receptionist only greets women (numbers 12 and 16). It is predominantly the guest (hotel resident) or visitor who verbally opens the encounters: the mere presence of the receptionist suffices to signal that the guests may request information: no greetings appear necessary to call the receptionist's attention. As Merritt suggests, the "presence in service" is "tacit offer of service".<sup>(72)</sup> This questions the notion of

"greeting and parting behaviour in their social sense as 'recognition of an encounter'". (73)

What we witness in the service encounter is an extremely instrumental encounter which negates what has been called the "access ritual", that is where

"greetings mark the transition to a condition of increased access and farewells to a state of decreased access". (74)

But where this suggests "no greeting/no access" what we see is "no greeting/complete access". The receptionist is there only to serve there is no interaction, in the sense that meanings can be negotiated: the receptionist could hypothetically withdraw service, this would lead to "no job" (in this zero sum game). Ferguson then suggests

"the focus of the investigation is on the encounter itself, it is certainly legitimate to investigate the behavioural brackets around it as similar and related phenomena, but this intended natural classification obscures the relation which is sometimes even closer between one or other of these and other politeness formulas (sic), which are used in the course of encounters or even as expressive elements in monologs". (75)

How, then, are the encounters closed? There is a ritual closing engaged in by both guest/visitor, and receptionist. Thus

1. receptionist: well wishes  
guest: thanks
2. guest: thank you  
receptionist: thank you (echo response)
3. visitor: thanks  
receptionist: welcome
4. guest: thanks  
receptionist: welcome
5. variation on above: guest thanks: receptionist:  
confirms in interrogative form (confession),  
guest: confirms
- \*6. waiter: thanks  
receptionist: affirmative " ng "
7. receptionist: gives information  
guest: thanks
8. closing blurred
9. guest: "Okay", (confirms)  
receptionist: equivalent "mh"
10. guest: requests key  
receptionist: gives it and "thanks"
11. guest: requests key  
receptionist: thanks
12. closing blurred
13. " "

- 14. closing blurred
  - 15. phone interrupts
  - 16. closing blurred
  - 17. guest: thanks
- receptionist: welcome.

In view of the observation above that it was only to the women that the receptionist proffered the first greeting, it is regrettable that the closings are blurred suggesting interruption in those cases. I would hesitate to argue that it is because they are women, socially inferior, that they can be interrupted without fear of repercussion.<sup>(76)</sup>

One factor is certainly that there is a temporary rush and therefore the amount of time devoted to such simple procedures as handing out keys, is cut to the minimum to accommodate all the guests, thus precluding other greetings. But since there is at least formal parity in the closings, how can we account for the openings; are there interpretations supplementary to that concerning the status of the receptionist?<sup>(77)</sup> These service encounters appear to follow the general rule set out by Brown and Ford for "Address in American English"

"the superior is the pacesetter, because the willingness of the person of lower status to enter into association can be taken for granted".<sup>(78)</sup>

Although their data refers to address in terms of "title alone, the last name alone, and the use of multiple names", here we find it applies in general to the opening of the encounter.

The service encounters manifest further differentials, as



illustrated, following Kress and Fowler

"all language is addressed to someone, and involves an addressee as well as an addresser, it is relational. We suggest that communicative relationships are generally asymmetrical, in the sense that one participant has more authority than the other(s)". (79)

Their approach suggests

"seeing interviews as peculiar conversations may lead us conversely to regard conversations as peculiar kinds of interviews. This is a hypothesis that we tentatively make: in the conversations which we and our students have more or less formally analysed, it has been the case that the speakers, even when they regard themselves as equals, friends, etc., have used some forms which recall the power-differential signals found in the interview. If this hypothesis is valid, it may be explained by the inherent asymmetry of all social communication". (80)

They find in interviews that the key variables by which the interviewer's power is manifested are firstly by starting the interview, secondly having the right to ask questions of a particular kind

"so designed structurally that no new information can be introduced" (81)

and thirdly, closing the interview. I will not consider the second factor, all the questions, in detail. However, if I were to apply Kress and Fowler's hypothesis to service, the powerholder, who is the guest, visitor, or client, would open up the conversation, and be in a situation to change the topic. Yet this power to dictate the pace, topic and style of the encounter is turned upside down in several service situations: the onus is on the servant to greet (even though in this transcription, for reasons given above this does not appear to have been the case), solicit service, conduct

the function and close the encounter with thanks and farewells. A further point to make, which is corroborated by my data, is that control of topic is not necessarily related to expenditure of effort. Spender illustrating gender differentials, cites the example of eight "conversational gambits" by a woman, to which the respondent male gave a perfunctory response until he was sufficiently "drawn out" to proceed with the dialogue:<sup>(83)</sup> here again, the server's time is available to the more powerful. Many of the receptionist's questions in the transcription given are structured to a form related directly to an act, for example

"do you want me to do something about the luggage, or//"  
 (interrupted)  
 "did you send it express, or you sent it normal one?"  
 "You need the long sheet?" etc.

The structure of questions influences the form of the answer and for the receptionist to be most effective, elicitation of service needed are framed for simple yes/no answers. The client's desire for service allows him or her to select topics (requests for service) s/he wishes to introduce: the server is under obligation to provide the service. He is in the opposite situation to Kress and Fowler's interviewer who

"may even then refuse to answer a question, may without penalty plead lack of expertise or irrelevance".<sup>(84)</sup>

If the server/receptionist wants to keep his or her job, s/he has to provide or mediate the service.

The points about the provision of service, greetings, the way questions are framed, pertain more specifically to those encounters between the receptionist and guests. Most of the transactions are short and functional; encounter 4 provides one exception, and here



we may assume the receptionist and the guests have some familiarity and discuss general topics like the weather. Further exceptions to this occur between the receptionist and visitors, i.e. persons not staying in the hotel. Encounters 3 and 8 are requests for rooms from visitors. In these instances the visitors, both tourists staying outside the hotel, have the prerogative to ask questions, rather than the receptionist. Encounter 3 provides an example of repetition which I will analyse below.

One characteristic of this particular tape is that there is very little code-switching. Code-switching occurs in encounter 1, here it is signalled by the entrance of a taxi driver. In encounter 6 a waiter brings in breakfast and asks the receptionist where he should take it. English lexical items illustrate the specific hotel context: the name of the meal, the specific rooms in the hotel, a particular member of staff. Without reference to others present, and some of the passage is unclear, I cannot explain why the waiter switches to English: the phrase, "I see" seems to be used as a conjunction or interjection and occurs throughout my tapes along with other phrases such as "okay" and "allright", which are also used as both interjections and conjunctions. Encounter 12 provides an instance of code-switching which exemplifies an appeal to secrecy, at least viz a viz the clients and guests. Encounter 6 does provide an example of the sort of repetition that I have frequently noted, which serves the function of confirming, ascertaining and verifying the message. For example, the waiter twice mentions the place to which he will take the breakfast, and the receptionist confirms three times: "sure",



"ya", and "iko pale" (it is there). Encounter 3 gives an example of repetition concerning the booking of a room in the hotel. In this case the receptionist gives the information that there is not room in the hotel seven times. Indeed the visitor (not a first speaker of English, but European <sup>(85)</sup>) behaves as if the receptionist is wilfully making empty rooms disappear, explicitly suggesting the receptionist might be able to make a special case. The receptionist has answered the request clearly, immediately following the request "no I'm sorry, no, tonight we are fully booked, complete, nothing at all" referring to the book. This emphatic "no" does not satisfy the visitor, until having asked three more times, first in negative question form, second implying since it is not just for one night he might have a better chance of getting the room, and finally appealing to a special case, the receptionist answers clearly and flatly "no". The interruption of the phone seems to persuade the visitor to book the room from the next night. Cases of such repetition are common: I would suggest they illustrate points I have argued above. Firstly tourists often think they are right, when sometimes they are not (see chapter 5, p.251): this was explicitly stated by a hotel manager reflecting on what happens in the case of conflict with his staff. Therefore, secondly, the workers are considered incompetent. Thirdly it illustrates that monopoly over meaning in English is assumed by non mother-tongue English speakers, which I suggested above (chapter 5 p. 247 and chapter 3, p.126) is the contemporary parallel to settler hegemony over Swahili.

Another instance of repeated questions is given in a phone conversation in a booking office in a Nairobi Hotel. Dots signify

caller speaking

1. "actually I can't tell exactly because the whole
2. problem is that all these rooms are occupied until some
3. time around the sixth .....so .....not today.....oh
4. the new ones we do have .....those are x shillings ...right,
5. same terms, bed only, inclusive of tax and then there is
6. also a fifteen per cent discount ....ya... no there isn't
7. but maybe if you have time you could pop around and ah, then
8. I can show you one of the rooms ...yea...not unless we
9. have an extra departure sir... right...but for the time
10. being, er, they're quite tightly booked ...oh, I should
11. think on the sixth ...just a moment...yes from the sixth
12. at this moment....starting sixth"

Here, then, the booking clerk states that the rooms are booked five times, until the caller accepts a room after the sixth. There is however, some ambiguity involving the new rooms (line 4) but since the clerk is interrupted, whilst explaining, the caller has to ask again if all rooms are booked before the sixth.

The introduction of ambiguity explains the repetition of encounter 5 on our coast hotel transcript, where conflicting information is given by a timetable and by the receptionist's answer to a guest's query. The closure of this encounter shows the receptionist confirming the time "it will be two thirty".

There are **two** further comments I shall make about the discussion above, the first involves terms of address (sir, Name etc) and the second involves code-switching. On the coast transcript, the

receptionist specifically addressed the clients and visitors very rarely. I will comment where appropriate: not referring to terms of address in the openings.

1. no address term in English
2. no address term in English
3. address terms: sir and Mr.
4. no address term
5. address term: sir
6. no address term
7. " " "
8. " " "
9. address term in Swahili
10. no address term
11. " " "
12. address term: name
13. address term: name and Mr.
14. no address term
15. " " "
16. " " "
17. address term: Sir.

Terms of address are more frequent in Swahili and are related to persons already known by the receptionist. In three instances where "sir" occurs in English, two of them occur in questions requiring the name and therefore signal the structure of the answer, starting Mr., or just giving the name. In encounter 13, a person (a porter?) is being called by name to go to Mr. x's room. Here the naming serves to call the



attention of the person whose job it is to perform the function of portering. I cannot explain the incidence of the address term in encounter 17 beyond the speculation that the guest is an older man whom the receptionist deems worthy of respect by virtue of his age.

Encounter 1, finally, is worthy of comment. There are three participants: the receptionist, a hotel guest and a taxidriver are involved. The action is composed of two elements, paying a bill and a query over the distance to the airport.

I find this encounter of interest because firstly, the guest's questions are not directly answered by the receptionist and secondly, we learn from the code-switched elements. The receptionist, indeed, does not even consider the query made about whether a specific kind of cheque is acceptable for the payment. Neither does the guest find out how far the airport is. However, the interaction between the receptionist and the taxi-driver illustrates several points. The conversation is in Kikuyu; it is initiated by the older man, the receptionist, as evidenced by the term "father". The taxi-driver might, alternatively consider himself of lower status, due to his job, in which case the term "baba", "father" is metaphorical. The receptionist and the taxi-driver inquire after each other's well-being. Apart from the name of the hotel, one word appears in English, "fifteen". "Baba" is used in Swahili and "haraka" is a Swahili term "hurry". Although talking to the taxi-driver, this "fifteen" answers partially the guest's so far unanswered query. Indeed, the term "haraka" might also have been slipped in by the receptionist to maintain the guest's attention: since the guest has paid by Nairobi cheque,

the receptionist may have assumed he lived in Nairobi and had some familiarity with Swahili. Finally the receptionist turns to the guest and entrusts him to the taxi-driver who he suggests will take him to his required destination on time.

My analysis in this instance does not rest solely on this example. My attention was drawn to the use of a single lexical item to maintain a non-speaker's attention in the following example. This is a short extract from a tape placed in a Mombasa tour operation's office. C indicates clerk, M indicates messenger and D myself; direction of change of address indicated within the brackets, translation to the right. Double strokes indicate interruption.

1. C. (to D) did you get a coffee?
2. D. ah//
3. C. I could have given you this one but I was just in there
4. M. (to C) C! mūkūlye kana ask her
5. nūkūtūmīāsukalī if she'll take sugar
6. C (to D) do you want sugar and
7. milk?
8. D ah one please
9. C yes but//
10. D but no milk
11. C okay
12. M (to C) enda kīsiko kīnwe? does she want sugar?
13. C (to M) ūī kya sukali she wants one sugar
14. M ya yīia nayo? what about milk?

15. C    aīēē yīia ndekwenda, enda                    she doesn't want milk she wants  
16.        kaawa/strong/kaseo                    coffee, good and /strong  
17. M    /kama we?/                    like you?  
18. C    (to M?)/yes/

Present are two workers: the desk clerk and messenger, myself and in the background another desk clerk speaking with a restaurant manager (a restaurant run by the same tour operators). The sample I give relates to my own conversation with C and interchanges between him and the messenger in Kamba, concerning giving me coffee. The messenger is asking C in Kamba how I would like my coffee. He asks me, and translates back into Kamba. When replying concerning the milk he switches from Kamba, throwing in the word "strong" in English and his comment is taken up by the messenger in Swahili. The use of "strong" in this context clearly has two meanings, of which the second is metaphorical: firstly C comments that I like my coffee "strong", and is maintaining my attention with this English word, thus signalling that he has passed on the information about how I like my coffee. On the other hand he is signalling to the messenger, in this game, what he considers are my sexual and racial preferences. Whilst I have no other taped examples to substantiate my argument, I had already noted the word games associated with the serving of milk into black or white coffee: particularly in those instances where a White woman (myself) is on her own. (86)

What is at issue in these examples is an interpretation of code-switching which has not previously been advanced. I would suggest that in situations where there are more than two participants and where



the range of languages known extends beyond one or more of the participants, code-switching can signal a desire to maintain the attention of those participants who might otherwise feel rebuffed or excluded. The requirements of courtesy at the reception desk, for example, are that the receptionist should be at the disposal of the guest, the client should not be left unattended. The second example illustrates a similar point that whereas my conversation with C had been interrupted, his attention throughout the discussion was on me, while speaking to the messenger, beyond the simple provision of coffee. Some examples of code-switching, then, can be seen in the context of maintaining the attention of all participants, defined here as persons present.

This also raises the question of why code-switching occurred in the first place. In these work situations management would like to see all workers speaking in English, or possibly in Swahili, since, as we saw above, Swahili is an acknowledged lingua franca. Tourist locales, however, witness considerable comings and goings, not restricted to clients and foreign visitors, but also to providers of a wide range of services. Where workers are required to attend to requests for service, I would suggest that switching into another language whether Swahili or another Kenyan language, provides light relief from work, where the topics of conversation might be related to work, or to requests after the well-being of visitors, peers, other workers.<sup>(87)</sup> In this sense, too, code-switching raises the question of how discrete open or closed networks might be even in an ideal situation. Such switching performs the function of style-shifting within a monolingual framework, as pointed

out by Whiteley, but is easier to recognise. (88)

Constraints on speaking in other than the lingua francas are provided in service, by the necessity of attending to guests.

b) Greetings and games

In the appendix is Example 2, a transcript of working at the reception of a Malindi hotel (also a type 1 hotel). Here, hotel guests stayed two or three weeks, and return visits (subsequent years) were frequent. Some guests had returned as many as fifteen times. (89)

The tape participants include two receptionists and the reception supervisor. I was unfortunately unable to get two of the languages transcribed, or translated. I include the extract for some comments on greetings, and for the examples of code-switching and repetition, which are representative of other locales. The quality of the tape is less satisfactory than Example 1. I have segmented the tape according to the passing of clients and the phone ringing .

The greetings are of interest for two reasons: the first is that Swahili greetings are being considerably elided as shown in this transcript, a point not unrelated to the notion of a language game, the second is that the tape shows how the receptionist greets a guest in Swahili, teaching these elided greetings.

These elided greetings are as follows:

- |    |                  |                   |
|----|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. | R (receptionist) | Jambo Bwana X     |
| 2. | X                | Jambo sana habari |
| 3. | R                | mzuri             |
| 4. | R2               | Jambo habari      |

The receptionist greets the maintenance manager, a White Kenyan, who replies (lines 1 and 2) The "jambo/jambo" sequence is a "root-echo response" (90) based on the English "hullo/hullo". The Standard Swahili-English Dictionary lists "jambo" as meaning "matter, affair", also

"'jambo' thus used represented in the greeting 'hu jambo' (or strictly huna jambo, though this is never heard), and hujambo is the most correct and respectful form, spoken interrogatively, i.e. you have nothing the matter with you? nothing the matter? You are well? Similarly in the reply, 'Jambo', is for the most correct 'sijambo' i.e. 'sina jambo', I have nothing the matter" . (91)

"Habari", subsequently is a request for news, and takes the form of asking about, for example, home, work, children, a journey or other topics. The response is "nzuri" (there are others) with reciprocal questions, meaning "fine". The maintenance manager however uses "sana" which literally translated means "very much", a literal translation of the English "hullo, I'm very well". The quote from the Dictionary (1939) provides evidence that the elision to root echo response "jambo/jambo" has existed for several decades. However I was informed that children run after tourists at the coast saying "jambo, jambo" (they pronounce it chambo) and do not recognise it as a Swahili greeting at all. Indeed, in this instance, I remarked on the pronunciation of receptionist 2, pronouncing the "jambo habari" (line 3), altering the Swahili "d" to "ch", the "o" as in final Italian to an English diphthong as in "low<sup>h</sup>e", and the "r" of "habari" from a rolled "r" to the English of "are". When the same receptionist



greet the German client in sequence 4, he modifies his "j" even further, from the voiced "dz" to a nonvoiced "ch", as in "each". In the first instance the receptionists give the minimal Kisettla greeting which is transferred in the second sequence to teaching the tourist. The second case illustrates the point that a simplified version is used in "foreigner talk". On the other hand, such a simplified version has remained relatively stable in Kisettla, even though a recent grammar notes

"unlike the British, who are rather lax with regard to greetings, the Swahili speaking people have a very strong use of greetings. Particularly after prolonged absence, several minutes may be taken up with greetings before the subject for discussion is broached. To fail to reply to a greeting can cause great offence, and English greetings given in reply will by no means always be understood or accepted. It is therefore important to learn and use these greetings". (92)

This minimal attention to Swahili by the White Kenyans is an instance of the asymmetry whereby the powerless accommodate the powerful. (93)

What occurs in some encounters in this sector rather contradicts Gumperz's statement that

"To adopt the other's way of speaking would count as discourteous and constitute a breach of local etiquette". (94)

But it is specifically against these sorts of assumptions that the tourism sector provides interesting examples: the first instance of greeting, in this light, gives an example of minimal compromise of greetings in that middle ground Kisettla (see chapter 3). Yet the simplification of Swahili greetings to the tourist could also display accommodation through simplification. It may also be discourteous,

but the tourist has no knowledge of the "local" standards of courtesy and presumably does not interpret it as such. On the other hand such simplification could also constitute a game playing situation whereby boredom is relieved through the manipulation of these service encounters.<sup>(95)</sup> The case of greetings may provide a very subtle example of this, but the following examples may be clearer. Below I include Example 3, involving game playing amongst co-workers of a different nationality. A second example (4) provides an instance of the manipulation of Kisettla.

### Example 3

This takes place in the Mombasa tour operations office between the desk clerk, the restaurant manager and a worker from a nearby office. Another woman is present, who talks to the desk clerk. Previous to this encounter the restaurant manager has been teasing the desk clerk about an illness, and the hours he keeps. R signifies the restaurant manager, C the desk clerk, V the visiting worker.

1. C (to V) good morning sir how are you?
2. (laughter)
3. V I'm all right how are you? you are sad because you are//
4. C how is Daniel arap Moi?
5. R hullo how are you?
6. V (to R) I'm all right thank you
7. R good
8. V (to R) you are not yet back?
9. R not yet back where?
10. V down there

11. R not yet, I'm thinking, though, of going. I can't see you  
 12. know what am I going to do down there before there are  
 13. clients and there are no clients until July / bwana  
 (C meanwhile, continues his conversation with a woman  
 in the background in Kamba)
14. V until July?
15. R ya, it's - the water - it's too, it's too much rain,  
 16. the water's too, too difficult, you know, because the  
 17. clients go out, they get sick, because of all the  
 18. (apparent gestures) the sea (laughter) so that's no good,  
 19. /bwana/ for a restaurant,  
 20. hm, you can't bring sick people to a restaurant
21. V so how are things?
22. R things are good and with you?
23. V well, yes.

The imitating of speech (line 9) has taken the form of the particular enunciation of the final consonants repeated after the fashion of the visitor who entered. Since he has just walked in, he had not heard the previous joking; it is possible that the restaurant manager (American) was aware of the possible affront and continues the discussion to incorporate a joke at the expense of seasick tourists. This firstly establishes her as a joker, and secondly defuses the conflict of the potential discourtesy. Her tag address to him (line 13), in Swahili, invites a further question which prompts the humorous account. Her construction of the explanation about the sea (lines 15-19), using error correction,



follows literally a Swahili syntactical construction. His inquiry after her well being confirms "no offence taken" (line 21). We can assume he is her inferior from her imitation of the greetings, after the desk clerk's greeting.

A further example of imitating and here it is the syntactic structure which is modified, comes from a Lamu hotel reception. I shall discuss the example and give its context. The speakers are Giriama, and a Lamu fisherman. Giriama is highly comparable to Swahili in syntactic structure, lexicon and phonology, bordering geographically on the coastal Swahili area. The discussion has centred on the placing of the tape recorder and who has done it, how it records all the words. Subsequently the fisherman is asked why he has brought no fish. The tape was recorded during the rainy season when fish is not to be found around the shores of the archipelago, and fishermen have difficulty sailing further out. The fisherman tries to explain, saying he has not succeeded in catching fish. In response the receptionist says:

"we iko mbaya sana".

This literally means "you + there is (pronominal marker but not of the class of persons) + bad + very." What is implied is the Kisettla use of "iko".<sup>(96)</sup> The receptionist is chastising the fisherman in a manner which parallels the settler master chastising the servant. Since this person has not previously been speaking Kisettla, but Giriama and Swahili and as there is considerable discussion concerning the taping, I assume the receptionist's game was firstly for my benefit and secondly joking with the fisherman using a syntactic structure which displaced the receptionist from the chastisement

(or apportioning of blame). The taping certainly provided a fruitful source of relief from boredom in this locale. In this case identities of others are also constructed: I will return to this point below.

These two examples, then, draw first on accent and second on syntactic structure in game playing.

c) Loans and Code-switching

Example 2 (in Appendix) provides many instances of code-switching, and the use of loan words. By loan words I mean words used from a different language which have been significantly altered: that is, "words bearing no formal resemblance to the foreign words on which they are based" which I will call Swahilized. (97)

There are a considerable number of these loans which have been assimilated through the work of the ITLC that is through conscious process and which we find in the transcripts: "shilingi" is an example, from the English "shilling". It is difficult to distinguish those loans which have become customary from those whose use varies. In addition there are words which have been borrowed with no significant change to their structure or phonology: such as "cash" and "twentieth", and words which are recognizably "English" but Swahilized. An example of this latter is the word "driver", which has become "dreva" or "dereva" (98) following, too, Swahili rules for pluralizing: thus it becomes "madereva". A similar case is "waiter" - "weta", "maweta" (diphthong "ai" shortened). "Hotel" has been Swahilized to "hoteli": but occurs on one transcript as "hotel" in the following context:

ana/receipt/ya/hotels/siu?

he has the hotels' receipt, doesn't he?

"Siu" is the invariant Swahili tag question, which interferes in East African English in unconjugated tag questions (a further source for game-playing). The question arises of whether "hotels" and "hoteli" represent two different types of hotel. Whilst my transcripts did not clarify this point, one interviewee, interviewed in Swahili used both "hoteli" and "hotel". The same speaker also used the word "committee", Swahilizing it to "ma"-committee ("makomiti"), but also used the Swahili word "mkutano".<sup>(99)</sup> (The word "manager" appears: it could be Swahilized graphemically by "manaja", but its Swahilized plural would probably be considered unwieldy.)

There is a further problem that two sorts of loans exist: those which correspond to new items, and those for which a Swahili word does exist but is displaced.<sup>(100)</sup> "Receipt" is an example of the former. For the word "towel", there is the Swahili "kitambaa", but this, I was informed, is a smaller flannel, like a small handtowel: thus providing an example of a lexical item which does not correspond to an exact equivalent object. (It is possible that "towel" could be Swahilized to "toweli".) "Sheet" appears as "shiti": a White informant told me "nguo" was the Swahili for "sheet". However, when I checked this in the dictionary, the same word stands for "the name of a kind of bird which is said to be of ill omen". Wilson uses "shuka" for "sheet" (the Dictionary qualifies this to "shuka la kitandaa"). The word "nguo" appears in the tape transcripts of a linen store, but it also has the meaning of "cloth" and generic



"clothes": hence specific reference to "sheets" and items of clothing like "jacket". "Trousers", for instance, are referred to as "truza", by a Swahili speaker, as "seruali" by the same speaker.<sup>(101)</sup> However a White Kenyan has also Anglicized this to "seruwals"!!.<sup>(102)</sup> The word "room" presents a further unstable loan appearing both as "room" and "rumi" (pronounced almost as "roomy"), displacing "nyumba", "house" or "room". The choice of which lexical item is used is frequently dependent on the presence of, in the linen store transcript, the White housekeeper, triggered by greater use of English. Her presence also triggers a switch from Swahili syntax to Kisettla: hence

"iko pata mzuri"

there is + root of verb "find" + "fine"

(I've found clean covers, or: you've already given them to me).

The "lack of uniformity" in the "usage of the loan and coined items" has been indicated in the case of Amharic by Hailu Fulass.<sup>(103)</sup>

The above gives some instance of Swahili and English words only. I have found a further loan of "padri" and "mapadri", from the Italian "padre" or "priest"; and "finito", past participle of the verb "finire", meaning "finished" occurs, borrowed from Italian. I have not commented on loans between Kenya's languages, although some examples were given above. However, one item I will draw attention to is the use of "ati". Parkin has dubbed this a Kikuyu item.<sup>(104)</sup> However it occurs in my transcripts twice in Swahili conversations. My Dictionary, indeed, defines it

"A common interjection or expletive expressing surprise, or calling attention. Generally can be translated by "I say!", as it is from the verb ti, say, found in many Bantu languages".

The items mentioned above were nouns, some occurring as Masha points out for Luganda, within the context of "non-existence of indigenous vocabulary for new and alien material objects and abstract ideas".<sup>(105)</sup> There are various instances of verb loans, but they do not confirm Parkin's findings; he says

"It may be noted that English verbs incorporated in predominantly Swahili utterances normally (perhaps invariably) take Swahili pronominal and tense prefixes and English pronominal suffixes". (106)

We find for example "zineglect": the end of the verb does remain Anglicized although the verb is declined with the appropriate plural prefix, as Parkin suggests. Similarly "wameoda" "they have ordered", and "zimekensel" "they have cancelled". The verb "to check", however, for which there are possible Swahili equivalents ("kusimamia, kutazamia") occurs in two forms: firstly in the phrase

"nitakuja cheki" "I will come check" literally  
(i.e. neither marker of infinitive, nor  
causality are expressed)

secondly

"na hizo/checked/" "and these/checked/" (in the sense of  
"looked at" rather than "patterned")

The speaker is the same. Further there is the case of the verb "to change", which becomes

"siku yenu ya kuchenji" literally "it is your day to change"  
or "today you should change".

In addition to the verb, for which the Swahili is "kubadilisha", the noun "change" is frequently used with heavily aspirated "ch" amongst Coast speakers, as an imitation of the presumed English. Whilst the verbs "order", "cancel" and "neglect" do follow the pattern noted by Parkin, the verbs "check" and "change", then, do not.

An assessment of how generalized these terms, either nouns or verbs, have become is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, as Mosha points out for Luganda,

"an item which cannot be easily acquired by the common man because of its cost (or some other reason) will not spread to the masses, and hence a loan referring to such an item will not be Lugandanised as quickly and fully as one that refers to an item which can be afforded by many people irrespective of their economic or religious standing" . (107)

Certainly some of the items mentioned have wider currency than for use in one industry. On the other hand some items are quite specific to hotel, restaurants and tourism generally, including some French terms like "champagne" (108) and "mise en place". (109) What is significant in my findings is that use of English items extends throughout the hierarchy in the tourism industry, as well as manipulation of a specific Kisettla pidgin. Furthermore such a word list is of use for the eventual Kenya Swahili Committee. (110)

Returning to the case of Example 2 (in Appendix) I would like to look at the incidence of code-switched phrases and comment.

Translations are bracketed



1. what time?/saa ngapi? (what time)
2. one hour/saa moja /ein uhr (one hour)
3. no, no, no, this one is completing/anamaliza zile ambazo (both of these are completing)
4. any message?/hakuna/message? (no or none)

The first three examples fit clearly into Gumperz's category of repetition. The fourth does, also, but we note only one word switch: the negative. Where I find my material differs from Gumperz's is that such repetitions most definitely perform the function of message clarification which he distinguishes from repetition, in some cases. Indeed if his examples are taken from conversations where the participants share knowledge of the varieties, these examples suggest that repetition itself performs the function of message clarification (linguists have already noted the amount of redundancy in language).

5. jioni nitatoka/I was sick today (this evening I will leave).

This example can be read as message clarification: the apparently unrelated items are given as an explanation to the receptionist whose neutral "hms" may be interpreted as invitations for further information. In this instance the guest wishes to leave his case in the room (possibly beyond the hour required for guests to pack and leave: midday).

6. kuna namba? (is there a number?)  
reply: six eighty eight
7. kaĩ Mwangi akĩrĩ na cigana?  
(what is Mwangi's number: referring to an ID card)  
reply: o six four four

8. ngapi? (how many?)

reply: endelea ... eighty/ngapi?/six? (carry on ...  
how many?..)

9. mpaka/twentieth

(up to the) twentieth (///).

Numbers frequently occur in English. Hudson comments

"We might suspect, for instance, that some kinds of item will be borrowed only under conditions of widespread bilingualism, while others may occur where only a few members of a society are bilingual in the relevant languages. Aspects of the first type would count as least, and the second type as most, subject to borrowing, so we could set up a scale of accessibility to borrowing on which inflectional morphology, and 'basic vocabulary' such as small numbers, would presumably be at the 'least accessible' end, and vocabulary for artefacts (like aeroplane or hamburger) at the other. A word for the number 'one' for instance, will be borrowed only when almost everyone speaks both the 'borrowing' and the 'source' languages, whereas a word for 'aeroplane' could easily be borrowed when nobody is fully proficient in the two languages, but one or two people are familiar enough with the source language to know the word for 'aeroplane'". (112)

I cite this at length since it raises several points relevant to the items exemplified. First of all small numbers have been borrowed from English irrespective of the degree of bilingualism (or lack of it) (examples 6, 7, 8 controversially). We must look at factors extrinsic to the process of borrowing itself: the question I raise here is what can we deduce from the vocabulary about the social processes encompassing such borrowing? In the hotel sector, for instance, accounts, payments, filing, and other administrative tasks, are a central part of work. Furthermore such terminology is not

exclusive to the hotel and tourism sector. I would speculate that counting in English has been actively encouraged from the early days of tourism. Since tourism is such a widespread phenomenon, studies which take the approach of concurrently looking at social factors influencing borrowing would shed further light on this. Hudson, himself, admits that "the truth may turn out to be much more complex than is suggested by this hypothesis".<sup>(113)</sup>

Secondly the existence of borrowed numbers differs in different regions. In the Lamu region, Swahili numbers were used, even in the following context

'imeshuka moja, mbili zimekense'

(one came, two were cancelled)

where an English verb is borrowed (albeit Swahilized). Frequently Arab numbers are used in Lamu, but whilst none occurred in the duration of these tape transcripts, Arabic expressions of time did (I am assuming therefore differentiation between numbers and those used in time telling):

"ukifika Malindi utapata ndege saa / ihda ashara"

(when you arrive in Malindi, you will find a plane at  
11 o'clock)

Arabic greetings are, furthermore, frequent in Lamu.

A general conclusion I wish to draw from these examples is that the use of single lexical items, words, from other languages, particularly English is extremely common. A further analysis of these items should test speakers' perceptions of these items.<sup>(114)</sup>



A major point, however, is that the process of code-switching and mixing is very complex.

d) Stereotypes and Identity

I include the final short extract since it illustrates how two people, a man and a woman, used English and Italian as a vehicle for probing eating habits in the construction of identities. It illustrates a process of progressive questioning, and repetition where both speakers use one language, and where the repetition includes a switch, as an interrogative requiring confirmation (a "confession"). It is also indicative of how repetition is used as a tactic in an informal teaching situation, where the extra-institutional "pupil" has no formal training in the language, and how the "teacher" reinforces certain patterns.<sup>(115)</sup> It is an illustration of precisely that process of "picking up" a language so frequently mentioned by my interviewees in chapter 5. English is the second language of both participants.

The context is a small tours office on the island of Lamu. The manager is present in the background and visitors enter: some of these visitors are acquaintances of the manager, Lamu businessmen who come to buy plane tickets, for example, others may be tourists requesting tour services. I entered to place the tape recorder, then left: the participants are aware of it and comment. I have no information how, if at all, they greeted each other. The man is a young "beachboy", aged about seventeen years, that is he is not formally linked to a tourist establishment. There are many on Lamu;<sup>(116)</sup>

they go to the airport and compete to work as porters, for arriving tourists, they act as tour guides around the town and the islands of the archipelago, taking tourists out on boat trips, where these can be arranged with local fishermen.<sup>(117)</sup> They are frequently educated in madarasa, koranic schools, if at all. The woman is an Italian tourist, aged late twenties. (B is beachboy, T is the tourist.)

1. T. is this a tape?
2. B. /lei volere quando gente parla she wants people talking
3. T. a registrare to tape
4. B. sì ... (pause) yes
5. ma io non parlo bene italiano but I don't speak Italian well
6. T. /perhaps it isn't very interesting, bla bla bla, and
7. um, you eat cow?
8. B. /sì, carna /yes meat
9. T. anche nel Ramadhan? during Ramadhan also?
10. B. sì, sempre yes, always
11. T. sempre, soltanto, la carne always, only, pork?
12. di maiale?
13. B. sì, tutto mangio, vino no yes, I eat everything, no wine
14. T. mai?/never? never/
15. B. never
16. T. never wine, very good wine (she laughs)
17. B. wine is very good?/ma italiani piace Italians like wine
18. tanto vino a lot
19. T. abbiamo tanta uva we have lots of grapes
20. B. sì ma qui non c'è uva, yes, but here there are no
21. qui non c'è grapes, none

22. T. birra? beer?
23. B. anche birra, niente alcool beer as well, - no alcohol
24. T. niente alcool, niente birra? non alcohol, no beer?
25. B. aranciata, sì orangeade, yes
26. T. aranciata, limonata// orangeade, lemonade, //
27. B. acqua minerale mineral water
28. T. tonic water, soda water
29. B. sì yes
30. T. Schweppes; niente alcool/ no alcohol
31. whisky?/And if you drink some?
32. B. /c'è altra muslimani che beve some Muslims drink, but
33. ma per la religione dice religion tells us it is not
34. non è buono per - non si può bere good - we can't drink
35. T. /and you respect this?
36. B. /meglio, meglio così /better, it's better like this
37. T. /you know for many years we
38. can't - couldn't, we couldn't
39. eat meat on Friday
40. B. sorry/pole (Swahili) /sorry (Swahili)

Firstly, this is not work talk: this is a conversation. It begins with the tourist asking about the tape in English. Her question is addressed to the beachboy: I had previously commented on the presence of the tape recorder and therefore treat her use of English as an open question, that is, directed possibly at myself or the beachboy. He responds in Italian, perhaps to close the conversation from me: translated loosely he says "she wants people speaking" (line 2): his construction is subject (person) + verb (infinitive) + adverb of time



+ noun and verb correctly conjugated in the subordinate clause. The tourist interprets, replies with a phrase relating back to her comment on the tape (line 3), and to clarify the beachboy's message: what is missing is a verb after "volere" "to want" which she supplies "registrare" "to tape". The beachboy confirms and then produces a correct Italian sentence <sup>(118)</sup> "I don't speak Italian well", (line 5). The tourist switches to English, perhaps addressing the tape/me, doubting the validity of what is being recorded and adding some sounds to express idle chatter "bla, bla" (line 6). Her question addressed to the beachboy (line 7) is in the form of a statement. The question concerns religious habits, perhaps to add more content to my tape. <sup>(119)</sup> The word for the meat is expressed by the animal; in Italian, however, this is the case only for chicken. The beachboy responds in Italian "yes meat", but the ending should be "e", "carne", rather than "a" (line 8), which the tourist presently corrects (line 11), with the clarification about the type of meat "carne di maiale" "pork": in between she asks about Ramadhan (line 9). These questions, then, are clarifying, for the tourist, habits with which she is already partially familiar (it was Ramadhan at the time). She asks three questions concerning meat-eating: line 7, line 9, line 11, specifying the eating of meat, the time of eating and the kind of meat. The questions are all in statement form. Having elucidated sufficiently, but again closing the conversation to Italian, the beachboy furthers the topic of habits by referring to drinking, or more precisely what he cannot drink. He has received a cue that she was expecting some negation. She again asks twice, switching from Italian "mai" to English "never"

(line 14), the exact translation. She extends the topic to express in general terms her own liking of wine in English, and laughs (embarrassment at such 'sinfulness'?) (line 16). The beachboy repeats, interrogatively (rising intonation) in English, then switches to Italian: "Italians like wine"; he misses the article out (is this interference from English?). In guise of explanation the tourist says "there are plenty of grapes": the beachboy replies that "here there are no grapes, there are none here" (lines 20 and 21); hence we can take his explanation of not drinking as relating to the absence of grapes rather than to religious habit: as does the tourist. Line 22, "beer?", in Italian, where one word suffices to ask the question, then can be seen as a question regarding the religious habit. The beachboy answers "beer too", but corrects his error to "neanche", "neither, and classifies "no alcohol". The tourist repeats, to confirm the negative "no alcohol no beer". Instead the beachboy can drink, line 25, orange juice and the tourist extends this "limonata", lemon juice, and they continue adding the other soft drinks (lines 26-30) ending finally with the trade name. Line 28: the tourist mentions tonic water, a term which is borrowed from English into Italian. She then repeats her question "no alcohol" in abbreviated statement form, asks about whisky, and this signals her switch to English. The beachboy nonetheless replies in Italian literally translated "here there are other Muslims who drink but for the religion, says it is not good", then repeats with a more correct "one is not permitted to drink" (line 34). In line 35 the tourist switches to English, to elucidate an opinion, which the beachboy answers in Italian "better this way".



The tourist then comments on an Italian custom: she switches her phrase mid-sentence, to correct the tense of the verb, from present to past, and repeats the correct form. This time the beachboy commiserates with "sorry" which in its Swahili form, which he repeats, does not have the implications of blame as in English. At this point the beachboy talks to the manager, and then other interruptions occur; when their voices are clear again we have a recapitulation of the discussion

"questa donna volere qualcuno che parla italiano".

In this sentence he uses subject + verb infinitive + object plus subordinate clause: within the subordinate clause the verb is correctly conjugated, but the infinitive is a simplification of the verb to the infinitive, which characterizes Italian foreigner talk. Swahili foreigner talk, on the other hand, uses the verb root. Polomé's description of pidgins in Swahili shows how adverbs are used to express time, place and tense in Swahili: some similar simplification is shown in the use of Italian above.

What we see in this excerpt is the sort of chit-chat or phatic communication (to use Malinowski's term) which occurs around tourist locales. The less formal hotels than that where Example 1 takes place witness such phatic communion between tourist and guests around topics such as greetings and weather. Beachboys, wood carvers, taxi-drivers, perhaps, whom tourists engage in conversation beyond requests for services may well exhibit such forms of talk, and the topics of conversation proceed along the lines of "you do this, I have heard, is that so? we do this". These appeals to insider/outsider perceptions



appear to constitute the negotiation of identities: quite frequently they merely reinforce pre-given stereotypes: and in chapter 4 above I attempted to show whence and how those stereotypes derived.

#### IV Conclusions

In this chapter, then, I have looked at talk and suggested that conversational analysis needs further contextualizing. I have pointed out some shortcomings of the unit of analysis: my own data shows how topics recur even when question-answer sequences have been apparently completed. The continuity of the tapes has provided me with examples of topics recurring where they may be presumed to be closed. I have considered that the concept of network does not carry currency for sociolinguistic analysis in the tourist sector. I have specifically looked at service encounters and commented on how hierarchies are subtly reinforced in the use of greetings, the strategies for eliciting responses, and requesting service. I have compared Gumperz's data on conversational code-switching with my own transcripts, advancing an interpretation of one-word switches in the context of politeness. Furthermore I have commented on the elision of greetings in Kisettla, I have found material which repudiates Gumperz's comments on the permissibility of aping, suggesting rather that this would corroborate game playing as a strategy of communication, as well as an explanation for the continuing existence of Kisettla. I have discussed some loan words in Kiswahili and finally shown an instance of a tourist-beachboy conversation to exemplify a type of interchange on the boundary of the institutional context of tourism.

Edgar Polomé has discussed what he calls the social dialects of KiShamba, KiHindi, KiVita and Kisettla: I would also comment on Polomé's Swahili types that given the labour requirements of the agricultural estates, KiShamba and KiHindi are Kisettla.<sup>(120)</sup>

Given conditions ripe for the continuance of tourism, i.e. political stability, favourable international terms of trade, we might find a KiUtalii, a tourist pidgin. These forms of talk are a shorthand for a purely utilitarian contact between people in work. The use of simplified Swahili appears to constitute a process of stereotyping not only between tourist and workers but amongst workers themselves.

## APPENDIX 4

Example 1: Coast Hotel Reception (May 1979)

## Transcription Conventions:

Dots ... mark elements which are inaudible (either lost, or due to telephone conversation)

Stroke / marks a code-switch

double stroke

// marks interruption,

~~Comments~~ in brackets mark change of addressee, notes on translation.

## Actors/participants/speakers:

G guests, persons staying in hotel  
 V visitors, persons not staying in the hotel  
 both G and V numbered in sequence  
 T is a taxi-driver  
 W waiters, numbered in sequence  
 TL tour leader  
 C cashier  
 R receptionist

I bracket discrete sequences; translation on the right.

┌	1	G1	I will pay, er, I'm checking out tomorrow	
	2		I'm checking out tomorrow	
	3		How far is it to the airport?	
	4		room forty six	
	5	R	room four six	
	6	G1	now I'm going to pay by cheque	
	7	R	Nairobi cheque?	
	8	G1	okay?	
	9	R (to T)	ĩĩ njamba	yes man (implying a brave man)
	10	T	ĩĩ baba	yes father
	11	R	kwerwe atĩa?	how is it?
	12	T	gutirĩsna ũũru	it's all right?



- 13 R mũthuri uyu this old man (of age demanding  
14 respect)  
15 ena/haraka is in a hurry  
16 arenda akerwe thutha he wants to be here  
17 wa dagiga/fifteen in fifteen minutes  
18 niundu wa mucemano, time because of a meeting  
19 uretwo anga ndu/club they are calling it at  
20 thingy club  
21 nariũ ... and now he is late,  
22 niagĩcereirwe, no umu? can you help him?  
23 T .....  
24 R acoka rĩ umutware when he comes back take him  
25 X hotel to X hotel  
26 tondu nĩkũriganĩrwo because he has forgotten  
27 mararia ganĩrwo ni the name  
28 Z hotel  
29 R (to G1) you'll check again with him, for a taxi to take  
you to X hotel?  
30 R (to T) .....  
31 T aha  
32 R (to G1) you check with him  
33 G1 okay  
34 R have a nice time  
35 G1 thank you  
36  
37 G2 .....  
38 R you pay this to the cashier on the left  
39 G2 I still have a bag in my room  
40 R yes, do you want me to do something about the  
41 luggage, or//  
42 G2 yea - I still have er I still have some laundry  
43 R mmh  
44 G2 ... do you have the laundry here or ...?  
45 R did you send it express or you sent it normal one?

46 ... the normal? yea you'll get the bill that ...  
 47 at six o'clock ... between five and six o'  
 48 clock ... will you be around by then? ...  
 49 well would you check with me in er within half an  
 50 hour's time?

51 G2 We may not have the room

52 R do you need ... or you'll be somewhere in  
 53 the bar?

54 G2 pardon me?

55 R did someone come? you know, the bar//

56 G2 oh yea, yea, but he still has the er si-he still  
 57 has the sheet

58 R yes

59 G2 you know, the inventory sheet?

60 R ya

61 G2 and one of the one of the fellows up there that  
 62 didn't know what was going on signed it, and I  
 63 never got it back from his (laughs)

64 R so since he//

65 G2 so he has a signed sheet now and there's nothing  
 66 in the bar, okay? he took everything back out of  
 67 the bar

68 R okay

69 G2 but he has a signed sheet and I need to get rid  
 70 of that, I mean it's a it's a not a good sheet

71 R that means you didn't use anything//

72 G2 we did not use anything because there was an  
 73 empty bar to begin with and now it's still empty  
 74 and we have not used anything

75 R okay, let me get hold of him

76 R (on intercom) X huko? ... hakuna? is X there? he's not/  
 77 ah Y, room number three three eight, X served  
 78 in the main bar,/ ... a ugh?  
 79 lakini mna, mna /charge/ but you have

- 80 kitu kingine mbona charged things, so  
 81 ... mwambie X aje hapa/ tell X to come here/  
 82 alii, X, va kindu unathimite? say X did he order  
 83 ... eh? anything? ... eh?  
 84 ii, /lakini/nikulya yes but I'm asking you  
 85 ve kindu unanywite ... if he asked for anything  
 86 ... ve kindu unanywite vu if he asked for anything  
 87 thini katika/ninii/bar/ down at the bar?  
 88 nundu niasya ve mundu mwe because I think someone  
 89 /wasign/kana ... uai kindu? has signed that ... nothing?  
 90 (to G2) the person in charge of the bar, he says that  
 91 nothing has been used  
 92 G2 that's right  
 93 R so there is nothing  
 94 G2 yea but the sheet  
 95 R you need the long sheet?  
 96 G2 yea the long sheet, he has that, I don't know  
 97 what he's going to do with it  
 98 R no, I'll just clear about that  
 99 G2 okay  
 100 R ya, ya  
 101 G2 thankyou  
 2. L 102 R thankyou  
 103 V1 goodmorning, you have spare, a room?  
 104 R no I'm sorry, no, tonight we are fully booked, complete  
 105 nothing at all  
 106 V1 nothing?  
 107 R nothing  
 108 V1 for a week?  
 109 R we have tomorrow, er we have rooms tomorrow, we  
 110 can make a reservation for tomorrow, but tonight  
 111 I've got nothing at all  
 112 V1 can't you make a special  
 113 R no  
 114 phone



115 V1 a single room  
116 R for how long do you want to stay?  
117 V1 er it's for a girl friend of mine  
118 R mmh  
119 V1 she's arriving today, Mombasa an'er she like  
120 to stay a week but I don't know if she want to  
121 stay here a week  
122 R here?  
123 V1 ... for three four days or a week ah  
124 R what's the//  
125 V1 she's staying a week here in Kenya  
126 R oh I see, so, we're booking for one week  
127 V1 ya  
128 R in case?  
129 V in case  
130 R if you want to stay longer then you can let us  
131 know then we//  
132 V2 (if she stays shorter?  
(  
133 V1 (maybe she'll stay shorter  
134 R no problem, can I have er  
135 V1 er name?  
136 R ya, mhmh, can I have your name sir? the name?  
137 you are Mr. Who?  
138 V1 W  
139 R W  
140 V1 Longson  
141 R that's the initials?  
142 V1 ya, W. L. Lemon, Anton, Nairobi, Schubert, Oliver  
143 Nairobi  
144 R have you got your box number?  
145 V1 I stay in Malindi  
146 R Malindi, are you staying in the hotel or?  
147 V1 X hotel  
148 R er?  
149 V1 X hotel

150 R X Hotel, box, do you know the box number now?  
 151 V1 er, I could check presumably looking in phone  
 152 book or whatever  
 153 R do you know what time she will be arriving tomorrow?  
 154 V1 she'll stay tonight in Mombasa or someth//  
 155 R ya  
 156 V1 in the morning  
 157 R at around ten, between ten and nine  
 158 V1 ten, is a good time  
 159 R ten o'clock, okay fine  
 160 V1 ten o'clock  
 161 R good  
 162 V1 oh thanks very much  
 3. 163 R fine welcome  
164 G3 we had a very beautiful stay here  
 165 R yes did you enjoy it?  
 166 G3 very nice, very good  
 167 R how long are you staying in Kenya, or you are going  
 168 tomorrow or when?  
 169 G3 .....

170 R from Kenya where will you be moving to? ...  
 171 G3 ... it rained all day so  
 172 R ah yesterday was terrible, it was too much rain  
 173 yesterday  
 174 G3 my, er, laundry?  
 175 R we have told the housekeeper, when she receives  
 176 the laundry, she will bring it down here and  
 177 we will keep it for you  
 178 G3 okay  
 179 R ya  
 180 G3 because I don' wanna have to//  
 181 R so you can check with me, let's say in one hour's  
 182 time, just come down//  
 183 G3 well er, could you hold it for me?  
 184 R sure

185 G3 and then I ...  
 186 R oh you are catching the train tonight?  
 187 G3 ...  
 188 R fine I will keep it for you here  
 189 G3 thankyou  
 4 L 190 R you're welcome  
 191 R (on phone) hullo housekeeping ... good afternoon ...  
 192 G4 are ...  
 193 R no  
 194 G4 they are not going now?  
 195 R no  
 196 G4 why not?  
 197 R I think, do you mean this bus?  
 198 G4 yea the town bus they go to town  
 199 R there's one going at two o'clock  
 200 G4 two o'clock or two thirty, it says on there?  
 201 R there's one going at two o'clock or two thirty  
 202 ... have you seen<sup>^</sup>the schedule  
 203 G4 yes it says two thirty  
 204 R ya, there's one two thirty and the other one  
 205 at four o'clock  
 206 G4 ..... tickets  
 207 R she will be back at two o'clock  
 208 G4 that's all right ah? okay thankyou  
 209 R ya, are you staying there sir, can I take your  
 210 room number and I can book you a ticket?  
 211 G4 no I just checked out  
 212 R can I have your name sir?  
 213 G4 yer, okay, ...  
 214 R one or two? one person  
 215 G4 one person  
 216 R no, don't pay me now, I will tell Z when she  
 217 comes and then come, you pay her  
 218 G4 okay  
 219 R ya



	220	G4	thankyou	
	221	R	it will be two thirty, ah?	
5.	└─┬ 222	G4	right	
6.	└─┬ 223	W1	.....	
	224	R	hii ni kitu ya chakula	this is food
	225	R	ya/breakfast	breakfast
	226	W1	.....	
	227	R	ay ukienda/breakfast/	if you're going to
	228		unampeyule jamaa pale/	breakfast, give it
	229		dining room	to our friend in
	230			the dining room
	231	W1	mmh	
	232	R	kuna/captain/ambao ana	the captain there has
	233		.....	
	234	W1	I see/hiyo ni kwake?	I see, this is his?
	235	R	yeye anasema .....	he says .....
	236	W1	can I take this with me?	
	237	R	sure	
	238	W1	he is in the lounge ah?	
	239	R	ya	
	240	W1	lounge/ndio hii ...	lounge yes, this ...
	241	R	iko pale	it is there
6.	└─┬ 242	W1	ooh asante	thanks
	└─┬ 243	G5	which room is er Lover in?	
	244	R	this one?	
	245	G5	no, Lover, L O V E R	
	246	R	L O B E //	
	247	G5	no V	
	248	R	V? he's in number three two five	
7.	└─┬ 249	G5	thankyou	
	└─┬ 250	V2	how much are your rooms?	
	251	R	a single room is a hundred and fifteen bed and	
	252		breakfast	
	253	V2	.... what's a double?	
	254	R	double room, let's see, two hundred and thirty	
	255	V2	no breakfast in bed ah?	

- 256 R no we never do th/ room only
- 257 V2 how much is .....
- 258 R ... they are charging two hundred and fifty,
- 259 Y (hotel) yea, two hundred and fifty
- 260 V2 two hundred and fifty for one?
- 261 R Z (hotel) we are charging hundred and fifteen
- 262 that's single
- 263 V2 ahaa
- 264 R and double room is two hundred and fifty (??)
- 265 V2 two hundred and fifty
- 266 R ya ..... well at the moment I am sorry I don't
- 267 have a room at all, the hotel is fully booked
- 268 completely, there's nothing at all, the uhm,
- 269 A hotel, they have rooms
- 270 V2 where?
- 271 R A hotel, it's next hotel
- 8 L 272 V2 how far is it to .....
- 273 R full, they are full completely full
- ┌ 274 (to H) H, hebu mpatie X H, take X's
- 275 H bwana
- 276 R mmh
- 277 G6 are you going to bring my bag down?
- 278 R he's going to pick them up
- 279 G6 okay
9. ┌ 280 R mmh
- ┌ 281 G7 jambo
- 282 R chambo, habari
- 283 G7 mzuri
- 284 R habari yako
- 285 G7 four three six
10. ┌ 286 R four three six, ya thankyou/asante sana thankyou
- ┌ 287 G8 number eight please
11. ┌ 288 R number eight thankyou
- ┌ 289 R (to Ann) hi, Ann, you busy?
- 290 A yes, what can I do for you? won't you give me
- 291 these three rooms at eleven o'clock?

292 R you see we just got this booking charge now,  
 293 since they are VIPs we must give them VIP treatment  
 294 can't we? ..... can you give me the rooms?  
 295 A ah?  
 296 R give me the ready rooms  
 297 A I give you? oh shit er .... twelve, or er  
 298 fifty?  
 299 R ah?  
 300 A I was given a ready room there and I forgot,  
 301 twenty four  
 302 R someone told you that twenty four was ready?  
 303 A .....  
 304 R hapana hapana hapana sema don't don't don't say  
 305 hiyo kitu, hapana tumia those things, don't use  
 306 hiyo lugha hapa, that language here  
 307 kuna maneno iko hapa there's a thing here  
 308 ina-, ina-, ..... it it it  
 309 kuzungumza inachukua it is taping talk  
 310 A kweli? really?  
 311 R ..... urongo? .....lies?  
 312 iko hapa, njoo hapa it's here, come here  
 313 nazunguka it's going round  
 314 nasema urongo? am I lying?  
 315 A mrongo liar  
 316 R njoo ndani ..... come in here  
 317 iko hapa, hapana mchezo it's here, it's  
 318 not a joke  
 319 A nakuja kuona I'll come and look  
 320 R haya ..... sasa sikia okay, now listen  
 321 mi namuambia hapana I'm telling you  
 322 kama urongo not to and I'm not  
 323 lying  
 324 ye ye anachukua mambo it is taking  
 325 inayozungumza hapa in what is being  
 discussed here  
 326 (to W2) we kwenda go away



327 W2 mmh?  
 328 R nasema toka I said get out  
 329 W2 ....  
 12. L 330 R .... the key is upstairs  
 13. L 331 C one fifty one ....  
 332 R one five one?  
 333 C one fifty one  
 334 R yea he is staying until the fifteenth  
 335 C nineteenth?  
 336 R fifteenth  
 337  
 338 .....(Section with several people talking at once)  
 14. L 339 G9 hi there, may I have ninety five please  
 340 R nine five, uhm, have you been in your room?  
 341 G9 yes, they er got it fixed  
 342 .....(three people ask for keys contemporaneously)  
 15. L 343 G10 three three zero please, and three three two  
 344 five  
 16. L 345 R hullo  
 346 G11 jambo  
 347 R habari?  
 348 G11 four three two, four three two ....  
 L 349 G12 two twenty nine, room two twen'y nine  
 350 R there's a message for you here  
 351 G12 thankyou very much  
 17. L 352 R you're welcome sir

Example 2: A Malindi Hotel Reception

Actors/participants/speakers:

R1 and R2	receptionists
G	guests, persons staying in hotel
M	Maintenance manager
C	Cashier

- |    |     |            |  |                             |
|----|-----|------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. | ┌ 1 | R1         | Nine o'clock .. ha?hapa/reception/               | here/at/reception           |
|    | 2   |            | weka hapa/reception at nine o'clock              | bring it here to reception  |
|    | ┌ 3 | R1         | Jambo Bwana X                                    |                             |
|    | 4   | M          | Jambo sana habari                                |                             |
|    | 5   | R1         | mzuri  |                             |
| 2. | └ 6 | R2         | jambo, habari                                    |                             |
| 3. | ┌ 7 | R1         | I want to leave a message for the messenger..... |                             |
| 4. | └ 8 | R2         | jambo  |                             |
|    | 9   | G1         | jambo  |                             |
|    | 10  | R2         | habari?  |                             |
|    | 11  | G1         | Wir gehen heute nach ...                         | today we are going          |
|    | 12  | R2         | ah write/zimmer/number ...                       |                             |
|    | 13  | R1         | .....  |                             |
|    | 14  | G1         | .....  |                             |
|    | 15  | R2         | ah, two one eight                                |                             |
|    | 16  | G1         | /einz/   |                             |
|    | 17  | R2         | two one eight two two seven                      |                             |
|    | 18  | G1         | .....  |                             |
|    | 19  | R2         | this is two, this is one/time?                   |                             |
|    | 20  |            | what time/saa ngapi?                             | /what time?                 |
|    | 21  | G2         | Jetzt? .....                                     |                             |
|    | 22  | R2         | walikuwa wameoda au namna gani?                  | have they ordered or what?  |
|    | 23  | R1 (to R2) | unasema hii ufanye mpaka lini?                   | you said do this till when? |
|    | 24  | G1         | wie lange?                                       |                             |

25	R2	aber/(to telephonist) unawesa kuchukua kwa muda gani? /one hour (to R3) /saa moja/	when can you get it? one hour one hour
26	R3	saa moja	one hour
27	R2 (to G1)	ein uhr	one hour
28	G1	ah, einz	ah, one
29	G2	einz .....	
30	G1	.....	
31	R1	it's o.k. that's o.k.	
32	R3	mfanye/cash	cashier(?)
33	C	yea	
34	G1	wir haben .....	we have ....
35	R1 (to R3)	ulisema nikupe tarehe ngapi?	you said I should take it from which date?
36		ile ninihino ...ile?	this one? ... this?
4. L 37	R3	endelea mpaka/twentieth/	go up to the /twentieth/
38	R1	mpaka/twentieth?	to the /twentieth?
39	R3	mmh	
40	R1	na unafikiri ni kazi kidogo ile?	and you don't think that's much?
41		wanajua ilifanya mpaka lini?	Do you know when it was done?
42	R3	najua lakini/I'm coming there as well	/I know but/
43	R1	ukiwa unawesa kufanya utafanya tu	/if you can do, then do so
44	R3	/no, no, no, no./	
45	R1	kuna kazi zingine bado zinangoja hapa,	/there will be more work soon don't stop yet
46		hii italeta kelele	or there will be trouble
47	R3	/no no this one is completing/	
48		anamaliza zile ambazo zinaweza	when both of these are
49		kuleta maneno na anapeleka kwa/	finished, they can
50		manager	take a query to the manager



51	R1	ile kazi, ile kazi ikiwa ifike/	this work, this work,
52		twentieth/itakuwa ni zaki ya	if it goes up to the
53		kufanya mpaka jioni	twentieth, we'll have
54	R3	haa	to work till evening
55	R1	hapana sema aaa, bwana .....	don't say aah, man...
S. L 56	R3	kunja/socks/bwana	pull up your/socks/man ..

NOTES

1. Maxine Hong Kingston, 1981, China Men, London, Picador, p.60.
2. R. A. Hudson, 1980, Sociolinguistics, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p.2.
3. Allen D. Grimshaw, 1982, "Comprehensive Discourse Analysis: an instance of professional peer interaction", Language in Society, vol. 11, No. 1, April, p.15.
4. Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, Tanzania.  
The volumes were published as follows: M. L. Bender, J. D. Bowen, R. L. Cooper and C. A. Ferguson, (eds.), 1976, London, Oxford University Press; W. H. Whiteley, (ed.), 1974, Nairobi, Oxford University Press; P. Ladefoged, C. Cripser and R. Glick, (eds.), 1971, Nairobi, Oxford University Press; S. Ohannessian and M. Kashoki, (eds.), 1978, London, International African Institute, and E. Polome and C. P. Hill, (eds.), 1981, London, Oxford University Press.
5. For example J. Fishman, 1972a), The Sociology of Language, Rowley, Newbury House, and 1972b), Advances in the Sociology of Language, The Hague, Mouton.
6. J. J. Gumperz, 1977, "The Sociolinguistic significance of conversational Codeswitching", RELC Journal, Journal of Language Teaching and Research in S.E. Asia, vol 8., No. 2, December, pp. 1-34. See also J. J. Gumperz, 1982, Discourse Strategies, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, chapter 4. Gumperz's work has provided an important series of frames of reference to my own. It derives from the ethnography of communication, a field of research dealing with linguistic and anthropological aspects of speech.

7. G. Kress and R. Fowler, 1979, "Interviews", in Roger Fowler, Bob Hodge, Gunther Kress and Tony Trew, 1979, Language and Control, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul; Marilyn Merritt, 1976, "On questions following questions in service encounters", Language in Society, vol. 5, pp. 315-357.
8. E. Nida, and W. Wonderley, 1971, "Communication Roles of Languages in Multilingual Societies", in W. H. Whiteley, (ed.), Language Use and Social Change, London, Oxford University Press, pp. 57-74.
9. M. A. K. Halliday, 1976, "Antilanguages", UEA Papers in Linguistics, vol. 1, pp. 15-45, The antilanguage of women is often called "gossip".
10. See also E. Goffman, 1976, "Replies and Responses", Language in Society, vol. 5, pp. 257-313.
11. Alvin Gouldner, 1970, The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology, 1971, London, Heinemann, p. 379.
12. J. J. Gumperz, 1982, Discourse Strategies, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, and J. M. Atkinson, and P. Drew, 1979, Order in Court: The Organization of Verbal Interaction in Judicial Settings, London, Macmillan, p.33. Nessa Wolfson has criticized the notion of a formal speech event by suggesting that all speech events are natural; she suggests the notion of "appropriate" speech, where the context is taken as a priority. She further suggests that a tape recorder functions as a participant. See Nessa Wolfson, 1976, "Speech events and natural speech; some implications for sociolinguistic methodology", Language in Society, vol. 5, pp. 189-209.
13. Discourse Strategies, p. 60.
14. See J. A. Fishman, 1971, "The Relationship between Micro- and Macro-Sociolinguistics in the Study of Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When", in J. B. Pride, and Janet Holmes, 1972, (eds.), Sociolinguistics, Harmondsworth, Penguin, pp.15-32.



15. Gumperz, Discourse Strategies, p.60.
16. Ibid, p.61.
17. Speier, indeed, in Sudnow's important collection of ethnomethodological articles says "I will address my remarks to that form of talk commonly referred to as "conversation", although I will make no attempt to explicate why I treat "conversation" as a special class of a larger class of phenomena called talk, except to say it seems intuitively right to me at the moment", Speier, 1972 in D. Sudnow, (ed.), 1972, Studies in Social Interaction, New York, Free Press, p.399.
18. Gumperz, Discourse Strategies, p.29.
19. Atkinson and Drew, Order in Court, p.33.
20. Harvey Sacks, E. A. Schegloff, and G. Jefferson, 1974, "A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation", Language, vol. 50, No. 4, Part 1, December, pp. 696-735.
21. David Hughes, 1982, "Control in the Medical Consultation: Organizing talk in a situation where Co-participants have differential Competence", Sociology, vol. 16, No. 3, August, pp. 359-376.  
 The lack of cross-fertilization between linguistics and sociology is witnessed by the absence of reference to Coulthard and Ashby's work on doctor-patient relations, by Hughes. See R. M. Coulthard and M. C. Ashby, 1976, "A Linguistic description of Doctor-Patient Interviews", in M. Wadsworth and D. Robinson, (eds.), Studies in Everyday Medical Life, London, Martin Robertson.
22. Atkinson and Drew, Order in Court, p.190.  
 On silence see also K. H. Basso, 1970, "'To Give up Words'": Silence in Western Apache Culture", Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Autumn, also in P. P. Giglioli, (ed.), 1972,

- Language and Social Context , Harmondsworth, Penguin, pp. 67-86.  
On the interpretation or misinterpretation of length of utterance see W. Labov, 1969, "The logic of non-standard English", Georgetown Monographs on Language and Linguistics, vol. 22, pp. 1-31, also in N. Keddie, (ed.), 1973, Tinker, Tailor - The Myth of Cultural Deprivation, Harmondsworth, Penguin, pp. 21-66.
23. Gumperz, "Conversational Code-switching",
  24. Gumperz, Discourse Strategies, p.47.
  25. See, for example, Gumperz, "Conversational Code-switching", p.3, also L. Milroy, 1980, Language and Social Networks, London, Basil Blackwell, p.32.
  26. Labov's study of Martha's Vineyard examined speech in a community seasonally invaded by tourists, see W. Labov, 1963, "The Social Motivation of a Sound Change", Word, vol. 19, pp. 273-309.
  27. Gumperz, "Conversational Code-switching", p.12.
  28. Gumperz, Discourse Strategies, p.44.
  29. Gumperz, "Conversational Code-switching", p.12.
  30. Ibid.
  31. Gumperz, Discourse Strategies, p.47.
  32. Ibid., p.41.
  33. Ibid.
  34. Ibid., p.50.
  35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., p.51.

Gumperz says "Language differences play an important, positive role in signalling information as well as creating and maintaining the subtle boundaries of power, status, role and occupational specialization that make up the fabric of our social life", ibid., pp.6-7. Compare this with the following comment on the work of Sacks: "Having analyzed this conversation in such a way as to discover a significant difference between Dan's speech and that which preceded it, it was intriguing to read in Sacks (1975, p. 338), that "'Dan' is an adult, and the therapist in what is a group therapy session in which the others attend'. Sacks states that this is a 'fact which never again figures in our discussion'", David Silverman, and Brian Torode, 1980, "The essentialism of ethnomethodology", chapter 7 of The Material Word, London, RKP, p. 169, n. 10. The reference to Sacks is "An Analysis of the Course of a Joke's Telling in Conversation", in R. Bauman, and J. Sherzer, (eds.), 1975, Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

37. Gumperz, Discourse Strategies, p.6.

38. Goffman, "Replies and Responses".

39. Gumperz, "Conversational Code-switching", p.10.

40. L. Milroy, 1980, Language and Social Networks.

The concept of network for Milroy seems to function as a sort of micro-community. I do not consider conceptualizing tourist locales either in terms of communities or networks, since firstly the notion of community is based on at least shared history and experience in a particular geographical space, and secondly networks function to explain the relationships and changing patterns of association and interpersonal communication between the domains of family, friendships, work etc, within a community. Tourist locales share facets of these concepts only coincidentally if at all.



41. Ibid., p.141.
42. For example a tape recorder, as suggested in footnote 12 above.
43. Such an analysis would benefit from video-taperecording; this was beyond the scope of this chapter.
44. Gumperz, Discourse Strategies, p.77.
45. I am indebted to Dr. Joan Russell of the Department of Language, University of York.
46. Gumperz, Discourse Strategies, p.87 and p.88.
47. Corroborated by Dr. Joan Russell, Department of Language, York: personal communication, November 1982.
48. Gumperz, Discourse Strategies, p.88, switch underlined.
49. A stroke (/) identifies the switch, translation in brackets ().
50. A Standard Swahili-English Dictionary, 1939, published by the Inter-Territorial Language Committee, Nairobi, Oxford University Press. The word appears "not to be of Bantu origin".
51. Personal communication, York, November, 1982.
52. Gumperz, Discourse Strategies, p.67.
53. D. J. Parkin, 1974, "Language Switching in Nairobi", in Whiteley, Language in Kenya, p. 193.
54. Emmanuel Schegloff and Harvey Sacks, 1973, "Opening up Closings" in Roy Turner, (ed.), 1974, Ethnomethodology, Harmondsworth, Penguin, pp. 233-264.

55. Gail Jefferson, 1972, "Side Sequences", in D. Sudnow, (ed.), Studies in Social Interaction, New York, Free Press, pp. 294-338.  
also 1973, "A case of precision timing in ordinary conversation: overlapped tag-propositioned address terms in closing sequences", Semiotica, vol. 9, pp. 47-96.
56. H. Sacks, E. Schegloff and G. Jefferson, 1974, "A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation", Language, vol. 50, No. 4, part 1, December, pp. 696-735.
57. Charles A. Ferguson, 1976, "The Structure and Use of Politeness Formulas", Language in Society, vol. 5, pp. 137-151.
58. J. B. Gleason, and S. Weintraub, 1976, "The acquisition of routines in child language", Language in Society, vol. 5, pp. 129-136, and William A. Corsaro, 1979, "'We're Friends, right?': Children's use of access rituals in a nursery school", Language in Society, vol. 8, pp. 315-336.
59. Gail Jefferson, 1974, "Error correction as an interactional resource", Language in Society, vol. 2, pp. 181-199.
60. M. Coulthard, 1977, An Introduction to Discourse Analysis, London, Longman, p.91.
61. Grimshaw, "Comprehensive Discourse Analysis", pp. 15-16.
62. Where he encountered a problem of interpretation, for instance, he says "I am not prepared to argue, for example, that considerations of status among the three participants prevented them from being more direct", ibid., p.37.
63. Gleason and Weintraub, "Routines in Child Language", also used video tapes.

64. See Coulthard, Introduction to Discourse, chapter 4, for a useful synopsis of work in this area.
65. Grimshaw, "Comprehensive Discourse Analysis", p.37, emphasis in text.
66. It is not at all clear to me why, barring the desire to interpret the linguistic as self-explanatory, Grimshaw denies considerations of status, which would appear to permit an interpretation of his data.
67. Merritt, "On questions following questions", p.322.
68. See Ferguson, "Politeness Formulas", also R. Brown, and A. Gilman, 1960, "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity", in P. P. Giglioli, 1972, (ed.), Language and Social Context, Harmondsworth, Penguin, pp.252-282.
69. Based on Kress and Fowler, "Interviews".
70. E. Goffman, 1964, "The Neglected Situation", in Giglioli, Language and Social Context, p. 6.
71. Merritt, "On questions following questions", p. 321.
72. Ibid.
73. Ferguson, "Politeness formulas", p.145, citing Firth.
74. Goffman, cited in Ferguson, ibid.
75. Ibid, p. 145-6.
76. See Dale Spender, 1980, Man Made Language, London; RKP,



76. continued.

I hesitate purely because the tapes are difficult to hear, not because I doubt the plausibility of such an interpretation.

77. We do not know how familiar the receptionist is with any of the the guests: the extent of mutual knowledge, or friendship is not systematically discussed by the conversational analysts.

78. Roger W. Brown, and Marguerite Ford, 1964, "Address in American English", in Dell Hymes, (ed.), Language in Culture and Society, New York, Harper and Row, p.244.

79. Kress and Fowler, "Interviews", p.63.

80. Ibid., p.64.

81. Ibid., p.63.

82. For a detailed study see L. Churchill, 1978, Questioning Strategies in Sociolinguistics. New York, Newbury House.

83. Spender, Man Made Language, p. 48-9.

84. Kress and Fowler, "Interviews", p.63.

85. I could call him White, in accordance with the point made above chapter 2, concerning racial or ethnic classifications, but we cannot "see" he is White, from the tape, we can "hear" he is not a native Englishman of any colour.

86. I have subsequently discovered that such innuendo also occurs in England

87. I am again grateful to Dr. Joan Russell who corroborated both points on the basis of her own Swahili research in Mombasa, and also to discussion with Mr. T. T. L. Davidson, Department of Linguistics, Leeds University.

§7. (continued)

Kate Purcell presented a fascinating paper at the Department of Sociology, Discussion Week on Religion, November 1982, organized by Dr. R. Towler, on the range of topics discussed by women at work in a Lancashire engineering factory, which led me to this "light relief" hypothesis of code-switching.

88. W. H. Whiteley, 1971, "A Note of Multilingualism", in Edwin Ardener, (ed.), Social Anthropology and Language, London, Tavistock, p. 123.
89. Personal communication, Hotel Manager, Malindi, May 1979.
90. Ferguson, "Politeness Formulas", p.141.
91. A Standard Swahili-English Dictionary. Plural markers alter these forms.
92. P. M. Wilson, 1970, Simplified Swahili, Nairobi, East African Literature Bureau, p.6.  
D. V. Perrott says "it is not much use knowing how to speak Swahili well unless we know how to speak to people in the right way". A section on greetings is incorporated into Lesson 48, "African manners", the last, in his Teach Yourself Swahili, London, English Universities Press, 1951, quote from 1957 edition, p.149.
93. Nancy Henley, 1977, Body Politics, New Jersey, Prentice Hall.
94. Gumperz, Discourse Strategies, p.39.
95. A point corroborated by Mr. T. T. L. Davidson.
96. E. Polome discusses the replacement of the copula by 'iko' in "Swahili Pidgins", unpublished manuscript.

97. Hudson, Sociolinguistics, p.58.
98. See Wilson, Simplified Swahili.
99. I account for this by the speaker's perception of my Swahili: I had verified the form of my questions and recorded his answers: he perceived that my Swahili was not as good as the questions might have suggested.
100. One factor in borrowing is the time scale appealed to, as Gumperz notes, using Latin borrowing in English, Discourse Strategies, p.67. See also Hudson, Sociolinguistics, p. 59. Professor T. E. Hope has pointed out a shift of interest in linguistics from definitions of "loan words according to what one might call their 'national' status - their relative degree of acceptance into the new language" to definitions of "borrowing in more general terms, including under this heading all linguistic phenomena from foreign sources which appear in a given language, however ~~ephemerally~~ephemerally", see T. E. Hope, 1971, Lexical Borrowing in the Romance Languages: a Critical Study of Italianisms in French and Gallicisms in Italian from 1100 to 1900, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, (2 vols.), p. 577.
101. Cited as a word of Arabic derivation in the Dictionary, Wilson has "surali" in his 1970 Simplified Swahili. See also Abraham Demoz, 1963, "European Loanwords in an Amharic Daily Newspaper", in J. Spencer, (ed.), Language in Africa, London, Cambridge University Press, pp. 116-122.
102. There is also a vocabulary of Swahili loans in English, of which the most obvious is "safari". "Tafadhali", "please", seems to appear as a general call to attention; "nini", "thingummy", also appears.



103. Fulass Hailu, 1971, "Problems of Terminology", in Whiteley, Language Use and Social Change, p. 311.
104. Parkin, "Language Switching", p. 194.  
I am grateful to Dr. Joan Russell, of the Department of Language. University of York, for drawing my attention to this.
105. M. Mosha, 1971, "Loan Words in Luganda: a Search for Guides to the Adaptation of African Languages to modern conditions", in Whiteley, Language Use and Social Change, p.292.
106. D. Parkin, 1977, "Emergent and Stabilized Multilingualism: Polyethnic Peer Groups in Urban Kenya", in Howard Giles, (ed.), Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations, London, Academic Press, p. 209, n.3.
107. Mosha, "Loan Words in Luganda", p.296.  
His discussion on the use of Lugandanized loans proceeds according to differential use based on age and educational factors.
108. Ibid.
109. Personal communication, Lecturer, Utalii College, Nairobi, June, 1979.
110. Policy measures concerning Swahili would promote probably the use of grammars other than Kisettla pidgins, since these are considered low status markers, paradoxically.
111. On p.332 above I commented on the problem of distinguishing loan words from codeswitched phrases: here the problem is clarified: the Swahili word can only be translated by a phrase in English. For this reason I have considered loans and code-switching together.

112. Hudson, Sociolinguistics, p. 60-61.
113. Ibid.
114. This would accord with the interests of pre-structuralist linguists, as suggested by Hope in note 100 above.
115. It seems possible that Settler Swahili, for instance, has the simplified structures, particularly unconjugated verbs, because of reinforcement by Black Kenyans, in teaching situations paralleled by this example. The "pidgin", then, exists in a middle ground where both Black and White mutual stereotypes are permitted free range.
116. There are many in Malindi, fewer around the South coast resort of Diani.
117. Work is highly <sup>gender</sup> segregated in Lamu: I found no fisherwomen, The role of the "beachboys" is to some extent equivalent to that of prostitutes. See Janet Bujra. 1977, 'Production, Property, Prostitution, 'Sexual Politics' in Atu', Cahiers d'études Africaines, vol.xvii, No. 65, pp. 13-39.
118. There is intermittent use of an article before the noun in Italian: in colloquial speech it disappears.
119. The object of the tape seemed to blur the question of whether I would get the tapes translated in the minds of the participants: there is an assumption here, for example, that I do not speak Italian (and that I am not likely to get the tapes translated).

120. E. Polomé, 1967, Swahili Language Handbook, Washington. Centre for Applied Linguistics, p.26. "Shamba", meaning country, is thought to derive from the French "champs". For some Ethiopian parallels, see M. H. Abdulaziz and M. J. Fox, 1978, Evaluation Report on the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching of Eastern Africa, unpublished, Nairobi, September.



## CHAPTER 7

## CONCLUSIONS

"He could express himself with fluency and ignorance in several languages; in a very few minutes, he went from French to English and from English to an enigmatic conjunction of Salonika Spanish and Macao Portuguese",

Jorge Luis Borges (1)

a) Language in Kenyan Society

b) Kenyan Society and Tourism

## CHAPTER 7

## CONCLUSIONS

A major research question directing this inquiry was how is it possible on the basis of criticism of the concepts of network and domain to depart from the analytical perspective of the Ford Foundation's language surveys, and, indeed other language planning literature, to incorporate concepts from the sociology of development into socio-linguistic studies in non-industrialized nations? The study of language in society both involves assessment of who uses which languages, how these are learnt and for what purpose, and entails either implicitly or explicitly conceptualizing society. I shall focus my comments first on language in Kenyan society and then draw some general conclusions on languages at work.

a) Language in Kenyan Society

I have argued that political considerations in language use have been central from the first discovery of the different Kenyan languages by Europeans. The first descriptions of languages were undertaken in an atmosphere of missionary zeal, spurred by the intent to abolish slavery, to colonize and inculcate the Kenyan population with the truths of Christianity. After colonization the administration gradually adopted responsibility for education, serving as mediator between the now established Christian missions and the settlers for whom the educational system was to provide labour. The educational system would also, eventually, provide labour for the administration

itself, this latter becoming the later leadership for independent Kenya. Swahili predominated in discussions about language for several reasons: firstly it was familiar from the Portuguese conquest of Mombasa, secondly Krapf and Rebmann, arriving three centuries later, chose to work on Swahili, establishing a foundation and setting a precedent for further missionary study, thirdly it was a lingua franca, as a result of extensive trading patterns which had existed over centuries, between the coast and the hinterland. Swahili was therefore extensively used. As John Spencer points out

"Either there was an almost total rejection of vernacular languages in official administration and education; or alternatively there was some attempt to find a place for the vernaculars within the educational system - sometimes in the face of opposition from the Africans - and to give limited encouragement to the use of selected vernaculars in local administration and elsewhere". (2)

In the Kenyan case Swahili was used in combination with English as both subject and medium of instruction, with a vernacular language policy in education, periodically proposed and rescinded. In addition to this complex history, it was frequently reiterated that policies made in education did not automatically signify their application on the ground. Hence, for example, the current attainment of school pupils in Swahili varies widely within the classroom.<sup>(3)</sup> The response of the different communities in Kenya was varied (both initially and through time): the Kikuyu community, for instance, rejected Swahili. Its Independent Schools movement established teaching in English. Yet the early attitudes towards languages did not necessarily determine post-Independence attitudes. For example, prominent Kikuyus in



Kenya's government favoured a national Swahili language policy in the 1960s, Swahili thus symbolizing national unity over and against former colonizers; the success of such policy may be seen from interviews with Kikuyu workers who proudly asserted Swahili as their national language. As a lingua franca, Swahili was also learnt outside the formal educational sector (as indeed are other languages through tourist contact, as chapter 5 shows). Thus colonial labour policies for both the building of the railroad (which entailed importing Indian labourers) and settler plantations, amongst such distant populations as the Luo and Luhya may have contributed to a predisposition to learn Swahili.<sup>(4)</sup> Indeed one interviewee noted that in this multilingual situation, people were quick to learn languages (although this does not indicate the level of competence).

Publications in the vernacular languages were subject to restrictions following the Emergency. Although I present information on the newspapers only, a fruitful area of further inquiry would be the effects of Emergency restrictions on other forms of media, such as the publication of novels and radio broadcasting, from the 1950s to the present. With respect to newspapers I argue that government restrictions, and government's failure to provide a cogent alternative to vernacular presses, facilitated the entry of the multinational presses. Languages used were restricted to English and Swahili. In governmental debates on language policies, English and Swahili appeared to be the only viable alternatives. Yet the status of both of these languages was a product of complex historical processes of acceptance and use by some peoples, rejection by others, such attitudes

also being reflected in the use of those languages by the colonizers. Thus a form of pidgin Swahili was associated with the plantation economy, with Indian traders, and with the army.<sup>(5)</sup> Furthermore many settlers assumed both competence and superior knowledge of Swahili as well as English.

The struggle for Independence against the British colonial government created solidarity between different language groups. The overriding divisions at Independence were grosso modo between an English speaking elite and a Swahili speaking labour force with a large rural population of various tongues. This pyramidal language use model has been accepted by several writers.<sup>(6)</sup> However, since Independence and with the dissolution of unity at the higher levels of government resulting both from competition over spoils, and economic problems caused by terms of trade variations for tea, agricultural produce and petroleum, I argue that the question of language was subject to political manipulation. The issue of language policy was raised in times of crisis with Swahili symbolizing national unity either over and against outsiders or against those within Kenya whose leanings were towards partnerships with foreign capital. At the basis of these disputes lay the strategic choices over paths to economic development in Kenya: paths predicated upon either a form of mixed economy with the state funding development projects (of which the tourist industry provides a paradigm case: cf. chapter 4), or encouraging foreign investors, accepting short term leakages and social inequality in the hope that long term benefits would accrue, trickling down. The stated policy of Africanization formulated in



the mid-sixties was to have effected a shift from the latter to the former economic strategy. However the vested interests of some Black Kenyans in the maintenance of the status quo rendered this difficult.

Yet the appeal to the use of Swahili as a symbol of national unity is made precisely by those groups in government who partner foreign investors, whom I call the multinationalists. In the competition over spoils, appeal is made also to a Swahili language policy in order to impose constraints on the opponents of such economic strategies both in Parliament and as candidates in elections: constraints since some of those groups who have had less access to Swahili language than the dominant groups are those most easily kept out of Parliament (in the short term) by a Swahili language test. I also noted that the Swahili requirement was waived when convenient to the ruling faction. Swahili nonetheless forms a vehicle of communication to the rural landless, who have become increasingly disenchanted (and dispossessed).

My argument focuses predominantly on English and Swahili, assessing under what conditions language policies are proposed. In addition to further study of the media, which was beyond the scope of this thesis, further assessment of the public use of other languages would be fruitful. This would assess both the impact of educational policies colonially and post-colonially, which sectors of the language community accepted or rejected the policy, and current attempts to use the language in the printed and broadcast media.<sup>(7)</sup>



b) Kenyan Society and tourism

A further facet of this work has involved a perspective on a so-called Third World society which departs from the implicit conceptualization of the language surveys, using the tourism industry as a case study. In contextualizing this study of language use, I have analysed the economic sector of the work locales I entered in terms of its origins and continuing development. I have illustrated the relationships between the post-Independence Kenyan tourist industry and metropolitan countries. The choice of language, then, may be seen not only as part of the pragmatism of policy makers who, after Independence have had to build educational policies on colonial foundations, but also in terms of subtle constraints on alternatives with the potential for greater self-reliance, built into the international system. The conflicts between different groups in society over language use are thus related to continuing dependence of Kenyan society on the metropolis. I have shown how some of these conflicts are expressed by the tourism industry's workers and how they related to the policy of Africanization. An interviewee's comment that "Africans find it hard to market tourism"<sup>(8)</sup> led me to question the success of tourism development as a national policy and what would be entailed in terms of language policy. More specifically I suggest that the hegemony Europeans claim in English competence over Black workers is premised upon colour, and have suggested there are contemporary parallels with the attitudes of some White settlers towards the Swahili competence of Black workers. The reduction of categories, such as nationality, citizenship, or "European" (which

is neither nationality nor race) to colour, as suggested in chapter 2, proved useful in drawing this into relief.

Whilst I depart from the concept of modernization in the study of society, the dichotomy of tradition and modernity provided a focus for a structuralist analysis of the imagery of tourism. Part of chapter 4 investigates the images presented to tourists by the tourist industry's enterprises. I comment on a series of antinomies which present the host population as traditional, unchanging, rural, undeveloped, with tourists as modern, dynamic, urbanized and developed. These clear-cut oppositions may be reduced to aspects of the nature-culture dichotomy where Black equals nature and White equals culture.<sup>(9)</sup> The tourism industry is unique in its situation on the boundaries of the developed-undeveloped, urban/rural world, an industry where Black workers come face to face with White consumers, where leisure-seekers (non-workers) are coddled in a unconventional-industrial environment by their contacts with workers.<sup>(10)</sup> Rather than representing two neutral facets of human existence, superior value is accorded to culture, the capacity to control nature, impose order and dictate rules. Nowhere is this clearer than in tourism: where all aspects of nature "should" conform to the standards set by culture.

The context of tourism is analysed in terms of differential power, firstly at the level of the owners of the tourism enterprises (since they also control, for example, marketing), secondly at the level of the tourist (since tourists are rich, relative to the workers with whom they come into contact, even if they are not conscious of this), and thirdly at the level of the tourist/worker



interaction, this latter being the focus of the tape transcription analysis in chapter 6.

The family hotels started in Kenya in the 1950s or before, are Africanizing and are seen as sources of employment and promotion opportunities by Black Kenyans. I suggest the original owners of these enterprises have invested outside tourism, whereas Black Kenyans have invested later in tourism, as a result of positions of administrative responsibility and considerable remuneration in the Kenyan government and aided by Kenyan state interventions in the industry. Whereas Swahili language policy has had no apparent impact on the tourism industry (barring an appeal to display bilingual menus), changes in ownership in the industry and partnership with the State may hasten the acceptance of coherent policy when this is proposed. The tourism industrialists, however, may exhibit inhibitions at implementing a Swahili language policy in an industry which appears to entail service to various nationalities: the languages they request served up to order. On the other hand Swahili language policy in recruitment and training procedures might imbue the question of language choice with similar political overtones to those outlined in chapter 3 on language in government. Since the tourism industry holds an important position in the Kenyan economy and since the formulation of a coherent Swahili language policy seems imminent<sup>(11)</sup> such reactions of important vested interest must be anticipated and taken into account. The current economic climate for European tourism may cause increased emphasis on searching for domestic Kenyan and African markets. I



noted in chapter 4 efforts to encourage domestic tourism and intra-African competition; both of these must entail a reassessment of the tourism images I presented.

I have been explicitly concerned throughout the research period to assess how it is possible to relate micro-sociolinguistic events, the language choices made by participants when talking, to macro-factors in society. How does an individual's place in the social structure, his or her relationship to a group and consciousness of that group identity, its vested interests, manifest itself in individual utterances? How do individual utterances express social structure, how are power differentials expressed? In the above discussion (chapters 3 and 4) I interpreted Kenyan society from the point of view of its language controversies and policy, and analysed the tourist industry, thus providing a broad frame of reference for the analysis of social forces. These chapters show some salient factors that I consider influence individual choices in language.

From two hundred and eight interviews, I extract tourism workers, managers, and administrators' perceptions of some aspects of their work. For example my categorization of hotels according to their origins and changing patterns of ownership (based on the analysis in chapter 4) gave some indication of the status of different types of enterprise as perceived by the work force. The nationalist persuasion of the managerial cadre trained at Utalii College is shown from their attitudes to big multinational hotels. At a different level, amongst coast tour guides I found expressions of

frustration at differential treatment of Black and White tour leaders. This in an environment ripe for the "delayed development of aggressive Black consciousness".<sup>(12)</sup> These frustrations, although voiced in terms of the material benefits which accrue (the foreign tour leaders are given a car to use at work, overtime pay, house allowance) and factors of life-style (Black tour leaders are not allowed in the tourists' hotels), incorporated comments on language use: "they (the foreign tour leaders) don't speak Swahili",<sup>(13)</sup> "the government could institute a Swahili language requirement".<sup>(14)</sup> These comments derive not specifically from the patterns of racism which permeate the imagery of the industry but from the losses perceived by Kenyan groups, because of the practices of foreign companies, and where appeal to Swahili once again conveys the notion that a Swahili language policy might defer deleterious effects exercised by "outsiders". In the long term the language policy may effect no improvement without resolution of the economic issues. (Just as the inhabitants of a multilingual society may be predisposed to learn languages, so multinational companies may adopt multilingual policies in the very long run.)

The interviews are a pivotal focus between the analysis of the tourism industry and that of individual utterances. In addition, together with chapter 4, Tourism in Kenya, they provide a contribution to a sociology of tourism on which little has been written. Furthermore, barring controversies over the existence of a working class and whether the industrial working class form a labour aristocracy or not, the degree of dependence of national bourgeoisies



and controversies between theorists who approve or not of such terminologies, there are few studies which take the opinions of workers in the Third World as centrally. Whilst in the analysis of the economy, appeal to the subjective perceptions of workers may (arguably) be unnecessary, I considered it essential to elicit perceptions of the "subjective facticity" <sup>(15)</sup> of those working in tourism, firstly to see how these corroborated my observations on a previously undescribed sector and secondly to test some statements concerning status and language skills. Thus, for example, a major contradiction between stated importance of language skills by management and workers' required competences in different languages emerged from questions on recruitment procedures. The interviews, furthermore, have provided a basis for my approach to the analysis of power differentials in sociolinguistic interaction.

If this thesis has made an original contribution it has been towards the analysis of sociolinguistic interaction in multilingual work contexts. Rather than ask "about" work, outside the place of work, I have systematically studied work by asking people about work "at" work, observed work, and taped talk in work locales. The major attempt at a theoretical contribution has been the use of conversational analysis combined with comments on conversational code-switching. It has become axiomatic that the ethnomethodologists' critique of positivism "refuses the right of the scientist to go beyond the level of the empirically observable": <sup>(16)</sup> that there are a number of equally valid interpretations of transcriptions is the resultant problem. However, the interpretation I present, aiming



specifically at the analysis of the expression of power differentials, rests on the contextualizations preceding. For example, in suggesting that greetings reinforce power hierarchies, I amass examples from dictionaries and grammars on what is known about Swahili patterns of courtesy; these are situated further by reference to comments on Swahili in the newspapers, (which shows its status), in academic journals (chapter 3) and comments from interviewees. Whilst using conversational analysis, instead of "blurring the dividing line between scientific reason and common sense",<sup>(17)</sup> I situate the examples in a system of differential power, with examples from different contexts which have provided proofs. The system of international power, specifically in the tourism industry, holds colour as the differentiating factor, but examples of power differentials based on gender have provided a key for my understanding.<sup>(18)</sup> This perspective suggests that sociolinguistic interaction should be analysed not as scenes where participants freely negotiate meanings on the basis of equal power,<sup>(19)</sup> but rather that the history and perspective of the participants may be systematically elicited, observed and provide the basis for analysis. Like interviews, other aspects of talk are rigidly structured: it is possible to differentiate types of talk from conversations as a useful device for describing varying sets of rules for different contexts. Whereas conversations may be seen in terms of fluid encounters in which participants engage, free of the instrumental constraints of working, or more specifically performing work functions (for, after all, people do converse at work), other encounters, work

situations, are clearly more formal and structured. Taking the precedent set by regarding "conversations as peculiar kinds of interviews",<sup>(20)</sup> I was able to suggest how power differentials were reinforced in service encounters. This comprised comments on greetings, as noted above, and use of address terms.<sup>(21)</sup>

This inquiry assumed that the domains of talk, suggested by sociolinguistics, were oversimplified in order to elucidate different patterns of speech. The notion of conversational code-switching, based on the notion of a closed network, was also tested against different types of talk in formal contexts. I had initially set out to replace the concept of domain, by looking at talk in work, but rather I conclude that a modified notion of domain can be used and has proved useful. It is not possible for an individual researcher to look at talk in an unfamiliar environment in all domains, particularly in multilingual contexts. Whilst, at the outset, it had seemed that researching into talk within an industrial context would yield a better concept than domain, it must be recognized that the industrial context is itself the domain of work. Where this study differs from an oversimplified conceptualization of society, is in contextualizing this work domain in the Kenyan and international economy. I suggest, then, that in the work domains, in order to assess the maintenance of power differentials, inquiry must proceed from both the model of society and from the sociolinguistic utterances. As Bauman says



"the contention of the supposedly unfinished, incomplete human world waiting to be given a meaning is granted the required coherence through assuming "completeness" of the acting members; the question how human individuals became 'complete ' in the first place, from where they got their value-meanings, goals and expectations, is, tactfully, never asked". (22)

In using ethnomethodological analysis, I have explicitly attempted to place 'members' in the industry, in a hierarchy of occupational structures, workers, managers, Kenyan owners, international owners, set in a system of power. Sociolinguistically I assume the asymmetry of participants in speech and have attempted to show how this is reinforced in the contexts I delineate.

In the course of the inquiry I comment on the notion of code-switching as applied to different language types: a point of linguistic significance. Whilst code-switching has been applied to phrases, use of the concept with respect to the Swahili language has suggested that attention should also be paid to single words. The Swahili language is an agglutinating language in which markers of various grammatical systems are incorporated into the word. I draw attention to words switched in talk, discussing also loan words. This suggests, then, that code-switching should consider not only phrases but also words. It also suggests a point of difference in the universality of conversational code-switching, dependent on types of language structure.

A new interpretation of code-switching is advanced: that a code-switched item in the language of a third (or fourth, fifth, etc) participant, where the conversation/talk of the former is not in the language of the latter (or one he or she understands), may suggest



an invitation to maintain the attention of all participants. In multilingual situations code-switches may perform a game-like function, rather than provide clear-cut instances of desired openness or closure of conversations.

To summarize, this thesis has contributed to a sociology of tourism, including an analysis of the structure of tourism, and reports of workers, managers and administrators in the tourism industry. I have collected transcriptions of talk in work locales, and have analysed these using a combination of tools from a variety of different sources: ethnomethodology, studies of gender differentials, linguistics, sociolinguistics. In criticizing the notions of domain and network, and whilst not replacing these completely, I have shown how domains, in particular, may be incorporated into a more complex model of society than previously suggested by sociolinguists. Both criticisms of domains and conversations have aided analysis of power-differentials in some work contexts. The thesis has added to the so far meagre descriptions of language practices at work. While it is not possible to draw immediate practical applications from such glimpses as have been offered, it is hoped that they will contribute to the further understanding of the language use of individuals in a complex multilingual nation.

Theoretically this thesis is perhaps one step forward in sociolinguistics: it is possible to contextualize utterances, and provide for linguistics analyses of social forces. It is also possible to say more about utterances than the ethnomethodologists' "ample

impression-contests, charm casting and outwitting, seductive dalliance and reconnaissance skirmishes".<sup>(23)</sup> The use of language in society is more than a question of "theatricality":<sup>(24)</sup> people's utterances are expressions of topic in specific contexts, but they are the mirror of the social structure in complex, subtle and ambiguous ways. Some of these have been suggested here.

NOTES

1. Jorge Luis Borges, 1962, "The Immortal", in Labyrinths, 1970, Penguin, Harmondsworth, p. 135.
2. John Spencer, 1971, "Colonial Language Policies and their legacies", in Thomas Sebeok, (ed.), Current Trends in Linguistics, volume 7, The Hague, Mouton, p. 537.
3. T. P. Gorman, 1974, "The teaching of Languages at Secondary Level: some significant problems", in W. H. Whiteley, (ed.), Language in Kenya, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, p. 483.
4. Learning a language in order to obtain work is a pattern corresponding to Lambert's notion of "instrumental" learning. See W. H. Lambert, 1967, "A Social Psychology of Bilingualism", in J. B. Pride and Janet Holmes, (eds.), 1972, Sociolinguistics, Harmondsworth, Penguin, p. 345. However the creation of a labour force in Kenya resulted from such administrative impositions as the poll taxes, formulated with the clear intention of both obtaining revenue, and creating waged labourers from rural peasants.
5. Edgar Polome, "Swahili pidgins", unpublished manuscript, see also 1967, Swahili Language Handbook, Washington, Centre for Applied Linguistics.
6. See Fishman, various, also p. 316 above.
7. Kenneth Matiba published an election manifesto in Kikuyu in the English language Weekly Review, in Nairobi 1979, for example. I noted in chapter 3 the publication of Ngugi wa Thiong'o's book in Kikuyu, by Heinemann.



8. Personal communication, Tours Operations manager, Nairobi, 1979.
9. I am grateful to Olivia Foster-Carter for discussing these themes with me. See her forthcoming unpublished Ph.D dissertation "A structuralist Analysis of racial bias in children's literature"
10. One factor of production in this industry, the sunny beach, has to maintain an appearance of inalienability. The labour, which would realize its value, must not be in evidence. Unlike other products, where the production process entails capital and labour inputs and results in an object, marketable, consumable, saleable, the tourism product entails the advent of the consumer to this esoteric (non) production line.
11. A departmental memorandum calling a meeting on Friday 16th February 1979 noted "The Department of Linguistics and African Languages has been asked to discuss the possibility of setting up an Institute of Kiswahili Research in the University in response to the request of the Government that such a possibility be explored during the country's Five-Year Development Plan period 1979-1983". Meeting a member of the Department in February 1983 I understand that whilst the Institute has not been formed a comprehensive Swahili Medical Dictionary is in preparation.
12. Personal communication, Professor of Sociology, Nairobi, 1979.
13. Personal communication, Mombasa, May 1979.
14. Personal communication, Tour Operations manager, Mombasa, 1979.
15. Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, 1966, The Social Construction of Reality, 1967, Harmondsworth, Penguin.  
David Silverman has referred to the 'Myth of subjectivity', paper presented in the Department of Sociology, University of Leeds, February 1983.

16. Zygmunt Bauman, 1972, "Culture, Values and the Science of Society", University of Leeds Review, volume 15, No. 2, p. 197.
17. Ibid.
18. For example, Nancy Henley, 1977, Body Politics, New Jersey, Prentice Hall.
19. "attributing the qualities of a Husserlian philosopher to the man in the street", Bauman, "Culture", p. 195.
20. Set by Gunter Kress and Roger Fowler, "Interviews" in Roger Fowler, Bob Hodge, Gunther Kress and Tony Trew, 1979, Language and Control, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
21. Based on Roger Brown and Marguerite Ford's seminal article "Address in American English", in Dell Hymes, (ed.), 1964, Language in Culture and Society, New York, Harper and Row, pp. 234-244.
22. Bauman, "Culture", p. 194.
23. Ibid. p. 195.
24. See Erving Goffman, 1981, Forms of Talk, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

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