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„Deaf people in Arusha (Tanzania) –

Navigating through a multilingual education system
and expectations to ‘fit in’.“

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PREFACE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE ..... **II**
TABLE OF CONTENTS ..... **III**
LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES ..... **V**
LIST OF ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS ..... **VI**
LIST OF SWAHILI TERMS ..... **VII**

1. Introduction **1**
1.1. Purpose & structure of the thesis 1
1.2. Tanzania & Arusha Region in a nutshell 3
1.3. Tanzania's multilingual education system 5
1.4. Sign language(s) & language development 7
1.5. Deafness & Deafhood – External and internal definitions 9
1.6. Being deaf – Looking beyond the West towards Africa 12
1.7. A working definition of "deaf" for research in Tanzania 14
1.8. Schooled deaf people in Arusha – Finding the population 15

2. Review of relevant secondary literature **18**
2.1. Early publications (mid to late 20th century) 18
2.2. (Socio-)Linguistic research (early 21st century) 19
2.3. Unpublished master's theses (2009-2019) 19
2.4. Current surveys by NGOs (2016-2018) 31
2.5. Jessica Lee's "They have to see us" (PhD, 2012) 36
2.6. Major implications for my research 40

3. Methodology **41**
3.1. Research approach & research question 41
3.2. Research tools/methods 43
3.3. About the respondents 46
3.4. The issue of language 51
3.5. Informed consent 56

4. The deaf experience in Arusha Region: From home through multilingual schools up to work life **57**
4.1. At home/before school 57
4.1.1. Early (language) development & communication at home 57
4.1.2. Shame & stigma of an invisible disability 59
4.1.3. Expectations & approaches of parents raising deaf children 61
4.2. Primary school 63
4.2.1. Access to primary school 63
4.2.2. Deaf schools and deaf units in Arusha Region 65
4.2.3. Positive experiences in primary school 68
4.2.4. Negative experiences in primary school 74
4.3. Secondary school 77
4.3.1. Positive & negative experiences in secondary school 78
4.3.2. 'Inclusive' secondary school vs. deaf secondary school in Arusha 85
4.3.3. Academic success of deaf respondents in secondary school 88
4.4. Tertiary education 90
4.4.1. Study goals of deaf people in the sample 90
4.4.2. Studying at the "Big Three" 92
4.4.3. Studying at a regular college or university 97
4.5. After school & work life 101
4.5.1. Work of deaf people in the sample (past, present and desired) 101
4.5.2. Challenges to get work 104
4.5.3. Strategies to find or create work opportunities 106

5. Fitting in: places and spaces for the deaf in Arusha 109
5.1. Being seen? Deafness as invisible disability 109
5.1.1. Society's knowledge about the deaf 109
5.1.2. "Viziwi" or "mabubu"? Words used to describe deaf 111
5.1.3. (Negative) clichés about the deaf 112
5.1.4. An unusual sight? - Emotional responses to signing deaf 114
5.2. Getting education? Official discourse vs. reality 117
5.2.1. Society's views on deaf as learners 117
5.2.2. What to strive for? Vocational training vs. tertiary education 119
5.3. How to contribute? Aspirations for work vs. society's expectations 122
5.3.1. Views within the family 122
5.3.2. Society's views on deaf as workers 123
5.3.3. Society's views on different jobs 125
5.3.4. Society's views on employing a deaf person 133
5.4. Being understood? Views on challenges of deaf people 135
5.4.1. Views by the deaf themselves 135
5.4.2. Views by hearing people 137
5.5. Who to talk to? Communication vs. Isolation 140
5.5.1. Society's vs. deaf people's views 140
5.5.2. Link between communication & sympathy for different groups 143
5.5.3. "Interpreters" as (involuntary) mediators 145
5.6. Where to feel at home? Deaf spaces 147
5.6.1. Home vs. school 147
5.6.2. Churches & religion 149
5.6.3. Other temporary and permanent deaf spaces 155
5.7. With whom to belong? Approaching "deaf community/ies" in Arusha & Tanzania 157
5.7.1. Friends within and outside deaf groups 157
5.7.2. Help & harm within and outside deaf groups 158
5.7.3. "Deafness" and "deaf culture" in Arusha/Tanzania 161

6. Conclusion 167
6.1. Key findings & conclusions per guiding question 167
6.2. Prospects for future research 174

BIBLIOGRAPHY 176

APPENDIX 182
Appendix I: Deaf people survey 182
Appendix II: Hearing people questionnaire (street polling) 190
Appendix III: Deaf schools and deaf units in Arusha and Tanzania 197

ENGLISH LANGUAGE ABSTRACT 200
DEUTSCHSPRACHIGE ZUSAMMENFASSUNG 201

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Several models of definitions of „deaf people“ by mainstream society (based largely on LADD 2003).......... 10
Figure 2: Several self-definitions of „deaf people“ (based largely on LADD 2013)... 11
Figure 3: Age of deaf respondents (grouped) 47
Figure 4: Age of hearing respondents (grouped) 50
Figure 5: Number of deaf respondents per age to begin and end primary school 64
Figure 6: Mode of communication in primary school by mention 72
Figure 7: Mode of communication in secondary school by mention 78
Figure 8: Own TSL knowledge as reported by deaf respondents 82
Figure 9: Own Swahili knowledge as reported by deaf respondents 82
Figure 10: Own English knowledge as reported by deaf respondents 82
Figure 11: Number of deaf respondents starting secondary school per age.. 85
Figure 12: Deaf secondary school students per year (based on URT 2016) 88
Figure 13: Highest education attended by respondents (incl. failed and incomplete)... 91
Figure 14: Study goals of deaf respondents 91
Figure 15: DHH graduates at UDSM (Bachelor degrees only) 93
Figure 16: DHH students at DUCE 94
Figure 17: Deaf respondents past, current and aspired to future jobs 102
Figure 18: Street Polling: Types of disability known 110
Figure 19: Street Polling: Share of different terms used for “deaf” by respondents.. 111
Figure 20: Street polling: Emotional response to seeing people sign 115
Figure 21: Street Polling: Why should deaf people attend school? 118
Figure 22: Do you think deaf people can work as well as hearing people? (hearing respondents vs. deaf respondents) 124
Figure 23: Street Polling: Suitability of jobs for deaf people (sorted by "very well").. 126
Figure 24: Street Polling: Suitability of jobs for deaf people (sorted by "impossible").. 126
Figure 25: Street Polling: Suitability of jobs for deaf people (sorted by arithmetic mean) 127
Figure 26: Street polling: "Good jobs" and "bad jobs" for deaf people 128
Figure 27: Street polling: Split differences for suitability of jobs for deaf people.. 132
Figure 28: Street polling: You said you would employ a deaf person. Why? 133
Figure 29: Street polling: You said you would not employ a deaf person. Why? 134
Figure 30: Problems of deaf people in Tanzania, according to deaf respondents... 135
Figure 31: Problems of deaf respondents themselves 136
Figure 32: Quality of personal life and life of deaf people now, according to deaf respondents.................................... 136
Figure 33: Change of quality of personal life and life of deaf people over the last 10 years, according to deaf respondents 137
Figure 34: Street polling: What challenges do you think deaf people encounter in school and work?........................... 137
Figure 35: Street polling: What do you think can be done to alleviate the problems of deaf people in school and work? 138
Figure 36: Street polling: How can you communicate with a deaf person?.. 140
Figure 37: Sign language knowledge of (groups of) people, according to deaf respondents.. 141
Figure 38: Type of communication used with (groups of) people, according to deaf respondents 142
Figure 39: Street polling: Why is it you cannot communicate with a deaf person?.. 142
Figure 40: (Groups of) people rated by deaf people 143
Figure 41: Deaf respondents: Are most of your friends deaf or hearing?... 157
Figure 42: Deaf respondents: When you have a problem, who helps you? 158
Figure 43: Deaf respondents: Would you like to become hearing now or stay a deaf person? 163
Figure 44: Deaf respondents: If you could change the past, would you like to have grown up and lived hearing? 165

Note: Pictures/icons used for illustration purposes only are not listed here. All these pictures/icons are in the public domain.

LIST OF ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS

ASL	American Sign Language
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Party of the Revolution)
CHAVITA	Chama cha Viziwi Tanzania (Tanzania Association of the Deaf)
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (USA)
CODA	Child(ren) of Deaf Adults
DHH	Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing (see also HI)
DUCE	Dar es Salaam University College of Education
ELCT	Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (Swahili abbreviation: KKKT)
EUR	Euro (currency)
FBO	Faith-Based Organization
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GQ	Guiding Question
HH	Hard-of-hearing
HI	Hearing-impairment (see also DHH)
JW	Jehovah’s Witnesses
LAT	Lugha ya Alama ya Tanzania (see also: TSL)
LoI	Language of Instruction
MoEST	Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Vocational Training (since 2015)
MoEVT	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (2004-2015)
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
ÖGS	Österreichische Gebärdensprache (Austrian Sign Language)
PWD	Person with Disability/People with Disabilities
RA	Research Assistant
RQ	Research Question
SEKOMU	Sebastian Kolowa Memorial University
SHIVYAWATA	Tanzania Federation of Disabled People’s Organisations
SL	Sign Language/Signed Languages
SNE	Special Needs Education
TSL	Tanzanian Sign Language (see also: LAT)
TZS	Tanzanian Shilling (currency)
UDOM	University of Dodoma
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UN	United Nations
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
USD	United States Dollar (currency)
VETA	Vocational Education and Training Authority
WFD	World Federation of the Deaf

LIST OF SWAHILI TERMS

Alama	Sign, Mark, Symbol
Biashara	Business/Trade (includes petty trade, street vending)
Binadamu	Human being (literally: son of Adam)
Bubu	“Deaf-mute”, “Mute”, “Dumb” (Derogatory term for deaf person)
Cheka	Laugh
Chekechea	Preschool
Cheza ngoma	Traditional dance/drums
Daladala	Minivans for public transportation
Fundi	Craftsperson (e.g. tailor, carpenter, builder, electrician, mechanic etc.)
Habari	News/Information
Habari yako?	How are you? (Literally: Your news?)
Hoteli	Small restaurant
Ishara	Sign, Signal, Mark
Kiziwi/Viziwi	Deaf person/Deaf people
Lugha ya Alama	Sign Language
Mlemavu/Walemavu	Disabled person/Disabled people
Mwalimu/Walimu	Teacher/Teachers
Mzee/Wazee	Elder/Elders
Mzungu/Wazungu	White person/White people (disputed whether derogatory or not)
Pikipiki	Motorcycle (Motorcycle Taxi)
Sifuri	Zero (i.e. Nothing)
Tsh	Tanzanian Schilling
Ufundi	Craftspersonship
Vitendo	Act, Action, Practise
Vumilia	Endure, Tolerate, Persevere.

1. Introduction

1.1. Purpose & structure of the thesis

Research interest and purpose

Deaf Tanzanians aspiring for a solid education as a basis for a good life encounter several stumble stones on their journey from birth through school up to entering work life. Those are assumed to be due to structural issues of the education system, economic difficulties as well as to prejudices against people with disabilities in Tanzania.

Some deaf[1] children are hidden at home by their parents. Many do not acquire any language during their early years. A lot enter school late, where they face several languages at a time: (a variety of) Tanzanian Sign Language and Swahili from the first year on, and two grades later English as a subject. In many cases this comes coupled with overt or covert oralism. Knowledge of TSL (Tanzanian Sign Language) amongst teachers is low, although increasing in deaf units of primary schools. In secondary schools, the language of instruction suddenly changes from Swahili to English, and few teachers there are competent in TSL. Many deaf students drop out. Only three universities in Tanzania offer special services for students with disabilities, such as note taking or interpreting. Few employers are willing to employ deaf people. Communication barriers make it hard for deaf Tanzanians to connect with their hearing counterparts. In everyday life, the deaf are usually expected to make the effort to fit in, e.g. by reading lips and voicing, rather than others trying to accommodate them, e.g. by using signs or writing.[2]

Deaf Studies as a field[3] has hardly touched Tanzania, with the notable exception of Jessica Lee and her doctoral thesis LEE 2012. African Studies has so far contributed little to the academic discussion of deaf people in the country. Most studies on this group within Tanzania have been either (socio-)linguistically, or with an educational science approach. With the exception of research commissioned by the Tanzania Association of the Deaf[4] or the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology[5], most of these are unpublished master's degree level dissertations[6], which shows that the field is relatively young in Tanzania. Additionally, with a few exceptions, many authors talked 'about' deaf people (e.g. with teachers) rather than 'with' deaf people.

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[1] For the explanation on my choice for lower-case d instead of capital D in the course of this thesis, please compare chapter 1.7 "A working definition of 'deaf'"

[2] Cf. KISANJI 1995, KYARUZI 2009, NBS 2010, LEE 2012, WILBERT 2014, MLAWA 2016, PANDE 2016, CHAVITA 2018, JOYCE-GIBBONS 2018, MoEST 2018, NBS 2018 and findings of this research.

[3] Cf. LADD 2003, MARSCHARK/SPENCER 2011

[4] CHAVITA 2018

[5] MoEST 2018

[6] e.g. KYARUZI 2009, MUSHI 2010, MALWISI 2011, WILBERT 2014, LUZIBILA 2013, PANDE 2016, KILLANGANE 2016, STANISLAUS 2016, MLAWA 2016, MAKALLA 2019

Combining the holistic approaches of African Studies and Deaf Studies offers a great chance to create a reliable – but at the same time tangible – description of the deaf experience in Tanzania. To fit the constraints of a master's thesis, the research presented here stayed largely within the geographical limits of Arusha region, which includes one of only two deaf secondary schools in the country as well as several 'deaf units' attached to public primary schools. The research focused on deaf people's experiences, challenges and (re)actions related to language, education, discrimination and other influences by society. It aims to answer the research question: "How do deaf people in Arusha Region navigate the multilingual education system and how do they then decide and manage to 'fit into' mainstream society or *deaf spaces*, as defined by Jessica Lee?"

Data was gathered the following way: Literature review and over a dozen semi-structured expert interviews – with deaf and hearing experts – did provide formal information, statistics and local background knowledge about the deaf experience. This was complemented by participatory observation and materials obtained through archives/libraries of NGOs and universities. Secondly, street polling through 240 questionnaires at 12 locations in the region investigated perceptions of hearing people – about disability in general and specifically about deaf people as learners and workers. Thirdly, and most importantly, questionnaire-based interviews with 60 deaf Tanzanians in Arusha – as well as a large number of informal conversations – are used to let the deaf speak for themselves, outline how they actively experienced and navigated the above stated milestones and challenges on the way through the multilingual education system towards a (possible) work life, and how they feel about 'fitting in' the wider society and the deaf community/communities.

Structure of the thesis

In chapter 1, following the section that you are currently reading, I will provide basic background knowledge for those scholars coming from Deaf Studies with limited knowledge about Tanzania as well as those who approach the topic coming from African Studies, but with limited knowledge of deaf topics. I will then provide a working definition of "deaf" for this thesis, before establishing the main research population of this thesis: deaf people in Arusha Region who have attended school.

Then, I include a longer literature review on earlier publications about deaf people in Tanzania (chapter 2). The reason for the extent of this review is to first make results of studies accessible that otherwise might have gathered dust in university libraries, and secondly to showcase what kind of research was lacking so far – i.e. research honestly focussing on the deaf themselves and providing them with space to speak for themselves.

This research – done by a hearing European about deaf Africans – can also be interesting to readers from a perspective of scientific methodology.[7] I had to be conscious to prevent assuming a cul-

[7] This is also the reason I have decided to not refer to myself as "the researcher" or "the author", but use "I" instead. Research of this kind cannot be fully objective. My identity and my own backgrounds influence not only research decisions, but also the interactions with research participants.

tural congruency of the deaf in Arusha region – neither with the hearing local populations nor the Western-centrically proclaimed 'worldwide Deaf culture'. Thus, when combining the above mentioned three sets of data to a holistic view during analysis, the local deaf people's own perspective and agency had to be given special consideration. This in turn implies several challenges when it comes to the issue of languages and interviewing. Most importantly, it was crucial to enable deaf respondents to be asked and to answer in their preferred language, usually Tanzanian Sign Language. Therefore, the chapter about methodology of this – at least tri-lingually (TSL, Swahili, English) conducted – research will be extensive to allow readers to understand by whom and how knowledge was created and processed. It also helps to understand why I have been very cautious to provide definitive interpretations and restrained myself in analyses at times, due to the combination of my double-external role as a hearing European and the limited academic literature on certain specific issues of deaf people in Tanzania to build upon (chapter 3).

My research is covering and touching on a multitude of topics. To provide an accessible structure, a thread for the reader to follow, results will be presented in two chapters. Chapter 4 explains how deaf people navigate the multilingual education system in Tanzania. It is chronologically organised, and covers the deaf life experience: starting at home, then moving through primary and secondary to tertiary education to the life after school and the labour market. Chapter 5 on the other hand is organised more thematically and focusses on notions of 'fitting in', expectations by society about deaf people, places and *spaces* for the deaf as well as deaf people's views about 'their community'. The conclusion in chapter 6 will bring the multitude of topics covered together, pointing out the most important general findings and outlining a possible way forward for future research on the topic.

1.2. Tanzania & Arusha Region in a nutshell

General information

The United Republic of Tanzania (URT), located in Eastern Africa, encompasses an area of 947,300 sq km, that is more than 11 times the size of Austria (or more than 2.6 times the size of Germany). It consists of Tanzania Mainland and the semi-autonomous region of Zanzibar[8]. Dar es Salaam, the largest city, business hub and former capital of Tanzania, is also home to a large number of organisations of and for deaf people. Official political capital however is the central-Tanzanian city of Dodoma.[9]

Tanzania has a very young population with a median age of 18.2. Roughly 63% of the population are 24 years old or younger.[10] This is of relevance to this thesis in terms of the distribution of age in the samples. Religion takes a very prominent role in many Tanzanians' lives. Over 60% of the

[8] As neither disability nor education are union matters, and Arusha Region is part of mainland Tanzania, the following descriptions will focus on mainland Tanzania.
[9] Cf. CIA 2020; BRITANNICA 2020c, LEE 2012
[10] Cf. CIA 2020

population is affiliated to Christian churches, around 35% to Islam.[11] Unlike in other countries, there are no major conflicts between the two dominant religions. I will later show that religious places play an important role in many deaf Tanzanians' lives.

The region chosen for this thesis, Arusha Region, is located in the north of the country. It includes the second largest city of Tanzania, Arusha Town, as well as the Ngorongoro National Park. Serengeti National Park and Mount Kilimanjaro can be found in the neighbouring regions, so Arusha and its airports are a hub for tourists aiming to visit those two major tourist attractions. The region has a moderate climate and thus allows for a variety of crops to grow, including coffee, grain, vegetables, cotton and sisal.[12] Agriculture accounts for just less than a quarter of the national Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Tanzania, but for 65% of the jobs in the country. The Services sector covers about a quarter of employment, but for nearly half of GDP, a big chunk of which comes from tourism-related services. Nationwide, the unemployment rate is stated to be just over 10% by the CIA World Factbook, with over 22% of the population living below the poverty line.[13] Agriculture and Tourism are of great relevance to Arusha Region, and thus also to the work life of deaf people, as we will see.

Population & multilingualism

Tanzania has a population of between 54 million (2012 Census[14]) and 58 million (2019 estimates by UN and CIA[15]) people, made up of between 120 and 130 ethnic/linguistic groups, which are locally usually referred to as "tribes" (Swahili: *makabila*), even in public discourse. Most Tanzanian speak a Bantu language as their primary or home language. National language and language for every-day interaction in the country is Swahili (in Swahili: *Kiswahili*). English is the language of secondary and higher education, international trade, as well as of higher courts. In certain public areas Swahili and English are fighting for dominance with no clear victor yet in sight. Tanzanian Sign Language (TSL), also referred to as *Lugha ya Alama ya Tanzania* (LAT) has not yet been officially awarded with the status of a national language.[16]

Arusha Region had, according to the 2012 census, a population of 1.7 million people, with roughly 740,000 of them in the metropolitan area of Arusha Town.[17] In line with the overall higher estimates of the UN for 2019 for the country as a whole, this thesis will assume at least 20% increase, i.e. roughly 2 million people in the region and 925.000 in town. Several home languages are spoken in Arusha Region with Maasai (Swahili: *Kimaasai*; Maasai: *ɔl Maa*) being one of the largest. The Maasai are a semi-nomadic population group especially sizeable in the North and West of the re-

[11] CIA 2020
[12] Cf. BRITANNICA 2020a
[13] Cf. CIA 2020
[14] Cf. URT 2013
[15] Cf. CIA 2020; UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS 2020
[16] Cf. CIA 2020; BRITANNICA 2020a; LEE 2012
[17] This includes both Arusha City Council and Arusha District Council.

gion, although a larger number of people of Maasai heritage now reside permanently in towns all over the region.

Tanzania's long and complex history cannot be elaborated on here, but the aspect of the national language shall shortly be noted: Swahili is a Bantu language with Arabic influences that developed as a language of trade in Eastern Africa over centuries.[18] Tanganyika (today's mainland Tanzania) became a colony of Germany from 1885 until 1918, known as German East Africa.[19] Swahili was retained as a lingua franca and further used by the colonial government to administer and govern over their 'subjects'. During World War I, the colony was conquered by British and Belgian troops and eventually split up in 1916. Tanganyika was then governed by Britain under a League of Nations (later UN) mandate. Britain concentrated its efforts in East Africa mostly in Kenya though, which left Tanganyika with fewer development initiatives, but also less influence, e.g. in terms of forcing the English language on the population.[20] Tanganyika became independent in 1961 and merged with Zanzibar in 1964 to form the United Republic of Tanzania, with the new name reflecting both territories (TANganyika and ZANzibar). The first president was Julius Kambarage Nyerere, who ruled until 1985 in a one-party-system, and is still revered as *mwalimu* (teacher) and father of the nation up until now. Amongst other things, Nyerere did push primary education (in Swahili) and national unity.[21]

1.3. <u>Tanzania's multilingual education system</u>

Since independence, Tanzania has been striving to achieve universal primary education. Tanzania spends 3.4% of its GDP on education, which ranks it 127th in a worldwide comparison. 78% of the population can read and write[22], mostly in Swahili. As of 2016, about 47% of the appropriately-aged population attended pre-primary school. 86% attended primary school. Arusha Region is below the national average with 38% for pre-primary and 79% for primary.[23]

Primary school takes 7 years (called Standard 1 to Standard 7) during which the language of instruction (LoI) at all government schools is Swahili.[24] English is introduced as a subject in Standard 3. It is the only subject taught in English in primary school. Every few years, currently after Standard 4 and Standard 7, all students have to do national examinations in order to continue with their schooling. The final national exams after Standard 7 decide whether they can continue with secondary education.

[18] Cf. NURSE/SPEAR 1985; SSEKMWA 1993
[19] It also included today's Rwanda and Burundi.
[20] Cf. e.g. BRITANNICA 2020c
[21] Cf. e.g. BRITANNICA 2020c
[22] Cf. CIA 2020
[23] Cf. URT 2016, 7 & 28 (These are Netto Enrolment Rates (NER). Gross Enrolment Rates (GER) are slightly higher, due to enrolment of students of 'inappropriate' age in school.)
[24] There is a growing number of private (!) English Medium Schools though.

Students are then allocated to secondary schools, in which English is used as language of instruction, with the exception of the subject Swahili. This switch is controversial as many pupils struggle with it and cannot express themselves fluently in English.[25] Some scholars are suggesting to change to a fully Swahili language or fully English language system, while there are also proponents to continue the current system of both Swahili (for national reasons of unity) and English (for international reasons connected to economy and science).[26]

After the national examinations of the fourth year at secondary school (called Form 4), pupils have reached the O-Level (ordinary level), which allows them to continue with tertiary education at colleges where one- or two-year-long courses allow them to receive a certificate, the lowest level of tertiary education, or a two or three-year-long diploma course. A certificate is enough to qualify as a primary school teacher. If the certificates are passed with a good grade, they can theoretically continue with university degrees.

If students at secondary school continue with Form 5 and 6 and pass the final national exams, they have reached A-Level (advanced level). If they achieve a good average grade, they can apply to study at universities directly. Otherwise they might opt for diploma courses first. Whether students are accepted at a specific university depends mainly on their A-Level performance. If they successfully finish a three-year Bachelor course of study, they can eventually continue with Master's courses, both of which are commonly just referred to as "degree". A degree is needed to qualify as a secondary school teacher.[27] This leads to teachers of the deaf at primary schools usually just being diploma holders, often without special education qualification, as the literature review will show.

As of 2016, 33% of Tanzanians of appropriate age attended secondary education at O-Level (Form 1-4), and 3% at A-Level (Form 5-6). Tertiary education is only achieved by 5.2%. Male students make up about two-thirds of tertiary learners.[28]
Alternative to the regular secondary school, or after Form 4, pupils can attend vocational training centres (often referred to by the acronym VETA: Vocational Education and Training Agency). Here practical skills and craftspersonship (*ufundi*) are in the focus, such as carpentry, tailoring, building, IT, and similar, for which students receive a certificate after two or three years. There are also schools incorporating such skills in their curriculum, referred to as *Technical Secondary Schools*. Privately run schools or NGO-run schools and training centres have their own regulations and curricula and especially the latter might accept students also without a primary school certificate to teach them vocational skills. Often those are run by NGOs or FBOs.

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[25] Cf.. MoEST 2018, 46
[26] Cf. eg. ROY-CAMPBELL & QORRO 1997 and BROCK-UTNE 2010
[27] The system, starting with 2 years of preschool, where possible, is referred to as: "2 – 7 – 4 – 2 – 3+". Cf. URT 2016
[28] Cf. URT 2016, 61 & 62 & 141

In 2002, the government under president Kikwete decided that no school fees have to be paid for primary education.[29] In 2015, the rule was expanded to also include secondary education. However, parents still face other costs, e.g. for school uniforms, note books, pens, lunch and – in the case of boarding schools – accommodation. Transport costs to and from school are also relevant. Tertiary education is not free.

Particularities of education for deaf pupils in Tanzania will be explained in detail in chapter 4.[30] However, it shall be already noted that Arusha Region can be seen as an 'average region', as it is home to 3,9% of the national population and a fitting amount of 4,3% of the *deaf unit equivalents* of Tanzania.[31] Thus, access to education in sign language in the region can be seen as quite typical or at least average for the nation. I will later elaborate on how deaf schools (or units) are crucial both as places of education, but also as *deaf spaces*, as meeting points for deaf communities. Thus, I argue that analysing the situation of deaf people in Arusha Region leads to results that can also be of value when looking at other region or the country as a whole.

1.4. Sign language(s) & language development

Sign languages and other visual communication

To facilitate better understanding to readers new to this topic, a few concepts regarding sign language and related concepts will be defined here. Very often, the first thing people think about when hearing about deaf people and sign language is the *finger alphabet*. However, sign languages do not work by finger-spelling every word. Instead, finger alphabets – in Tanzania basically the same as in the USA and most European countries – are used to spell unknown names of places or people as well as foreign words. Sometimes signs include the handshape of the first letter of a written word, this is called initialised signs.

A common *misperception* is that there exists only *one sign language worldwide* and that thus all deaf people can understand each other. That is not the case. There are different sign languages in different countries. There are even dialects and sociolects – the same way as in spoken languages.[32] However, there is International Sign (IS), an artificially created "language" used in international contact situations, e.g. at conferences regarding deaf and sign language topics. IS in a way is the (in relative numbers slightly more popular) Esperanto of sign languages.[33] However, IS is not a fully-fledged language and cannot express all the concepts and details a naturally developed sign language can. When talking about sign languages in this thesis, IS is not usually meant.

[29] Cf. LEE 2012, 177

[30] For an overview of educational research concerning persons with disabilities in general in Tanzania cf. LEHTOMÄKI/TUOMI/MATONYA 2014

[31] With one deaf school counting as two deaf unit equivalents, and a deaf unit counting as one. For explanations and detailed numbers cf. Appendix III (PRIMARY SCHOOLS UNITS FOR THE DEAF vs. POPULATION)

[32] However, the fact that many sign languages share certain grammatical aspects, and that some signs are iconic, made it easier for me as a hearing signer to acquire basic TSL skills.

[33] Cf. LEE 2012, 89f

There are artificially created signs used to accompany spoken languages, called *signed spoken languages.* One of these artificial languages is *Signed Exact English* (SEE). Here, the grammar of the spoken language is used and special signs have been invented to complement the natural signs of a local sign language to express grammatical concepts foreign to the sign language. This way, a word-by-word signing of the spoken language is made possible, which is mainly useful to teach a spoken and written language to deaf pupils.[34] When talking about sign language in this thesis, those signed spoken languages are not usually meant. However, we will see later in the thesis that many (hearing) respondents assumed that TSL would be *Signed Swahili*, and that many teachers tend to use something close to Signed Swahili, often in conjunction with Total Communication.[35]

Sign Languages (such as Tanzanian Sign Language (TSL), Austrian Sign Language (ÖGS), American Sign Language (ASL), Hausa Sign Language, Adamorobe Sign Language, or Extreme North Cameroon Sign Language) are natural, fully-fledged languages and not one-on-one visual representations of the spoken languages of the specific region (such as Swahili, English, German or Hausa). These *natural sign languages* follow their own grammatical rules, many of which make use of space. While this has been confirmed by linguistic research since the 1960s[36], the general acceptance of sign languages took (and continues to take) some more time. Austria, for example, only recognised Austrian Sign Language as an official language of the country in 2006. Tanzania theoretically aims at using TSL at all levels of education for the deaf, but has not yet succeeded.[37] TSL is currently in a process of standardization/harmonization[38], since several varieties, partly influenced by foreign sign languages[39] exist within the country. So, in a way, linguistic research could ask a similar question about TSL as has been asked about SASL: “South African Sign Language – one language or many?”[40]

Language development of deaf children

There are three major approaches to giving deaf children access to language: Oralism, Signing and Total Communication. *Oralism* is based on the belief (!) that only spoken languages are able to express everything and therefore are fully-fledged languages. As spoken languages are needed to communicate with mainstream society, deaf children should only be taught to speak (to voice) and to lip-read, oralists believe. Lipreading (or speech reading) however only enables a person to see a third of the sounds, even under ideal circumstances such as good light; the rest needs to be guessed by context. While this might be an acceptable approach for some late-deafened people, it

[34] Cf. WILBUR 2011, 350ff
[35] For more on Total Communication, see underneath.
[36] Cf. TEMPLE/YOUNG 2004, 166
[37] Cf. URT 1995; URT 2004; URT 2009
[38] Cf. CHAVITA/MoEST 2019
[39] On the complex interrelations between (dominant) Western sign languages and African sign languages cf. LUTALO-KIINGI/DE CLERCK 2017
[40] AARONS/AKACH 1998

does not allow for proper natural language development on deaf babies and children.[41] Jus_ _m__n _ea____ this t___ w_th__ __o th____ of the _e___.[42]

Signing is easily accessible to deaf children, as it can be naturally acquired the same way as hearing children can acquire a spoken language, by permanently perceiving (seeing/hearing) it and then reproducing (signing/speaking) it. This way, language development can go a natural way, from 'babbling' (repeating sounds/hand movements as 'practice') to identifying object-word connections, two-word-sentences, three-word-sentences to more complex language structures. Once the neural structures for language have been developed, it is also easier for those children to then additionally acquire a written/spoken language.[43]

Total Communication is an approach used in the education of hearing-impaired learners that mixes sign language, oral speech, lip reading, writing, visual aids and cues (handshapes that indicate certain sounds that cannot be seen on the lips while speaking). Positively put, it uses 'whatever works' to get a message across to a deaf child. On the negative side, it can be confusing as it does not follow the structure of any of the natural languages involved, which makes proper language acquisition difficult.[44]

1.5. Deafness & Deafhood – External and internal definitions

In the Western (hearing) mainstream society, the dominant discourse regarding deafness can, following the US-American deaf researcher and activist Paddy Ladd (LADD 2003), be categorised in the following models, whose phases partly overlapped or are still overlapping. LADD talks in the early Christian context of a *pathological model* or *deficit model*, which defines deaf people primarily as bodily defect. Slightly less common was the *demonological model*, which assumes that deaf people are obsessed and in need of exorcism.[45] This was followed by the *welfare model* or the *model of social control*, which depicts deaf people as poor creatures who should be helped, but whose matters should be controlled by (well-meaning) hearing people, a quite paternalistic view.[46] Still quite popular today is a variety of the deficit model, the *medical model*, which also points to a defect, but assumes that this defect can be repaired by (current or future) medical and technological aids, to thus allow for an assimilation in the (hearing) mainstream society.[47]

Challenging those mainstream discourses, counter discourses developed in the deaf communities in the US and Europe, which eventually went as far as to define themselves as an ethnic group. Already in the mid-19th century, ideas were shared within the French and US-American deaf

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[41] Cf. SIEGLER 2016, 198ff; LADD 2003, xviii & 113ff
[42] = Just imagine reading this text without two thirds of the letters.
[43] Cf. SIEGLER 2016, 198ff
[44] Cf. LADD 2003, xix; WILBERT 2014, 3 & 55; MLAWA 2016, 9
[45] Cf. LADD 2003, 92ff
[46] Cf. LADD 2003, 120ff; KISANJI 1995, 3
[47] Cf. LADD 2003, 33ff + 122ff

communities about a *Deaf Nation*, e.g. at banquets of famous deaf people in Paris.[48] Those ideas, and frankly most kinds of open self-confidence, were repressed during the subsequent period of oralism. At an international conference of (hearing) teachers of deaf children in Milano (Italy) in 1880, a resolution was adopted that the children shall henceforth only be taught by the oral method (through spoken languages) and not anymore through the manual method (with sign language or signed spoken languages).[49] Deaf teachers were not hired anymore or even fired. It was forbidden for pupils to sign, even in private. In Germany, pupils' hands would be bound to their back during class, as to prevent them from signing. In the course of a few decades, this system, termed *oralism*[50] by deaf people and other critics, spread throughout Europe and the US, as well as to dependent territories. Even today, it influences the views of a lot of (hearing) teachers of the deaf. The educational level of the following generations of deaf people declined markedly. Consequently, their dependence on hearing teachers, missionaries and social workers increased. Sign language and Deaf culture only survived in hiding and at a few official places such as *Gallaudet University* in the USA. Only from the 1970s on, sign language began to be rehabilitated, the educational systems amended and the self-confidence of the d/Deaf began to increase again.[51]

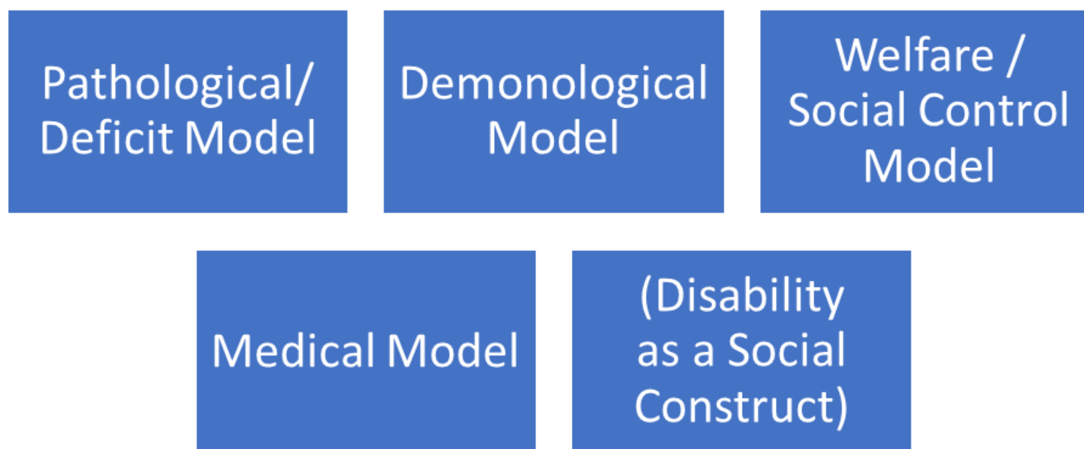

Figure 1: Several models of definitions of „deaf people" by mainstream society (based largely on LADD 2003)

Deaf people already experienced themselves as fundamentally different during oralism. In the US, the expression *Deaf-World* (as opposed to Hearing-World) was coined. Deaf people began to define themselves as *People of the Eye*. With the term community becoming generally more popular, one could also see a more frequent use of the term *Deaf Community*. In the US and to a certain

[48] Cf. KRENTZ 2016; LADD 2003, 405
[49] The Milan Conference of 1880 is similarly infamous in Deaf Studies as the Berlin Conference of 1884 is in African Studies. During the latter, European powers decided on their intended boundaries of influence on the African continent, which largely shape African countries' borders up until today. (Cf. e.g. ANSPRENGER 2010, 75ff) In both cases, those who were really concerned (deaf people and Africans, respectively) were not invited.
[50] LADD draws interesting parallels between Oralism and Colonialism: "Oralism is thus best read as an especially totalitarian form of colonialism, perhaps akin to schools for First Nation children wherein eradication of the native culture has often been an explicit goal." (LADD 2003, 417)
[51] Cf. LADD 2003, 135ff

degree in the English-speaking world, a differentiation between *deaf* (medically) and *Deaf* (culturally) began. While "deaf" refers simply to the biological fact of not being able to hear, "Deaf" refers to the belonging to a linguistic and cultural group of sign language users. Not every deaf person has to identify as Deaf, especially if s/he grew up orally and/or has little contact to the Deaf Community. Main criteria are usually the usage of a natural sign language (as primary language) and the self-definition as Deaf. This differentiation can sometimes be blurry, which leads some scholars to write about the d/Deaf. Furthermore, the Deaf Community can also include hearing people, such as *CODA* (Children of Deaf Adults) or other persons, who have a strong connection to the language and culture. [52]

Figure 2: Several self-definitions of „deaf people" (based largely on LADD 2013)

Crucial to all these terms is that they do not refer to a deficit, but to a positive self-definition. In the 1990s, Paddy Ladd coined the term *Deafhood*, which explicitly includes that positive twist (as opposed to the negatively connoted deafness).[53] Two large conferences at *Gallaudet University* were devoted to the *Deaf Way* (of living).[54] In 1999, BAKER pointed to an "ethnic awakening among the Deaf community"[55], other authors chose similar phrases. Soon after that, the concept of *Deaf ethnicity* was popularised, which argued that the Deaf fulfil many criteria of an ethnic group, first and foremost language, but also bonding to one's own kind, specific culture, social institutions, own forms of arts, a shared history, special forms of kinship, socialization, and boundary maintenance.[56]

A definition used by both hearing and deaf researchers, as well as social actors is that deafness is a disability created as a social construct. It is thus not the person themselves that is disabled, but

[52] Cf. LADD 2003, 41f
[53] Cf. LADD 2003, xviii
[54] Cf. e.g. ERTING 1994, GODSTEIN 2006
[55] BAKER 1999, 122
[56] Cf. LADD/LANE 2013, 566; LANE/PILLARD/HEDBERG 2011. Authors like BREIVIK 2005 argue, in his case based on life stories from Norway, that Deaf people often find a connection other deaf people in far locations rather than to their own family.

the non-conducive environment that is disabling them. While this definition might not be fully accepted by the majority population, it is also not extremely popular with d/Deaf people in the West, as they differentiate between 'disabled' and 'deaf', defining themselves rather linguistically than through hearing ability.[57]

1.6. Being deaf – Looking beyond the West towards Africa

In his central work on Deafhood, Paddy Ladd points out that while he assumes a strong sense of belonging in the deaf community, his analyses were strongly focussing on the US and the UK, and that self-definitions by d/Deaf people in other countries could differ strongly. Still, he assumes a common core of a deaf culture due to shared experiences by being deaf.[58]

KIYANGA/MOORES 2003 provides a short overview about "Deafness in Sub-Saharan Africa". The article points out the oralist legacy of missionary schools from colonial times, as well as the great achievements of Andrew Foster, the first African-American graduate of *Gallaudet University* in the USA, who founded 31 schools in Africa, including Ghana and Kenya. Those schools followed a *Total Communication* approach. The article states that today's governments in the region put the emphasis on regular students, thus neglecting students with disabilities. It finds the current education for deaf children in most sub-Saharan African countries extremely lacking, with the exception of Nigeria, South Africa, and Kenya, which are relatively active. Furthermore, it mentions negative attitudes by the mainstream populations about the deaf and the triple challenge to those who are deaf, poor and female, thus pointing out intersectionality.[59] The book *Many ways to be deaf*[60], published the same year, is one of the more encompassing attempts to bring together views from/on different world regions. In her chapter about Nigeria, SCHMALING 2003 pointed out that sometimes inappropriate western concepts would be exported within the deaf world. She provides the example of a member of a Nigerian deaf association publishing an article, strongly arguing against oralism and for education in sign language, which she claims is an opinion that did not face any opposition in Nigerian schools or the Ministry of Education anyway. It turned out that the article was largely based on a text of by the World Federation of the Deaf (WFD), created in a US context.[61] The same book also includes a chapter on South Africa, where deaf people were affected and separated by Apartheid as much as any other group. Looking at today's results of this fact, the authors finds that: "the education that Deaf people receive is inadequate and inferior, further aggravated by the deep racial inequalities still at work in South Africa [and by 1997] only three Deaf teachers are employed in South Africa and that no more than 15 Deaf university graduates live in the country"[62]. The solution they suggest would probably resonate well with Paddy Ladd as well, as

[57] Cf. e.g. LADD 2003, LEE 2012
[58] Cf. LADD 2003, 59ff & 409ff
[59] Cf. KIYANGA/MOORES 2003
[60] Cf. MONAGHAN 2003
[61] Cf. SCHMALING 2003, 108
[62] AARONS/REYNOLDS 2003, 208

they call for "Deaf people who unite on the basis of a common language and who understand that they are entitled to all the rights that others in the country have."[63]

In the meantime, South Africa has a relative wealth of research on deaf people due to a handful of motivated authors. Results of an oral history (or rather signed history) project were e.g. published in MORGAN 2007, which is described as the first book "on the culture and history of Deaf people in South Africa"[64]. A later publication by the same author, MORGAN 2013, is based on five life stories of deaf South Africans. The author uses the concept of Deafhood coined by Paddy Ladd, and finds that "although the narrators are of different ages and ethnicities, there is a focus on Deafhood as a belonging and becoming that suggests a core cultural self-identification as in other minority cultures that require an essentialised identity for political purposes."[65] MORGAN/KANEKO 2017, in the abstract of their analyses on South African Sign Language poetry, argue that: "due to the impact of apartheid, Deaf South African poets tend to identify themselves as belonging to both their Deaf *and* their local hearing communities"[66]. South African authors also look at intersectional identities such as deaf/female, deaf/black or deaf/LGBT.[67] In other countries, such as Kenya, Uganda or Tanzania, deaf topics are often covered from an educational perspective.[68] An exception is MUGEREE et al 2015, which aims to explore identities of deaf people in Uganda, and finds, "a matrix of ambiguous, often competing and manifold forms in Uganda that are not necessarily based on the deaf and deaf constructions. The results further show that the country's cultural, religious and ethnic diversity is more of a restraint than an enabler to the aspirations of the deaf community."[69]

MILES 2004 is a rare attempt to look into "deaf people, gesture and sign in African histories" in the more distant past. Going back as far as 1450, the first – and only – source on Tanzania he quotes, is however from the late 19th century: "In 1891 Mary French-Sheldon [...] travelling in what is now north-west Tanzania, noticed local people's facility in communicating by iconic gestures, but remarked disdainfully that, `Many of their antics in their sign language are not only grotesque, but childish.'"[70] Other than that, any overview about the deaf in Tanzania tends to start with the opening of the first school for the deaf in 1963.[71] LEE 2012, which I will describe in greater detail later, came to Tanzania to look into 'the Deaf community'. She describes amongst others how she had to eventually leave behind her Western preconceptions about d/Deaf people. According to her, "Tanzanians do not articulate their own positions as members of a unique deaf cultural group"[72], even though they would be connected through a shared mode of communication and experiences. She states that, with a few exceptions, "Deaf people in Tanzania generally reject the social model of

[63] AARONS/REYNOLDS 2003, 209
[64] MORGAN 2007
[65] MORGAN 2013
[66] MORGAN/KANEKO 2007 (italics added for emphasis)
[67] e.g. TSHEGOFATSO 2016, MORGAN/MELETSE 2017
[68] On Kenya cf. e.g. ADOYO 2002, on Uganda cf. e.g. OMUGUR 2007
[69] MUGEERE et al 2015, 1
[70] MILES 2004, 536
[71] Cf. e.g. NAMIREMBE 2019
[72] LEE 2012, 235

disability, embrace the medical model, and associate deaf people with all other disabled groups."[73] Identifying as either deaf or disabled was done strategically, depending on benefits this brought. She also describes deaf people choosing to 'pass' for hearing, i.e. hiding their disability, e.g. by not signing in certain public settings, due to negative views by the mainstream society in Tanzania.[74] An important concept that LEE uses are the 'permanent' and 'temporary deaf spaces', i.e. safe spaces where being deaf and using sign language is not dangerous, not considered strange or even indeed seen as the norm. I will elaborate on this when covering her works in-depth in the literature review.[75] I will then use the concept of 'deaf spaces' as part of my research question.

All in all, this section shows that there seems to be no academic consensus on how deafness is constructed, lived or perceived in African countries in general and in Tanzania specifically. While the upcoming review of the secondary literature will provide different clues to these questions in the Tanzanian context, I had to – when starting my research – find a way to define "deaf" for the purpose of my research.

1.7. A working definition of "deaf" for research in Tanzania

For the purpose of this thesis, a pragmatic approach to the term "deaf" was chosen. First, as we cannot assume a congruency with the Western model, I will not – apart from cases such as the descriptions on deaf studies above – use the (capital D) "Deaf", but the (lower-case) "deaf", as the differentiation seems not to be common in Tanzania.

As for choosing my deaf respondents, anybody who self-identified as being "deaf" ("*kiziwi*" in Swahili) was eligible, no matter the degree of hearing loss in decibels, and no matter the degree of signed or spoken language used. Regarding capturing the views by the public, I stuck to whatever respondents considered "*kiziwi*", with the only short explanation given that "deaf people are people who cannot hear" ("*Viziwi ni watu wasio na uwezo wa kusikia.*"). I will later show, that the term "deaf" was defined differently by the deaf themselves and by a relevant part of the hearing respondents during the street polling.

When referring to other publications or public statistics, I will usually accept the often more medically defined terminology around deafness used there and will replicate it. For brevity, I will often resort to abbreviations. Amongst the most often used terms are "hearing-impaired" (HI) and "deaf and hard-of-hearing" (DHH), which both encompass the full spectrum of hearing loss. "Hard-of-hearing" (HH) usually refers to people with some residual hearing, which can however vary from only hearing loud sounds (e.g. cars or alarms) to being able to perceive a certain amount of

[73] LEE 2012, 227
[74] Cf. LEE 2012, 143
[75] Cf. chapter 2.5

speech (e.g. when being very close in a quiet environment). Following, I will aim to define the overall numbers of my main population of research.

1.8. Schooled deaf people in Arusha – Finding the population

People with disabilities in Tanzania

Only 56% of the Tanzanian population have access to improved drinking water.[76] The health system is precarious, with only 4 physicians per 100,000 people.[77] Traditional healers (waganga) are consulted often, partly out of belief, partly out of lack of alternatives. These factors also contribute to (preventable) disabilities, including deafness.[78]

In theory, People with Disability (PWD) have good legal protection under Tanzanian law. Laws were passed from the *Disabled Persons Employment Act* in 1982 to the *Persons with Disabilities Law* in 2010. The latter was a result of Tanzania signing the *UN Convention on the Rights of Disabled Persons* in 2010.[79] However, researchers generally agree that the country suffers from a lack of implementation.[80] People with disabilities are especially likely to be less educated, unemployed and to live in poverty according to all disability stakeholders met in the country.[81] They are unlikely to be aware of their rights. Reliable data on PWD and deaf people are rare.[82]

The *Formal Sector Employment and Earnings Survey* of 2016 shows that countrywide (Tanzania Mainland) just under 4,000 PWD are employed, 59% of which are male. The private sector employs more PWD (62%) than the public sector. In both of them, i.e. in the formal sector as a whole, PWD thus only make up 0.2% of all employees, even though companies/entities with over 50 employees are supposed to fulfil a quota of 2%.[83] Specific employment numbers per type of disability were not given in the report.[84]

A major source of numbers on people with disabilities is the official 2008 *NBS Disability Survey*[85], which will be referred to hereafter in this section. Authors like LEE 2012 assume that those numbers are very conservative due to underreporting. 7.8% of the overall population above the age of 7 are reported to have a disability. 1 out of 8 households have a member with disability. In average, disability is reported as evenly distributed between genders. However, in rural areas, the per-

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[76] Cf. CIA 2020
[77] For comparison, Kenya has 20, South Africa 91, and Austria 514 medical doctors for a population of 100,000 people. (All data from CIA World Factbook 2020)
[78] Cf. KIYAGA/MOORES 2003, 21 and own fieldnotes
[79] For overviews on disability rights in Tanzania, cf. e.g. CHAVITA 2018, 11ff and ALDERSEY/TURNBULL 2011. Cf. also URT 1982; URT 1982b; URT 1995; URT 2004, URT 2009 and UNGA 2006
[80] Cf. e.g. CHAVITA 2018, 11ff. MLAWA 2016, 20 calls it the “ineffective implementation syndrome”.
[81] e.g. CHAVITA (deaf association) and SHIVYAWATA (disabled people organisations’ federation).
[82] Cf. e.g. CHILDREACH TZ & SIGNAL UK 2016
[83] According to the *Disabled Persons Employment Act No. 2 of 1982*. Cf. NBS 2016, 14; MWAIPOPO/LIHAMBA/NJEWELE 2011, 417f
[84] Cf. NBS 2018
[85] NBS 2009

centage is higher for men, while in urban areas the opposite is the case. Overall, however, rural areas show a higher rate of disability (8.3%) compared to urban areas (6.3%).
Only 38% of children with disabilities attend any formal education, according to the report.[86] People with disabilities are reported to have a higher rate of illiteracy (47.6%) than Tanzanians without disabilities (25.3%). In terms of economy, 76% of those with disabilities were engaged in farming and/or livestock keeping, compared to 64.9% of those without disabilities. Self-employment was reported for 7.8% of disabled persona and for 14.8% of non-disabled Tanzanians.

Deaf people in Arusha Region

Arusha Region is reported to have a disability rate of 6.3%, slightly below the – probably underreported – national average[87]. Disability rates by region AND type of disability are not available in the Disability Survey report. This thesis will thus use the nationwide percentages for hearing-impaired people also for Arusha Region. 1.9% of the national population are reported as having a hearing disability. This is about 24% of the population with disability and equivalent to 607,618 Tanzanians at the time of the census, and to 1,102,000 for the current population estimate of 58 million.[88] For the current population estimate of Arusha, this would mean 38,000 hearing-impaired people.

Out of those reporting having a hearing disability in the 2008 report, 67.2% reported "some difficulty" in hearing, 21.6% "a lot of difficulty" and 11.2% being "unable" to hear.[89] This is equivalent to 1.28%, 0.41% and 0.21% of the total population each. For Arusha Region as of today, this would mean 25,600, 8,200 and 4,200 people, respectively. In a narrow sense, at least the two latter groups should be defined as 'functionally deaf', especially considering that hearing aids are hardly available to the general public, which gives us a figure of 12,400 deaf people in Arusha Region. This number might be conservative, firstly due to underreporting, and secondly the report also mentions 0.8% of the population having a disability connected to "communication", which might also include some deaf people, as the awareness for any other type of communication except spoken language is low, and – as I will later show – regular people often mix/confuse the concept of "deaf" (*kiziwi*) with what they derogatively call "mute" (*bubu*). However, for the rest of this thesis, I will assume that – as calculated above – Arusha Region has 38,000 people with hearing disability, including 12,400 deaf.

One number shall be mentioned in addition, that of 'organised' deaf in the region. CHAVITA Arusha, the regional branch of the deaf association had at the time of my research 614 members in all 7 districts of Arusha Region. One official told me that the far-outlying villages however are not

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[86] One expert teaching at a university during my research assumed this number to be a lot lower, stating: "Only 2% of people with disability of school age access school." Some estimates would be even lower than that. Own calculations for deaf learners will later show that numbers lower than the official NBS numbers likely are true, at least for deaf learners' access to deaf schools or deaf units.
[87] Cf. NBS 2009, 46
[88] NAMIREMBE 2019, using numbers by the 2012 population and housing census, calculated 410,000 DHH people and 168,000 people DHH people in school age. It is however unclear to me from the article, how those numbers came to be.
[89] Responses were, as far as the report reads, only counted based on the answer respondents would give on "hearing difficulties even when wearing a hearing aid": Cf. NBS 2009, 42

reached.[90] While there are other deaf organisations in other parts of the country[91], CHAVITA is the only one active in Arusha, to my knowledge.

Deaf people in Arusha Region who attended school

The above-mentioned *Disability Report* claims that 38% of learners with disability were schooled in 2008. This seems unlikely, especially for deaf learners. The *Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania* (BEST) for 2012-2016[92] claimed some numbers that left me confused, to say the least. The report says that that nationwide 512 “deaf/mute” [sic] learners would attend primary school. The same table also states that 6,320 “deaf/blind” learners would be in primary school. All experts consulted for this thesis agreed that at least the latter number must be wrong if it is supposed to mean “deaf-blind”. All experts agreed that the number of deaf-blind learners in Tanzania is a lot lower than that of deaf learners. Even though the same report features the categories “visually impaired” and “low vision”, we discussed whether it might be the case that this category is a conflation of numbers of learners who are either deaf or blind.[93] Then, it seemed that the solution was simpler. The same report, when splitting up the numbers by region a few pages later, seems to switch the categories and now talks about 6,298 "deaf-mute" and 500 “deaf blind” in primary school. This ratio seems to be more likely. Arusha region is reported to have 167 “deaf-mute” and 13 “deaf-blind” learners.[94]

I will later establish that at least 75,400 hearing-impaired learners should be in primary school in Tanzania at the time of writing. Taking the number for “deaf/mute” and “deaf/blind” from the report above combined, this would cover only 9% of them. I will also establish that at least 2,600 deaf learners should be currently attending the primary school in Arusha Region. The numbers from 2016 given above would cover only 7%. I will later establish by extrapolation of my own data that currently not more than 9% of the deaf primary school age population in Arusha Region is schooled.

Taking those results into account, and considering that enrolment numbers in the past have likely been a lot lower, I will use 9% as the absolute (!) theoretical maximum of schooled deaf people in the country.[95] Out of 12,400 deaf people in Arusha Region, 21.35%[96] are assumed to be below the age of 7. This leaves us with 9.752 people of school age or above. This number is probably still way too inflated, but will be accepted for the purpose of calculating the overall population of this study and setting it into relation to my sample.

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[90] Theoretically each member should pay 20,000 TSh (~8 EUR) membership fee per year. Many fail to do so, but are listed as members nevertheless.
[91] A whole chapter about organisations of and for deaf in Tanzania can be found in LEE 2012, 149ff
[92] URT 2016, 31
[93] The same report later states that 1100 "deaf/mute" students attend secondary school, plus 119 "deaf/blind", with both genders being similarly represented. (Cf. URT 2016, 66)
[94] Cf. URT 2016, 34
[95] KYARUZI 2009, 59 reports 43 deaf schools/deaf units in Tanzania in 2008, while my data from 2019 show a number of 249. Cf. my own calculations in Appendix III.
[96] CIA 2020 states that 42,7% of the population is 14 or younger. For reasons of simplicity, this thesis assumes an even distribution, thus using 21.35% for population of 7 or younger.

2. Review of relevant secondary literature

Published research about deaf people in Tanzania has not yet been very extensive. In 2012, American researcher Jessica Lee talked about a “dearth of research on deaf and disabled communities in East Africa”[97]. However, through physical research in libraries on site and direct contact to organisations and individuals in Tanzania however, quite a number of publications and documents could be found, many quite recent and unpublished.

2.1. Early publications (mid to late 20th century)

Of the early publications, some of which were produced as part of a series of three meetings in the late 1980s and early 1990s called the *East African Sign Language Seminars*[98], most were not obtainable by reasonable effort within the time of the research.[99] Aiming to provide a list as complete as possible, they are however mentioned in the bibliography, marked as “not obtained”. Through access to the library of the *Tanzania Association of the Deaf* (CHAVITA), the report of the second *East African Sign Language Seminar* (1990) was obtained.[100] The Tanzanian authors, without providing any quotes or literature to confirm, mainly wrote about the then current situation in the country. One article comprises both a short historical overview, including the establishment of the first school for the deaf in 1963 in Tabora[101] and the creation of CHAVITA in 1984, as well as some interesting contemporary numbers from 1990:

> “To date there are five deaf schools and four units for the deaf in government run primary schools. Now, out of the estimated 460 000 deaf population in Tanzania, according to the Ministry of Education figures, 210 000 are young and of school-going age or in need of early intervention. And out of this figure, only 589 attend school. This is only 0,3 % of all school-going age children”.[102]

The concept of both sign language and a deaf community was still relatively new to Tanzanians at that point. Other articles report also on the status of convincing teachers, especially at the oralist school in Tabora, of the need to educate deaf students with sign language, as well as about workshops for the deaf and steps to collect sings for a first TSL dictionary.[103] It is pointed out that only in 1982, deaf students were admitted to secondary schools (one in Moshi and one in Ruvu) for the first time and that “the use of sign language has not yet been introduced in our schools”.[104]

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[97] LEE 2012, 224
[98] In Arusha (Tanzania), Debre Zeit (Ethiopia) and Nairobi (Kenya) and in Uganda. Cf. e.g. LEE 2012, 94; LUTALO-KIINGI/DE CLERCK 2017, 48ff
[99] GAMWELL 1972, MABULA 1972, MSENGI 1987, HOKOROTO 1987, ANDROU 1991, NAMBIRA 1990
[100] KULWA 1992, ANDURU 1992, MKAALI 1992
[101] It was called the *Deaf Mute Institute of Tabora* and was strongly oralist. Cf. ANDURU 1992, 40
[102] ANDURU 1992, 40
[103] MKAALI 1992
[104] KULWA 1992, 89

2.2. (Socio-)Linguistic research (early 21st century)

Some mainly linguistic research was done at the beginning of the millennium by Prof. Muzale[105], a hearing Tanzanian researcher generally considered as the leading expert and most influential person on Tanzanian Sign Language, but unfortunately also highly unresponsive to all my attempts to contact him. Ironically, his works were not available at the library of the *University of Dar es Salaam* (UDSM), although this was where he worked during most of the publications. I could only acquire the *2nd Edition of the Tanzanian Sign Language Dictionary* produced under his supervision and published under his name.[106] LUZIBILA 2013 quotes MUZALE 2002 explaining that while the government of Tanzania did allow the use of sign language in schools through a paper circulated in 1996, the ministry of education did "not have a clear policy regarding to the role of Tanzanian Sign Language in the education system. Hence, power to decide on the use of Tanzanian Sign Language remained in the hand of the individual schools"[107]. The same publication also quotes MUZALE 2004, which looked into how far TSL had spread in Tanzania and whether schools promoted or discouraged its use. The results included that while theoretically most teachers supported TSL (with e.g. 91% saying that TSL should be a compulsory language for teachers of the deaf, and 72% wanting TSL as medium of instruction at schools for the deaf), in reality, most teachers would not use a natural sign language, but instead *Total Communication*, i.e. here speaking and signing at the same time following usually the grammar of spoken languages. WILBERT 2014 provides Muzale's numbers: Out of 7 schools for the deaf, 4 used *Total Communication*, 1 *Signed Swahili* and 2 even the oral method. None of the schools used sign language only.[108]

Otherwise, little linguistic research has been done. An unpublished master's thesis in linguistics from 2018 looked into the role of iconicity in TSL.[109] Linguistic research by Prof. Ritsuko Miyamoto of Akita University (Japan) in cooperation with the Sign Language Project of UDSM was ongoing at the time of my own research.

2.3. Unpublished master's theses (2009-2019)

A number of unpublished master's theses on educational topics from the *University of Dar es Salaam* (UDSM) and the – during my research currently closed – *Sebastian Kolowa Memorial University* (SEKOMU) could be obtained in person at the respective libraries. All of them were published between 2009 and 2019. They were of differing academic strength and usefulness for my topic, as I will outline underneath.

KYARUZI 2009 is amongst the earliest theses identified, found in the library of the *Dar es Salaam University College of Education* (DUCE). Looking at three deaf schools/units in Dar es Salaam

[105] MUZALE 2003, MUZALE 2004
[106] MUZALE 2004b
[107] LUZIBILA 2013, 19; Cf. also WILBERT 2014, 3
[108] Cf. WILBERT 2014, 3
[109] MSUYA 2018

region, the author describes some problems still prevalent one decade later. In general, there were only 43 deaf schools or deaf units in the country in 2008, with 9 out of the 26 Tanzanian regions not even having a single deaf unit.[110] These numbers have changed remarkably in the meantime.[111] Quoting largely Western literature on deaf education for what should be done, KYARUZI finds many shortcomings in Tanzania. Success of deaf learners is low, with about half of them not being referred to secondary school during the years 2004 to 2008.[112]

> "The findings revealed that there were several school level factors influencing the teaching and learning of the hearing impaired pupils including a bad system of examinations' invigilation, presence of few specialist teachers for the deaf in primary schools with few instructional materials. Other factors included lack of sign language training among regular teachers and absence of professional advancement on volunteers [and inadequate] capitation funds"[113]

More specifically, Kyaruzi points to a problem of proper allocation of teachers: regular teachers working at special education unit (such as deaf units) and special education teachers not being transferred to special education units, but instead teaching regular students. The latter was the case for 61% of special education teachers, leaving their special knowledge and skills unused.[114]

Indirectly, Kyaruzi points out that government money is rather spent on comparably expensive hearing aids than on visual teaching aids, which would benefit all deaf and hard-of-hearing learners. She observes that while hearing aids were distributed to the children each morning (and collected in the afternoon after class), most children would not wear them.[115]
In terms of methodology, it should be noted that while KYARUZI describes the 44 deaf learners in her sample to be "the focus of this study"[116], much more space is given to the teachers and the government experts. KYARUZI apparently did not conduct interviews with deaf learners and provides no direct quotes or numbers from the Swahili language questionnaire distributed to them.

> "In the two units selected, it was known in advance by the researcher that some pupils with hearing impairment in standard five, six and seven were not capable of reading, understanding and writing correctly during the completion of the questionnaire. To overcome the problem, specialist teachers helped the researcher to select only those pupils who were capable of reading, understanding and writing correctly. However, answers to some of the unanswered questions in the questionnaire were pursued further by the researcher during interview [comment: with whom?] and observations inside and outside classrooms."[117]

KYARUZI points out that according to foreign studies and her observations deaf learners are reported to have difficulties with metacognition and with weighing alternatives before acting, thus having difficulties applying prior knowledge fittingly.[118]

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[110] Cf. KYARUZI 2009, 59
[111] As of 2019, Tanzania Mainland had 13 schools for the deaf and 236 deaf units in Tanzania Mainland, with each region having at least one and up to 21 units. Cf. my own calculations in Appendix III
[112] Cf. KYARUZI 2009, 60
[113] KYARUZI 2009, v
[114] Cf. KYARUZI 2009, 97. This is still the case today according to several teachers I have communicated with during expert interviews and informal visits to schools, though it is unclear if as often as in 2009.
[115] Cf. KYARUZI 2009, 75
[116] KYARUZI 2009, 48
[117] KYARUZI 2009, 18
[118] Cf. KYARUZI 2009, 36

On the positive side, it should be noted that KYARUZI 2009 is one of the few theses which describe the process of pre-testing also of the questionnaire for the deaf and how it was changed to get rid of ambiguities.[119] Still, as results are not explicitly connected to these questionnaires, it seems that the deaf themselves did not have the chance to contribute much – probably due to the mode and language chosen to include them.

MALWISI 2011 wrote about *Teaching and Learning Conditions for Students with Hearing Impairment in Inclusive Secondary Schools in Tanzania*. Research through questionnaires, interviews, focus group discussions and observation was undertaken at three inclusive secondary schools in Iringa Region (Iringa, Njombe and Mufindi), with respondents including three heads of school, 24 teachers, 75 hearing-impaired and 90 hearing students. The author never mentions what mode of communication (oral, sign, interpretation) was used when communicating with the deaf respondents. Judging from the research tools presented, it seems that a short two-page questionnaire written in English was the only method used to get information from the deaf learners. As English language knowledge is low amongst deaf learners, this method does not seem fully satisfactory. It is not clear when and where they were distributed, if teachers were present and by whom they were collected. Quotes in the thesis then are mostly from teachers, whose input – aside from observation – seems to dominate the study.

As a secondary source, the study provides interesting numbers: It quotes *Ministry of Education* statistics about hearing impaired students. Of those 359 students who sat for the final primary school exam in 2009, only 155 (~43%) were selected to attend O-Level secondary schools. The numbers for those enrolled in secondary education in 2010 show a remarkable gender gap with 300 male and only 220 female learners. Also, out of the 520 students in total, only 3 (!) attended Form 4 or Form 5, i.e. the A-Level of secondary school.[120]

As for its own main research objectives, the study finds “an acute shortage of specialist teachers, and those who were available were diploma holders.”[121] Furthermore, teaching methods would be inappropriate for deaf learners, as mainly lecture style was used. When the author states that “teachers used inappropriate language of instruction, and communication between teachers and students was extremely limited”[122], this has to be interpreted as teachers having none or very limited sign language skills. Furthermore, Malwisi finds that available hearing aids, which could help some of the hard-of-hearing students, could not be used due to lack of audiologists.

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[119] Cf. KYARUZI 2009, 54f
[120] Cf. MALWISI 2011, 5f
[121] Cf. MALWISI 2011, v. (Below Diploma level, there is only Certificate level. Certificate level teachers however are only allowed to teach at primary schools. Higher degrees for teachers include Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts.)
[122] Cf. MALWISI 2011, v

Those findings are in line what MUSHI 2010 found one year earlier. As for methodology, data from teachers and head teachers were collected through interviews, from hearing students through questionnaires and focus group discussions at three inclusive secondary schools in Iringa and Kilimanjaro Region. The author apparently also had no TSL skills, as she argues that, for the deaf pupils, interviews were “not possible since all schools did not have sign language interpreters”[123]. She thus opted for questionnaires with open-ended questions, distributed to 105 hearing-impaired students. Again, the questionnaire was prepared in English. The researcher herself indirectly points out that this might have been a problem for the deaf respondents: "Some students requested to write their views in Kiswahili as they were good [sic!] in Kiswahili than in English."[124] Results of those questionnaires thus stayed relatively shallow, even though dramatic: Two-thirds of hearing-impaired students indicated not getting appropriate support from the teachers.
The researcher found that only between 1 and 5 teachers (or between 7% and 13%) of the teachers at the schools had had training in special needs education which included information about how to teach students with hearing impairments. Observation thus showed teachers rarely interacting with deaf learners. When question and answer methods were used, children would reply collectively, except for the deaf. Out of 17 observed group discussions, teachers only interacted with deaf learners in 3 cases. When lecturing, teachers would often not accommodate deaf pupils by providing hand-outs or simply facing them while talking.[125]
Deaf students at those three schools labelled as ‘inclusive’ demonstrated poor levels of performance, only 3 managed to attend Form 5. In the 2009 national exams for Form 4, most hearing-impaired students (21 out of 26) failed. The numbers for the Form 2 exams were slightly better (10 out of 37 failed).[126]

MUSHI quotes government sources showing enrolment numbers for students with hearing impairment at secondary schools nationally slowly increasing (2006: 103, 2007:11, 2008: 303), while pointing out that only 8 students with hearing impairments were enrolled at UDSM from 1978 when it first enrolled students with disabilities until 2009. The numbers for students with physical or visual impairments were notably higher (144 and 64 respectively).[127]

LUZIBILA 2013 is a master’s thesis in social applied psychology from UDSM which shows more concrete knowledge of issues relating to deaf learners, as it looks into the direct connection between *Knowledge of Sign Language [by Teachers] and the Performance of Students with Hearing Impairment in Secondary Schools*. Looking at students at two ‘inclusive’ secondary schools, the results are quite clear: When teachers do not have sign language knowledge, deaf learners demonstrate poor performance levels. In subjects in which teachers know and use sign language, the pass and fail rates of deaf and hearing students were nearly identical.[128] Using questionnaire

[123] MUSHI 2010, 12
[124] MUSHI 2010, 50
[125] Cf. MUSHI 2010, 53ff
[126] Cf. MUSHI 2010, 60
[127] Cf. MUSHI 2010, 4
[128] Cf. LUZIBILA 2013, 44

responses by deaf students, the author furthermore concludes that deaf learners dislike/hate teachers who do not sign, and that they transfer that dislike to the subjects taught by those teachers. The same effect also works in reverse, as a teacher is quoted as saying: "[Deaf students] admire every teacher who use sign language in teachers, because they deem that, teachers who use sign language are the ones who care and guide them into better academic performance."[129] The issue of positive/negative views about teachers based on their signing ability will also be looked into during my own research.

In terms of methodology, the author – even though aware of the importance of sign language – admits his own lack of TSL skills.

> “The researcher faced some difficulties in data collection predominantly on communication with students with hearing impairment since the researcher was not familiar with the use and understanding of sing language. To overcome the situation the researcher used one specialist teacher from Bwiru Boys School and one General Education Teacher from Musoma School for translation. The specialist teacher and GE teacher provided clarifications on how the research questionnaires should be filled and why their responses were important. In addition to that, two hearing pupils who know sign language, from each school were used to assist teachers.”[130]

The way the questionnaires were phrased – again in English – and the fact that signing hearing teachers explained how to fill them, might have had an influence on the answers given by the deaf learners. Nevertheless, considering other studies mentioned, the major results seem plausible.

The quotes by teachers provide some additional bits of information. One quotes alludes to the fact that a usual coping strategy of students when teachers do not know sign language is retreat: “They spend most of their time at home or outside the classroom, because the environment is not friendly to them”[131]. Another indirect quote shows an understanding of the term “deaf culture” that would have to be seen at least diverging, if not flawed, from a deaf studies perspective. It is unclear whether this view is of a respondent (a teacher) or the author:

> “[The teacher] added more that, disuse of sign language among teachers had caused students who are deaf to form the so called deaf culture. In deaf culture, deaf students consider themselves as people who do not desire to be with hearing peers in every school activities [sic] because of the belief that none sign language teachers and hearing students do not understand their real situation. Because of deaf culture, when the lesson or topic was not clear to them due to language barrier (absence of sign language), students who are deaf did not see the necessity to seek help from hearing students, because hearing students did not understand their actual situation.”[132]

The author also quotes JOSHUA 2011, which could not be obtained directly, who found through research in Tanzania that academic success of learners is rather linked to self-esteem than to the hearing status (deaf vs. hearing). The same publication also is quoted for government numbers showing a constant decline in enrolled deaf students through the school years, with 2011 numbers

[129] LUZIBILA 2013, 58
[130] LUZIBILA 2013, 9f
[131] LUZIBILA 2013, 56
[132] LUZIBILA 2013, 47

getting lower from Standard 1 (1018) and Standard 7 (433), through Form 1 (159) and Form 4 (74) up to Form 5 (2) and Form 6 (1).[133]

WILBERT 2014 conducted socio-linguistic research with 42 deaf primary school students and 16 of their teachers at four primary schools in Dar es Salaam, Iringa and Morogoro. While the number of informants is not higher than in many of the other studies, this study shows a deeper understanding of issues specific to deaf learners and is one of the most structured analyses amongst the master's theses. Looking into how deaf learners acquire TSL, it identified issues in three fields: social, pedagogical and linguistic problems.

Socially, it finds that society at large and thus also parents of deaf children do not have sufficient knowledge about sign language. All respondents were born to hearing parents, the majority was already deaf at birth. About two thirds communicated at home only by lip-reading, a quarter by 'local signs' (possibly simple home signs), the rest by both. Thus, all except for one respondent started learning TSL, the formal Tanzanian Sign Language, only on entering school.[134]
Pedagogically, a major problem identified was that TSL was neither recognised as language of instruction (LoI) nor as a subject. Also, at the time of the study, TSL was not taught at teachers' colleges.[135] Similarly to results from MUZALE 2004, WILBERT also found that the majority of teachers reported themselves to not have good knowledge of TSL.[136] 15 out of 16 teachers stated that they used *Total Communication* in class, one just spoken languages. WILBERT, chiming into criticism by other researchers, points out that this can lead to neither acquiring the written/spoken nor the signed language properly.[137] There was, as reported in other studies, a general lack of teaching materials. However, WILBERT was more thorough, finding that what was available was mostly to teach spoken languages (Swahili, English) or about foreign sign languages (such as American Sign Language or Kenyan Sign Language). The few books about TSL were mostly dictionaries.[138]
Linguistic problems were identified as partly resulting from the social and pedagogical problems. Both, students and teachers reported lacking knowledge about grammar and vocabulary. As it can be questioned how qualified the respondents were to answer linguistic questions, the detailed numbers shall not be quoted here. They dealt with this by either using Swahili grammar (teachers) or random word order (students) and by filling gaps in vocabulary by either fingerspelling or using local signs. WILBERT identifies use of those local signs (which I in my research have usually subsumed under "varieties") as a major stumbling stone to establishing TSL. However, she notes that most teachers are of the opinion that those students who acquired local signs at home are better at

[133] Cf. LUZIBILA 2013, 2
[134] Cf. WILBERT 2014, 40
[135] Cf. WILBERT 2014, 52
[136] Cf. WILBERT 2014, 53. It seems likely that a rating by sign language experts or even deaf learners might result in even worse numbers.
[137] Cf. WILBERT 2014, 55. Cf. also MLAWA 2016, 9
[138] Cf. WILBERT 2014, 56f

acquiring TSL than those who only used (i.e. lipread) Swahili at home.[139] Talking about possible solutions, the study mainly points out that more government support would be needed for initial momentum to allow other involved stakeholders to do their part.

As for methodology, WILBERT was more considerate of the language skills of the deaf participants than other researchers, explaining that for "the pupils the selection criteria used was the ability to read and write Swahili and at least to communicate using TSL (estimated from standard six to seven)"[140]. As for teachers, those chosen had 2 years or more of experience of using TSL. Questionnaires for students were written in (as far as I can judge, rather easily understandable) Swahili. Furthermore, WILBERT involved 15 of the 42 deaf students in a focus group discussion (FGD), thus providing a forum for them to raise their issues and present their views without predefined categories of questionnaires.[141] However, the thesis stays quiet on how the FGD was conducted (alone by the researcher, with professional interpretation or interpretation by involved teachers) and what the outcome was. Quoted are only a few linguistic examples provided by learners and some general statements based on "interviews" with deaf learners, teachers and parents combined.[142]

PANDE 2016 conducted research at *Buguruni Viziwi* in Ilala District in Dar es Salaam, which was also one of the three schools looked at by KYARUZI 2009, a fact of which the author was apparently not aware. Results are similar, with a small upwards trend.

PANDE finds that class sizes exceed the recommendations of the ministry, even though only a third of those who apply are admitted and that the curriculum used is the same as in regular primary schools. She notes positively that all students have hearing aids (donated by an NGO) and that the textbook-student ratio of 1:2 is acceptable. Other teaching and learning materials would still be lacking though. Computers were available, but not in sufficient numbers. Two out of five teachers only used lecture style teaching. Others used Q&A, discussion & demonstration. Most teachers only had a diploma, few a degree. 4 out of 33 teachers did not have formal SNE training.[143] This is a slight improvement in qualifications compared to data by KYARUZI 2009, when 8 out of 32 teachers at *Buguruni Viziwi* were non-SE-teachers.[144] The general lack of teachers however seems to have remained similar.

As for methodology, 10 teachers and 40 students are mentioned as respondents. The author states to have done focus group discussions and interviews with deaf students, but does not mention what language those were conducted in, and if there was an interpreter (most likely a teacher)

[139] Cf. WILBERT 2014, 50ff
[140] WILBERT 2014, 30
[141] Cf. WILBERT 2014, 32
[142] Cf. WILBERT 2014, 62 & 69
[143] Cf. PANDE 2016, 47
[144] KYARUZI 2009, 66

present. The short and superficial way the author covers the issue of language barriers[145] makes it seem unlikely that she is a proficient signer. While she also conducted observations in class, not being fluent in TSL might have hindered getting a full picture.
There are only two quotes from deaf pupils and they sound quite stiff and artificial. This might however be due to the translation into English. Teachers are quoted more often. In some cases, PANDE takes views from the teachers as confirmed information instead of critically questioning it, e.g. when stating: "Most pupils with hearing impairment are slow learners."[146]

Four unpublished master's theses have been obtained at *Sebastian Kolowa Memorial University* (SEKOMU) through the library or the students themselves. As these theses are also not easily accessible otherwise, they shall be covered here.

KILLANGANE 2016 dealt with a more or less internal question of SEKOMU, which is the level of TSL skills amongst its students, specifically of third year students in the B.A. in Special Education with a specialisation in Hearing Impairment. SEKOMU has been the only university in the country offering exactly such a degree.[147] The programme started with 27 students in 2007, with enrolment reaching a peak of 239 students in 2011 and reducing to 164 in 2015, the last year for which numbers were available for this study.[148] It includes three semesters of TSL training. SEKOMU also offered an M.A. in the same field.
The study, though very repetitive in stressing its own pioneering role, is looking into an important topic. These graduates are crucial to the continued education of deaf learners. During my own research, I met graduates of SEKOMU as teachers in secondary schools and as officer in *the Tanzanian Institute of Education*. Unfortunately, SEKOMU was temporarily closed during my research period.
In terms of the set research questions, KILLANGEs findings however are very general:

> "This study revealed that there were varying levels of communication competence in TSL among SEKOMU students ranging from the lowest to the highest, there were appropriate teaching methods used in teaching TSL at SEKOMU and they had positive effects on students, there were challenges facing TSL at SEKOMU and the population knew the way forward."[149]

KILLANGANE did question students using 150 questionnaires and 20 interviews. There might have been some flaws in the methodology, such as the fact that only 20 respondents were asked to rate their own TSL skills. As for appropriateness of teaching methods, or the question whether SEKOMU students in general could communicate using TSL[150], Yes and No were the only answers (instead of e.g. a 5-point-scale). As for challenges in acquiring TSL, students mentioned amongst

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[145] The section is just one page long. Cf. PANDE 2016, 49f
[146] PANDE 2016, 47
[147] Special Education courses were also offered at *Patandi Teachers College* in Arusha Region, those certificate and diploma level courses however are of a more general character, touching upon all disabilities only shortly. *AMUCTA* did start a HI programme later. Cf. PANDE 2016, 53
[148] Cf. KILLANGANE 2016, 3f
[149] Cf. KILLANGANE 2016, ix
[150] 120 & 125 out of 150 students gave a positive answer, respectively.

others the variation of signs throughout the country and the lack of real-life practice.[151] KILLANGE's work does not really test or evaluate TSL skills, but it is explorative, and shines a light on a group which is of significance to the success of deaf learners.

SEKOMU graduate STANISLAUS (2016) looked at the *Effectiveness of Donated Hearing Aids to Children with Hearing Loss in Tanzania*. He found it to be very low. Hearing aids would often be given out in a rush, testing and fitting would be minimal and often done in unsuitable environments and by untrained or semi-skilled personnel. Follow up by donors would be insufficient. Deaf learners and parents would struggle to handle the devices and deal with problems such as empty batteries.[152]
As for methodology, the researcher used a sample of respondents in Tanga region, including 12 deaf learners, 4 parents and 24 other experts. While the researcher states to be fluent in TSL, the varieties of SL used made research difficult.

> "Some of them [the deaf] were not conversant with Tanzanian Sign language which the researcher used. Some of them were using the sign language which were local to their areas or families. In such a situation, it was hard to communicate with the researcher. In such a circumstance, a family member or a person well versed in that local Sign language was employed as an interpreter to facilitate communication."[153]

So, while the researcher interacted with deaf respondents, probably during the observations, when it comes to formal interviews, he only mentions the hearing respondents. All respondents however were given the same questionnaire, written in relatively simple Swahili and thus accessible to respondents with different knowledge of written language. The researcher presents results such as answers to open-ended questions by all groups – including the deaf themselves – on par, in a table sheet style.[154] Thus in a way, he allows for those who are the subject of the research to present their own voice.

They make themselves heard amongst others when talking about how to deal with the problems of 'faulty' hearing aids. Stopping using them seems to be common, as no appropriate explanation on how to use them is given. Deaf children are quoted as saying:

> "I don't like this [sic] machines because they cause some pains in my ears when I wear them so when my parents are with me I put them on my ears but once they go away I remove them"[155]

> "I normally got stuck when my hearing aids misbehave and I really don't understand what to do when it happen….sometimes I used to think of throwing it away as it gives me hard time particularly when it occur in places with many people"[156]

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[151] Cf. KILLANGE 2016, 87
[152] Cf. STANISLAUS 2016, vii
[153] STANISLAUS 2016, 15
[154] Cf. STANISLAUS 2016, 54ff
[155] STANISLAUS 2016, 102
[156] STANISLAUS 2016, 99

STANISLAUS says deaf respondents report a negative attitude within society towards hearing aids, quoting one as saying: “I cannot wear it in places with many people I feel too shy to be seen wearing them, they are easily seen”[157]

As the focus of the research is about (ways to amplify) hearing, sign language does not feature prominently. However, STANISLAUS rightly criticises that information provided about hearing aids has been reported to be always undertaken without any sign language interpretation.

> “The involvement of recipients of the hearing aids donations was very minimal because there were no competent sign language interpreters at the meetings and gatherings designed for handing over hearing aids donations to the recipients. This made recipients to be out of place because they were never aware of what was going on because they could not follow the occasion using their ears.”[158]

The problem explained by this quote might be due to organisational difficulties in finding a TSL interpreter, but since schools for the deaf would probably have some contact to sign language interpreters, it alludes also to old beliefs of oralism or audism prevailing with some donor organisations. At the very least, it shows that the two approaches (sign language and auditory assistive devices) do not go hand in hand here.

MLAWA 2016 is – as far as I could inquire – the only master’s thesis on a topic related to deafness that had been written by a deaf person. As we will later see, very few deaf Tanzanians have progressed to university, especially degree level. The thesis, dedicated to the author’s multi-disabled niece, looks into the situation of children who are deaf and additionally have other disabilities.

MLAWA quotes a study conducted in 2013 by deaf researchers of *CHAVITA*, which found that deaf with co-existing disabilities are especially challenged to attend school successfully. “Most of these children were typically Deaf with low vision, Deaf-blind, Deaf with mental retarded [sic], Deaf with developmental Delay and Deaf with physical disabilities.”[159] MLAWA finds that national or local policies rarely mention these learners, and if they do so, it is only about deaf-blind pupils.

The author criticises a system called *Big Results Now* (BRN), which aims at enrolling first those pupils with high chances of success. He shows how this system works against disabled children and how even at a deaf school it works against those deaf with coexisting conditions.[160]

Taking *Mwanga School for the Deaf* as his showcase, the author finds that about 1 in 10 of the students in the school were found to have co-existing disabilities. 5 students participated in the study, as well as 5 teachers, 3 caretakers and 2 District Education Officers (DEOs). Interviews, questionnaires and observation was used on all respondents the same. The researcher, being a

[157] STANISLAUS 2016, 99
[158] STANISLAUS 2016, 118
[159] MLAWA 2016, 4f
[160] Cf. MLAWA 2016, 22 & 98f

signing deaf person, could use TSL to communicate with the deaf pupils. MLAWA describes having to switch from written to oral/signed data gathering with some respondents as well as having to simplify Swahili, English and TSL to be understood in some cases.

MLAWAs findings can often apply to the situation of deaf children without additional disabilities, too, and his criticism is comparably sharp, especially considering Tanzanian politeness. Amongst others, he criticises that the officer for special education interviewed does not know any sign language, and might be cheated when inspecting schools.[161]

In general, he is critical of how inclusive education is implemented in Tanzania:

> "Having Deaf children or those Deaf with multiple disabilities placed in their class rooms with no advanced planning and no ongoing support is a form of damping [i.e. dumping] in which as many [times] the inclusive education is mentioned[,] it does not work, this kind of damping allows most pupils to dislike schooling"[162]

Indirectly, he mentions pressure to assimilate into mainstream society, to 'fit in', when he refers to a conversation with an educational officer:

> "She insisted that if [a] special education plan could be prepared [for deaf and multi-disabled children], they would not be able to live in the society, [as] they have to imitate and [get] accustomed to what other pupils do so that they can become independent."[163]

MLAWA makes the interesting observation that teachers provide deaf learners with correct answers to copy, thus creating the impression that the students have learned and understood the topic, when in fact this is not the case. He quotes situations from the classroom as well as analysis of his own questionnaires, which might have been filled in by pupils 'with help' from the teacher.[164]

At Mwanga, 11 of 29 teachers (all government employees) did not have any *Special Educational Needs* training. Less than 20% use sign language to teach, the majority do not know proper TSL and use some form of *Total Communication*.[165] Interestingly, MLAWA finds that 90% of the non-teaching staff (like caretakers, guards, cooks) know how to communicate in TSL. All of them are employed by the owner of the school, a church. It seems thus that, at least in this case, the church is more successful in hiring sign language competent staff than the state.[166] MLAWA explains that these people "act as parents of Deaf children"[167] as they stay with them 24 hours a day. MLAWA laments that "non-teaching staffs that are closer to the children communicate fluently in sign language with children and know each child's challenges and behaviour; however these groups of staffs are not given changes for training to upgrade their skills according to challenges raised

[161] This assumption was backed by stories of one of my respondents, a deaf teacher. Cf. chapter 4.2
[162] MLAWA 2016, 65
[163] MLAWA 2016, 33f
[164] Cf. MLAWA 2016, 80f
[165] Cf. MLAWA 2016, 82
[166] "Splitting the costs" for schools was a phenomenon that I could also see at several schools. An NGO or a parents' initiative would pay for the buildings, non-teaching staff and possibly food and accommodation. The government would chip in later to pay teachers' salaries and basic teaching materials. Cf. own field notes & interviews
[167] MLAWA 2016, 83

among pupils enrolled in the school."[168] Mlawa also found that (voluntary) deaf teachers at the school were popular with the children as they can explain and communicate easily, and he stresses their function as role models. "The government should assess and conduct crash program for Deaf teachers in the country so that they become officially recognized for teaching Deaf children".[169]

MAKALLA 2019 is the most recent thesis found, looking at how deaf students learn English. The author notes that between 2005 and 2012, nearly half of deaf students in Tanzania dropped out of secondary school prior to finishing Form 4. For their hearing peers, that number is only about 7%.[170] Thus, she decided to look explicitly at English teaching at *Tanga Technical* and *Moshi Technical Secondary Schools*. Though the methodology is questionable, she identifies similar problems to studies before, without identifying issues very specific to the subject of English.[171] Again, it is found that teaching materials are missing, that many teachers are not qualified in TSL and that the majority of students would prefer to be taught in sign language. Although the author states to have visited the schools before for internships to practice TSL, she notes:

> "The research is forecasting the challenge in communication and language while collecting information from respondents. Since the interaction with students with deafness require Sign language this might be somewhat challenged to the researcher as she is not much competent in signed communications. This hindered researcher from interacting with deafness students. To avoid the problem, the researcher used class teachers who are competent in Sign Language and or school interpreters if any."[172]

However, the main tool to get information from the 65 students in her sample was an English language questionnaire, making use of academic vocabulary that might have been hard for students to understand properly. Aside from these data, students are 'quoted' (in a summarising way) only three times throughout the thesis, while e.g. teachers are quoted intensively, amongst others often about lacking (monetary) benefits provided to them by the state for teaching students with disability.

Summing up, many of the unpublished master's thesis produced interesting or useful results, however, many did not involve the deaf themselves properly, usually in one of three ways. First, some authors refrained totally from getting data directly from them due to the language barrier. Two, some authors used teachers as interpreters for deaf pupils when inquiring about teaching issues, which might influence them and inhibit honest answers. Three, some authors did try to get information from deaf respondents by questionnaires written in (complex) Swahili or English, which was not easily accessible to all learners due to the limited skills in those written languages.

[168] MLAWA 2016, 86
[169] MLAWA 2016, 87f
[170] Cf. MAKALLA 2019, 17
[171] For information on these specific issues, cf. chapter 4.3
[172] MAKALLA 2019, 10f

2.4. Current surveys by NGOs (2016-2018)

Some research obtained has been done by or for NGOs. CHILDREACH TZ & SIGNAL UK 2016 is a summary of research findings by those NGOs, focussing on Kilimanjaro Region, the neighbouring region of Arusha. The 5-page report is largely a qualitative summary, and does not go into great detail about methodology, but states that the team "conducted interviews and Focus Group Discussions with 100 deaf children, 55 parents, 13 community leaders, 55 government workers, and 27 primary school teachers to gather data on enrolment, attitudes, and barriers to education."[173] It affirms that deaf youth themselves and their families were the focus of the research.

Amongst others, the authors found a lack of reliable data on the numbers of disabled and deaf children. Therefore, it would not be possible to determine the percentage of deaf children in and out of school.[174] Being active in the area, the NGOs pledged to "ensure that they [local leaders] collect accurate disaggregated data on the number of children with disabilities within each District, and maintain an up-to-date data bank on deaf children, and those with other disabilities both in, and outside of, school."[175]
Major problems identified are communication with non-deaf people, lack of sign language knowledge of deaf children themselves and mainstream teachers, lack of learning materials, and "unequal examination regulations which make it almost impossible for deaf young people to transition between grades and schools"[176]. They also report "disability denial" in families and lack of knowledge of children's rights.[177]

> "Our research found that deaf students are bullied by their non-deaf peers, and have faced abuse at the hands of both teachers and community members.
> Judiciary officials in all locations reported numerous cases of abuse and neglect, as well as the low prosecution rate at court due to witnesses' reluctance to give evidence, a deaf child's lack of communication, and negative cultural influences with strong local variations."[178]

The report outlines future activities aimed for by *Childreach Tanzania*, focussing on awareness through actively including communities. Activities should focus on "geographical areas with higher incidents of child abuse and violation of children's rights"[179]. They thus aim to improve education of deaf children through targeting problems outside the educational issues in a narrower sense.

One of the more comprehensive studies, provided to me by the *Tanzania Association of the Deaf*, is CHAVITA 2018. Dealing with participation of deaf people in local governance and public accountability, the report has been compiled by external consultants of *LEDECO Advocates* in cooperation with *CHAVITA* officials to prepare for a project on related matters. 200 Tanzanians were interviewed, including 113 deaf persons, with a good spread in terms of age, gender and educa-

[173] Cf. CHILDREACH TZ & SIGNAL UK 2016, 4
[174] Cf. also chapter 1.8
[175] CHILDREACH TZ & SIGNAL UK 2016, 5
[176] CHILDREACH TZ & SIGNAL UK 2016, 5
[177] Cf. CHILDREACH TZ & SIGNAL UK 2016, 5
[178] CHILDREACH TZ & SIGNAL UK 2016, 5
[179] CHILDREACH TZ & SIGNAL UK 2016, 7

tion. Using a mixed team of deaf experts from *CHAVITA*, hearing external consultants and sign language interpreters, this research had a much broader set of human resources available than the master's theses discussed above. Still, it faced difficulties:

> "Only 7% of deaf community members had level of education above primary school. [...] It was also noticed during the interviews [Focus Group Discussions and Survey Questionnaires] that, at least 80% of the deaf respondents were unable to understand formal sign language (FSL). The professional sign language interpreter who accompanied the survey team had to use informal sing language (ISL) for them to understand. The level of understanding and application of FSL was worse in Mtwara. This was a case even for the standard seven and secondary school leavers. This could imply that, even deaf persons themselves cannot communicate and plan for their own destine in a constructive way."[180]

So, while the focus of the research was participation in public life, education again is given broad room in this study, as low education is found to be an impediment for inclusion. Problems encountered are similar to those found in many studies mentioned above. However, a slow change for the better in terms of enrolment numbers of deaf learners is found looking at two primary schools. Explicitly quoting numbers for one of them, the researchers find that prior to 2000, yearly enrolment of deaf students was usually 3 or less, but in the last decade usually between 8 and 17 per academic year.[181] Interestingly, based on these schools numbers the researchers speculate that "there is no gender discrimination between boys and girls in enrolment of deaf children. It seems that, parents or guardians treat all children equally."[182] This view is not shared by all respondents of my own research. Furthermore, research just 8 years earlier at a different location in Tanzania still showed a gender ratio of 3:2 in favour of male deaf students.[183]

Another gender aspect is mentioned when talking about low activity rates of *CHAVITA*'s local chapters, reporting that "some of female prospective and already enrolled members are prohibited by their husbands from joining or serving the group as members".[184]

Lack of communication at 'integrated schools' apparently leads to conflicts, as this, somehow one-sided description in the report states:

> "(i) misbehaving deaf students of Mtwara Technical Secondary school are becoming almost uncontrollable because, once the teachers try to discipline them, CHAVITA or parents would come out with horns to fight the teachers. As a result, there is kind of tag-of-war between teachers and these students;
> and, (ii) most of the deaf children's parents do not take care of their children once they are being enrolled in school. It was noted that, most of the pupils admitted in Tanga city and Mtawara municipal based scpeicial [sic] schools were from upcountry districts. They did not have close relatives in urban areas. Therefore, were taken care by 'strangers.' Sometime their welcome is regarded as being overstayed. As a result, the host families start to mistreat the children. There was a case of a deaf child who was assisted by one of the teachers in Mtwara. The teacher organized a free ride in her bus from Mikindani area.

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[180] CHAVITA 2018, 6
[181] Cf. CHAVITA 2018, 24
[182] CHAVITA 2018, 24
[183] Cf. MUSHI 2010, 6f
[184] CHAVITA 2018, 31

> When the bus stopped to operate for some reasons, the child also failed to go to school until when teachers decided to contribute for his transport fare from their own pockets.
> Three, issues pertaining deaf students are handled on ad hoc basis. It seems that, they all depend on the personal drive of an education officer as it is a case for Mtwara region."[185]

CHAVITA 2018 also mentions other phenomena that are of general interested, such as the fact of how deaf people are referred to:

> "For instance, the survey team met high profile officials in the sampled regions including the judicial officers who could even refer the deaf persons in a proper or dignified ways. Some referred the deaf as persons who 'wasiosikia' (cannot hear/listen); 'wagojwa wa masikio' (ear patients); and, 'mabubu' (dumb)."[186]

This is in line with statements about "perceived negative mindsets on disability among the decision makers, law enforcers and public at large."[187]

The report also touches upon how deaf people are less likely to have received proper information about HIV/AIDS and thus are more at risk of contracting it[188], how a deaf respondents reports being beaten by community police, because he did not hear and his sign might have been misunderstood as disrespect[189] or how a politician who turned deaf struggled to continuously convince potential voters and eventually lost an internal party election.[190]

As for the main question of the report, the researchers find that:

> "It is generally established that, majority (an overall of more than 90%) of the deaf persons, other public members and public officers including the judicial officials were ignorant of the law governing disability rights (and deaf community). This seems to be one of the attributing factors to the continuous violation of the rights of deaf community – including the right to effective participation in local government accountability programs. It is due to that reasons and others including lack of political will which had made LGAs [Local Government Authorities] and other law enforcers to remain 'inactive' and 'futile' to enforce the disability law and policy. As a result, less than 5% of the deaf persons were participating to public accountability and other activities in Tanga and Mtwara regions."[191]

Even local CHAVITA officer would often not know about the laws or possible routes to apply for support, such as the fact that 2% of LGAs revenues is reserved for people with disabilities. What changes have been happening in the course of the project, which that report forms part of, is not yet known.

Legal provisions related to deaf people are discussed at length.[192] It is found that often documents are only referring to people with disabilities and not specifically deaf people. Moreover, the major

[185] CHAVITA 2018, 23
[186] CHAVITA 2018, 15
[187] CHAVITA 2018, 20
[188] Cf. CHAVITA 2018, 26. Experts in Arusha also told me that deaf there became infected due to lack of knowledge about HIV.
[189] Cf. CHAVITA 2018, 33
[190] Cf. CHAVITA 2018, 28
[191] CHAVITA 2018, 42
[192] Cf. CHAVITA 2018, 11ff

challenge would be the low level of implementation of theoretically well-meant laws and regulations.

MoEST 2018 is a study commissioned by the *Tanzanian Ministry of Education Science and Technology* (MoEST), and implemented by several experts and consultants, including the *Institute for Inclusive Development* (I4ID), a UK Aid programme. Trigger was the outcry by NGOs, media, public and parliamentarians after it became known that all 21 students of the (then) only special secondary school for the deaf, *Njombe Viziwi*, failed the national O-Level exams in 2017. Those exams (Form 4 national exams) were the reason to look into the education of deaf learners at *Viziwi Njombe* and beyond. Thus, in 2018 research was conducted at this special school, as well as at *Kazima Secondary School* and *Mtwara Technical Secondary School*, both considered 'inclusive' schools.[193]

While the research had to be conducted in a short time[194], it had more manpower than many other (academic) research projects. Each school was visited for a few days by 3-4 experts, including always at least one representative of *MoEST* and one of *CHAVITA*.[195] Thus, each team included also the deaf perspective and advanced TSL knowledge directly.
Respondents were purposefully selected, e.g. the students: "Form I students helped to identify deaf students' entry qualifications and ability when they joined secondary education. Form II and IV students helped to identify the extent to which deaf students were prepared for national examinations."[196] All in all, the sample included 149 deaf students, 30 teachers with a background in Special Needs Education (SNE) and 32 teachers without, as well as government officers of different levels and some former students and parents. Methods used were semi-structured interviews (partly via telephone), focus group discussions (FGD) and observation. While the study apparently did not have time for pre-tests, the authors are clearly stating whenever results could be due to unclear phrasing or misunderstanding of questions. In general, they often find a relatively high discrepancy between statements by teachers and students. This shows that other studies which highly rely on information from teachers (see section on master's theses above) might be actually suppressing deaf learners' views unintentionally. Additionally, for MoEST 2018, documents from the schools and external publications were analysed.

In their findings, the authors stressed that the reasons for the failure of the deaf students were not due to inherent traits of deaf students, but instead due to issues of their education environment as a system. They found "four key areas of concern pertinent to insufficient recognition and accommodation of the needs of deaf learners, namely the pedagogy, language of instruction, resources and poor policy implementation"[197].

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[193] Cf. MoEST 2018, 1ff
[194] Described as "a rapid assessment". Cf. MoEST 2018, 3
[195] Cf. MoEST 2018, 2
[196] Cf. MoEST 2018, 6
[197] MoEST 2018, iv

So while teachers placed emphasis on generalised statements such as that deaf students would be slow learners, the authors found a major problem in teachers using "a combination of English, Kiswahili and Sign-Supported-Kiswahili/English, while their proficiency in TSL (which was not yet fully developed for academic purposes) was very low."[198] This again would lead to none of the three languages being fully understood, and to the syllabus not being fully covered, even though in some cases evening classes were offered.
Classes are found not to be very pupil-centred, with deaf learners being often ignored in the 'inclusive' settings, where teachers focus on the hearing learners. As the hearing learners produced acceptable results, and as statistics did not explicitly split between deaf and hearing learners at such schools, it did not became publicly known that deaf students also underperform there. The failure rate at the inclusive schools (2015-2017) was 67% for deaf students but only 7% for hearing students.[199]
The authors do not explicitly favour special schools or inclusive schools, but find similar problems in both of them. As for the special school, they find a higher rate of interaction with deaf learners in class – stated by both teachers and learners. The special school also has a higher number of teachers able to use TSL. However, the authors are shocked to note, that even at *Njombe Viziwi*, only 51% of teachers had a SNE background, and only 17% of teachers there rate their TSL skills as proficient, while the rest report "average" TSL skills. At the inclusive schools, no teacher rated himself/herself as proficient, only few as "average" and most as having low or no TSL skills.[200]

The authors thoroughly describe further shortcomings of the system, many of which have already been mentioned in the earlier publications described above, but they do so with a greater academic sharpness, greater empathy and with providing more concrete steps to be taken. These include on-the-job training for teachers in SNE and TSL, as well as creating deaf units at secondary schools, similar to the system in primary schools, to name a few. As for the teacher's suggestions to drop certain subjects from the curriculum for deaf learners, the researchers urge the Ministry to caution, as this may strengthen the prejudice that deaf learners cannot fully perform. Regarding some other suggestions, they stay relatively neutral, stating their respondents differing views: While teachers are in favour of adding additional years for deaf learners, similar to the de-facto system in primary school[201], deaf learners oppose this strenuously, partly due to already being much older than their hearing peers and sometimes being teased for it.[202]

While these suggested steps, even if already taken recently, could hardly have had large effects on the population of my own study and I will not further quote them here in detail, still I recommend

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[198] MoEST 2018, v
[199] Cf. MoEST 2018, 48ff
[200] Cf. MoEST 2018, 30 & 45
[201] The authors note that this ten-year-system apparently had been informally introduced at *Tabora School for the Deaf*, as deaf learner took longer to learn through the (past) oralism approaches and the challenges of lip-reading there. The system spread from there to other deaf schools and units, even though those use also manual/signed communication, without ever being evaluated or officially endorsed by laws or regulations. Cf. MoEST 2018, 25
[202] Cf. MoEST 2018, 23f

reading them, especially to practitioners in the field. As for the empathy mentioned above, two quotes might show how it is still grounded in the academic findings:

> "In this case, both teachers and students seemed to lack proficiency in the language(s) used, which might highly affect the opportunities for learning, with consequences on the learning outcome. Besides, bearing in mind that even hearing students had problems with English as a language of instruction in secondary education, this situation made the matter worse for students with hearing impairment in the teaching/learning process. One gets an appalling confusion trying to imagine the outcome of the teaching/learning process (if it really deserves the name) in which the teacher and students use the language(s) they do not fully comprehend!"[203]

> "Engulfed by all these challenges for so long, deaf learners had succumbed to the unfavourable circumstances such that the failure imposed upon them by the system appeared to be regarded as their innate attribute."[204]

An undated study by an NGO (CCBRT n.d), which must have been conducted between 2010 and 2019, looks at employment of people with disabilities (PWD) in the education sector in six regions, which do not include Arusha. Surveying over 24,000 teachers, they found that only 2.1% of all teachers had a disability, with two-thirds of them being male. 93% of them were employed in regular schools. Physical impairment and visual impairment were most common. Hearing impaired teachers only made up for 6% of all PWD employed as teachers, with regional differences ranging from 3% (Tabora) to 12% (Dar es Salaam). (This is still low, as we have seen before that 24% of all PWD in Tanzania have a hearing disability.) As for headteachers, only 0.1% had a disability.[205]

2.5. Jessica Lee's "They have to see us" (PhD, 2012)

Jessica Lee is a hearing American researcher with strong bonds to the deaf community in the US, being e.g. the first hearing graduate of *Gallaudet University*, which teaches only in ASL. Her publication LEE 2012, an anthropological PhD, has been instrumental in preparing my own research. While the research summarised above mainly looked into deafness in relation to language & education, she was the first researcher to attempt to paint a broader picture of how deaf people in Tanzania live.

To accomplish this, she lived and worked with deaf people in the country for one year, learned not only Swahili, but also TSL and used also several home sign systems. Replicating a polite behaviour from the US Deaf community, she would always sign whenever deaf people would be around, which she stated was extremely helpful to build rapport. She worked with a handful of deaf and hearing research assistants and thus managed to even get information from non-lingual-deaf, which she states are probably the largest group of deaf people in Tanzania.

> "I was attempting to reach the two major groups—the connected, urban, signing deaf and the isolated, rural, non-signing deaf—I was only able to interact with and interview those individuals

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[203] MoEST 2018, 46
[204] MoEST 2018, 52
[205] Cf. CCBRT n.d.

> whose families allowed them participation in public life. This was not always the case and the most marginalized and vulnerable deaf were a group I was unable to consistently access."[206]

Participant observation, a classic anthropological method, was crucial for her work. Additionally, she conducted group interviews, individual interviews and several surveys through questionnaires. 255 people somehow formally participated in her study, the majority being deaf people themselves. About a third of them were rural deaf and also a third non-signers, with quite some overlaps between the groups. She did most data gathering in a region she decided to anonymise for the protection of those involved by calling it "Selous", and in Dar es Salaam. An unspecified, yet smaller, part of the data came also from other regions such as Njombe, Arusha and Mbeya.[207] Thus, LEE 2012 is the only study so far who (partly) covered the area of research of my own research. However, she states to have only covered urban Arusha (i.e. Arusha Town).[208] Furthermore, no results specific to Arusha were reported by her.

LEE worked with six research assistants, who initiated contact with many respondents (and their families) a few days before she arrived. This allowed the research assistants to observe interactions between the deaf and their families and neighbours prior to LEE's arrival. This way, they could identify home sign systems or other ways to communicate used by those deaf who did not learn any formal TSL. This, coupled with a great openness and investment of at least a day worth of time, allowed them to get relatively specific information even from non-signers. She quotes the example of a deaf *fundi* (craftsman, in this case a cobbler) who explained that he earns less money per task than his hearing competitors – basically by acting out the full business interaction once at his and once at a competitor's stall. She admits however, that her research is still biased towards signing deaf, who were able to communicate more complex issues to her.

As stated before, LEE was accompanied by at least one assistant during every interview with a deaf person. Thus, she and the assistant could take turn taking notes, without great interruptions to the flow of the conversation. Additionally, she videotaped the interviews. In terms of methodology, LEE mentions an important aspect:

> "For their entire lives, deaf people, particularly those with no spoken or sign language, have feigned understanding. In the first attempts at interviews, I would check every few minutes to make sure the participant "understood everything." I would wait for them to nod or smile—a signal that they were following the conversation. Then, a later question would make it clear that the participant had no idea what I had been talking about the entire time."[209]

LEE and her assistants would aim to make sure to get proper information, by rephrasing questions several times, as well as by triangulating statements through information from other sources, such as hearing family members.

[206] LEE 2012, 67
[207] Cf. LEE 2012, 73
[208] Cf. LEE 2012, 83
[209] LEE 2012, 76

She also looked at perceptions by the mainstream society:

> "The final batch of surveys focused on a new population: hearing people. This survey took into account the relational and geographic distance that hearing people had from deaf people, and asked a series of questions about what kinds of things they thought deaf people could do."[210]

This questionnaire was not available in LEE 2012, and the author did not submit it to me, thus I created one on my own. Lee did not provide any numbers from those 65 questionnaires and only mentioned very general statements. However, she describes a lot of discriminatory behaviour of hearing bystanders reacting to her and her respondents signing, such as mimicking or making fun of sign language. Furthermore, some (male) heads of households were uncomfortable with signing in their homes, forbade it or demanded that the researchers and the deaf person should voice while signing, so they would understand everything that happened.[211]

LEE's findings are a great wealth of topics ranging from academically-established issues such as problems in communication and education to less trotted paths. She describes both the common struggle of all deaf to safely use sign language in public, but also politics around language standardization and control, "as a group of scholars and deaf elite seek to "purify" the language of external influences."[212] Overall, however, she stresses the empowering character of TSL, as in this example:

> "One of the starkest examples of extreme consequences of access to sign language comes from two brothers, Michael and Kato. They were both born deaf, only a few years apart, to a mother who farmed and a father who was an elementary school teacher. The village they lived in was a multi-day journey from the nearest deaf school. The two boys, aged 6 and 8, made this trip with their father. The headmaster welcomed them into the office and gave the father a choice. The school was full and they could accept only one of the brothers. On the bus ride home, Michael sat next to his father and never understood why his brother had to stay. Over the years, Kato stayed with families closer to the deaf school to save on travel costs and rarely came home. Michael stayed home, helped on the family farm, and hid from local youth who would taunt and tease him. As adults, Kato and Michael have drastically different lives. Kato works in construction and is saving to build a home for himself, his long time girlfriend, and infant son. Michael works at Huruma. For the first time in his life since his brother left for school, he is around other people who cannot hear. Over the course of this study, Michael began to learn sign language, made friends for the first time in his life, and started to meet young women. Until Kato got Michael a job, Kato was sure his brother would die alone in a small hut on his parents' farm without friends or family to miss him."[213]
> [Note: Names are pseudonyms.]

During her research, she states, she also had to realise that her Western ideas of Deaf identify, Deaf community or let alone Deaf pride do not fit the Tanzanian context, as most deaf Tanzanians conceptualise themselves differently.[214] They would identify as either deaf or disabled, depending on the benefits of doing so. In general, she states that "Deaf people in Tanzania generally reject

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[210] LEE 2012, 72

[211] This is ironically the rare situation where hearing people, who don't know how to sign, suddenly are confronted with communication happening around them that they don't understand. Deaf people have this happening every day. This shift of perspective is part of educational workshops or expositions on deafness and sign language, such as the participatory exhibition "HANDS UP" (www.handsup.wien) in Vienna, Austria.

[212] LEE 2012, 87

[213] LEE 2012, 107

[214] She also discussed that already in LEE 2010

the social model of disability, embrace the medical model, and associate deaf people with all other disabled groups."[215] Due to the stigma of being disabled/deaf, many deaf make use of the fact that deafness is an invisible disability (as long as you do not sign) and try to "pass" for hearing. "The ability to pass, though, is a double-edged sword because while deaf people can hide their deafness when they feel threatened, they are unable to effectively stay in the public consciousness as a group who are vulnerable and deserve support like other groups".[216]

Furthermore, she finds the deaf community, where it exists, to self-define less as "not hearing" as some Western communities do:

> "Deaf Tanzanians were incredibly welcoming of hearing people who could sign, make an effort to gesture, or at least face the deaf person while speaking. Unlike some Western Deaf cultures, there are no jokes at hearing people's expense or overall exclusion of individuals because they were hearing. Deaf people in Tanzania were instead quite pragmatic about individuals joining their social circles."[217]

LEE finds that one criterium for the existence of the deaf community, to feel connected to other deaf people far away[218], is not fulfilled in Tanzania:

> "Deaf people in Tanzania, with the exception of a few elites who have traveled [sic] internationally, have very little awareness of deaf people outside their own communities or countries. [...] Deaf Tanzanians, upon learning about deaf people in other countries, express very little concern or connection to an international community. Those who do express that interest are often deaf leaders and are responsible for applying for funding and support from Western deaf organizations."[219]

However, LEE does not negate the fact that local deaf networks exists and that deaf come together at what she calls 'permanent' and 'temporary deaf spaces'. She identifies homes with several deaf people, deaf schools and organization offices as permanent deaf spaces. As for temporary spaces she points out deaf clubs, sports games, religious worship and workshops/seminars held specifically for deaf people, e.g. by deaf organisations. She argues

> "that in Tanzania as in other parts of the world, deaf spaces are crucial for developing networks of other deaf people, learning sign language, and connecting to a larger community of people for friendship, family, and protection. They are formative and agentive. The ethnographic research shown here proves that these spaces are formative for both hearing and deaf people. Hearing people, with prolonged exposure to deaf people and deaf spaces, are also deeply affected by their experiences and often have more positive views of their interactions with deaf people. The spaces described in this chapter function as points of entry into a specifically deaf network, sites for knowledge production and transmission, places where deaf people can participate as unremarkable regular citizens in conversation and community, and situations where deaf people can work together freely and safely to combat the various forms of oppression they face on the outside."[220]

In line with these assumptions, based largely on LEE's research in Dar es Salaam and one other region, my own research will also aim to identify *deaf spaces*, in this case in Arusha Region.

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[215] LEE 2012, 227
[216] LEE 2012, 143
[217] LEE 2012, 216
[218] Cf. e.g. BREIVIK 2005
[219] LEE 2012, 161
[220] LEE 2012, 196

2.6. Major implications for my research

Summing up, these publications, even though acquired at different stages of my research process, guided me in my own research endeavours – both in terms of their strengths and the insights they provided as well as their limitations and the issues or perspectives they left untouched. Many of the early publications of the mid to late 20th century were not available to me, so I could only include their findings as they were quoted in works that are more recent. A lot of the following research has been (socio)linguistic. While languages are also central to the topic of my thesis, my own research is not linguistic. Still, some findings of these publications are a good source for certain aspects of the following chapters.

The largest numbers of academic publications I looked at were unpublished master's theses. Most of them did not have a sociological, but rather an education science approach. While some were written for degrees in special education, none had an explicit deaf studies approach. On the one hand, these theses are a great wealth of information, as they provide data and analyses on an otherwise under-researched topic. On the other hand, many of them were not able to involve the deaf themselves extensively in their research. Some authors did not gather any data directly from deaf respondents due to the language barrier. Others used teachers as interpreters, which might influence answers of learners, especially considering that the research questions were mostly about the educational settings. Lastly, those authors who aimed to get information directly from deaf respondents did so by presenting questionnaires written in (often complex) Swahili or even English. This is somewhat ironic, as some researchers even identified the insufficient written language skills of deaf learners in Tanzania, especially in English.

LEE 2012 took a different approach than most other authors, spending a longer time with deaf respondents, using a lot of participatory observation and conducting interviews mostly in signed languages. Her extensive description of the research process was of great value to me, as I could make use of (adapted versions of) some of her research tools, and as it helped me to prepare for the research situation in the field.

Thus, the literature review led me to stress three aspects of my own research: Firstly, choosing deaf people to be the major source of information of my research and highlight their views over external views whenever possible. Secondly, to provide the deaf respondents with the chance to express themselves in their preferred language, which (with only two exceptions) was Tanzanian Sign Language. Thirdly, creating my topic in such a way, that it covers not only experiences in school, but also topics and places outside of school that are considered relevant by deaf people. The latter has led me to present extensive results on the issue of 'fitting in' with society and about *deaf spaces* where being deaf is not a limitation, but rather relatively common. I will elaborate on how I aimed to achieve these goals in the upcoming chapter on methodology.

3. Methodology

3.1. Research approach & research question

As this research is exploratory in nature, aiming to focus on views of deaf people in Tanzania themselves and to identify issues that have been underrepresented or not yet been covered at all by academic research so far, the research questions are bound to be broad. I decided to focus the research on deaf people's experiences, challenges and (re)actions related to language, education, discrimination and other influences by society. Based on the preliminary literature review[221] and early open expert interviews, I started with the major research question (RQ):

> How do deaf people in Arusha Region navigate the multilingual education system and how do they then decide and manage to 'fit into' mainstream society or *deaf spaces*, as defined by Jessica Lee?

To further operationalise the research endeavour and structure the data, both on the questionnaires and in the presentation of results, I broke down the research question into five guiding questions (GQ):

1. What is the path of deaf people in Arusha Region through the education system like?
2. How do and did deaf people tackle challenges of multilingualism and other problems?
3. How and where do deaf people in Arusha Region 'fit into' society; in the eyes of the mainstream society, as inquired by street polling, and in their own opinion, as inquired by questionnaire-based interviews?
4. What can be found out about *deaf spaces* and *deaf community* in Arusha Region, and how does it relate to findings by LEE 2012?
5. What topics relevant to the deaf in Arusha Region are underreported in research, as evident by comparing issues raised during fieldwork and existing secondary literature?

These broad questions allowed me to follow interesting leads given to me during my research by experts or other (deaf and hearing) respondents. Certain items on the questionnaires for the deaf were influenced by LEE 2012, as will be described later, which in some cases allowed to correlate her and my findings, while at the same time keeping the freedom to include input from preliminary expert interviews and own experiences. This approach allowed me to both follow up on the (limited amount of) established research in the field, while also being open to learning from my respondents, turning them into research partners if you will, by encouraging them to elaborate on a variety of broad topics. While some closed questions followed up on issues raised in earlier research, the open questions (combined with the fact that interviews took place in Tanzanian Sign Language) allowed to collect close-emic data. This way, 'leads' or 'entrance ways' to so far un(der)researched

[221] Some of the works quoted in the literature review above were acquired (sometimes through chance or contacts) only after research tools such as questionnaires were already developed and data collection began. For reasons of completeness and as a service to future researchers, they were however still read and described above.

issues can be created, which – even when based on a small sample or anecdotal evidence – can form the basis for all kinds of more elaborate research in a field that engages few researchers so far.

In cases when my research touches upon topics, or my respondents bring up issues, for which specific secondary sources (i.e. linked to deaf people in Tanzania) do not exist or could not be found, interpretation of data is done cautiously only, also keeping in mind my outsider role as a hearing European researching on deaf Tanzanians. To prevent as much as possible the trap of a ‘colonial’ view of a dominant group over a subaltern group, linking the data immediately to either a hearing Tanzanian context or a deaf Western context is done only in select cases. It shall be noted clearly that both the ‘hearing world’ as well as the ‘Western world’ can colour interpretations of research about individuals that largely do not belong to either of those. More local research on deaf people, especially by deaf Tanzanians themselves, can help to counterbalance this over time. I hope that the many topics my research touches upon will inspire them to dive more deeply into issues surrounding deaf people and sign language in Arusha Region and Tanzania as a whole.

Due to this broad exploratory approach, the research results will be presented in two chapters. chapter 4, chronologically organised, will focus on GQ1 and GQ2. Chapter 5 will be structured in a set of thematic subchapters related to GQ3 and GQ4. Results linked to GQ5 are present throughout this thesis and will be explicitly referred to in the recommendations for future research in the final chapter.

3.2. Research tools/methods

Semi-structured Expert Interviews

There were two approaches for the expert interviews. Deaf experts first answered the general questionnaire for deaf respondents (as described below) and were then presented with follow-up questions. Often, they had already answered many of the questions for experts at that point, simply by having given more extensive answers during the questionnaire session. Deaf experts would mostly sign, with one exception. All deaf experts also had a good knowledge of Swahili and at least a working knowledge of English, so that in cases where I did not recognise more complex or rare TSL signs, we could resort to fingerspelling. In one case, speaking mixed with lipreading and writing was used, as the respondent preferred that. (see also chapter 3.4)

Hearing experts were questioned using a set of prepared questions based on the five GQ as guideline. However, as the interviews were semi-structured, the interviews varied depending on the role and specific knowledge of the expert, as well as depending on my information needs at that point during the research. Not all topics touched upon during those conversations will be covered in this thesis, even though they provided valuable background information.

Questionnaire-based interviews with deaf respondents

My questionnaire for the deaf was building upon the one provided and used by LEE 2012. While taking out questions explicitly asking about politics, (deaf) organisations and (health) services, I included more open questions asking the deaf respondents about a) their challenges, b) how they tackle those challenges and c) who helps them in that. Furthermore, I extended and added questions regarding their language skills, their communication with others, their education and their experience in the education system. The questionnaire which mixes closed and open-ended questions (see Appendix I) thus included the following sections[222]:

- Demographic data (Question 1 -15)
- Family (Question 17-20)
- School (Question 24-27)
- Work (Question 30-38)
- Communication (Question 40-52)
- Life: challenges, coping & support (Question 53-61)
- Accepting deafness/deaf identity (Question 62-63)

While the questionnaire provided a guide on what topics should be covered and how to write them down, it did not really predetermine the course of every interview. When respondents decided to jump between topics, to skip questions or to elaborate on topics they considered important, I followed their lead. Some respondents only gave short answers, others included extensive life stories. Only after they had finished and looked at me for my reaction, did I circle back to questions

[222] Numbering is 'lacking' some numbers as some questions from early drafts were deleted prior to going into the field.

that had not yet been answered. When responses were totally off topic, I still made notes on their statements, and tried to rephrase my question afterwards. As I aimed for open and emic statements, it was important not to create the feeling that there were 'right' or 'wrong' answers. For some questions, some respondents and I did not achieve a common understanding, so I had to skip those questions. If questions of a similar type followed directly afterwards, I decided to skip those as well in some cases, to prevent creating a negative feeling of 'not understanding', which deaf people often face when communicating with the hearing majority.[223] If those questions were not understood, since – as many deaf and hearing experts argued – deaf with low education have problems comprehending abstract questions, or since my own skills in TSL (and its local varieties) were not sufficient to facilitate understanding shall be left open.[224] In both cases, it was clear that those questions had to be left out from the data set for this particular question.

The questionnaire was pre-tested on two respondents in Iringa Region and slightly amended before use in Arusha Region. I conducted the interviews myself in TSL (see following section on the issue of languages). Interviews with the deaf (excluding introductions) took between 45 minutes and 3 hours 30 minutes, with 1 hour and 15 minutes being a rough average.

While I did consider working with one of the deaf research assistants of LEE 2012, I never got a reply when contacting them. I purposely chose not to involve a research assistant from Arusha Region itself, since I could not know to what extent her/his presence might influence my respondents due to some kind of prior shared history. Thus, I usually tried to conduct interviews in a way that other deaf people could not 'eavesdrop'. In some cases, however, this was not fully possible. A few times, deaf people sitting nearby could also help me to clarify some of my questions for respondents, especially to those without completed primary education.

Street polling of hearing population with questionnaires

This method aims to get the views of 'ordinary' or 'regular' (i.e. hearing) Tanzanians in Arusha Region about deaf people. While LEE 2012 mentions having done a survey of 65 hearing people in the focus region of her PhD research, she only quotes very general statements about the hearing population's views, not providing any numbers. The questionnaire used for this is not provided by her. Hence, I developed a questionnaire based on challenges, general assumptions and stereotypes mentioned during the early expert interviews and the previously attained literature. This (English language) draft was translated and pretested with the support of a young volunteer research assistant on 13 respondents at two locations in Iringa. Native speakers of Swahili (university students) as well as bilingual speakers of Swahili and German and one of the early experts interviewed, provided valuable help. They assisted in finding appropriate translations to Swahili that would be understood by the majority of respondents (including those with low education). This proved especially difficult for question 23, which asks for emotional responses towards seeing deaf

[223] LEE 2012 also points out the risk of deaf respondents faking understanding, cf. chapter 2.5.
[224] Cf. also chapter 3.4. "The issue of language".

people signing. Swahili terms seemed not to fit the English term used. Eventually, it was decided to flip the game, and first decide on Swahili terms and later look for appropriate English translations to make them accessible to the readers of this thesis.[225] The questionnaire (see Appendix II) includes closed and open-ended questions on the following topics:

- Location (filled by researcher) (Question 1-4)
- Knowledge about disability (Question 7-8)
- Schooling for deaf & disabled (Question 9-12)
- Suitable work for deaf people (Question 13-18)
- Challenges & solutions for deaf (Question 19-20)
- Communication & emotions (Question 21-23)
- Demographic data (optional) (Question 30-33)

The language used was generally Swahili, while a handful of respondents mixed in some English to accommodate me as a *mzungu* ('white', European) researcher. Completing one questionnaire usually took between 15 and 25 minutes, although some rare cases took longer or shorter. In general, we approached people who were either walking or hanging out in the streets, waiting for customers in small shops or restaurants or sitting outside of their home, so as not to intrude on the privacy of their homes. However, in a few rare cases we were asked to come inside.

Street polling was conducted by me and my research assistant(s)[226]. For the first 20 respondents, we always stayed together, which allowed me give him immediate feedback to ensure that he did not influence respondents. On the other hand, I was able to learn from him alternative ways to phrase the questions, if the written form was not immediately understood. From the second day on, we eventually started to split up in certain situations. Often, polling one person did attract the attention of a smaller or larger crowd. As anyone who listened to some of the later questions would be too influenced to later be polled as well, I would usually approach bystanders before they had a chance to 'listen in', take them aside, introduce our research again and start questioning them in parallel. Once finished with the original respondent, my research assistant would join with us and – if needed – provide support with some of the more complex Swahili used for the open questions towards the end of the questionnaire. This pragmatic approach allowed us to meet our quota of 20 respondents per location in an acceptable time.

Additional methods

Finding information relevant to the specific topic at times was not easy. Therefore, in addition to literature available through the *University of Vienna* (analogue or digital) or through public online resources, I also conducted an on-site literature research at universities in Tanzania (*UDSM, DU-*

[225] For results on this question, cf. chapter 5.1.
[226] Actually, two research assistants, but only one at a time. Both were young, male students, who had just graduated from college. The second one did fill in for his colleague on two days only due to time constraints.

CE, SEKOMU) and the archive of the *CHAVITA* Headquarter in Dar es Salaam. Furthermore, some experts or contact persons provided me with publications during/after interviews/conversations.

I was also able to gather a great wealth of information through participatory observation and informal conversations at events or when meeting deaf people. This included meetings of *CHAVITA* (with their partners) in Dar es Salaam, several events of the national celebrations of the *International Week of the Deaf* in Iringa in September 2019, visiting work places of the deaf in Iringa and Arusha, participating in a TSL course for church people, as well as attending several church services at a protestant church and a kingdom hall of *Jehovah's Witnesses* in Arusha. I also attended a baptism celebration (of a CODA) and a confirmation celebration (of a child of an interpreter) with a large deaf crowd attending. I visited several schools (and units) for the deaf, first outside and then inside Arusha Region and talked informally with teachers and some of the students who were not of legal age and thus not considered for formal interviews. Furthermore, I slipped into the role of a lay interpreter when a group of deaf people had to sort out things with a village level government office. Some of the deaf invited me to their homes, and thus a lot of informal conversations (often over dinner or sodas) happened before and after the actual interview. And last, but not least, I spent several days in a newly opened *hoteli* run by deaf women in Arusha. While those encounters were largely highly interesting, I cannot touch upon all topics raised there within this master's thesis. However, often it provided me with the background knowledge to understand statements by my respondents or the missing puzzle piece to information I had gathered before through other sources. Where ever I went, I explained that my reason being in Tanzania is research about the life of deaf people and that it will be published at the *University of Vienna* in Europe. Whenever I refer to these experiences (from my fieldnotes), the persons involved will be anonymised.

3.3. About the respondents

The 60 adult **deaf respondents** who were interviewed with the help of the questionnaire included 32 men and 28 women. 28 of them were living (and being interviewed) in an urban setting, which is here defined as Arusha Town (including Arusha City Council & Arusha District Council). 32 deaf respondents were interviewed in rural settings, i.e. at seven different places in Arusha Region outside Arusha Town.

In general, a snowball (referral) system was used to find deaf respondents, starting at a school for the deaf, with representatives of the Arusha Chapter of CHAVITA and a church service with TSL interpretation, all in Arusha Town. Additionally, opportunistic sampling was done when information about deaf people in the vicinity was obtained through hearing respondents during the street poll-

ing. Availability and willingness to participate influenced the sample.[227] I aimed at reaching a rough balance of rural and urban respondents, thus making extra efforts to find respondents outside Arusha Town. After a while, a larger part of the sample was male, which lead me to prefer female respondents over male ones for the remainder of the time, to achieve an approximate gender balance.

About half of the deaf respondents was born inside Arusha Region (13 respondents were born in Arusha Town, and 18 in other districts of Arusha Region), while the rest was born in other regions of Tanzania. Only 20 respondents attended primary school in Arusha Region. Those numbers show the mobility of the deaf in the sample. Thus, results of this study will be interconnected with the deaf experience in several parts of the nation, even though the sample consists of only deaf currently residing in Arusha Region.

While not all respondents could give an answer when asked about their ethnicity ("*kabila*", often translated by Tanzanians as "tribe")[228], all of them could state their religion. 27% stated to be "Christian" in general[229], 28% to be "Lutheran", 17% to be "Catholic" and 13% mentioned other Christian subgroupings such as "Jehovah's Witnesses" or "7th Day Adventists". 13% of respondents stated their affiliation as "Muslim". The latter is below the estimated national average, but while no official statistics by the government exist due to consideration of national unity, experts and locals told me that in general Arusha Region would be largely Christian and the number of Muslims much smaller than in the coastal areas.[230]

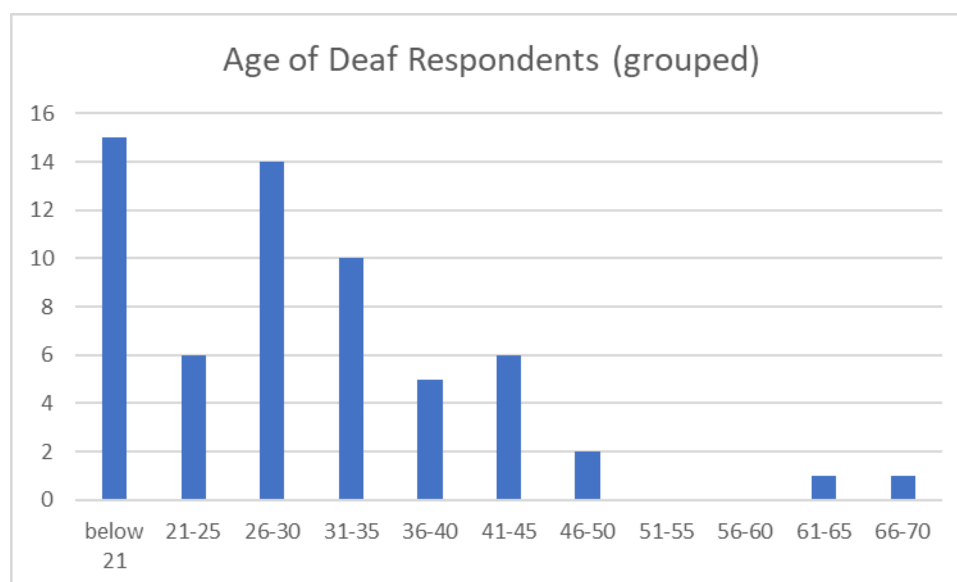


Figure 3: Age of deaf respondents (grouped)

[227] This does not mean that many deaf refused to be interviewed, but on the contrary that some deaf were extraordinarily eager to be interviewed and thus might have 'pushed aside' their shyer peers. I have tried to interview both those extrovert as well as more introvert deaf people.
[228] The largest numbers were respondents describing themselves as Maasai (10), Chagga (7) and Iraqw (6).
[229] I did not ask for a more detailed description in those cases.
[230] Cf. chapter 1.2 on religion

The age distribution shows more than half of respondents to be 30 years or younger. This is in line with Tanzania having a rather young population.[231] 18 of my respondents were still in (secondary) school at the time of the interview. 7 were unemployed. The rest described themselves as either employed or doing independent work. I only met very few significantly older deaf people (who could sign or knew Swahili). This is not very surprising considering that the first primary school for the deaf in Tanzania was only founded in 1963 in Tabora, about 500km away from Arusha, and the first deaf (unit at a) primary school in Arusha Region, Meru Primary, only in 1998. Furthermore, several experts voiced the opinion that several years ago, prejudice against deaf people (and thus also their education) was a lot stronger than today.

With the population (N) of deaf people in Arusha who have at least attended primary school being for sure no more than 9752 people[232], my sample (n) of 60 respondents is equivalent to 0,62% of the overall population. Assuming a confidence level of 90%, this sample leads to an 11% margin of error for the quantitative parts of my survey. This margin rises wherever some questions were not answered by all of my respondents, e.g. to 15% for the case of only 30 respondents.[233] It should be remembered that in reality, the population is probably a lot smaller than calculated here.[234]

As for the **hearing experts**, I interviewed 7 female and 10 male experts from Tanzania by audio-recording the interview: 9 teachers of the deaf (including two headmasters), some of which doubled in the role of interpreter, 3 education officers on district level, 2 officers of the *Tanzanian Institute of Education* (TIE), one NGO officer, one professor and one board member of an organisation of parents of deaf children. Four of the interviewees were interviewed outside of Arusha Region. The interviews took between 13 and 93 minutes, depending on what the interviewees could and wanted to contribute. These interviews mainly provided background knowledge and were therefore not fully transcribed. However, topics covered in each interview were noted down and some relevant quotes fully transcribed for use in the thesis text itself. The audio-files have been saved and could be used in later follow-up research.
For one additional hearing expert from abroad who I interviewed for about one hour, I did not do an audio-recording and resorted to taking notes and elaborating on them in the field notes from memory the same day.

As for the **deaf experts**, the lines are somewhat blurry, as many respondents provided insights during the interview which qualify as expert knowledge. However, it is safe to say that at least three deaf teachers and two deaf officers of the local deaf association (*CHAVITA Arusha*) served as experts, answering additional questions, which were outside the general questionnaire. There was a rough gender balance (3:2) amongst those deaf experts.

[231] Cf. chapter 1.2.
[232] Cf. chapter 1.8
[233] Calculated with https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/margin-of-error-calculator
[234] Cf. Chapter 1.8

The **street polling** aimed to get the views of the population in Arusha Region through a sample as representative as possible with limited resources and time. Based on the population size of each of the seven districts within Arusha Region, an approximation was made how many respondents should be found in each of them. As the south of Ngorongoro district is part of the protected *Ngorongoro Conservation Area*, additional costs – or permits – would have been required in order to be able to do research here. As the north is hard to reach without a 4x4 car of one's own, the decision was made to instead choose locations in the neighbouring districts, close to Ngorongoro.[235] All in all, a third of respondents was polled in urban areas (Arusha City Council and Arusha District Council), which make up for about 43% of the population, and two thirds were polled in rural areas (Karatu, Monduli, Meru & Longido Districts). 4 locations were chosen in Arusha Town, 8 locations in rural areas, aiming at 20 respondents each. Thus, a total of 240 respondents, who completed the questionnaire, was achieved. Questioning the same number of male and female respondents was aimed for at every location. In total, a rough gender balance was achieved with 52% female respondents. Three locations (two urban, one rural) were chosen on purpose as they are in the immediate vicinity (about 1km in radius) of at least one rather well-established school (or unit) for the deaf. This serves to be able to make comparisons between areas where people most likely will have already encountered/seen (a larger group of) deaf people (pupils) signing and areas where there is no such 'designated deaf space' and chance for exposure.

During street polling, respondents were not asked about their ethnicity, religion, education, income or other sensitive demographic information which could have led to them terminating the interview. In terms of age, a good spread was achieved. About half of respondents were 30 years or younger, in line with the generally young population of Tanzania.

Respondents had to be able to understand and speak Swahili to participate in the street polling. Thus, the results do not represent those Tanzanians who did not go through formal (primary) schooling or learned Swahili in other ways. As a consequence we were unable to poll some Maasai in the rural areas. Those who did not speak enough Swahili to answer our questions included mostly women and older people. All in all, though, we were not sent away for that reason very often. This might also be due to the fact, that while we made long journeys to some rural places, we always had to stay in places that were at least big enough to have a small guesthouse to sleep in and shops or *hotelis* (small restaurants) to buy food. It is therefore possible, that polling of even more rural environments might provide different results, especially since views on *education for all* might have been influenced through our respondents having been to school themselves and thus being in touch with the general Tanzanian narrative on this topic.

[235] It shall be noted that district borders or even regional borders do not feature strongly in the everyday life of people I met, unless when involved with or dealing with government. Often residents would not be aware of what district they would be in or give contradictory answers. This might be due to both entities having been reshaped several times over the last few decades.

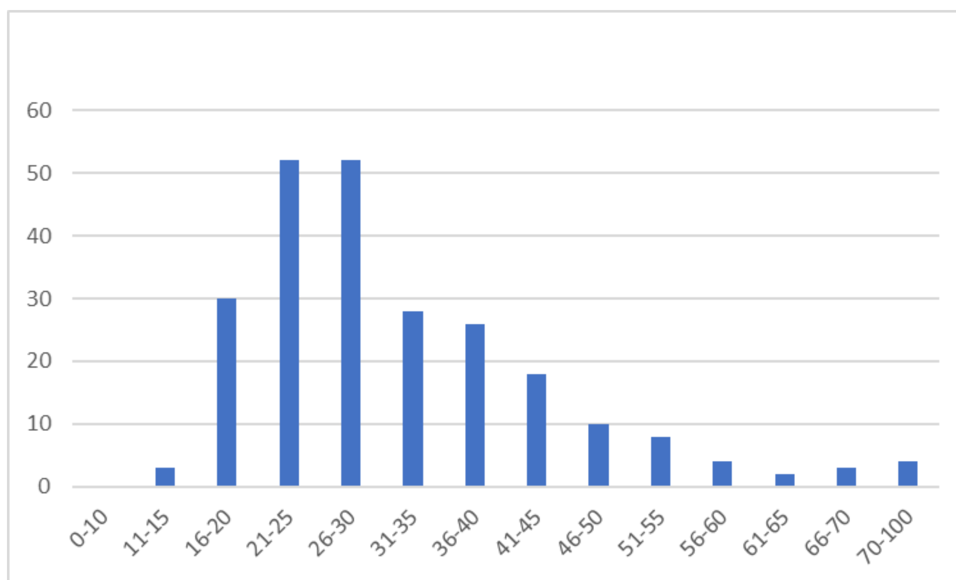


Figure 4: Age of hearing respondents (grouped)

Assuming a confidence level of 95%, this sample of 240 respondents (n) for a population of 2 million (N) would lead to a 6% margin of error for the quantitative parts of the street polling. This margin would rise for the splits e.g. to 9% for the gender splits, which each include about half of the respondents.[236] During the analysis of the data, the sample was divided into several splits to identify differences in views between different populations groups.

n*	Name of Split	Description
240	ALL	
112	Gender Male	
125	Gender Female	
125	Geo Urban Plus	(interview took place in urban setting or respondent lived in "big cities" before)
80	Geo Urban	(interview took place in urban setting)
160	Geo Rural	(interview took place in rural setting)
114	Geo Rural Minus	(interview took place in rural setting, excluding respondents who lived in "big cities" before)
137	Age 30 and younger	
103	Age 31 and older	
60	Close to Deaf	(interview took place less than 1km from deaf school)
180	Far from Deaf	(interview took place over 2.5km away from a deaf school)
25	Knowing Deaf	(respondents stating to know a "deaf" or "mute" person)
77	Close to and/or Knowing Deaf	(8 of them fall in both categories)

* some respondents did not provide all sociographic data, thus splits do not always add up the total

[236] Calculated with https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/margin-of-error-calculator

3.4. The issue of language

Languages are central to this research not only in terms of the topic. The number and variation of language(s) used by the different respondents lead to a set of challenges I had to face during the fieldwork (and after that).

English, although the language of instruction in secondary and tertiary education, is not popularly used by most respondents. The language was mainly used for interviews with an elite of (often hearing) experts. However, about half of the teachers or government officials who agreed to sit with me for these interviews, asked whether the interview could be conducted also in Swahili or in a mix of both languages. For the more formal interviews, which were recorded as audio files, we usually agreed on an English-Swahili mix. For more informal conversations, especially with teachers at primary schools, **Swahili** was the only feasible option, even though my Swahili skills are limited. In some cases, a research assistant with good command of both English and Swahili was present and could help with a summary of what was said or translating questions. This kind of help however is not comparable to professional interpretation, so to ensure that both sides understood, questions and answers had sometimes to be repeated and paraphrased several times. The quintessence of those conversations was noted down by me either directly while talking, or – more often due to the situation in which those conversations happened – shortly afterwards. It forms part of the field notes.

Swahili again is not the mother tongue of many Tanzanians. Although most are fluent and know how to read and write Swahili, their home language however is one of roughly 120 different "tribal"[237] languages in the country, e.g. **Kimaasai**. As for the street polling, this led to some limitations: A portion of the Maasai living in the more rural areas of Arusha Region, especially older women, did not have sufficient Swahili skills to participate in the research and answer the questions of the (Swahili language) questionnaire we read to them. My research assistant, while Tanzanian but from another region, did not possess Kimaasai skills beyond greetings. All findings from the street polling are thus limited to those Tanzanians who at some point acquired Swahili skills, usually by attending primary school at least for some years.

Tanzanian Sign Language is a language in the process of standardisation. Most interviewees agreed that there is a large variation within the country, influenced by varieties from different deaf schools and partly also from foreign sign languages (such as Finnish Sign Language). Being fluent in Austrian Sign Language (ÖGS) and having an acceptable basic command of Swahili allowed me to quickly develop basic communication skills in TSL. Grammar seemed not fully standardised and either was reminiscent of the grammar common to sign languages known to me, or of the grammar of spoken Swahili.

[237] While I tried not to use the word "tribe" at first, it seemed Tanzanians are quite comfortable using it.

During first interviews/conversations in Dar es Salaam and Iringa, i.e. prior to and during the pre-test, it became clear that many **interpreters were struggling to interpret directly from TSL to English**, as they usually interpret between Swahili and TSL. Watching a deaf person sign while listening to the interpretation in English made me question certain translations. When inquiring again with both the deaf respondent and the interpreter, it was often confirmed that a mistake or imprecision in interpreting had occurred. However, during the conversations, many interpreters would often just continue with a semi-appropriate translation, rather than asking for clarification of the meaning – let alone admit that they do not know the word. My assumption was that the problem lies in the English language skills of the interpreters, rather than in their TSL skills. In addition, I could see that when translating questions written in Swahili to TSL, interpreters would stick very much to Swahili grammar while signing ('Signed Swahili') and express themselves in ways that were hard to comprehend for many respondents with limited knowledge of written Swahili. I also met a handful of highly qualified interpreters, who apparently translated beautifully between all three languages, but those were not available geographically and due to other responsibilities, mostly for the national deaf association *CHAVITA*.

Therefore, I decided to try to **conduct the questionnaire-based interviews with the deaf on my own**. The questionnaire was written in both English and Swahili; I signed the questions and the deaf respondents were able to answer in their primary language, TSL. During the pre-test in Iringa, I used the preliminary questionnaire on two deaf male respondents with at least some secondary school education. Again, those conversations included several situations where questions and answers had to be repeated and clarified, but this had the advantage that after a while I could be quite sure that I understood properly what the person was saying. The first two interviews with the final questionnaire in Arusha Region again served to test both ways of conducting the interviews – with interpreter and on my own. They confirmed my decision to continue on my own. This also allowed me to have much greater flexibility, as I could conduct interviews relatively spontaneously without having to bring together three people (respondent, interpreter and me).

Indirectly, I did benefit from the comparably bad educational situation of deaf people in Tanzania (see following chapters), in so far as that many of my respondents had a limited TSL vocabulary. This level was relatively easy for me to reach within the few months in Tanzania. A lot of respondents made up for this lack of formal TSL by complementing their statements and stories with rich emotional expressions and gesture-based re-enactments of a past situation. Highly educated deaf respondents sometimes resorted to the same strategy when it was my own lack of formal TSL knowledge that was in the way of smooth communication. Additionally, those higher educated deaf people often fingerspelt words in Swahili (or even English) to explain signs – or in some case to use a word which neither they nor I knew the sign for. A handful of respondents complemented their signing with voicing and sometimes writing. Several times respondents would correct me on a sign which I had been successfully using with a number of other respondents – so I knew I had to switch to using their sign for the rest of the conversation. Often respondents claimed that the sign

they showed me was the “official” sign, or “CHAVITA” sign. “Wrong” signs would often be attributed to local dialects or to foreign influences. Deaf from place A would attribute this wrong sign to the Finnish influence on place B, while deaf from place B would say the same about signers from place A. Every conversation thus was **a continuous act of trying to find the common ground for communication** – an experience probably only all too familiar to deaf people around the world as well as to researchers who leave their home turf to venture into a multilingual environment, e.g. those in African Studies.

Two or three deaf respondents can be said to differ from this communication style. Two late-deafened respondents who could hear way into their mid-teens, demonstrated remarkably low TSL skills. They insisted on **lipreading and speaking** (Swahili and/or English) and since their voicing was quite clear, I could understand their answers quite well. However, they had problems understanding my signed questions as well as lipreading my (foreign accent) spoken Swahili. We had to resort to letting them read the questionnaire (which was written in both English and Swahili). However, asking spontaneous follow up questions proved difficult and sometimes had to happen in writing. One respondent brought a sibling to help in situations of communication issues. The sibling did not know any TSL, but instead just repeated and paraphrased my questions. The deaf respondent then tried to guess by lipreading and repeat what s/he understood. For some words, it took up to a dozen guesses until the correct one was found. It seemed to me that signing was not an option for these two deaf respondents. This was somewhat confirmed by them often referring to the deaf as “they” rather than “we”. The third respondent could sign well, but did switch to English pragmatically (when using the hands otherwise, e.g. to eat) and strategically (when talking about other deaf in general, some of which were present in the same room).

Noting down and transcribing communication that happened in a sign language invariably includes an element of interpretation, as no broadly accepted written form for signed languages exist.[238] This means that a signed statement is transformed into a written translation of a spoken language such as Swahili or English, to become part of the processable data for the research. This is especially relevant as most research about deaf people is still conducted by hearing researchers.[239] While this means that more research by deaf people about deaf people should be encouraged, it does not imply that research by hearing people should be halted.[240] However, it does imply that the hearing researcher can never be taken out of the equation when reading and interpreting this research. While I am convinced that I – as a signing hearing person – managed to get more valid and close-emic data than a random hearing researcher relying solely on interpreters could have done, I am far from flawless. As much as I try to permanently reflect them, I come with my

[238] Those that do exist did not spread widely or are merely for linguistic purposes and not suitable for every-day communication. Cf. BERGERMANN 2001

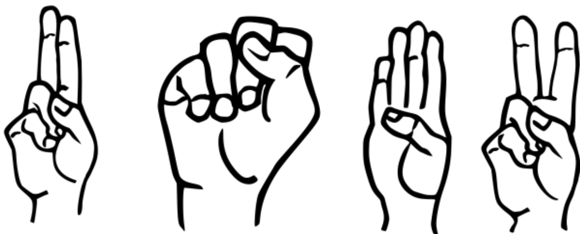
[239] Cf. TEMPLE/YOUNG 2004.

[240] This is also relevant in terms of the number of publications produced. To my knowledge, for the whole of Tanzania, there is only one single master’s thesis written by a deaf person about a topic related to deaf people. (MLAWA 2016). At least this was the only one I could acquire. As currently low enrolment numbers in tertiary education indicate, it might still take a few years for more local deaf potential researchers to make their way to and through university to produce their own research.

own pre-conceptions, arising from growing up as a hearing person in Europe, immersing myself in the deaf world in Europe, and having my initial contacts in Tanzania with the hearing world, before finally getting in touch with deaf Tanzanians.

Some more practical challenges to note-taking and how I tackled them during this research shall be elaborated here. First, videotaping all interviews – as done by LEE 2012 – proved not feasible as well as intimidating the respondents and was thus not used.[241] When taking notes, I would usually write what I understood from the TSL-based conversation in English. Comments of mine, e.g. when I felt like the question was misunderstood, were written in German to differentiate them from direct statements of the respondent. However, due to the highly dynamic communication situation, it was sometimes the case that I understood the meaning of a TSL statement, but lacked the appropriate English vocabulary at the precise moment. In such situations, I included a German word, or – more often – a Swahili word. Sometimes, I also did this on purpose, as the sign (as well as the Swahili word) had several meanings in English. Narrowing it down to one meaning spontaneously would have been questionable. It made more sense to retain the Swahili word, which has closer links to the TSL sign. Examples of this include:

- *habari* (can be translated as *news*, but also as *information*)
- *biashara* (usually translated as *business*, it can mean anything from international trade to selling sweets and peanuts on the street)
- *hoteli* (a borrowed word, it mostly does not refer to a hotel, but to a place to eat, ranging from a small street cafeteria to a large restaurant)



The letters/handshapes “U”, “S”, “B” & “V” (public domain)

Some TSL signs were so expressive – and used very often – that I felt it worthwhile to note that exactly this sign was used. These signs, which appeared in stories of deaf people over and over again, form part of a greater narrative within the deaf community and should therefore be noted. In the convention of sign language linguistics, I noted them down in capitals.[242] These words include:

- SUPPRESS
    - an active B-shape hand with the palm facing downwards aggressively pushing down a passive S-shape hand facing to the side
    - often used to describe the relationship to hearing people, in the meaning of “hearing people suppress the deaf” or “the government discriminates the deaf”

[241] This was due to limitations of time and technology. Furthermore, I believe that respondents were talking more openly when they were not recorded but their statements just written down once we found a mutual understanding.
[242] Cf. e.g. BERGERMANN 2001

- ENDURE / *VUMILIA*
    - an active S-shape hand with the thumb touching the chest a few centimetres under the chin and slowly (nearly painfully) moving downwards towards the lowest ribs
    - enduring a situation, swallowing down negative emotions and simply somehow making it through was a common technique to deal with challenges
    - I could also see hearing teachers of the deaf advising deaf pupils in a difficult situation to do just this (using the same sign)

- FOLDING-BUNNY-EARS-BACKWARDS
    - Both hands in U-shape, facing backwards, held next to ears and then folding them towards the shoulders while making a small ducking movement with the upper body
    - Often used in similar situations or as a prelude to ENDURE, used to describe the reaction to challenges, which could be translated with “giving up”, “surrendering” or “resign”. This was used more often when the source of the problem was a person or people to whom the deaf could “surrender” to.

- LOBBY/FIGHT/TACKLE
    - Passive hand with raised index-finger is “gently beaten” several time by an active fist (i.e. S-shaped hand), with the facial expression indicating hard work/determination.
    - Used often for all efforts to convince others to change something for the better, be it the situation of the individual deaf person or all deaf (or all disabled). More often used by deaf who have (successfully) fought their way through the education system or work life already

To clarify the meaning of these signs, I did discuss them with several deaf and hearing respondents who have both a good command of TSL and English. Some respondents also used the sign STUCK (a V-shaped hand ‘sticking’ one’s throat/neck) a few times, which also exists nearly identical in ASL and ÖGS, to talk about encountering barriers or unsolved problems.

It also happened that deaf respondents would give **long answers to questions** – sometimes making a large detour in terms of the topic. Those stories were highly interesting and full of material to use, but too long to be noted down in writing – for reasons of both time and space on the paper questionnaires. To work around this, I started making **audio notes** with my smart phone. The deaf person would talk for a minute or two, I would ask for a short break, summarise the story in spoken English while recording. Then I would explain to the deaf person the rationale of what I just did and then ask them to please continue with their story. While this somehow interrupted the flow of communication, it was the best solution to ensure that my notes were as close to what has been said as possible under these research circumstances.

As I have said, all my notes with deaf interviewees include some act of interpretation. However, I will still use them in certain instances as **direct quote**, marked with an asterisk *. This way, I can keep the active tone of a first-person-narrator when presenting stories to the reader, while at the same time bearing in mind that there is no such thing as a verbatim translation. While I have tried to reflect the style and tone of the signing in the written quotes (e.g. agitation, emphasis, repetition), certain choices were rather pragmatic (e.g. between "had" or "have had").

Readers should also be aware that signs for people are usually not gendered, and no difference between "he" and "she" exists in TSL and Swahili. While I have tried to usually write "s/he" in an unclear situation, I might have misgendered people in some quotes. Therefore, and to allow for a greater degree of relative anonymity, I will use "s/he" and "her/his" in all quotes delivered here in writing, unless when they refer to gender specific issues.

3.5. Informed consent

Informed consent of research participants was sought. The objective of the research would be explained to them in a fitting language and mode, either verbally or signed. **Experts**, who were mostly informed in English and who were familiar with academic research in general, would usually agree to be quoted by name and function. However, I always offered them to be quoted by function and type of organisation only (e.g. "teacher at deaf unit of a primary school"). In most cases, I will assign quotes only this way, unless when I talk about a specific school/university.

Hearing respondents from the street polling would be informed in Swahili by me or my research assistants. To make sure they were not influenced in mentioning types of disabilities that would come to their mind (question 7, Appendix I), the research was introduced as being about "regular people's views about people with disabilities" rather than already mentioning deaf people. It was stressed that the questions were not a test with "right" or "wrong" answers, but simply about their opinions. Respondents were assured anonymity. They could choose to provide gender, age and (former) living location voluntarily at the end of the questionnaire, which most of them did.

Deaf respondents were informed in TSL. Not all of them were familiar with detailed concepts of academic research, which is why the introduction was adjusted to suit each participant, but always at least included who I am and where I am from as well as the following information:
This is research about deaf people here in Arusha Region. I will write a thesis (report) for my university. While I note down your name here, I will never use your name in the report. I will not show your questionnaire to others. When I use what you said in my report, I will not say: "[name] said", but I will say "an x years young/old female/male deaf said". You can always say "I don't know" or "I do not want to answer that." This is <u>not</u> a test/exam, this is about your life and your opinions only.

4. The deaf experience in Arusha Region: From home through multilingual schools up to work life

This is the first of two chapters presenting the findings of my research in detail. I will present the experience of deaf people in a chronological order, starting from early developments at home and moving to primary school. I will then turn to secondary and tertiary education, which was only attended by parts of my deaf sample. Finally, I will look at the experience of the deaf in connection with work and the labour market. Major sources for the findings are the questionnaire-based interviews with deaf people and participant observation, complemented by expert interviews and literature where needed.

4.1. At home/before school

4.1.1. Early (language) development & communication at home

A common wisdom in most publications on deaf people is that about 90% of deaf children have hearing parents[243], so common indeed that the exact original source(s) for that number have been hard for me to find. However, the rough number seems to reflect in several studies and so it does also in mine. Only 8 out of 60 respondents mentioned having deaf relatives, only one of them mentioned a deaf parent. In fact, only a third of respondents was born deaf. About another third became deaf until age 6. The rest became deaf during primary school age, with two respondents truly qualifying as “late-deafened” at age 18 and 20 respectively.

Concrete stories about the early childhood were rare in the questionnaire-based interviews and the informal conversations. On the one hand, this might be due to the fact that my research interest was on “deaf people”, so late-deafened might have considered their ‘pre-deaf’ experience not relevant. Most of my questions also focussed on the time of school and work life. On the other hand, early childhood might be a sensitive topic that is not easily shared with a stranger whom you only met a few weeks, days – or in some cases even minutes – ago. Also, memory about that time can be blurry.

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[243] Cf. e.g. LADD 2003, 35; SIEGLER 2016, 228. For discussions on the percentage in the USA cf. MITCHELL 2004

However, to know roughly what does (not) happen during this time is essential to understanding the following experiences at school. Deaf Studies and Linguistics point to a crucial aspect that is supposed to happen during the first years of childhood: language development. It is now close to scientific consensus that language development starts as early as 6 or 7 months and that it happens in the same way for deaf and hearing children, provided that they are presented with a language that they can perceive (i.e. see or hear) and reproduce (i.e. by voice or sign). Phases of language development are the same in both modes. Recognising words and 'babbling' start at 6 to 7 months. Production of single words begins at around 12 months, short sentences usually after 2 years. If this time passes unused, it becomes more and more difficult to acquire language.[244]

More than a third of my respondents were deaf by the time language development should kick in. However, all (!) of the respondents replied that they did not (!) start to learn sign language at home. 49 of them (i.e. 82%) said they learned to sign only at school, while 15 (25%) mentioned that they learned it (also) at other places, such as workshops by the deaf association or through deaf friends. Learning at school doesn't necessarily mean to learn from teachers; many said they rather learned from other pupils. These results are in line with data by LEE 2012, who found that 75% of the signers in her sample learned sign language at a deaf school, 9% at a deaf organisation, 6% at a deaf club, 7% at work and 3% on their own.[245] Similarly, WILBERT 2014 found that 41 out of 42 students in her sample of primary school pupils learned TSL only at school, and that two-thirds communicated at home by lip-reading only, the rest by local signs or a combination of both.[246]

While some reported to have learned some lipreading at home, communication was mostly very hard. While my questionnaire did not explicitly ask for childhood experiences, it did ask how the respondents communicate with family members now and some of them gave interesting insights. Several of them described having used some sort of visual communication that could be described as home signs, as gestures or as re-enactment. A deaf respondent in her/his 20s put it this way:

> "I learned to really sign only at [primary school]. Before that, at home, we used very simple signs, we basically acted it out, like BREAST-BREAST for MUM or PULL-DOWN-PANTS for TOILET"* [247]

Even now, with most respondents having learned sign language and being in their adulthood, 71% of their parents do know no or only very little sign language. Only about one in ten parents was described as having good or very good sign language skills[248] – and that is already considering that it seems likely that children will describe their parents in a positive light.

Referring to their current situation, not their childhood, only 8 of the 60 deaf respondents said they use sign to communicate with their parents, 24 use gestures, 41 speech/reading lips, 15 read-

[244] Cf. SIEGLER 2016, 231f
[245] Cf. LEE 2012, 103
[246] Cf. WILBERT 2014, 40
[247] The asterisk (*) after direct quotes signifies that the statement was originally made in TSL and that writing it down in English, as any translation, includes an act of interpretation. Still the active voice is retained on purpose to underline that it is a personal statement. Cf. also chapter 3.4. "The issue of language"
[248] For all rating on TSL knowledge of parents and other groups cf. visualisation in chapter 5.5

ing/writing. For siblings, the numbers are similar, but show a larger portion of sign language (19) and lower numbers for speaking/reading lips (34). Only 1 respondent reported being able to use sign language to communicate with neighbours. While the results regarding the time prior to school form only a small part of my data, they are relevant to understanding the changes that deaf children experience when leaving home to be enrolled at a deaf school or deaf unit.

4.1.2. Shame & stigma of an invisible disability

A common problem often mentioned in expert interviews was that parents hide children with disabilities, including deaf children, due to shame. One interviewee who had actively been searching for children with disabilities as part of government efforts in different regions of Tanzania, said:

> "[If parents] have a child with disability they find a room and they put him there. No one can find out outside, even a ward executive cannot know. So, when you pass there [looking for children with disabilities], people go: Shh, there in this house, there is….".

S/he said that a disabled child would be seen as a curse, some husbands would leave their wife if they gave birth to a disabled child, blaming the mothers 'sins' for the disability. Most experts (and some people during the street polling) agreed that the most extreme measure, to kill a child, has not been known in the case of a deaf child and that in general there was some improvement in that regard, but that two groups were more likely to treat their children with disability badly – those being people in very rural areas and Maasai people, a description with some overlapping in Arusha Region. An excerpt from the field notes, describing an informal conversation with a special education teacher in Arusha Town, illustrates this:

> As she said that she is Maasai, I asked about the situation in the areas of the Maasai. She said that people over there fear having a disabled child much more than in Arusha town, they will most likely hide them, because they are ashamed in front of the neighbours, and it is seen as a curse. Her being Christian, which she stressed, she said that disabled children are not a punishment by god, but a gift by god which one should receive without questioning and then support that child, even for intellectual impairment this would be happening in small steps at the school and parents would be very happy when they see the development. She mentioned that most Maasai don't believe in [the Christian] god, but do believe in gods in trees etc. She said that smirking.
> (Field Notes October 2019)

However, shame felt for having a deaf or disabled child seems not to be limited to this group. Experts said that a common way for parents in cities to deal with a deaf child would be to send her/him to the grandparents in the countryside – and thus out of sight of neighbours and friends. I have been told a story by two interviewees about a teacher – so someone with a relatively good economic and social position – who brought a child with disability to an orphanage, claiming that it was some woman's child, while in fact it later turned out that it was his own. This approach to distance oneself from a disabled child seems not to be unique: Teachers at another location talked about a man who claimed that a deaf child was not his but his brothers. On asking for all the details of the child, they said they realised that he was actually the father himself.

Independent from each other, two different interviewees told me a story of how a European NGO together with local Tanzanians tried to find deaf pupils for a new deaf unit they wanted to start at a rural primary school in Arusha Region. Talking directly to people did not bear any fruits, so they tried to go through ward officers and most of all through the priest(s) of the local church(es). So, while they had explained in detail the reasons why deaf children should go to school, nobody came to them to talk about their deaf children. Something was obviously keeping parents and caretakers to admit to having a deaf child. (Other authors writing about the deaf in Tanzania have called this phenomenon "disability denial"[249].) So, the next time they went to the church, they promised food for every deaf child brought to them and explained that the deaf child would be fed at school for the first year (with NGO funds). This incentive had an effect, as a teacher recalled: "They brought hundreds of students with all kinds of disability, blind, mental, albino, etc. They also brought adult deaf people, seniors. Fitting for the school were only 11 deaf students, who we could all take in." Some of the parents stopped sending their children to school after a while, which the teachers there attribute firstly to the fact that the free food from the NGO ran out and secondly to the nomadic movements of some Maasai parents.

Shame and stigma related to deafness, as reported already by LEE 2012, was mentioned by most experts during my research. Only few deaf people mentioned it explicitly to me when talking about themselves and their family. One respondent explained how s/he herself/himself was influenced by the stigma attached to sign language:

> "At first, I was segregated by the hearing students. I did well in exams, but I had no friends. At first it was a bit difficult to accept sign language, because it made me look like a disabled person, but I accepted it. It was also difficult for my family to accept in the beginning, but they supported me by telling the people around me that they should face me when talking to me so that I could see their face and understand them."*

This support by the family is rather rare. As stated before, many experts stated that parents would hide their deaf children or ask them not to sign in public. Only one deaf person told me directly about how the often-described hiding affected her/him:

> "I turned deaf with 10 years. When visitors came, my parents told me to hide. That hurt me. They did not want people to think that they are disabled. Also, I think they never learned to sign for that reason since they are ashamed that people could think they are also deaf. Some parents here are like that. How is it in Europe? […] When I visit my parents [in the village], it is hard, I have to write a lot and then they talk and I have to guess. When I am at home it is much more likely that I am fighting with my mum. Oh, we fight a lot. When I am here in Town and we exchange text messages, communication is going smoothly."*

This quote shows two things. First, it's a rare example of a deaf person in my sample admitting to having been hidden by the parents, which shows the shame they felt. Second, it shows that the parents apparently have the expectation that the daughter/son should communicate 'normally'

[249] Cf. CHILDREACH TZ & SIGNAL UK 2016, 5

when being at home and should understand them by lipreading. (Whenever I saw relatives interacting with deaf people, this was the case – with the exception of some CODA, none of which had reached adulthood yet.) Since only 30% of sounds can be ascertained through lipreading, misunderstandings and ensuing conflicts are nearly bound to happen. However, when the deaf person mentioned above is in town, communication in written via text messages is seen as normal behaviour by her parents in the village and can be properly understood by both sides.[250]

4.1.3. Expectations & approaches of parents raising deaf children

As parents and deaf children hardly share any language in most cases, communication at home is very limited. Late-deafened children can rely on some lipreading, while children who were born deaf have an even harder time. Parents, realising their inability to effectively communicate with their deaf offspring are reported by experts and deaf interviewees to commonly show one out of two reactions.

The first reaction is raising the deaf child very strictly, showering them with household chores to accomplish and limiting their free movement – often described as happening for the best of the child.[251] As for deaf girls, there are considerations that they are more vulnerable to rape than their hearing siblings. This has been raised by one deaf and two hearing experts during my research. While the common argument is that deaf girls "cannot call for help" or "cannot hear their persecutor", it is also highly likely that when no in-depth communication is happening at home that a lot of young deaf girls are not at all familiar with the concept of sexual intercourse, let alone with consent and rape.

The second reaction is somehow giving up on raising the deaf child like the other children and just let him/her roam around freely, without any responsibilities, without any rules, but thus also without acquiring any life skills. A common example given by deaf and hearing respondents was that deaf children, upon entering school, do not even know how to wash their clothes. Parents who chose this approach were often described at seeing their child's disability as a general inability to achieve things. A teacher of the deaf, lamenting the lack of discipline and skills of some deaf students, explained to me that s/he thinks the source of this behaviour would be the aforementioned treatment at home: "They are not responsible, and if you ask, [the deaf student] can explain to you that 'Me, when I am home, I am not allowed to do anything, just eating, they are doing anything for me'. I think that is where it starts."

In some cases, parents would also mix up hearing impairment and intellectual impairment, assuming that deaf people simply 'do not have the brain' – a sentiment that is strongly rejected by a lot of

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[250] LEE 2012, 214 would argue that this situation is one of relative (!) privilege, as both parents and child can afford a mobile phone and airtime and have sufficient knowledge of written Swahili to communicate via texts, unlike a lot of other (deaf) Tanzanians.
[251] "Parents describe these measures as protection from the verbal and physical abuse of community members." (LEE 2012, 136)

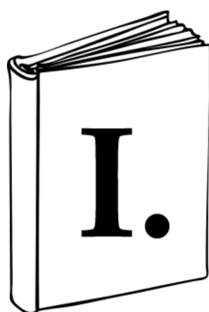
deaf respondents who thus feel urged to reiterate the obvious truth that “deaf have brains, deaf can think and do things”. Teachers amongst the interviewees often described with a combination of happiness and some pride that parents were sometimes surprised what their deaf child had accomplished after going to school and learning sign language, e.g. to write Swahili.

However, not all parents believe it makes sense to school their deaf offspring. One respondent explained that her/his father had to be persuaded to send her/him to secondary school, even though s/he passed the primary school final exam. Two further deaf siblings would be staying at home, without any schooling and only learning some sign language when my respondent came home for holidays.

On the other hand, there are positive examples. One young deaf respondent described how her/his mother moved her/him from school to school, often disappointed by the situation and outcome, until she finally moved her/him to a specific deaf school where she was convinced that s/he receives a good education. S/he now attends secondary school.

In the outskirts of a medium-sized town in Arusha Region, I also met a mother of three adult deaf children. She and her children – independently – told me the story of how she found out about a deaf school in another region when her children were already between 8 and 12 years old, and how she eventually managed to get them accepted there. Two of them made it to secondary school and all three are fluent signers now. The mother seemed to have since then spread the news about schools/unit for the deaf often, and also could mention a recent example of a deaf child of an acquaintance. She was eager to learn about current developments on deaf units closer to her home, and within minutes was on the phone with a teacher I had met to discuss possibilities for enrolling the child. Information was obviously not easily reaching those who needed it, but once she found out through the coincidence of becoming part of my research, she quickly made use of it.

4.2. Primary school



Pre-Primary Education seems to be more or less non-existent for deaf learners. The official government numbers for 2016 report only 5 "deaf-mute" and 9 "deaf blind" pre-primary learners in Arusha Region.[252] Three out of my 60 deaf respondents mentioned going to a *chekechea* (kindergarten/pre-school) and that it was the first place they encountered sign language. However, all of them went to the same deaf unit in Arusha Town, whose teacher clarified that in fact it was "Standard 1A". Following a tradition of *Tabora School for the Deaf*, all deaf schools and units in the country make deaf learners attend Standard 1, 3 and 5 for a period of two years instead of one.[253] This is viewed critically by some experts I talked to, who mentioned that having a proper *chekechea* would allow to get rid of this system. Since however, pre-school seems to be very uncommon for deaf learners, I will now turn to primary school itself.

4.2.1. Access to primary school

Children in Tanzania should enter primary school around the age of 6 or 7. Experts interviewed agreed that deaf children are often not sent to school at all or sent rather late for one or several of the following reasons:

- Parents are not aware that special schools exist.
- Parents are not aware that deaf can acquire language and learn.
- Parents are ashamed of having a deaf/disabled child.
- Parents like their child to work at home, e.g. cleaning.

This is also in line with the numbers in this research. Only 9 out of 60 respondents had entered primary school by the age of 7. The largest part, 25 respondents, started school aged 8 or 9. 12 respondents started age 10 or 11, and one respondent with 13, 14 and 15 years of age, respectively. By that age, a lot of hearing children have already finished their 7-year-long primary school. MoEST 2018 reports that deaf learners are teased by hearing peers for being older.[254] My numbers show that many deaf were already officially adults when leaving primary school.

[252] URT 2016, 9
[253] So instead of the regular 2-7-4-2-3 system, deaf learners have a de-facto 0-10-4-2-3 system. Primary school thus consists of the Standards 1A, 1B, 2, 3A, 3B, 4, 5A, 5B, 6 and 7. See also introduction on education in Tanzania (chapter 1.3)
[254] Cf. MoEST 2018, 23f

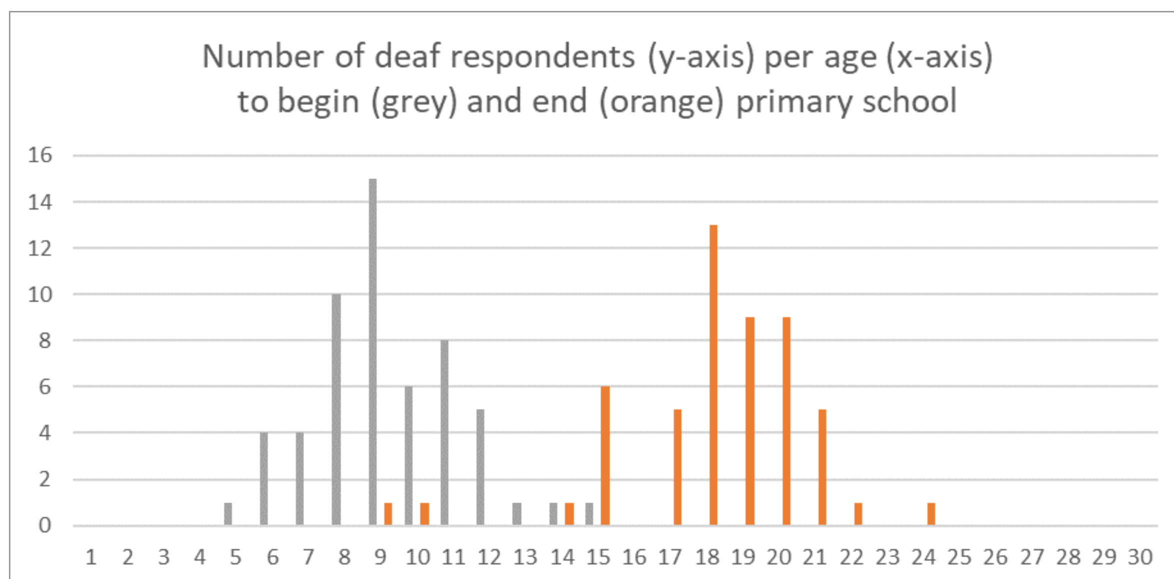


Figure 5: Number of deaf respondents per age to begin and end primary school

Some deaf never make it to school. In my sample, one respondent in her/his early 40s, who was late-deafened, only went to school for about one year when s/he turned deaf and was taken home from school. "My father left me at home until I was old, so I was too old for school and did fundi."

Several experts said that there is also a gender aspect, which leads to some families who (have to) prioritise some children over others, due to limited financial resources, often consciously or subconsciously ranking their children as follows: 1. regular/hearing boys, 2. regular/hearing girls, 3. deaf boys, 4. deaf girls. This concurs with MALWISI 2011, who, using government numbers, reported a remarkable gender gap in enrolment (58% male students vs 42% female students).[255] CHAVITA 2018, looking at a selection of schools in two regions, however claims to not have found any gender difference in enrolled deaf children.[256] Nationwide government numbers from 2016 only show a female share of 46% for "deaf/blind" and of 42% for "deaf/mute" [sic] students in primary school. The ratio fluctuated slightly per Standard, but there was no clear pattern to that.[257] All in all, it seems likely that deaf girls are still schooled less often than their male peers.

The two deaf units in Arusha Town that provided me with student numbers by gender show a ratio of 55:45 in favour of female learners, so they seem to differ from the national trend. However, it might be explained by numbers indicating (for unknown reasons) that in urban areas there are more female PWD than male PWD, while in rural areas the opposite is the case.[258] Furthermore, the sample of two schools and 100 students is very small to generalise these numbers.

Regarding gender, the assessment by a hearing foreign expert I talked to might also be of relevance, who said that deaf girls and deaf boys are more protected than their hearing peers. There

[255] Cf. MALWISI 2011, 5f
[256] Cf. CHAVITA 2018, 24
[257] Cf. URT 2016, 31.
[258] Cf. NBS 2009

would be relatively more freedom for boys, but still not as much as for hearing boys. Deaf girls would sometimes not be allowed to leave the house without a hearing person, because the family is afraid of car accidents, rape or prostitution.

Primary school is free in terms of tuition fee in Tanzania since 2002.[259] However, experts mentioned that parents might be reluctant due to costs for: school uniforms, note books and pencils, transport fees[260] and boarding costs. An expert working for a national government body estimated the average boarding costs at 70,000 Tanzanian Shilling per year (roughly 30 Euro), saying that many parents could afford it, but some had to rely on finding organisations or private donors, such as members of parliament, to pay these costs. S/he stated that many parents also cannot afford the bus fare to send their children to school and fetch them twice a year, so they would either fail to send them back to school or – hoping that the school will continue to provide for them – not pick them up at the beginning of the term holidays. While the former government paid transport fares for the parents, the government in power during the interviews (i.e. 2019) considers this the duty of the parents themselves, s/he explained.

However, deaf pupils starting school late is not only due to factors on the parents' side. There is also the issue of waiting lists at deaf schools and deaf units. National experts told that schools are limited to admitting generally 10 students with a certain disability per year.[261] This means that parents who try to send their children to school will be turned away and asked to come again in one year's time, at which point they might be turned away again.[262] Some do not show up a second time at all. In Arusha Region, I was able to confirm this for the most well-established deaf unit in Arusha City. However, other schools do not exhaust this number, but instead face other problems, as we will see.

4.2.2. Deaf schools and deaf units in Arusha Region

Fully deaf schools are rare in Tanzania[263], and usually NGO-run. In Arusha region, I could not identify any primary school for the deaf. Even when people would sometimes refer to certain places as "a deaf school", it would technically be a deaf unit connected to a regular school. The system of deaf units in primary schools is to date the best compromise Tanzania has found to, on the one hand, follow the international mantra of inclusive education but, on the other hand, acknowledge

[259] Cf. LEE 2012, 177
[260] In one case at a regular school, teachers reported that the father of a deaf child did not want to send her/him away to a deaf school, as he considered it too far and wants to take care of his child himself. This would go in line with assumptions by KISANJI 1995, who argues "Parents and the community are expected to take care of their disabled children and adults. This explains the reluctance of some parents to send their children to schools and programmes located away from their localities." (KISANJI 1995, 15) Many of the experts I talked to painted a very different picture.
[261] This goes in line with MLAWA 2016, who talks about 10 to 12 students. Regarding waiting lists cf. also PANDE 2016, 31, who found that at a special primary school for the deaf in Dar es Salaam only a third of the students that were called for interviews could be admitted between 2005 and 2014.
[262] MLAWA reports that prior to establishment of deaf units by the government, the waiting list at one school for the deaf was 300 names long. Cf. MLAWA 2016, 3
[263] There are either 11 or 12 deaf primary schools in the whole of Tanzania. Cf. Appendix III

that deaf students need specialised teachers and sign language. The resources and the quality of teachers of these units however differ vastly. While the two deaf units in Arusha Town[264] apparently have sign-language-competent teachers (both hearing and deaf), conversations with teachers at three schools mentioned to have a deaf unit according to a list provided to me by the *Tanzania Institute of Education* painted a very different picture.

One rural primary school only had one single special education teacher specialised in hearing impairment. When s/he finished her/his certificate at *Patandi Teachers College*, the course did not include any sign language lessons. Ironically, s/he does not teach the three hard-of-hearing children at the school, but instead the younger children, due to a lack of teachers in general. S/he went to Arusha Town a few times to learn some sign language, but eventually stopped because of the distance. S/he said that although s/he had been moved to this "unit", in reality there is no unit, since there is no special class, no special materials, no support from government. S/he stated that the government recently visited and they voiced their complaints but had not yet heard anything back. The school used to have two students who were deaf, referred to with the derogative '*bubu*' by the headmaster, but who were moved to other schools. The hard-of-hearing students would mainly get front-row-seating and some one-on-one support if possible.

Another rural primary school on the list has had outside support to bring some of their teachers to Arusha Town for a two week sign language workshop. Those teachers, who did not have any prior knowledge of sign language before that, then returned to start teaching deaf children. When visiting, I tried to greet those teachers who attended the course with the TSL equivalent to "How are you?" and they failed to understand. They only remembered how to sign the answer ("Good.") after I had shown it again while speaking. This is not mentioned to judge those teachers: All readers are invited to think about if they would feel comfortable teaching (!) in a foreign language, be it Spanish, Chinese or Hausa, after having learned it for only two weeks. The only deaf child on the school premises during my visit seemed not to know any signs and the little communication happening seemed to be based on pointing, lipreading and maybe some residual hearing. Deaf students would be in the same classes as their hearing counterparts and time for extra tuition would be little. Meals for the students were paid for by a foreign NGO, but when they stopped, the government did not fill that void, so some parents stopped sending their deaf children to school.

A third school on the list had some teachers who did learn some sign language during their education, but stated they had forgotten most of it, since they had been placed at regular schools for years before coming to the deaf unit. There are 7 deaf students spread out between Standard 1 and Standard 7, all sharing one class room with no electricity (i.e. no light except for sunlight), together with visually impaired students. While they could theoretically admit more students, they do not come, since the travel costs from the surrounding villages are (deemed) too high. The teachers

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[264] When I refer to Arusha Town, I use the popular definition, which includes the areas of both Arusha City Council and Arusha District Council.

said that while some parents would be really too poor, for others it would be a question of will. One of the female students attending would be walking roughly 6km twice every day, although the father of the girl could afford to pay the bus fee, they stated. Being a day school, the school cannot accommodate the students overnight. Teachers believe their enrolment numbers will increase once the unit successfully transitions to a boarding school. Ironically, the government has already built a dormitory, but it has been empty for a while, as they are still waiting for furniture et cetera. While the government officially pays for food for the disabled children, it would not be enough for them to be really well fed. I could not identify clearly according to which criteria the government pays for food and in which it does not.

So, it is clear that many deaf children are still barred from attending primary school. A deaf teacher from Arusha Town estimated, that around 70% of deaf children there go to primary school – but that the number would be much lower in the rural areas. A national expert from Dar es Salaam estimates that countrywide only "twenty percent of the deaf community aged the age of going to primary school have access […] to primary school".

To get close to a concrete number, we can try to extrapolate the theoretical number of deaf children and the theoretical number of spots for deaf children at deaf units in Arusha Region.

- I have established in chapter 1.8 that 0.62 % of the Tanzanian population can be categorised as functionally deaf, i.e. roughly 360,000 in Tanzania and 12,400 people in Arusha Region.
- 42.7% of the Tanzanian population is between 0 and 14 years old[265]. For simplicity, we will assume that half of these are at the regular age for the (first) seven years of primary school[266] (i.e. 21.35%).
- This means that 0.13% (i.e. 75,400 in TZ and in 2,600 Arusha Region) of the population are deaf children between the age of 7 and 14. School starts at the age of 7.
- So at least 2,600 deaf learners should be currently attending the first seven years of primary school in Arusha Region

The *Tanzanian Institute of Education* lists deaf units at 11 primary schools in the region. One of them confirmed to me that they do not have any deaf students.[267] If we assume for simplicity's sake that all of those remaining 10 units are fully functional and have been operating for at least 7 years[268], with an annual intake of 10 deaf students, this would mean that 700 of the potential deaf students are currently schooled in the first 7 years of a deaf unit.

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[265] Cf. CIA 2020

[266] In reality, deaf students are obliged to stay in Primary School for 10 years, but since the population data by CIA uses the category of "0 to 14 years", we will also only look at the first seven years, which should theoretically be done by age 14.

[267] Tanzania Mainland has 236 deaf units at primary schools (214 day schools & 22 boarding schools). For a full list of the 10 deaf units in Arusha Region, cf. Appendix III.

[268] This is not always the case, some units have been created within the last few years. Furthermore, five units confirmed their total number of deaf/heard-of-hearing students at 59, 41, 11, 9 and 3 respectively.

This would leave 1,900 out of 2,600 either unschooled or attending regular schools without any special support. This means that there are spots for less than 27% of the deaf primary school age population in Arusha Region, even if all units were fully operational. The last official government numbers from 2016 report for Arusha Region 167 "deaf-mute" and 13 "deaf-blind learners in primary school.[269] This would be 7% of properly-aged deaf children.

Taking the real current numbers of learners available to me for five units (123 learners) and assuming that the other five units have similar numbers, would lead to a total of 246. In reality the number is probably lower, as my data also include two urban, well established units. But taking this number at face value, this would mean that at most 9% of (potential) deaf learners of primary school age, are schooled at a deaf unit.

While this calculation can surely be surely criticised, e.g. for assuming that the prevalence of deafness would be the same for all age groups, it shows that the estimates done by the Tanzanian experts are likely too positive. If I had used the numbers for “hearing impaired” instead of “deaf”, my results would have been even more drastic.

This shows that the subset of deaf my research is about form somewhat of an elite amongst deaf people in Tanzania. As I had to rely on either TSL or Swahili to communicate with them, those called “non-signing deaf” by LEE 2012 could not form a central part of my inquiry. Nearly all of my deaf interviewees were amongst the lucky few to have attended a deaf school or deaf unit during primary school times (completely or at least for a part of it). Two respondents were still hearing at that age, so attending a regular school was appropriate for them back then, and only two other respondents only attended a hearing primary school – which they had to leave after turning deaf. Those two never returned to school. All of my respondents had some kind of experience with (primary) school, and could thus provide insights on the central questions related to how to navigate the multilingual education system as a deaf person in Tanzania.

4.2.3. Positive experiences in primary school

So, we shall now look at what happens to deaf children once they enter primary school. During an early phase of my research, I entered a classroom of a Standard 1A at a deaf unit and attempted to communicate with the deaf children. Using the variety of TSL used at this specific school – I had doubled checked before – I tried to greet them and ask them for their names. The children were very excited, moving between the benches, but could not concentrate. The signed question “Jina lako ni nani?”[270] or at least the concept of introducing oneself when getting to know someone seemed unfamiliar to most of them. Some of them did not react at all, while others always repeated the sign name of one of the boys, always pointing at him, but not showing their own sign names.

[269] Cf. URT 2016, 34 and chapter 1.8
[270] What is your name?

Support by the teachers did not help much with that situation. The kids eventually decided it would be more interesting to show me the pictures of animals on the tablets the school had gotten from a European donor organisation.

This example illustrates one of the major challenges teachers face when they get new deaf children at a school. A deaf teacher of the deaf during a later expert interview put it this way:

> "The problem is they come without any language, they come without sign language, they cannot talk Swahili, and they basically come without any skill at all. We have to teach them the languages, but also basic life skills like washing and other home chores, because they have not learned them yet. That is very hard."*

This goes in line with what the national experts reported on the general situation in the country: deaf children upon entering primary school would often enter either without any language or at least without any formal (!) language, i.e. they might have some home sign system they had been using with their family, often covering basic terms such as mother, father, eat, drink et cetera, but those sign systems would differ from formal TSL and also from each other. Teachers reported that it can be hard to "overwrite" those home signs with formal TSL. National experts stated that furthermore teachers might be using a variety that again differs from TSL. At the same time, pupils should theoretically start to learn reading and writing Swahili during Standard 1. This means that a child suddenly switches from a situation with (nearly) no language or one basic home sign system to a situation where at least three, possibly more, languages compete for her/his attention. In an ideal situation, a national expert explained, teachers should harvest the linguistic potential of the home sign systems and build on that – explaining for example the TSL sign for "mother" using the different home signs and explaining that in school, the TSL sign shall be used – without devaluating the home signs as "wrong".[271]

In reality, most of my deaf respondents only partly acquired their sign language skills through teachers. While three quarters of them said that they learned to sign at school, many of them said they (mostly) learned through interacting with other deaf learners. However, teachers would still have to try to establish some kind of formal TSL knowledge amongst all pupils to ensure relatively smooth continuation of their education.

To somehow allow for these extra tasks, Standard 1 (as well as Standard 3 and 5) takes two school years for deaf children, split up in Standard 1A and 1B. Thus, all in all, deaf pupils would regularly stay in primary school for 10 years. This seems however to be more of a tradition than a well-developed educational policy.[272] One expert vocally opposed this system as stigmatising, in a

[271] Considering the general tendency of actors in the Tanzanian education system, as confirmed to me in several conversations, to categorise anything and everything in right and wrong, to look for and reward the single correct answer, such an approach seems unlikely to be happening in many classrooms.

[272] CHAVITA 2018 (25) explains: "The government may have unknowingly accepted the system without questioning, reviewing or evaluating its essence, efficiency and implications. The study was informed that the ten-year system was invented at Tabora School for Deaf Children (in the 1960s) and was necessitated by the fact that pupils were taught through oralism (i.e. forcing them to use

way ‘othering’, deaf pupils. However, all teachers of the deaf I talked to explained that those additional years are necessary, sometimes with the maladroit reason given that “the deaf are slow learners”.[273] While this is beside the point, as the way the deaf learners are learning is not intrinsic to them, it is true that deaf learners often had disadvantages or somewhat of a ‘late start’ due to environmental factors, such as not learning sign language (or any language at all) before school. Staying in school for 10 years was not mentioned as negative with regard to primary school by the deaf interviewees themselves, with the exception of one respondent. While CHAVITA 2018 did mention that deaf students at three schools outside of Arusha Region complained about having to stay extra-long hours per day, i.e. 9 hours per day, there was no mention of their views on the extra years.[274]

Some of my deaf respondents, mostly those who were late-deafened, some of whom had to restart primary school after becoming deaf to develop basic TSL skills, however, mentioned with some pride that they themselves managed to jump one or two years during their time at the deaf primary school/deaf unit. Nevertheless, they did not question the 10-year-system as such.

Only one deaf expert suggested in an informal conversation that a proper pre-school system for the deaf would be an alternative to the 10-year primary school.

Two possible explanations spring to mind: Firstly, that many students consider the additional time necessary to learn and ideally pass the final primary school exam. Secondly, it might also be connected to the positive experiences and emotions many deaf connect to their time at the (deaf) primary school. The school is the place where most deaf learned that communication can be easy and that there are people they can easily exchange ideas and stories with – other deaf pupils and sign-language-competent teachers. Many things that might have happened at home for their hearing counterparts started happening for them at school. A deaf respondent, currently still in secondary school, explained:

> “I preferred school to home. At school, the older boys taught me how to clean and wash for example. When they left after Standard 7, I continued teaching the younger ones.”*

Preferring school to home has been mentioned by several respondents and echoed by the teachers interviewed. Teachers at three different schools told me that students would try to stay at school as long as possible. Most respondents talked very positively about primary school, even though some could not pin-point why exactly. “Aaah, primary school was so nice! Why? I don't know, but it was just so nice!”*, said one respondent. Most others however could name a handful of reasons:

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spoken languages: lip-reading and speaking/mouthing), the approach which slowed down the communication process between teachers and pupils. As a result, the teaching learning duration had to be extended from seven to ten years.”

[273] This generalised assumption by teachers was also reported in MoEST 2018, 25 & uncritically taken for a fact in PANDE 2016, 47

[274] Cf. CHAVITA 2018, 27. However, the advanced age can become a reason for teasing once the deaf students join an ‘inclusive’ secondary school where they are mixed with younger hearing class mates, as reported in MoEST 2018, 23f

> "Primary school was better [than secondary] because there was cooperation between the students, and easy communication."*
> "When my mzee brought me to [primary school], I looked where to stay [at the regular school or at the deaf unit], and it was clear: the deaf unit. I really enjoyed being around other deaf. Studies went well."*
> "At primary school, there was respect, the teachers all knew how to sign, we respected them, we learned a lot."*

Those three quotes can be exemplary for what most respondents said they liked about primary school:

- easy communication in sign language, both formally with teachers and informally with students
- being able to comprehend and learn academic and practical things
- a sense of togetherness with other deaf students

All those things cannot be found at home by most of the students – which has negative effects on the mood of students staying at home, and also on their (sign) language skills, as a teacher of the deaf at the only secondary school for the deaf in Arusha explained:

> "Every year when we open this school, it is like: 'Awh, when we are home, we are idle, our parents and relatives, they don't use sign language.' So for them [the deaf students] it is difficult. And sometimes it's so, so, so difficult for us [teachers], when they come back and have already forgotten some of the signs. So when they come, we start afresh."

Deaf students mostly deal with this problem in three ways: Firstly, with resignation and retreat while at home. Secondly, by trying to maximise the time at school by staying not only until the formal end of the lessons, but until the school factually, physically closes once the last teacher or last other employee leaves the school premises. Thirdly, they try to relay their new-found confidence in communication by attempting to teach sign language to their family. One respondent explained:

> "After I was born, I could not hear any noise, banging on a bucket or an alarm, so my mum cried. But my grandmother told her: No, wait, when she will be bigger, it will be better. My grandmother eventually died before I went to [the deaf school], but after I came back from there with sign language and I was actively communicating with my parents, they were very happy. I had turned from a sad girl just sitting around, not using her hands, to an active person who was happy. Still, my parents and my sisters only learned a little bit of sign language later."*

Parents did not usually seem to respond well to their children's attempts to teach them sign language. A teacher at a deaf unit in Arusha Town said that only two parents of all students at the school have shown any efforts to learn sign language. 42% of my respondents said their parents speak no sign language at all, usually signing *SIFURI* (ZERO) and shaking their heads in resignation. If we include those who stated that their parents know "very little", that number rises to 71%. When it comes to siblings, some respondents (indirectly) mentioned a small gender difference with sisters learning more, but mostly an effect of the relative age. Siblings younger than the deaf respondent were more often mentioned to have shown some interest (and some success) in learning sign language. This might be due to the effect of younger children looking up to their older siblings,

but also due to the fact that those children might have still been in the age where the human brain considers learning a language a worthwhile and entertaining game.

My research also confirmed that sign language was widely used during the primary school time of my respondents, either exclusively or mixed with Swahili (either alternating or parallel as *"Signed Swahili"*). My respondents attended several different primary schools within and outside of Arusha Region. Those who mentioned only spoken language as language of instruction were mostly older respondents, a mentionable share of them having attended *Tabora School for the Deaf*, in Tabora Region, the first school for the deaf ever founded in Tanzania (in 1963), whose long-time leader had strong oralist convictions, i.e. forbidding sign language use and spending a lot of resources on speech training.

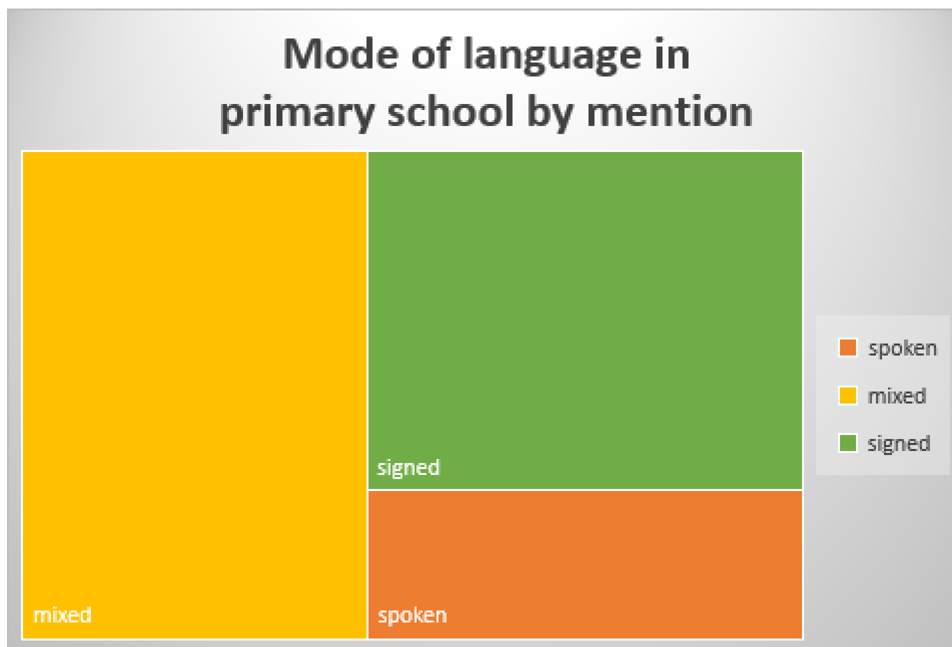


Figure 6: Mode of communication in primary school by mention

Of course, also Tabora school was never void of sign language. Deaf students there, as already described by MUZALE 2003 and LEE 2012 (92) and confirmed by my deaf respondents, would only voice while teachers were present, but would switch to signing instantly as soon as they left. Even though Tabora has thus produced many deaf students with acceptable voicing skills, it is also considered one of the homes of Tanzanian Sign Language. So even though it was a theoretically oralist environment, the time there was largely described as something positive by the former students. One interesting qualification regarding sign language at Tabora I had never read anywhere before was made by one of my deaf interviewees in her/his early 40s:

> "At Tabora you have been forced through speech training. So all those who went to Tabora speak well. But once the teachers were gone, we would sign. […] At Tabora we would get sweets if we talked well, but beaten if we talked not well. [However, the] teachers in Tabora knew some sign language, they would understand what we signed about, and punish us for signing and for WHAT we signed also."*

So even though the policy of the school was strictly against signed languages, teachers could not escape eventually acquiring some (passive) sign language knowledge of their own, according to this statement.

Knowledge of sign language for primary school teachers of the deaf might seem logical, as also the quote of some younger respondent about their schools infer: “Because everyone there was deaf they use signs always. All the teachers were hearing, but they knew how to sign.”* Another deaf respondent of the same age (early 20s) reacted quite confused when I asked whether the teachers at the deaf school/unit signed, spoke or mixed both: “What do you mean? There were no hearing students there, so ...”*

However, teachers of the deaf signing (properly or at all) is far from self-evident in Tanzania. Some respondents mentioned how their concrete school had changed for the better. One respondent in her/his 30s said: “Back then many teachers did not know a lot of signs, they would write a word on the board and ask the students for the sign. Later some knew to sign well.”* So when teachers did not know sign language, roles would be reversed and students would become the teachers' teachers. This trend eventually even made it to the long-time oralist school of Tabora, how both experts and some deaf respondents underlined: “Those teachers who came to Tabora without knowing signs, we taught them. That is necessary! Because of the padre we had to do speech training also. So speech and sign language went parallel.”* (deaf in her/his 20s).

However, change is happening slowly. My visits to deaf units in Arusha region, as described above, showed many teachers lacking basic TSL skills – for several reasons. It is not a problem of the past.[275] One young respondent in his late teens who had just finished primary school in 2019, told me: “At [my deaf school] 7 teachers spoke and 3 were signing.”*

Nevertheless, deaf schools (and deaf units) are THE place where communication is happening for deaf children. Those parents who themselves did not learn sign language have also recognised that fact. Therefore, all teachers with sign language skills I talked to, had a similar story to tell: taking on the role of interpreter between children and parents.[276] Parents, unsatisfied that their children seem not to obey them, come to school to ask teachers to explain to their child what they want him/her to do (or stop doing) when at home. Deaf children sometimes take this rare opportunity for complex communication to also mention some of their own grievances.

Except for those major positive aspects of primary school mentioned before, deaf students often mentioned certain subjects they liked or sports. Church or religion, given great importance by many of the hearing teachers, was mentioned only by two deaf respondents explicitly. It might however

[275] Cf. e.g. MoEST 2018 and chapter 2.
[276] Cf. also chapter 5.5

be the case that those events were subsumed when talking about "meeting other deaf", "getting new information" or "exchanging stories".

4.2.4. Negative experiences in primary school

While we will later see that primary school was amongst the happiest times for many of the deaf respondents, they could – when asked about it – also mention negative aspects or problems of their time there.
Some complaints had to do with the fact that most deaf primary schools or deaf units were still far from ideal *deaf spaces*, in which everyone signed perfectly. So, several respondents mentioned that some teachers signed a lot worse than others. Some of the deaf who were currently at secondary school while I interviewed them, complained that the quality of English lessons in primary school was very low, explaining in this way why they are having a hard time understanding English-language lessons now in secondary school. A handful of the respondents also talked about issues relating to the semi-inclusive situation at regular schools with deaf units:

> "Those students of the main school [to which the deaf unit belongs] did not understand any sign."*
> "The hearing students from the regular unit would laugh about us, make fun about when they saw us signing. That was at first, now some of them sign."*

This is anecdotal evidence to support statements that deaf are teased by their hearing counterparts, as alluded to by LEE 2012 and MoEST 2018. Former students from the oralist Tabora school additionally mentioned that students – "even those born deaf" – had been forced to speak and lipread there. However, some of them were justifying this with the fact that they now know how to voice well and that this would benefit them.

Other topics mentioned remind us that not all the problems deaf students in Tanzania face are due to their hearing impairment: low quality of and little food, dirty drinking water, quarrels between students were mentioned quite a few times. Several respondents mentioned having been beaten with a stick, although not all of them criticised it. Two respondents followed the old-fashioned argument that this way students would learn right and wrong behaviour.[277] Others did not agree:

> "I disliked the stick, they used it a lot, whenever you made a mistake. Also, I did not like having to do farm work alone. And also, the students were fighting and beating each other."

One female respondent when talking about negative aspects, alluded to something which could be interpreted as anything from consensual teenage behaviour to rape, saying: "Also the older deaf boys went at night to the deaf girls. I did not like that."*

[277] When asking respondents and experts about whether corporal punishment (usually beating with a stick) was allowed in Tanzania, I got contradictory answers. Some claimed it was forbidden. Some claimed that it depends whether it is primary or secondary school. Some claimed that a (written) permission by the head teacher would be necessary. Some claimed that only a certain number of strokes and only strokes to the palm, but not the back of the hand, would be legal. Whatever the legal situation, it is clear that in reality there is a lot of confusion and at least parts of those people need to be misinformed.

Sometimes a lot of those problems would culminate and be combined with personal misdoings of teachers, as in this quote:

> "Teachers would gossip, when someone was sick, they would tell it is an STD [sexually transmitted disease]. The older pupils were troublemakers, but I was kind of a coward. There was just very little food and the drinking water came from the river, where also the cows were."*

However, most of those students who went to a deaf school brushed away they negative stories to focus on their positive experiences during primary school: "There were challenges, but since there were only deaf, there was cooperation and help and no discrimination."*

Clear exceptions to this are the two respondents who only shortly attended a hearing primary school and left after becoming deaf, never to return to school. They never could make those positive experiences of having a relatively safe *deaf space* at school. One of them, who was also one of my oldest respondents, phrased it this way: "If the teachers at a school don't want to teach you [because you are deaf], what is there to like about that school? I was angry. I wanted to learn and they sent me away."*

One additional topic was brought up by one respondent talking from the perspective of a deaf teacher: quality of teaching and sign language skills at some deaf units. MoEST 2018[278] and my visits to some of the newer, smaller deaf units (see subchapter 4.2.2) have shown that even many teachers are aware that they are in fact not fully proficient in TSL. My respondent however saw a lack of this awareness, as a drastic account from one school where s/he taught shows:

> "Children were complaining to me that the teachers would not properly sign, and the teachers would complain that the pupils were just lazy, but I actually knew that the liars in this constellation were actually the teachers: They would be signing, yes, but some of them would not sign very well, they would just quickly write something on the board, sign a bit and then leave, they were not in it with the heart.
> [...]
> The problem is also when those people from the government that are supposed to control the teachers, do not know sign language. They sit in the back, they look at the teacher, and the teacher-in-training, a lot of them studied at Patandi, just makes up signs, it is not real sign language, it is just gesturing, but the inspector does not know. And the children are afraid also, they just sit, smile and pretend to take notes. And the inspector cannot talk to them, because he does not know SL, and even if he could, the students would be afraid to tell the truth, they do not know their rights, that is different with us adult deaf. [...] The students are also afraid of being beaten. [...] But then after this they come to me and complain: Those new teachers are liars, they do not know SL. I went to the head teachers and told him this, but he said that the children are lying, because according to the official certificates the teacher passed all those tests. It is like the hearing ones are looking out for, are protecting the hearing ones.
> [...]
> Some so-called experts say that deaf have a hard time understanding, but they are not experts, because if you are a real expert, you know how to teach deaf children. If you teach deaf children from the beginning on, you teach them slowly, considering their lacking mother tongue, slowly, they will learn. Those who say that they cannot learn, they don't know."

[278] Cf. MoEST 2018, 30 & 45

So, in short, s/he diagnosed a huge lack of qualification and motivation to properly teach deaf learners amongst the teachers at this primary school. The assumed problem of inspectors being tricked by unsuitable teachers as they do not know TSL as postulated by MLAWA 2016 (35), can be supported by this statement.

The lack of qualified teachers at primary schools, especially the lack of sign language skills, is also a major thread in the secondary literature obtained. The issue has been identified and stressed at least since the beginning of the century, e.g. by MUZALE 2004, and since then repeatedly confirmed, e.g. by WILBERT 2014, CHILDREACH TZ & SIGNAL UK 2016 and MAKALLA 2019. Small improvements in terms of the number of formally qualified teachers could be seen when comparing KYARUZI 2009 and PANDA 2016, while both still confirmed the above-mentioned general problem.

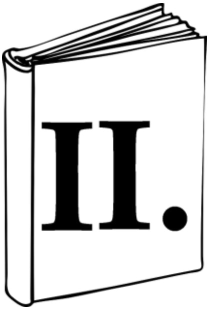
So how did my respondents fare in primary school under these rather difficult circumstances? Three of them attending a regular school were sent away in Standard 1, 2 and 4 respectively because of their then recently acquired deafness. In one case, the parents wanted to send the child to a deaf school, but failed to provide the proper transfer letter. One respondent claimed s/he stopped herself/himself in Standard 3, even though he had recently switched from a regular to a deaf school, since "there was fighting between the students"*. So all in all, five respondents (i.e. 8%) left early and did not sit the final primary school exam.

At least 12 respondents (20%) failed the Standard 7 national exam, and for one additional person it was unclear to me whether s/he failed or passed. 42 of the 43 remaining respondents who passed the Standard 7 exam did at least start with secondary school. This is relevant in so far as some experts have argued that deaf students would not be interested in continued education, but only *fundi* work[279], which is not supported by this fact.

Summing up, primary schools and units for the deaf still have a lot of room for improvement. However, the analysis of the statements by many deaf respondents shows that the positive experiences connected to communication and exchange at primary school largely outweighed the negative experiences there. Thus, it can be postulated that primary schools with deaf units are still a comparably friendly environment for deaf learners, a *deaf space* of sorts, especially when compared to secondary schools, as the next sub-chapter will explain.

[279] Cf. chapter 5.2.

4.3. Secondary school



> [The deaf teenager] came running to us as soon as she saw our group coming and ran into the arms of one of the female teachers, hugged her long and intensively. She had tears in her eyes, and the teacher was close to it. The male teacher took his handkerchief, apparently to wipe of sweat, but also in the corner of his eye. It was very close to seeing parents visiting their children after a long time. The children had asked a teacher [at their secondary school] in written to contact a teacher of their Primary School, so she came and brought two colleagues [and me], they also brought some peanuts and a little bit of money "as usually parents should do" [she said]. We sat together, and soon the pupils would start to voice their complaints: No one speaks sign language, the one teacher who did "moved away" a long time ago, they said, [...]. When waiting for the teachers at the toilet they were quick to mention again all the atrocities they had lived through:
> "They beat us, on the top of the hands, I have marks on the side of my arm, we just have two underpants, the other children stole our clothes."
> By the time we had to leave, within just maybe two hours, I apparently made it to the deaf girls more intimate circle, and when leaving I got a long hug just like the teachers. I can't help but connecting it to the fact that I, like their former teachers, know TSL and that we showed that we care. A notion they cannot see in their secondary school teachers.
> *(Excerpt from fieldnotes, November 2019)*

This excerpt of my fieldnotes, even though clearly coloured with my personal perspective, shows vividly how different deaf people in Arusha region experience(d) primary and secondary school.

There are only two secondary schools for the deaf in Tanzania. The oldest one is *Njombe School for the Deaf* in Njombe, which was created as a primary school in 1994 and where a secondary school was added in 2000.[280] The newer one is the privately run *Holy Ghost Secondary School for Deaf Boys* in Tengeru in Arusha Region, which officially started operations in 2018. Thus, any deaf person who attended secondary school prior to 2000 in Tanzania did so at a regular school. Even now, all public (!) secondary schools in Arusha Region are just regular schools or 'inclusive schools'. However, most experts agreed that the latter are usually nothing more than a regular school with a new name plate – lacking resources and most of all specialised teachers to cater for disabled children. There is one secondary school in Arusha Town which is a semi-exception to this rule, *Themi Secondary School*, which I will refer to later on. 18 of my respondents were still in secondary school, and with the exception of one of them, they all attended either *Holy Ghost Secondary* or *Themi Secondary*.

[280] Cf. LEE 2012, 177. Cf. also Appendix III

4.3.1. Positive & negative experiences in secondary school

The largest part of my respondents however experienced a total shift in environment when leaving primary school to attend secondary school. 42 of my respondents attended Secondary School at least for a certain time, including the 18 respondents mentioned above who were still in school. The other 26 were suddenly thrown into a situation in which sign language as a means of communication disappeared. This shall become clear when looking at what mode of communication was used at secondary school.

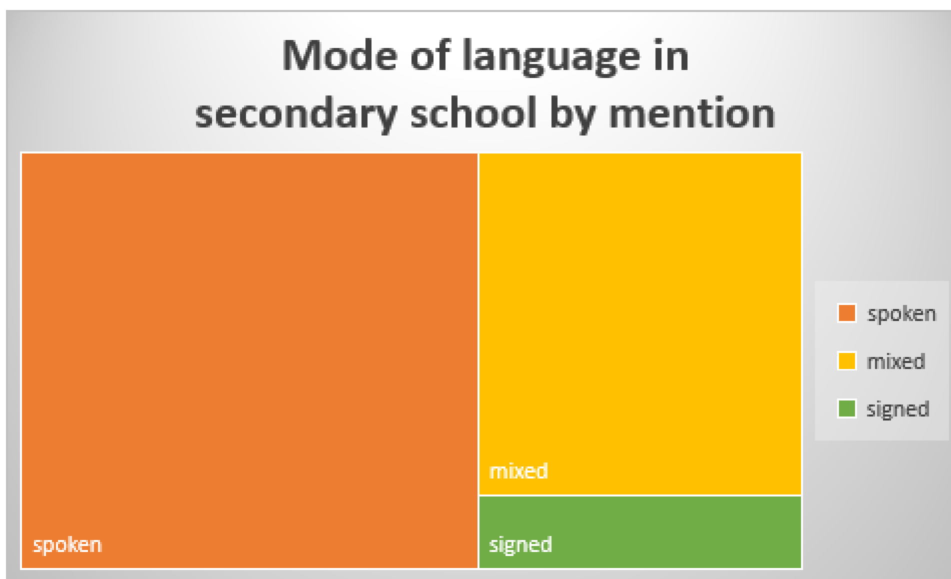


Figure 7: Mode of communication in secondary school by mention

Most deaf respondents were suddenly confronted with a totally oralist environment upon entering secondary school. 17 respondents explicitly mentioned problems related to this lack of sign language when asked about negative aspects of secondary school. The topic was definitely still boiling inside them, as a lot of them already mentioned it during earlier questions.

> "Yes, we went to complain to the class teacher and head teacher, but things didn't change, there is still no sign language now."*
> "Teachers were talking to the board, so I [could not even lipread and] didn't gain knowledge."*
> "Teachers were just speaking, and while the hearing ones continued their studies, we deaf were left behind and failed. A friend translated a bit for me, but after a while s/he left, as s/he was very tired."*
> "At secondary, the teachers just spoke [with their voice] and I did not understand. I asked others to help me in class by signs, to explain what was said and written, but I didn't understand. They explained to me after class, just quickly by writing, and I understood only a little."*
> "I simply endured[281] it. I sat in front with the other deaf and was reading lips. Also, we deaf taught some hearing students some signs and they would stand next to the teacher and somehow interpret."*
> "The teachers only spoke. Also, sometimes, when I asked my bench neighbours what the teachers said, they lied to me. They also just talked."*
> "It was oral. I just sat in class, browsed through the note book and looked at the board."*

[281] On the meaning and usage of certain signs, such as "ENDURE", cf. chapter 3.4

> "So most of the time when I was copying from the board, I did not understand what I was copying. Nevertheless I did well in the exams, because I was cooperating with some deaf and hearing students from Form 2, while I was in Form 1, and they had their old exams, and I just cramped that information, so because of remembering I could pass the exams, but that did not mean that I understood."*
> "There was nothing positive at secondary, nobody knew sign language, we were just told to read the book, so after two years I returned home."*
> "There was no respect, the teachers were beating each other. Teachers would not allow us to leave if asked, so students just fled to town, to have fun, me too."*

These examples show two major problems: First, the fact that teachers did not know any sign language at secondary schools, even at schools were there were deaf students in nearly every year. Secondly, that teachers were not aware of how they could support the deaf learners with easy actions, such as only speaking facing towards the class instead of looking at the board. Experts and some deaf respondents theorised that they were also not very motivated to accommodate learners with disability, focussing only on the larger number of regular learners.[282]

The exemplary quotes above also show common strategies used by the deaf learners to deal or cope with that situation of no communication:

- strong resignation and (temporary or permanent) escaping[283]
- mild resignation and self-education (or cramping) by reading only
- asking (teachers or) pupils for help after class
- teaching pupils basic TSL to 'turn them into interpreters'
- asking head teachers (without success) for interpreters or TSL-competent teachers

During the expert interview, one teacher from *Holy Ghost Secondary School for the Deaf* gave a vivid example of how deaf learners dealt with the situation at another, regular school:

> "There are two boys from [place name] Secondary School, they came to join us. The reason is because there at that school it was inclusive, and it is till now, but they are not having special teachers. So, they are just mixing them in one class with those hearers, and the problem arose on how to perceive the knowledge. They decided to riot, to [she laughs], to go home and most of them they told their parents: 'We don't want to study anymore because we don't understand, there is not any teachers who knows how to communicate with us.' At the end we communicated with those parents and then they came here, we gave them an interview, and they performed very well, more than we expected."

Later, I had the chance to visit the 'inclusive'/regular school in question, in which the remaining deaf students seemed rather desperate. Also, it turned out that more than those two boys had already left, including a female learner just recently, and it was not known to the teachers where they went. Thus, it can be said that they 'ran away'.

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[282] As also reported in MoEST 2018, 48ff

[283] The strategy of retreat/escaping (i.e. leaving the classroom when teachers would not know how to or would not want to sign) was also mentioned in LUZIBILA 2013, 56

Hearing students as interpreters for deaf children have also been mentioned during expert interviews. A national expert however criticised that this in fact has negative effects. While the deaf learner gets some information about what is going on in class, it might be very simplified or even wrong due to the very basic knowledge of TSL conveyed. The hearing learner would switch from learning to interpreting, and would thus also not be able to properly follow the lessons. This is in line with the quote above, showing that the hearing student was eventually exhausted or overwhelmed and stopped translating. The criticism of the expert is valid, and in an ideal world, a qualified interpreter or at least teacher should take over the task of interpreting. However, considering that deaf learners do not otherwise get any information, it is understandable that it is a common approach. A positive effect is that those hearing-deaf pairs sometimes turned into friends. This way deaf students are also able to communicate outside of class, i.e. about more private topics. One young hearing man I met in Dar es Salaam told me that this was the reason he decided to become an interpreter. This is one of the few positive effects that the underfunded Tanzanian pseudo-inclusive secondary education for the deaf has achieved.

This experience of being lost without communication is not a relic of the past. The only deaf respondent who currently was attending a regular school that I managed to have a full interview with, explained to me that s/he is very unhappy and would like to leave as soon as possible, explaining with frustration: “Teachers don't know how to teach us. There is no sign language here. I want to go to learn fundi. Now even if teachers came who knew sign language, I want to do fundi. I would like to learn to do tailoring.”*

The lack of communication often turned situations that would otherwise be tolerable into ones that caused great frustration. One area affected is the question of unwanted behaviour and punishment, as vividly described in the following longer quote of a deaf respondent:

> “At [the deaf primary school] we have been beaten actually a lot, but they were breaking the law. The law says you should get six hits, but sometimes it was more, even 20, that is breaking the law. But teachers would tell you why you were beaten. So maybe you were late, you broke something, or made someone else cry. But sometimes children were lying and you could be beaten for something that you actually did not do.
> In general, the teachers were good [at the deaf primary], even though they beat us, because this beating helped us learning good behaviour. It was totally different in [the regular secondary school. There] they were beating us a lot for small things. Yes, you were beaten for being late, but also when you did not manage to finish copying from the board in time, you were beaten with a stick. It was different at the deaf school, because there was more communication, so you would know why you were beaten. But [at secondary] you were beaten and you would not even know why.
> The teachers [at the secondary school] said the deaf students were wakorofi [trouble makers], but this was just because of the communication, you see?”*

Dealing with this situation makes it very difficult for the students to learn. In addition to the fact that the mode of instruction switches (from signed to oral), also the written and spoken language of instruction switches from Swahili to English. This is generally accepted as a problem by many ex-

perts, and to confirm this fact, I asked my respondents to tell me how they would rate their own language skills in TSL, Swahili and English.

70% of respondents rated their ability to actively sign in TSL as very good or above average. As for understanding people who sign, I asked in four categories: deaf signing people in Arusha Region, deaf signing people from other parts of Tanzania, hearing signing people in Arusha Region, hearing signing people from other parts of Tanzania (see figure 8). Not all respondents had experience with all groups, and some had difficulties understanding this differentiation. Therefore the total numbers of answers for the ability to perceive and understand TSL is somewhat smaller than the one about actively signing. Still, it shows an interesting tendency: On average respondents rather stated that it is more difficult to understand people from other regions, instead of making a difference between deaf and hearing signers.

The argument common in western deaf communities that only deaf signers (and maybe CODA) would sign properly seems not to be supported by this fact. Interestingly though, some respondents differentiated between their concrete deaf and hearing teachers at primary school, with 4 saying that they understood both the same, while 7 stated that they understood the deaf teachers (somewhat) better.

Another problem commonly described by experts however is underlined by these findings: the fact that sign language differs from area to area in Tanzania. Respondents said that they would understand people from other regions (be they deaf or hearing) less than local people. Leaders of the deaf community and educational officers at national level are well aware of this problem, which is why during my time in Tanzania, the prime minister, when visiting the national celebrations for the *International Week of the Deaf* in Iringa, announced another programme working on "Harmonization and Standardisation of Tanzanian Sign Language".[284]

Respondents rate their Swahili skills as lower than their TSL skills. While two thirds state they can read Swahili very well or above average, only half of them state they can write it very well or above average. As expected, the number goes down even further to less than a third, for lipreading and voicing respectively. Voicing also is the only category for which about 10% of the respondents stated to have no skill whatsoever.

[284] Cf. CHAVITA 2019

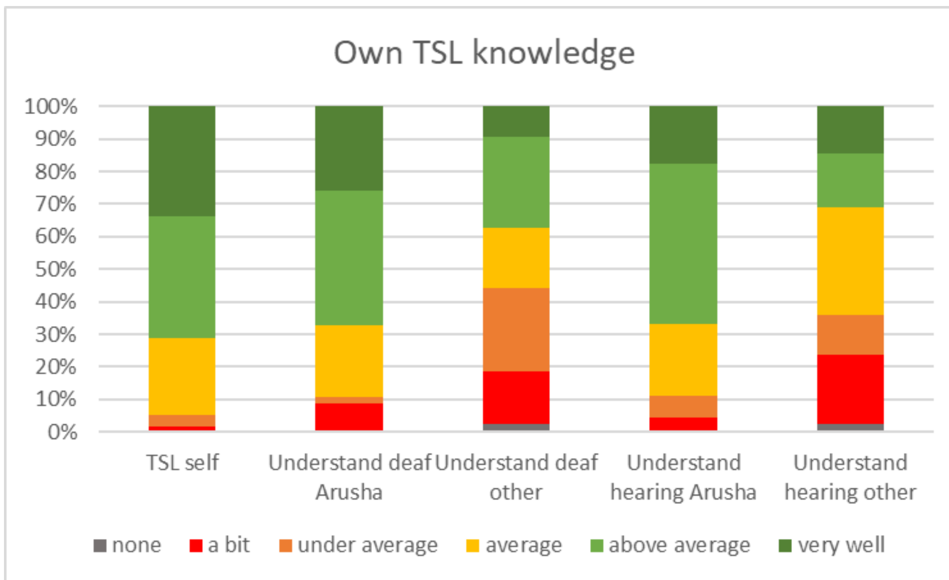

Figure 8: Own TSL knowledge (active and passive) as reported by deaf respondents

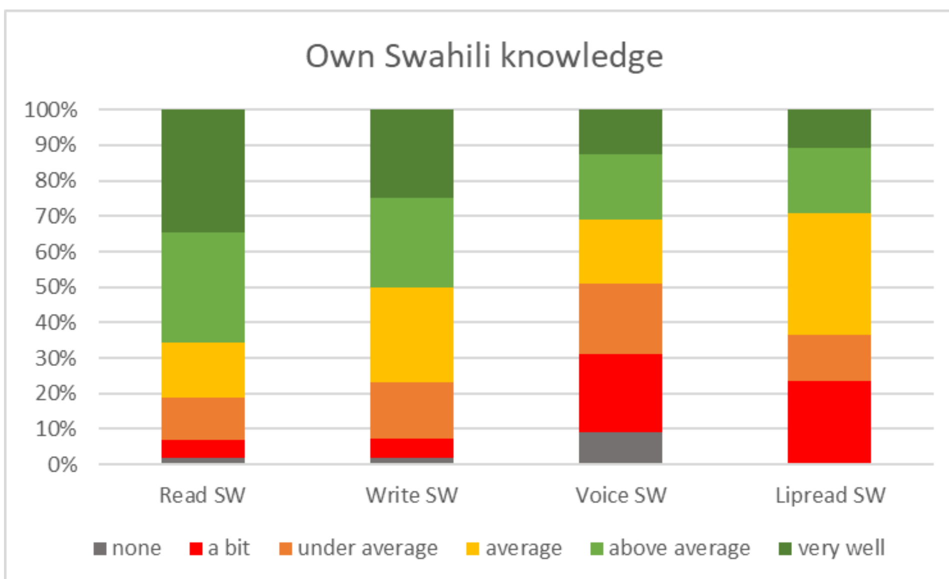

Figure 9: Own Swahili knowledge as reported by deaf respondents

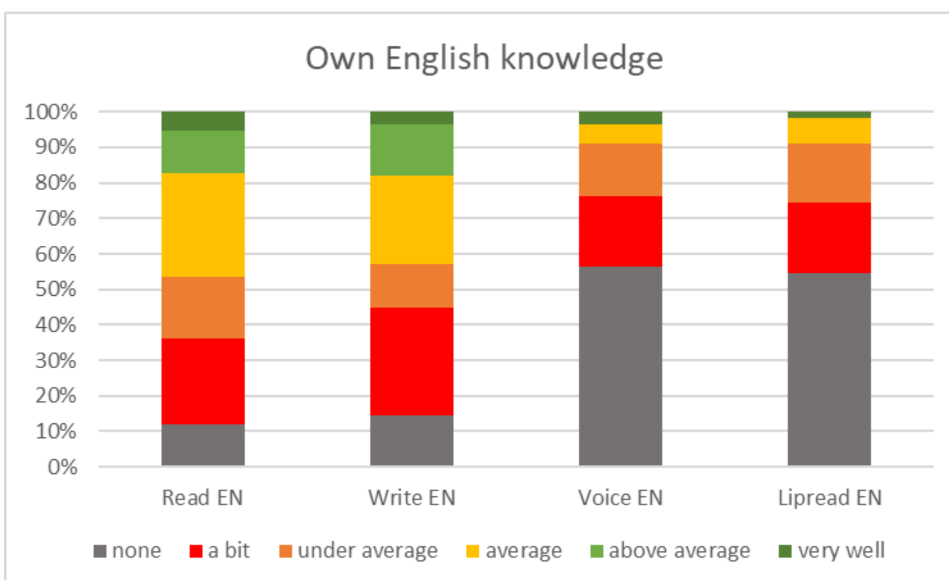

Figure 10: Own English knowledge as reported by deaf respondents

For English, the numbers drop even further. This becomes especially clear when comparing the 'best rated' skill in English (reading) with the worst rated skill in Swahili (voicing). Reading English still has a worse overall rating than voicing Swahili. Less than 20% of respondents state they know how to read English very well or above average, while over 10% of them state they cannot do this at all. Combined with those who state they know how to read a bit of English (often explained by the respondents as knowing a handful of words like *mother*, *father* etc), this number grows to over a third of respondents. For writing, the numbers are only a bit lower. However, when it comes to lipreading and voicing, the numbers drop drastically. More than half of respondents say they cannot do this at all; when including those who chose "a bit", the number rises to over three quarters. Only about 10% have very good, above average or even just average ability in those skills – which would be crucial if they were to have a chance to somehow follow and participate in the lessons at secondary school which are held in oral (and written) English.

There are plenty of possible reasons for this. First, English is for many students the third, fourth or fifth language they encounter – after home signs, possibly a 'tribal' spoken language used by their family, TSL and Swahili.

Secondly, English is most likely not prioritised amongst those languages. While English is taught in primary school starting from Standard 3, some respondents complained that teachers there were not good at teaching the language. Judging from my own interactions with primary school teachers, who mostly politely apologised and asked me to communicate in Swahili with them, it seems quite possible that the teachers at primary schools indeed have limited English language knowledge themselves. Additionally, however, it might be due to the fact that teachers themselves, even when knowing English well, are faced with the dilemma of having to teach children three languages more or less at the same time. When doing so, many will probably prioritise TSL and Swahili. This might be because some teachers (also amongst those I interviewed) assume that deaf students will not continue with secondary and higher education, but leave after or during primary school to take on crafts work (*kazi ya ufundi*).[285]

Thirdly, which is somehow related to this, English is not a common language of every-day interaction in Tanzania. While higher education and higher government institutions (officially) work in English, the reality is that any private and lower to medium level official conversation takes place in Swahili. Deaf learners have little chance to experience and practise English in their everyday lives outside of the classroom. This point is also true for their hearing counterparts, who also struggle on entering secondary school.[286] Holiday courses for regular learners to brush up their English language before secondary are common for those families who can somehow afford them.

[285] See also chapter 5.3.
[286] Cf.. MoEST 2018, 46

The fourth reason is about intrinsic features of the English language. Only a handful of respondents and experts could point their finger to this, but voicing and lipreading English is hard for deaf learners, because English is an *opaque* language. While *transparent* languages such as Swahili, Spanish or German have quite a clear connection between a letter (or letter combination) and a sound, this is not the case in *opaque* languages. Take for example the letters 'ough': They will be pronounced totally different depending on their position and the word. If you take the sentence "Even though we prepared throughout the rainy season, the drought was tough." In this sentence alone 'ough' is pronounced as /oʊ/, /uː/, /aʊ/ and /ʌf/. The IPA phonetic alphabet however is not used in general education, so teachers would have to explain than those letters, when written 'in a Swahili way', would turn into "o", "u", "au" and "af" respectively. All four pronunciations also produce totally different lip movements. Even one of my adult late-deafened respondents, who could hear until age 16 and usually prefers lipreading Swahili to signing, could hardly read my lips and explained: "You know, pronunciation in English is just not logical".

Teaching "in English", the official LoI (language of instruction) for secondary school, was also mentioned as a challenge by teachers. Several secondary school teachers who knew TSL mentioned often using three languages:

> "I write in English, then I explain in Sign, then in Swahili. … for some difficult vocabularies, because some of them they have already understood, but for the difficult ones, I let them know in Swahili."

The same three-language method was already described in CHAVITA 2018, which concluded that "generally, the situation slowed down the pace because it did not stimulate fluency in any of the three languages (English, Kiswahili and TSL)."[287] Many problems are related to the bimodal (speaking and signing) way of teaching. A primary school teacher explains it in her own words, which also apply to secondary school:

> "You know, Tanzanian Sign Language normally is in Kiswahili, not in English. So when I sign, I need to tell them before whether it is Swahili or English. And the signs and the word do not match up. So, when I sign Jumatatu [Monday, the third day of the Swahili week], I say Juma- [she signs the first part of the sign "J"] -Tatu [she signs the second part "3"], but when I speak in English, and I say Mon- ["J"] -Day ["3"], that does not fit, it is hard."

This shows how closely linked some signs and their Swahili counterpart are. All in all, it seems that the relation between TSL and Swahili seems to be a contested one. Another secondary school teacher told me: "We are using Swahili Sign Language, we are not using English Sign Language." The notion that a sign language would be directly connected to a spoken language was something I encountered often, with hearing teachers as well as with some deaf respondents. I asked all deaf respondents whether they knew any foreign sign languages, and several times those who knew a few signs in American Sign Language called it "English Sign Language". At the same time, *CHAVITA* officers in Dar es Salaam were shocked to hear when I told them that I once read some-

[287] CHAVITA 2018, 26

thing online about "Swahili Sign Language", underlining that there is no such thing, just Tanzanian Sign Language.

Having often entered primary school late and/or having stayed there for 10 years, most of my respondents (who made it this far) started secondary school late. 26 out of 33 respondents started between the age of 17 and 20, some as late as 22. One respondent said s/he had to lie to the school, pretending to be 5 years younger, to get accepted. Being older and possible taller than other students can contribute to the deaf students being the odd ones out[288] – while the main reason probably still remains their hearing disability and their preferred mode of communication.

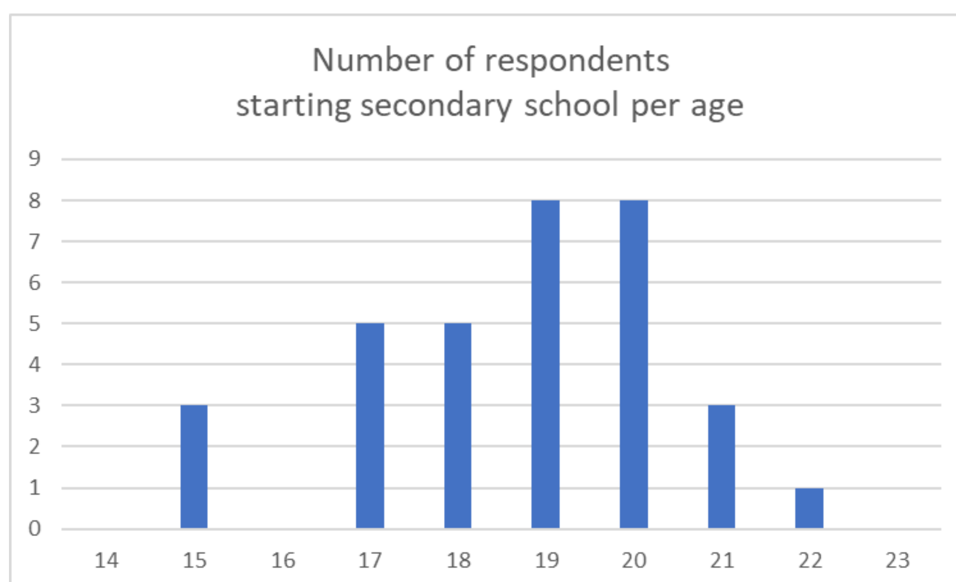

Figure 11: Number of deaf respondents starting secondary school per age

4.3.2. 'Inclusive' secondary school vs. deaf secondary school in Arusha

At *Themi Secondary School*, an 'inclusive' school in Arusha Town, hearing and deaf students are taught together. At the time I visited, the school reported having eleven deaf students who use TSL from Form 1 to Form 3, and one hard-of-hearing student in Form 4 who lipreads. During classes with deaf learners, teachers either sign and speak simultaneously or (mostly) have one teacher talking and another teacher serving as interpreter for the handful of deaf students in the class. Teachers who interpret underlined that is often hard to follow the speed of the subject teacher, especially if the subject is foreign to them. One teacher explained that therefore especially pure lecture-style lessons are hard to understand for the deaf.

> "You have to concentrate more on the students with HI, you make preparations, put a lot of pictures, materials [...] You do not just give a lecture, lecture is not good for them [...] But if the teachers come there without good preparations it will be difficult for those students. [..] If the teacher is just talking, sometimes when I am interpreting, I use a piece of paper to draw something to explain. But that consumes time."

[288] Cf. MoEST 2018, 23f

While one teacher claimed that all classes were interpreted, another admitted that sometimes students have to fill in for interpreters. Students told me that in some cases interpreters had left to do other things abruptly. The interpreting teachers again pointed out that they have to interpret for several hours straight, something that that should not be asked of interpreters.[289]

When I asked the teachers whether the deaf and hearing students would mingle and play together, they answered in the affirmative. Talking to the students themselves however revealed a different picture. One respondent, very shy and polite during the interview, talked positively: “I teach the [hearing] students here the [signed] ABC, that is nice.” Other students had more negative experiences to share:

> “I don't like being mixed with the hearing ones, they are disturbing a lot, I hear loud noises when they make them. They are disturbing and telling stories and being loud and I cannot follow the lessons. Also, the hearing ones want to fight with me, beat me, but I don't want to fight. I swallow it down, endure it, I don't tell the teachers.”* (deaf student with some residual hearing)

> “If I ask hearing students to help me, they just refuse. Hearing ones suppress us here. We leave class together, but the hearing ones send us away, so we stay in a deaf group instead of playing with the hearing.”* (deaf student)

With the school having started to admit deaf students just three years prior to the interviews, there is definitely room for improvement regarding the relationship between deaf and hearing learners at this ‘inclusive’ secondary school. Sign language classes for the regular learners, as done at *Holy Ghost for the Deaf* and at universities, can be a starting point for that.

Arusha Region is home to only the second secondary school for the deaf in the country as a whole, *Holy Ghost Secondary for Deaf Boys* in Tengeru. It started operations two years prior to my research and thus had only students in Form 1 and Form 2, each with roughly 7 students. As it is sharing premises and is closely connected to a hearing boys' secondary school by the same religious organisation, it unfortunately only admits male students. Deaf girls therefore would have to leave the region to go to e.g. *Njombe Viziwi*, or settle for an ‘inclusive’ (which mostly means: regular) school, where few or no teachers know sign language. *Holy Ghost Secondary* is staffed fully by young graduates from *Sebastian Kolowa Memorial University*, one of the few universities offering special education degrees specialising in different disabilities, in the case of hearing impairment including three semesters of training in TSL. Thus, students there are in quite a privileged situation in terms of academic quality, when compared to their counterparts at other schools.

However, while the head teacher told me that many parents voice their envy or admiration of the ease that teachers and deaf learners communicate with each other on campus, there are also rare cases in which parents decide against sign language even after initially having invested money (i.e. boarding and tuition fee) to send their children to this private secondary school:

[289] In Austria, pairs of interpreters are supposed to switch every 15 minutes.

> "One of the parents, bad luck the student is no longer here, she told me: 'Madame, I want my boy to speak, because if I am not around, will he be able to communicate with other people, will he be able to communicate, maybe if he needs any service outside, without my presence.' So, they have their reasons sometimes." (Head Teacher, Holy Ghost Secondary School for the Deaf)

This quote shows how parents aim for their children to 'be normal' and for them to adjust to society (by speaking) to 'fit in', not being able to imagine a world in which the society makes an effort to accommodate their deaf children (e.g. by writing, texting, gesturing or signing).

When asked about positive things at their school, the boys at *Holy Ghost* would mention some of the subjects they like, as well as sports, much like learners at a regular school would probably do. However, some also directly or indirectly mention the easy communication in sign language and qualified teachers: "I like to learn TSL together with the hearing boys and play together with them"*, "When I ask for a word, here I get a sign or an explanation."*, "I only started to understand English here."*

Teaching in English in fact is mentioned as a major challenge also by teachers at this school. Reasons mentioned are that students are used to being taught in and to lipread Swahili only, as well as a low standard of English at primary schools in general and at deaf units particularly. So in reality, teachers would have to teach trilingually: writing an English word, writing its Swahili equivalent and signing.

> "Why are teachers using that means? They are using it because the deaf they cannot lipread any English word, they cannot. Even if you would say: 'How are you?', it is just like: 'Heh, what is that?'. So, you must say 'Vipi? Mzima? Hujambo?', that's all. If I write maybe 'want' in English, so in Swahili 'taka', 'hitaji', so I must write it in English, but I must pronounce it in Swahili, so that they can lipread also." (Head Teacher, *Holy Ghost Secondary School for the Deaf*)

Holy Ghost Secondary is also the only school to have mentioned offering Tanzanian Sign Language as a subject. The reason behind it is the varieties of sign language used by their students when arriving in Tengeru:

> "[One] of the biggest challenges is sign language, because they come from different regions, different schools, and our sign language is like dialects, so when they come here, for one month or three months maybe, it is confusing, even I, I know some of signs [from SEKOMU], which are different from what they know. So because of that, we have sign language as a lesson, for 40 minutes, we teach there the history of sign language, we teach how the structure of Swahili, structure of English language, differ from sign language. I can say it is helping, it is helping because after those three months, we cope with each other".

Teachers at this school were generally talked about positively by the students, such as when a student told me: "I want to become a medical doctor one day, because I like biology, because my biology teacher is so good." The school in general encourages their students to thrive for academic success of reaching O-Level, A-Level or even beyond. This is not the case for all of those educating the deaf, as I will show in chapter 5.2.

4.3.3. Academic success of deaf respondents in secondary school

So how did the deaf I interviewed in Arusha Region fare under the extremely difficult linguistic circumstances at secondary school? We shall keep in mind that 17 of the 60 deaf respondents (i.e. 28%) already failed during primary school or during the final Standard 7 exam. However, as explained above, secondary school makes it even harder for students to learn. Of those 42 respondents who started secondary school, 18 were currently still attending a secondary school (in Form 1 or 2). This leaves a total of 26 for whom we can talk about success or failure in secondary school.

3 respondents stopped after Form 2, either failing or not sitting the national exam. 2 respondents dropped out in Form 2 and 3 respectively because they became pregnant. Of those who made it to the final O-Level exam (i.e. Form 4 exam), 10 failed and 9 passed. Of those 9 who passed only 2 continued to Form 6 and passed the A-Level exams there, while it must be noted that those two are the two respondents who were late-deafened only during their time at secondary school.

So, summing up the school careers of the respondents from entering school to O-Level, about 8% dropped out during primary school, another 20% failed the final primary school exam. 28% are currently still in secondary school. 8% dropped out on the way at secondary school. Another 17% failed the O-Level examinations. 15% passed the O-Level exam.

This is in line with general numbers provided by the government in 2016. *The Basic Education Statistics Tanzania* stated that in Arusha Region only 13 “deaf-mute” [sic] students and 10 “deaf blind” students attended secondary school. Numbers per year (i.e. Form) were only available nationwide. The distribution of the nationwide 1100 “deaf-mute” students attending secondary school can be seen underneath. It shows that numbers drop rapidly after Form 2 (-34%) and after Form 4 (-92%), i.e. after national exams. The number of “deaf-mute” learners at A-Level (Form 5 & 6) is extremely low.[290]

Form 1	360		
Form 2	310	= -	14%
Form 3	206	= -	34%
Form 4	197	= -	4%
Form 5	15	= -	92%
Form 6	12	= -	20%

Figure 12: Deaf secondary school students per year (based on URT 2016)

We have seen that deaf pupils are suddenly thrown into a world without sign language, when they start secondary school. Many reported that even at schools with several deaf learners, teachers did not know any TSL (or another form of SL). Secondary school thus becomes a major stumbling block, especially the national exams after Form 2 and Form 4. Here my results feed into earlier

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[290] URT 2016, 66

finding such as MALWISI 2011, who found that teachers use an inappropriate language of instruction even at 'inclusive' secondary schools, or MUSHI 2010 who found that teachers often do neglect deaf learners' needs in an inclusive setting. MoEST 2018 also mentioned these two shortcomings. The high failure rates of my deaf sample in secondary school, where TSL was often not used, also support results of LUZIBILA 2013 who identified a clear connection between performance levels in subjects and whether the teachers were signing or not: Without sign language, learners would perform poorly, with sign language nearly identical to their hearing peers.

Expanding on this, my analysis shows that the issue of the language of instruction does not only reflect in performance levels, but also in the emotional experience of being at school: Those of my respondents currently taught at the deaf secondary school using TSL were rather satisfied with their current situation. However, most of my respondents did not have signing teachers at secondary school and considered their time there only something to "endure", especially compared to the time at primary school which they remembered fondly.

4.4. Tertiary education

Research dealing explicitly with deaf people in tertiary education in Tanzania only was not found in the process of the literature review.[291] However, there are publications, which mention relevant information. MWAIPOPO/LIHAMBA/NJEWELE 2011 reports on the experience of 11 students with disabilities from UDSM and SEKUCo (now SEKOMU), but never quotes any deaf or hearing-impaired student. However, some general statements might be worth noting. The authors postulate that "contrary to the country's commitment to human rights and inclusion without discrimination in all development policy, access to higher education for people with disabilities is not yet well grounded in the Tanzanian higher education system."[292] The study identifies two interconnected factors possibly contributing to PWD successfully joining tertiary education: supportive families and good (special) primary and secondary schools. (However, as I have shown before, communication within the family of deaf people is limited and secondary schools are a major bottle neck for deaf learners.) In terms of motivation, the authors stress that PWD often have the urge to prove themselves even harder than other people. They find that "the desire to overcome perceptions of discrimination and the challenges caused by disability has been a major motivation for the students to pursue higher education."[293] MUSHI 2010, even though focussing on secondary schools, mentions that while 144 students with physical disabilities and 63 students with visual disability had enrolled at UDSM between 1978 and 2009, only 8 students with hearing impairments did so during the same period.[294]

Due to this scarcity of (obtainable) secondary sources, this sub-chapter relies – unless explicitly stated otherwise – on my own research, i.e. expert interviews, data provided to me by the institutions, and the statements of my deaf respondents on their personal experiences at colleges and universities.

4.4.1. Study goals of deaf people in the sample

Looking at my own sample of 60 deaf people in Arusha, people with college and university degrees are likely over-represented with 6 certificate holders, 3 diploma holders and 1 bachelor degree

[291] As for other sub-Saharan African countries, there is a very short article about the views of blind and deaf university students in Namibia (HAIHAMBO n.d.).
[292] MWAIPOPO/LIHAMBA/NJEWELE 2011, 417
[293] MWAIPOPO/LIHAMBA/NJEWELE 2011, 427
[294] MUSHI 2010, 4

holder (i.e. 17% of the sample). Amongst those respondents were also those providing expert insights. Interestingly, all those who did A-Levels continued with tertiary education.

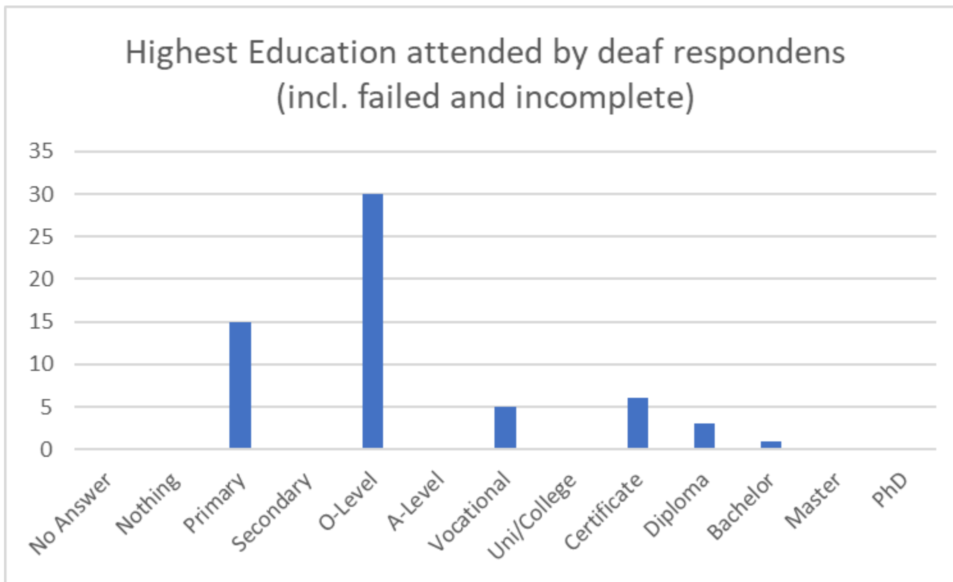

Figure 13: Highest education attended by respondents (incl. failed and incomplete)

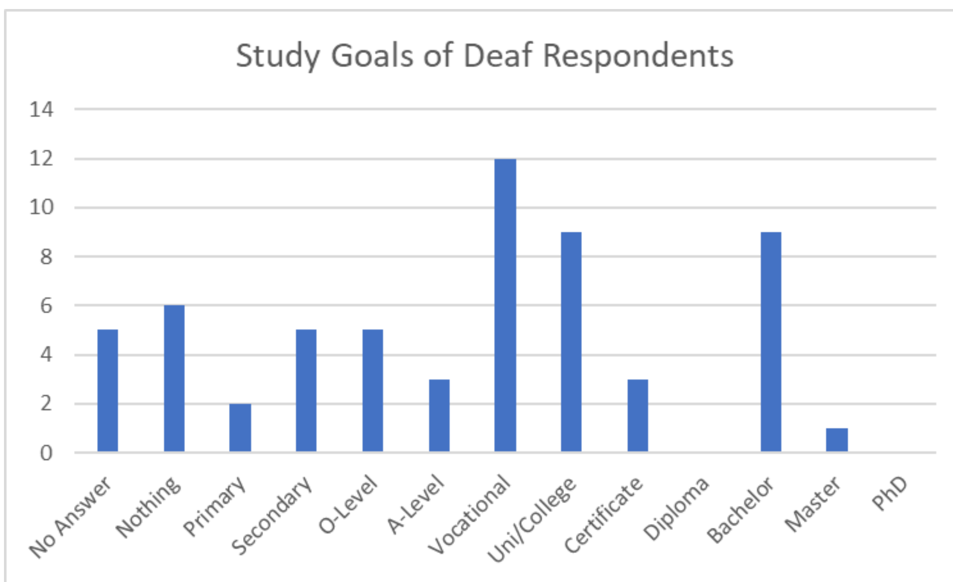

Figure 14: Study goals of deaf respondents

There was definitely a desire of deaf people to achieve higher education. Asked what level of education they would like to achieve, 22 of 60 respondents chose tertiary education (i.e. certificate, diploma, bachelor or masters). That is 37% of the sample. 13 respondents stated they wanted to achieve secondary education (i.e. O-Level or A-Level), while 12 respondents said they would like to do vocational training, either instead of or after secondary school. 2 respondents said they would have liked to finish primary school, while 6 were resigned and did not want to pursue any education any more. Reasons given for not wanting to continue education were negative experiences in hearing environments, the preference to merely work or simply advanced age. As tertiary education was the most common goal, we shall now look at deaf people's chances and experiences there.

4.4.2. Studying at the "Big Three"

The number of disabled students attending tertiary education is extremely small. We have established that even attendance at primary school of people with disabilities is very low.[295] This number decreases through secondary schools and reaches down to homeopathic levels in tertiary education.

Colleges in Arusha Regions were contacted via email and asked about numbers of students with disabilities, as well as services for this group. No data were provided. *Patandi Teachers College* in Tengeru, which would have also been interesting in terms of training of special needs education teachers, was been contacted through different channels, but was especially reluctant to provide information.

However, several deaf and hearing experts interviewed agreed that no services for deaf learners are provided at the colleges in the region. Some experts pointed out the services in Dar es Salaam and Lushoto already known to me.
So, it becomes clear that for deaf students who want to attend tertiary education with proper services, leaving Arusha Region might be advised. Therefore, we will now also look at three major options for this, which I have termed "The Big Three" for the purpose of this thesis: *University of Dar es Salaam* (UDSM), *Dar es Salaam University College of Education* (DUCE) in the business capital of the country, and *Sebastian Kolowa Memorial University* (SEKOMU) in Lushoto in Tanga Region[296]. Information presented hereafter was obtained through visiting the institutions in person and conducting expert interviews. Numbers were delivered by the universities after the interviews. Different kinds of data were available, which leads to the numbers not being fully comparable.

University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM)
The University of Dar es Salaam is the oldest and most prestigious university in the country, with about 20,000 students and 1,000 staff. It offers a wide range of studies ranging from certificate level via degrees (bachelor and master) to PhDs. UDSM does not offer Special Education as a course, but since 2018 a certificate course in TSL Interpretation has been made available. The university admitted the first fully deaf student in 2006.[297]

UDSM has a body called the *Special Education Needs Unit* (SENU).[298] SENU is in charge of providing services to students with disabilities. For deaf students, these services include note taking and TSL interpretation of courses. SENU employs two TSL interpreters. Note taking is usually

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[295] Cf. chapters 1.8 & 4.2
[296] SEKOMU had been temporarily closed by the government at the time of the research. According to my sources, *University of Dodoma* (UDOM) and *Archbishop Mihayo University College of Tabora* offer Sign Language and/or Special Needs Education as courses, but are yet to establish formal service units to support students with disability.
[297] A newspaper article published in 2007 reports on this in a paternalistic tone using the headline "The first UDSM deaf and dumb student". A copy of this article was found by coincidence hanging in the office of a UDSM lecturer of sociology, which is the course the first deaf student studied.
[298] Created originally in 1978/1979 to serve visually impaired students. Cf. MWAIPOPO/LIHAMBA/NJEWELE 2011, 422

provided by students on the same course and paid per day. Students can also get prepared notes or hand-outs from lecturers, but only if their disability status has been certified by SENU. SENU also is provided with all the exam dates of its students to make sure than an interpreter will be present, even at written exams, so that when instructions are given prior to the exam, the deaf student will have the same chance to understand them as any other learner.
At the time of the study, i.e. August 2019, there were 78 students serviced by SENU, including 14 deaf and hard-of-hearing (DHH) students doing a bachelor degree and 2 DHH students doing a master's degree. No students were serviced for certificate level, and for PhD there were only 5 students with visually impairments being served. The percentage of PWD amongst UDSM students is therefore roughly 0.39%, the percentage of DHH students 0.07%.
In general, there were more students with "visual impairment" or "low vision" (50) served at SENU than those with "hearing impairments" (16) or "physical impairments" (12).

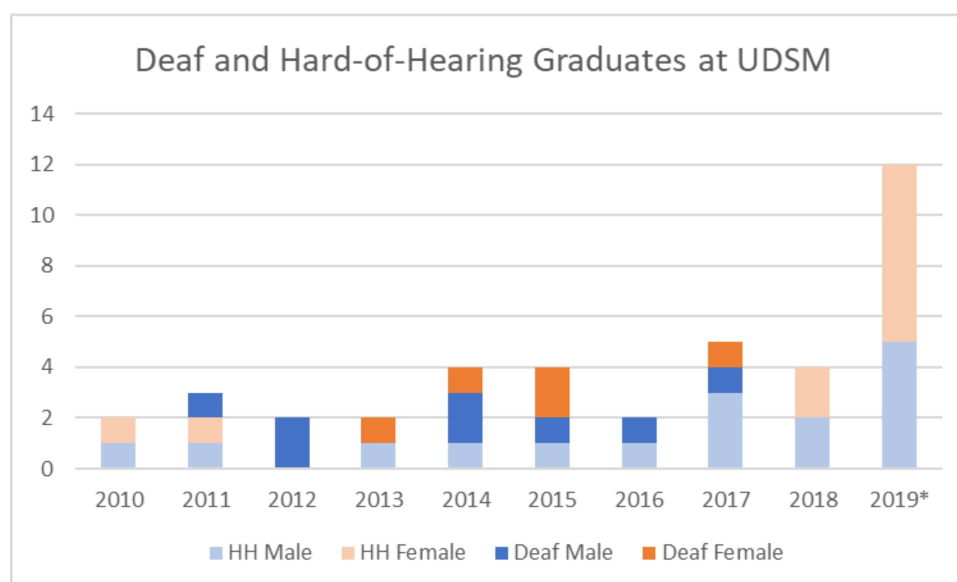

Figure 15: DHH graduates at UDSM (Bachelor degrees only)
*2019 includes all currently active students, graduations did not yet happen.

Since 2009, 40 DHH students have completed a bachelor degree (see graph). DHH students doing a master's degree are rare, with one student finishing in 2012 and 2 students active in 2019. As for the success rate, SENU states that while some students had to re-take or repeat certain exams, all of them passed eventually. The most popular courses for DHH students at UDSM are Education, Languages, Sociology, Engineering, Marketing and Development Studies. Deaf students would usually start their studies at UDSM aged 3 or 4 years older than their hearing peers.

Dar es Salaam University College of Education (DUCE)

DUCE, founded in 2005, offers degrees in Education (Arts & Sciences) only, but so far no degrees in Special Education. At DUCE, the body in charge of supporting students with disabilities is called the *Special Education Unit* (SEU). SEU offers deaf students note taking and TSL interpretation of courses. Several TSL interpreters are employed on a part-time basis. DUCE offers a sign language club twice a week.

From 2009 to 2018, 11 deaf and hard-of-hearing (DHH) students graduated with a bachelor degree at DUCE, 5 male and 6 female. DUCE informed me that all DHH students who were enrolled for the bachelor degree also passed the exams, but that they had yet to receive students for the master's degrees. In mid-2019, four male and one female DHH students were enrolled for a bachelor degree at DUCE. This leaves us with a combined number of 16 students.

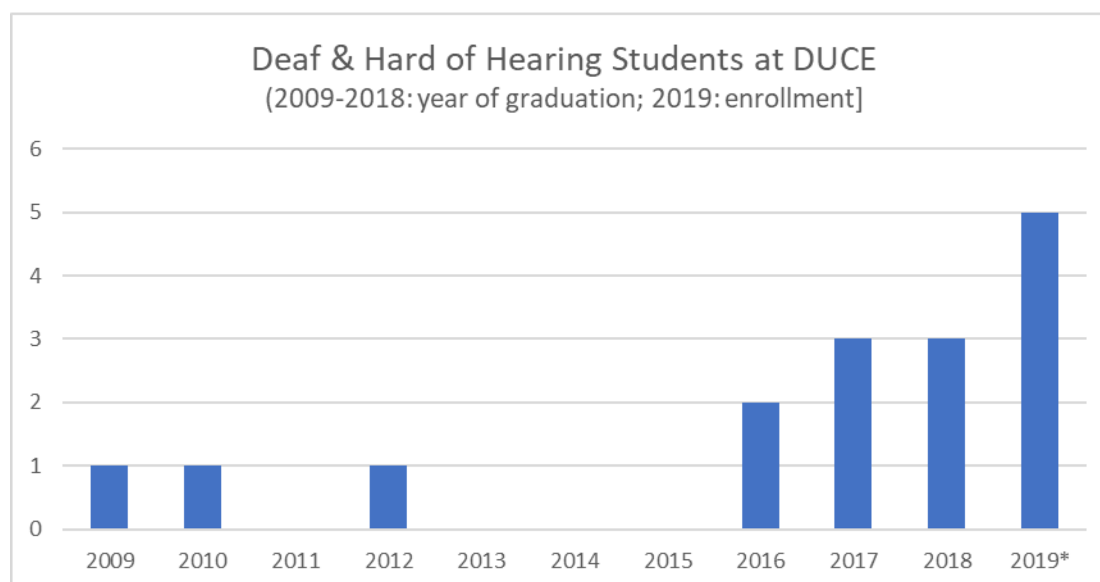

Figure 16: DHH students at DUCE

The same calculation for visually impaired students leads to a sum of 72 students, for physically impaired of 13, for students with albinism[299] with 7. As for students with a mental disability, there has just been one so far at DUCE. DHH students thus are the second-largest group at DUCE.

Sebastian Kolowa Memorial University (SEKOMU)

SEKOMU, closed at the time I visited, provided numbers from 'the last year of full operation'. At that point, there were 13 PWD enrolled for a bachelor degree (including 3 deaf) and 4 PWD for a master's degree (including 2 deaf). Since SEKOMU and its predecessor SEKUCo have been in operation (October 2007), they have had 26 deaf students doing the Bachelor of Education in Special Needs and 3 deaf students doing the Master of Education in Special Education. This is equivalent to 0.9% and 3.5% of all the students for those specific degrees.[300] In terms of subjects to teach, most deaf students chose History, Kiswahili, Political Science and Mathematics. SEKOMU reports a 100% success rate for their DHH students.

Educating future Special Needs Education teachers, SEKOMU aims to lead by example and be inclusive. When operational, the university worked with around 6 interpreters to enable deaf students to participate in all courses. A little under half of all interpreting hours however was delivered

[299] Unlike in Austria, albinism is considered a specific type of disability of its own in Tanzania.

[300] For the university/college as a whole, MWAIPOPO/LIHAMBA/NJEWELE 2011, 419 reported a PWD representation of 0.8% of the total student enrolment in the academic year 2010/2011.

by volunteers from the student body. These third-year-students who provided TSL interpretation were paid indirectly by lowering their tuition fees.

SEKOMU offered a sign language club for all students every Saturday. SEKOMU was proud to state that graduates of SEKOMU went to work at University of Dodoma, UDSM, as well as primary and secondary schools, and started units for special education. Students at SEKOMU who take the Hearing Impairment stream, all have at least basic TSL skills.[301] They learn TSL for three semesters during their six-semester long bachelor degree. This means that deaf students here have the rare chance to communicate with many of their fellow students.

Summary of the data of the "Big Three"

The data presented from those three universities, which are probably (amongst) the most inclusive in the country, show four main interesting facts:

Firstly, even at these three institutions championing services for students with special needs, the number of PWD and especially of deaf students is very low, way below the average of deaf people in society.

Second, the largest number of students served are visually impaired students. The numbers for deaf (as well as physically impaired) students are lower. Only students with albinism and mental disabilities showed smaller numbers.[302]

Third, the gender difference shows a slightly higher proportion of male DHH students (where gender data were available). However, as the numbers in total are very small, this could change once overall enrolment of DHH learners rises.

Fourth, all three institutions claim that 100% of the DHH students who make it to them also passed and finished their degrees eventually – even if possibly with delays. So those lucky few of the deaf who make it to one of the "Big Three" suddenly receive enough professional support to graduate. However, getting to that point of enrolment is not easy. In the next section, we shall see why this is the case and what issues still persist even at those rather elite places.

Challenges getting to and at the "Big Three"

Even at the Big Three, students face prejudice and issues due to their disability, even though they might seem mild compared to other places. Two experts stated that sometimes lecturers are wary of interpreters, insinuating that instead of purely interpreting they would help the students by feeding them correct answers during oral exams. The expert from UDSM added:

> "This is an issue of awareness on the side of the lecturers and of professional ethics by the interpreters. Also, some people are not aware that sign language interpretation is also needed for written exams, since often instructions or comments are given in spoken language before or during the exam. To be able to cover all exams, a list of students with those needs and their exams is prepared before each exam period."

[301] Cf. also KILLANGANE 2016

[302] This goes in line with a historical trend mentioned in the expert interview with Professor Edward Bagandanshwa from SEKOMU. He - himself blind - stated that due to the fact that in Tanzania education for the blind started earlier (1950s) and more intensively than education for the deaf (1960s), there would still be a lag for the latter.

Furthermore, the quality of interpretation can vary depending on whether professional interpreters or volunteers are used. This might have larger effects here than at school, as the topics at university are complex and vocabulary for the specific field might not be well-established. It is unclear, whether "interpreting" is always the right term. A deaf student graduating from SEKOMU, and also an active member of the national deaf association, wrote in the acknowledgements to this master's thesis, after thanking several other people:

> "Thank you to all my fellow master's students who shared with me fruitful discussions in the process of creating and shaping this work and transliterating in signs so that I could understand what was lectured and in contact with lecturers personally."[303]

The fact that he uses "transliterating" instead of "interpreting" implies that in many cases, people had probably been given word-by-word, sign-by-sign direct translations of the spoken language, i.e. *Signed English* or *Signed Swahili* rather than proper Tanzanian Sign Language. People were thus rather following the grammar of the spoken language. This is understandable, especially if the people involved were not well-trained and experienced interpreters. Nevertheless, he was apparently grateful, as this allowed him to understand and pass.

One of my deaf respondents differentiates between the professional and the student interpreters at SEKOMU: "Those interpreters who are degree students they were just good, but the employed interpreters, they were very good." Another of my respondent stated that the TSL interpretation was of limited use to her/him, since her/his own TSL skills were limited, as s/he only went deaf late during secondary school. Still, classes with interpreter were much more accessible to her/him that the others due to differences in the language uses for mouthing TSL: "Most of the times I used to lip-read from the interpreter, because it was Swahili and not English."

We have established before that deaf learners start with a disadvantage through a lack of language(s) prior to school. Then, if they attend a unit or school for the deaf, they experience a comparably positive time with advances in knowledge. After that, secondary school, mostly without sign language, without interpreters and without special education teachers, is a major stumbling stone. Secondary school, the expert at UDSM pointed out, is also what prevents deaf learners from coming to the universities with better services, as such universities are very popular and there is higher competition for spots:

> "Entering the university is a very complex process and based on the A level final performance, but also considering the O level performance. How those points are calculated differs from university to university and even course to course. To get into UDSM is hard, so deaf students might end up at other universities without any unit or special rules for students with disabilities. Students see that as unfair because of the bad service, the bad education they receive in O level. They might desire to go to UDSM, but they don't get a chance because the competition is high. The problem really starts in secondary education, because there is no support similar to what we offer here at UDSM." (Interview in field notes, August 2019)

[303] MLAWA 2016, vii

There were no certificate level students with disability at UDSM registered with SENU. The expert assumes it might be that they do not know that they have the chance to come to UDSM and benefit from the services of the SENU already after finishing Form 4 (O-Level). Since many deaf students do not continue to Form 6 (A-Level), this would be relevant information to be shared in the community.

In line with the statements of this expert, only 2 of the 9 respondents in my sample who attended a college or university went to one of the Big Three. The personal experience of the rest therefore reflects on how to study at tertiary institutions without any formal support.

4.4.3. Studying at a regular college or university

As the number of respondents here is very low, it is difficult to come up with numbers or create broad generalisations. Therefore, deaf students shall be allowed space to explain their different experiences at regular colleges or universities at length. One respondent who went deaf during primary school, elaborated on how problems from secondary school dragged along all the way to higher education:

> "Only three deaf made it to Form 4. One person was chosen to go to college. For me they said: You can maybe try the teachers' college. But I was refused because of having 1 point less than needed. I even went to the ministry and said: Look, I am deaf, and I really just failed because of this one point, and I really would like to become a teacher, please let me study at the teachers college, but they said: No, the limit is the limit, we cannot make an exception."

After that, s/he went to do some voluntary teaching at a deaf school, receiving an allowance from a *mzungu*. S/he later taught at another rural school for 5 years, in fact heading a newly created deaf unit, still not officially a teacher, and thus also being paid less. Another respondent had a similar experience: While teaching for a long time, and – according to her/his statements – being more popular with the deaf learners than the hearing teachers, s/he could not get a raise without getting a teaching certificate. But let us get back to our first respondent:

> "Then I came back and thought maybe I could be a head teacher somewhere, but they told me I have to do the ECDPE [Early Childhood Development & Primary Education], it is a certificate course for a year, and I did it. At [the college] where I did Early Childhood Development and Primary Education, I was the only deaf person also, and there were no interpreters and nobody knew Sign Language, and I just learned on my own and just got As and Bs. [shows her/his certificates on his phone to prove it]. After that, I wanted to continue with a diploma, but the ministry changed the regulations, so I could not get a diploma after this."

Laws and regulations can be confusing for regular students, so finding alternative routes through the education system relies on either good contacts and help, or, in this case, good knowledge in written languages and determination.

> "I went online, I looked at the National Council for Technical Education, and I saw that if you passed the science subjects, you could join them. I applied at the [name of university], but I had to get the money, and because I could not get the money in time, they gave my spot to someone else, so I had to wait one year. Then again, I asked that mzungu lady, and eventually she agreed to give me the money as a loan, I applied again, and then I could start studying."

Having finally made it to a college, s/he was soon faced by the realities of being the only deaf person there:

> "I started […] a two-year course. […] I was welcomed at the college, and the next day I went to the class, and the teacher was just talking and I did not understand anything. So, I went to the head teacher and told him: Well, I need an interpreter, how else am I supposed to understand? He said: Well, let me ask the ministry of health, come back in two days. I did, and he said: Well, they said no, there is not really an interpreter, maybe I should go study at the teachers college. So, I had to explain again, that I cannot study there and I need to study here because of my qualifications. He said: Well, maybe you can talk to the mzungu? And the head teacher talked to her on the phone, but she eventually said: This is really not my responsibility, I gave you the loan to study here, but I cannot also pay the interpreter, this is really the duty of the college. But they did not provide any. So, I went to the education officer of the whole region and they told me to go to the National Council for Technical Education to get an interpreter, but I also did not get one there.
> So, I just had to go back to class. And I met a friend there, another student, and I decided to teach him some signing, and he agreed and learned some signs, and eventually somehow became my interpreter for the whole course up until the time we finished."*

Even though the deaf student has tried several avenues to receive proper services, i.e. an interpreter, to be able to study properly, the solution s/he eventually had to rely on was the same that many deaf have to use already during secondary school: relying on hearing friends as lay interpreters. Other respondents reported similar experiences, like those who studied at *Patandi Teachers College* in Arusha, which – even though offering Special Education as a course – did not provide formal support to its deaf students at that time:

> "I was the only deaf studying there, it was hard, but I managed. Sometimes students would be interpreting for me."*

> "Patandi Teachers College was worse than the other college. There were zero interpreters, so I was just reading from the blackboard and my friends were helping me. Often, I did not understand the lessons, because they were done without any interpreters, and that was hard, but giving up hope, no, I worked even harder. I learned a lot on my own."*

As I could not conduct interviews with representatives of *Patandi*, it is unclear whether the situation there has improved. The quotes presented show that learners were left with a situation similar to that at regular/'inclusive' secondary schools – and that they also used similar coping strategies.[304] Without friends as lay interpreters, deaf students had to resort to looking for every little bit of visual information and learning-by-doing:

> "I just tried to get information wherever I could, by looking at things, trying things out, reading. I was the only deaf at that college"*

Another respondent, who went deaf during secondary school and had limited TSL skills, confirmed the general tendency when talking about studying at (a different) college:

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[304] Cf. chapter 4.3.1.

> "Learning at Secondary School and College were essentially the same. I had to understand my lectures only through writing. Those lecturers who did not write their lesson either on the chalk board or through power point via projector, I did not understand their subjects and I used my extra time to learn from my friends. My friends taught me through writing. In general, with other students I mostly communicated through writing."*

One student who did a certificate and diploma course at another institution reported a somewhat more positive experience in the first part of tertiary education:

> "The classes were in English and just oral, but unlike at secondary, there were few students only, so I could go to the teachers after class for help. They explained in a mix of Kiswahili and English to me."*

An attempt to continue with a bachelor degree however failed:

> "I did start with a degree, but in second year I saw that I really could not follow. My parents said: We pay so much money and there is not really a teacher who can teach you, understand you, that is a waste of money. Now I do not want to continue with education, because at this college there are so many students and the teachers do not have to time to help. Communication is really difficult there."*

Only one respondent managed to successfully apply for funding from a US-based donor organisation that supports deaf people in their education and eventually paid for an interpreter for her/his studies. S/he stated that this way the studies went very smoothly.

Some deaf respondents said they would like to have a college just for deaf people, or that they would aspire to study at *Gallaudet University* or *Rochester Institute of Technology*, two universities for the deaf in the US. Two respondents mentioned knowing a deaf Tanzanian there. Interestingly, some hearing Tanzanians during the street polling brought up similar ideas when asked whether they could imagine deaf people to be lecturers at university or college: "Yes, if it is a college for the deaf, just like the school for the deaf there, for themselves, yes." Thus, it seems more realistic to them to create 'a place just for them' than making existing institutions inclusive for both students and teachers.
These results might also be looked at in the context of academic discussions about othering and exclusion, as well as through deaf studies perspectives on self-othering and purposeful maintenance of boundaries between deaf and mainstream society identified in the West.[305]

All in all, my analysis shows that making it to tertiary education is hard for deaf people in Tanzania mostly due to problems in secondary school. This supports the argument by MWAIPOPO/LIHAMBA/NJEWELE 2011 that good (special) primary and secondary schools possibly contribute to people with disabilities successfully joining tertiary education in Tanzania. I found that problems in regular tertiary institutions for deaf students are very similar to those in secondary education: Tuition is conducted in English, which makes lip-reading harder. Sign Language is not

[305] Cf. LEE 2012, 216; Cf. LADD/LANE 2013, 566; LANE/PILLARD/HEDBERG 2011

used at all. Interpreters are neither provided by the colleges, nor by the local educational authorities.

This experience is different at the universities I termed the “Big Three”, all of which are outside of Arusha Region, i.e. the *University of Dar es Salaam* (UDSM), the *Dar es Salaam University College of Education* (DUCE) and the *Sebastian Kolowa Memorial University* (SEKOMU). These universities are hard to get into, as they are popular and many students compete for spots, thus very good secondary school grades are necessary to be accepted. If learners make it to these institutions, they receive services such as note-taking, prepared hand-outs by lecturers & TSL interpretation during lessons and exams. All three institutions claimed that all (!) their hearing-impaired students graduated, even if some needed to re-take some exams.

However, even at the Big Three, the number of hearing-impaired students was low. As for practical implications of my findings, accessing the mentioned three academic institutions for certificate-level courses could be encouraged for disabled and deaf people with O-Level certificates. It would allow them to receive specific services and pursue tertiary education without an A-Level certificate.

4.5. After school & work life

One of the first statements you will find on the website of the *Tanzania National Association of the Deaf (CHAVITA)*, is: “Deaf people are more likely to have incomes below the poverty line and have no assets to cushion themselves against shocks, they are more vulnerable socially and economically.” (www.chavita.or.tz , 13.05.2020) LEE 2012 finds that there are stark contrasts between signing (usually educated) deaf and non-signing deaf in several areas, including access to work. Signing deaf were more likely to have what she classified as “medium” or sometimes even “high” income than their non-signing counterparts.[306] Amongst the non-signing (!) deaf in her sample, she found 79% to be unemployed.[307] As mentioned before, according to official government numbers, people with disabilities make up 7.8% of the population, but only 0.2% of the workforce in the formal sector.[308] Thus, in general, finding work is a major challenge for many deaf people in Tanzania.

4.5.1. Work of deaf people in the sample (past, present and desired)

The above quoted numbers shall serve as a reminder that my sample of educated deaf in Arusha Region is a relative elite amongst deaf Tanzanians. 18 of my respondents were still in (secondary) school at the time of the interview. 7 were unemployed. 35 of my respondents described themselves as either employed or doing independent work. In other words, amongst those who were not in school anymore, a share of only 1 out of 6 described themselves as unemployed. However, as enrolment numbers of deaf learners have increased over the past years, those educated deaf can be a seen as vanguard for future generations. The challenges they encounter, if unaddressed, will also be faced by those leaving schools soon. When successful, they will serve as role models for younger deaf and shape public perceptions of what deaf people can achieve.

Thus, I asked all respondents not only about their current occupations, but also what jobs they had done in the past and what jobs they aspire to do.

[306] Cf. LEE 2012, 118
[307] Cf. LEE 2012, 128f
[308] Cf. chapter 1.8

As for past jobs, it is interesting to see most often two kinds of jobs: *fundi*[309] (especially tailor) and teacher. Amongst those who have learned or worked in tailoring some had the problem of no or a broken machine or of lack of employment opportunities. Some of them switched to other crafts.

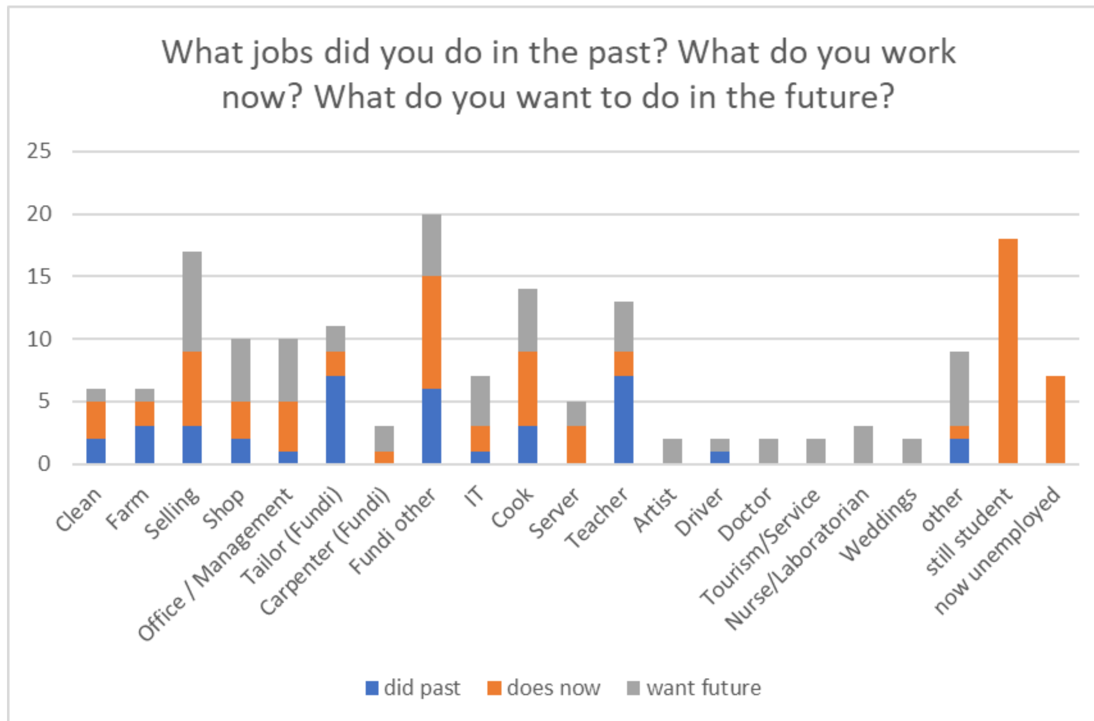

Figure 17: Deaf respondents past, current and aspired to future jobs
Number of mentions (in clusters based on answers on open questions)

In some cases, working as a teacher seemed to serve as a good basis to approach other jobs which require higher education. Those who stated to be teachers include also those without certificate. As mentioned above, they would not be paid a full teacher's salary, but still be teaching deaf learners, either formal classes or additional skills such as playing *ngoma* drums. One respondent taught for years, at two different schools and different points in her/his working life, but was increasingly frustrated:

> "I returned to the deaf school, I was teaching math and writing, but the problem was I still got this low salary. I wish the headteacher would have been lobbying stronger for me to be able to study at college/university or somehow get me a teacher's salary, but he was hearing, so he really did not have his heart that much in it. Also, it was difficult teaching there. [… The hearing teachers] did not make sure that the deaf really understood, like I did it, even though I did not get a teacher's salary. [...] Eventually I told the school, either you have money for me or you don't, and so I decided to leave, and for a year I stayed home thinking what to do and then I went [to pursue my current independent occupations]. [...] Now I live an independent life, I decide when I go there, when I cook, when I sleep. I live at my parents' home, but my life is independent."

This quote shows three main points raised when respondents talked about leaving a job: low salary, unfair treatment compared to hearing colleagues, and overly hard work. A second former deaf teacher raised similar concerns and faced similar problems. It reminds us that while the hearing-

[309] craftsperson, expert for manual work

impaired make up 24% of the population with disabilities, only 6% of teachers with disabilities are those with hearing impairments.[310] The three identified issues for quitting a job can also be seen in other statements from other work places:

> "I worked at a gas shop, but the boss suppressed the deaf, it was a small salary, the hearing ones were paid more, so I left and went home [before finding a similar job again]."*
> "I worked at [the crafts workshop] for 1.5 years, but then I quit because it was hard, because I got a child and could not continue work, also there were fights with my husband, so I left and stayed at home, then the mama of this place remembered me from when I was small, called me to come here and I accepted."*
> "I worked as tailor at [company], but it was so hard, I had to work until darkness so often. Now I stay at home as housewife."*

Shifting to independent work seemed to be a popular way out for respondents who were unhappy with their old job. However, there were also those in favour of employment rather than business.

> "I was selling khangas [i.e. type of colourful fabrics/clothes], but it took so long to sell a single one and even then it was only a small addition to my income from [the crafts workshop], so I stopped it."

Looking at the current occupations, one can see that many of the deaf in my sample work in crafts (*ufundi*), as a cook or selling things (*biashara*). The formally highest qualified deaf people I met in Arusha were primary and secondary school teachers, IT specialists, a medical laboratorian and someone in the administration of an NGO.

Asked whether they enjoy their current job, 29 chose "yes", 1 person chose "no" and the rest did not give an answer. However, respondents expressed different levels of enthusiasm about their job, which they voiced in their comments. One person e.g. said: "I like it, because I like work, I don't love it, but I like it." So, in future research, a question with more nuances than a Yes-No-question might be advised. Still, one factor contributing to what was considered a good place of work became clear during my research: a critical number of deaf colleagues and/or sign language knowledge of hearing colleagues or superiors. Several of my respondents worked either at a crafts workshop producing souvenirs for tourists, which hires many deaf and people with other disabilities, or at a newly opened *hoteli* run by deaf women. Amongst them were several who explicitly stated that they enjoy working with other deaf people or in an environment where they could ask for an interpreter.[311] These work places probably qualify as what LEE 2012, building on Deaf Studies scholarship, calls "*deaf spaces*".[312] But getting into such a work place is not necessarily easy. Several respondents reported having found employment there through deaf friends who already worked there. However, others reported unsuccessfully applying, never having heard back on their application letters. Aside from the two places mentioned above, an upper-class hotel and a company producing clothing were apparently also amongst the places employing several deaf people.

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[310] Cf. NBS 2009, 46; CCBRT n.d.
[311] Interpreter is often used as a term for any hearing person that can somehow help to facilitate communication between a deaf person and a hearing non-signer. Some of my respondents also referred to myself as an interpreter, although I do not have any formal qualification of that kind.
[312] Cf. chapters 2.5 & 5.6 as well as LEE 2012, 171ff

Convincing an owner or decision maker at a random company or organisation to employ a deaf person usually seems to be difficult, stories showed.

Regarding the future, deaf people aspire to all kinds of jobs from doing *biashara* or opening a shop/*hoteli* to being a carpenter, tailor or other *fundi.* Respondents also told me that they want to work as a soldier, artist or wedding planner or become a nurse. Two secondary school pupils told me they want to become a medical doctor. One of them pointed out that the reason for this is his very good biology teacher. Two others stated that they want to teach other deaf in the future, to help them be better educated. One current teacher would like to become a university lecturer. A young man in an informal conversation told me he wants to guide tourists to Mount Kilimanjaro, not knowing that I had already met a deaf tour guide at the very same spot I met him. One young man told me he wants to become a *pikipiki* driver[313], a job that – as I will later show – many people in Arusha region would probably consider unsuitable for him. Deaf people around him first chuckled a bit, when he said that, but quickly shifted to encouraging him. While some respondents gave calm and low-expectation answers about their desired careers, such as wanting to find a cleaning job again, others were reaching for the stars, such as one who told me enthusiastically:

> "I have many plans, but I did not yet study for it, e.g. hair dressing or chef at a restaurant, being a journalist or writing for newspapers, I would really like that, I would like to be an entrepreneur also, a big entrepreneur, but now I focus on [this job]."

Aside from naming the kind of job, some respondents explicitly stated that they would like to work with other deaf. Those who were clearly happy with their current job and did not see any reason to change it, were setting themselves other goals. One deaf man told me that he started building a small house for his family and that he continues whenever he gets enough money. He told me he even dreams about having a car in the future. He counts on the regular income from his employment. Three respondents were planning on using their knowledge to create work for other deaf people (see also last section of this chapter).

4.5.2. Challenges to get work

I asked my deaf respondents "Is it hard for you to find a job?". If they were currently employed, I changed the question to whether it had been hard in the past or would be hard to look for another job. Not all respondents gave an (appropriate) answer. The largest number (28) however agreed that it is hard for them to find a job. Reasons given were mainly *being deaf & communication* (7) and *(lack of) education* (6). Others simply described their frustration of being repeatedly turned away, not mentioning what factor they made responsible for that. Here are some exemplary quotes:

> "Honestly, it is very hard for a deaf person to find work, because if you go and ask for work, and the employer sees that you are deaf, s/he will have worries that this person does not understand

[313] Driver of a motorcycle taxi

> speech, does not hear, so how shall s/he communicate? So, people would be rejected very often, and sometimes they get work, but just very simple work, and it still comes with problems in communication."*

> "Right now, getting work is difficult, it is not easy. If you are highly educated, then you can get a job, because some companies are looking for disabled employees, but otherwise it is really difficult. In general, even for the non-disabled, it is difficult."*

> "If I would have to look for another job, it would be hard, because of the mind set that people have that disabled people cannot do things, because of the lacking awareness of society."*

> "Yes, [it is hard], because I ended at Standard 7 and I have no certificate to find a job."*

A handful of respondents provided a specific angle to the issue of education and certificates:

> "It used to be easy to find jobs in the past, but now it is hard. The former president used to promote employment, the current does not. There are even people with college degrees who don't get a job."*
> "The past president has been positive, he focussed on employment for people with disabilities, but Magufuli is just looking at the certificates and this is why a lot of the deaf do not have jobs"*

Background to this issue is the fact that President Magufuli has made the fight against corruption one of his major campaign claims. When he was elected, he in fact ousted many officials, including government employees who got their position with fake certificates or without any certificates. The new found appreciation for formal proof of qualification had some unintended victims: deaf people who had been working in their job for a long time, who acquired the knowledge in a "learning by doing" fashion, but did not have a certificate appropriate to the specific job – and often not even a school leaving certificate, with primary or secondary level being compulsory for a certain employment. In general, not many deaf felt that they would be supported well by the government. One deaf put it this way:

> "The problem is that the government does not recognise deaf people as what they are, people. They see us as animals, and they need to understand we are the same in front of god. They need to finally give priority to the problems of the deaf."*

Circling back to the original question, whether they would have a hard time to find a job, 8 deaf respondents gave undecided answers, saying it might depend on the job or their continued progress in school. 6 respondents stated they would not look for a job (when unemployed), but rather do *biashara* (small trade) or other independent work instead.

> "I guess I could do biashara. A job with salary might be hard because of talking."*

Only 5 respondents clearly disagreed that it is or will be hard to find a job for them. 4 out of these 5 were young deaf currently still in secondary school, voicing the opinion that a good education will allow them to find a job.[314] The opinion of these young deaf students could be seen as either still untouched by real-life disappointments, or as the beginning of a (new?) self-confidence amongst better educated deaf in the region:

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[314] The fifth person was older, pointing out again the chance to shift to do independent work.

"I will find a job easily, if I continue to study it will be easy."*
"I am a quick study for manual work, while other deaf might not have understood yet, I will have because I have more brain, I overtake them."*

Following up on their own experience or their expectations for themselves, I also asked respondents: "What makes it hard for deaf people in Tanzania in general to find a job?". This question was answered by fewer participants, as some stated not having enough experience or contacts to know that, and as others had a hard time to leave their personal perspective behind and provide a generalised answer for this (admittedly) broadly defined group. One higher educated respondent refused to generalise:

"How hard it is depends on the person. Getting a salary is hard usually, it gets a bit easier if you know certain fundi skills, then you can find some or do independent work. But you cannot generalise this, a part can find a good job and another part has a very hard time."*

The most common response was about *lack of education* (12x). Many also pointed out that society (such as employers or government) have *prejudices against deaf people* (8x). *Communication challenges* were mentioned only 3 times, but it might be that others felt they did not have to repeat this point, as they talked about it in relation with their personal experiences with work (and with school) already.

"If deaf go and ask for a job, they see they are deaf, they send them away if they cannot talk."*
"It is hard, because most deaf do not know any English."*
"Because a lot deaf fail Standard 7. Some don't like to learn, don't have akili, cannot get a job."*
"After having failed Form 4, many just go home and do not have work"*
"Without a certificate you can maybe clean and wash clothes, but you cannot work at a hoteli. Also some people fear that if they employ a disabled person, their business will go downhill."*

The last quote also allures to superstitious believes that a disabled person can mean bad luck.

4.5.3. Strategies to find or create work opportunities

There were diverse opinions amongst my deaf respondents as to whether employment or independent work is the better option to generate income. Often those opinions could be linked to their own (positive or negative) experiences with the one or the other. As mentioned above, several respondents shifted to doing independent work, such as *biashara* (small business, street vending), after realising that the general conditions of their employment were not a good fit for them.

Those who were unemployed stated they usually tried to do a little bit of business or *kibarua* work (~casual work, day labour). Some did feel like it would be the responsibility of others (usually their relatives) to find them a job.
Several told me they had sent application letters to one of the companies which already employed a larger number of deaf, but usually stated that they had not heard back. Others, who got employment at those places usually told me that they had heard about it from a deaf friend and that they

went to introduce themselves in person. As many jobs are crafts, they were then often asked to either demonstrate their skills on site, or produce something and then hand it in.

> "I had been working as an independent tailor for a while, but I had basically no customers. So when a deaf friend of mine told me about [the crafts workshop], we went there. I went there, waited for the boss and was given the task to do 3 types of clothes in 3 nights, s/he told me to go home and relax, then s/he checked it, liked it, and hired me."*

When respondents told me this, they were usually extremely happy when getting to the success part of the story, to being accepted into work based on their work samples. One respondent vividly explained how s/he got a job as a cook at a higher-class restaurant frequented mostly by tourists:

> "The first time I went there, I went on my own for the job interview and I failed. The boss told me to come a second time, and the second time I came with an interpreter, and I did well, replying to the questions, and showed my results, and I got the job.
> When I started working there it was hard because I was the only deaf person there, and also everything was in English, the menu was in English, and people were only talking when ordering. It was hard, I just had to endure this. The issue was that I was on a trial period of three months. So during this period, if I did well, they would hire me, if I would not, they would fire me. In the first month I was really struggling, basically failing, the second month was more in-between, but still more like failing. So what I did: I took the menu home, I looked at in again and again, tried to cook the meals, do the cakes. During the first or second month I thought about giving up, but my direct boss liked me and told me: No, you don't give up, you continue. So I continued. And after the third month I got the report, and it was actually a very good report, and I was hired, with a permanent contract, ever since."*

S/he clearly enjoyed telling the story, a story of challenges and victory, which s/he mainly attributed to own determination and stamina. Similar as in her/his and others' stories about (secondary) school, s/he used the signs for "endure" and for "struggle/fight/lobby" a lot in the account.[315]

When it comes to doing independent work or opening a shop, I was able to witness two 'start-ups' if you will. I have already mentioned above the *hoteli* run only by deaf women, which opened shortly after I arrived in Arusha Town. It was supported by the local office of a European NGO. About seven deaf women were working here as manager, bookkeeper, cook, server and cleaner. Most of them had more than one function.

The second project was the plan by a small group to open a small shop. Each municipality has to put aside 2% of their tax revenue to be handed out as loans to people with disabilities (PWD) for them to set up their own small businesses. From what I could ascertain, these loans were set at 1,000,000 TSH (~400 EUR) per person, but could not be given out on individual application. Instead, a small group of PWD would have to apply for the loans collectively, explaining what kind of business they were planning to start. The deaf group from a smaller place outside Arusha Town was in the process of applying for that loan, but which bureaucratic steps exactly were to be taken was difficult to find out.

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[315] Cf. also chapter 3.4 "The issue of language"

One young deaf person volunteering for *CHAVITA*, with a good command of written Swahili and English, was supporting this group as well as the deaf women running the *hoteli*. S/he was permanently looking through calls for applications by international donors, with the goal of proposing projects to create job opportunities for deaf and other disabled people. Two other deaf told me they have similar aspirations:

> "I would like to continue with my current job, but maybe at some point in the future do a project with the deaf, like they have in Iringa [at the crafts workshop and restaurant with deaf and disabled employees] or here [at the deaf hoteli]."*
> "I would like to continue teaching, but also doing business, and doing some research on how deaf people could do business, and in general some of the jobs deaf people could do, but now there is no way for them to get this experience, and I could be a leader for this and I could teach the deaf to learn that."*

Summing up, there seemed to be a preference for work places that were either specifically created for deaf or PWD, or at least places that would include a critical amount of deaf people working there. Some deaf seemed to be eager to support other deaf (or other people with disabilities) in finding jobs. This is also in line with findings of Jessica Lee from another Tanzanian region, who found that at times deaf people would (state to) support all people with disabilities, while also reporting that in the concrete case of jobs at a popular workshop they would prefer to bring in other deaf workers and would be dissatisfied with the number of workers with other disabilities rising.[316]

I would like to remind again that as many deaf people in Tanzania are unschooled and unemployed, my schooled (!) sample from Arusha Region is a relative elite. While this means that they are not yet 'typical' for deaf people in the country, they are for sure on the forefront and possible role models for future generations of deaf people. Building on the results presented above, in the following chapter, I will amongst others look more closely into how society enables or hinders deaf people's aspirations to engage in the work and labour market, by including results from the street polling of regular citizens of Arusha Region.

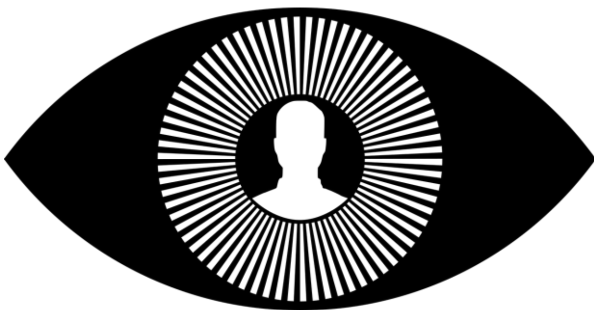
[316] Cf. LEE 2012, 145

5. Fitting in: places and spaces for the deaf in Arusha

This second chapter about findings will present results of my research regarding the interconnections between deaf people and mainstream society. Unlike the previous chapter, it is not organised chronologically, but thematically. It will show the places in society and 'spaces' that deaf people are allocated by others vs. those that they are occupying (e.g. in family, school and work), as well as those they are creating and securing themselves. The latter builds on the concept of *deaf spaces* as used by deaf studies scholars such as LEE 2012. These deaf spaces can be usually found at (deaf) schools, homes of deaf-deaf couples and sometimes at (inclusive) places of work. For Arusha Region, religious places have also proven to be relevant.

To discuss these topics, the chapter will largely focus on results of the street polling of hearing people in Arusha Region and contrast them with views raised by the deaf themselves during the questionnaire-based interviews. Input from participant observation, expert interviews and literature will complement the picture. The chapter will conclude with an attempt to approach the question of belonging and thus of *deaf community* or *communities* in Arusha Region.

5.1. Being seen? Deafness as invisible disability



5.1.1. Society's knowledge about the deaf

To be able to fit into a society, first of all, a group's existence has to be perceived and acknowledged by mainstream society. Deafness is often referred to as an "invisible disability", because it cannot be seen easily and can be overlooked as long as a deaf person does not communicate in sign language – or fails to communicate through lipreading and voicing. STANISLAUS 2016 describes students not wearing hearing aids to 'pass' as hearing, similar to LEE 2012 who refers to similar passing tactics by deaf people, such as pretending to listen to music with earphones, and calls these tactics "a double-edged sword", as passing leads to invisibility.[317]

[317] Cf. STANISLAUS 2016, 99; LEE 2012; 143

To look into deafness as an invisible disability, as one of the first questions in the street polling, I enquired about the unaided awareness of disabilities of people, i.e. I asked about types of disabilities known to respondents without providing categories of answer. A few respondents differentiated between disabilities that have been acquired (e.g. through an accident or sickness) and those that a person was born with. Many however were able to mention some types of disability as you can find underneath.

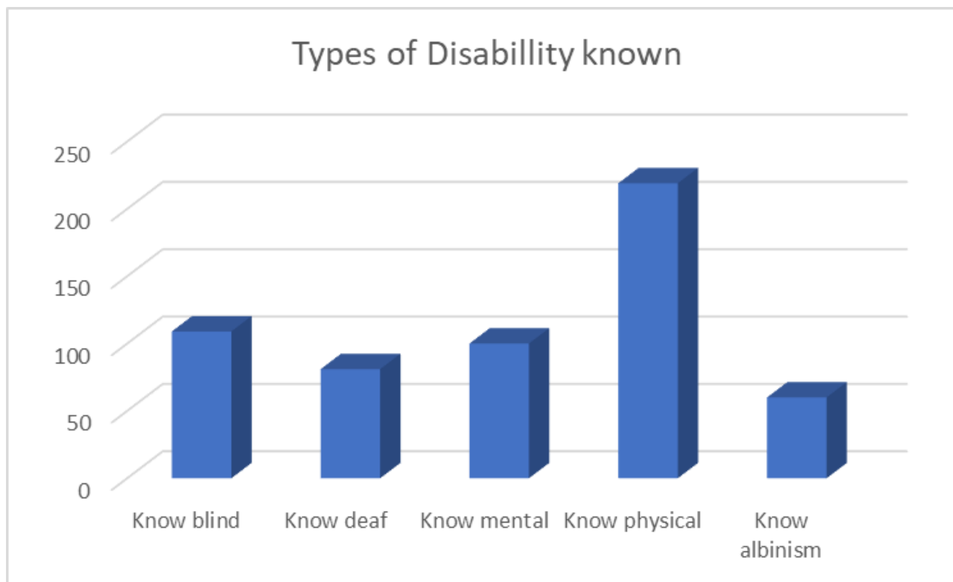


Figure 18: Street Polling: Types of disability known
Number of mentions amongst all 240 respondents

Only 34% (i.e. a total of 81 people) of respondents mentioned deafness. More people in urban areas (46%) mentioned deafness than in rural areas (26%)[318]. This shows that deafness features much less in people's minds when thinking about disability than physical disabilities. The latter were often described as "disability of legs or arms" or "people who cannot walk".

When asked if they personally knew a person with disability, 10% mentioned knowing a deaf person. This share was slightly higher in urban, and lower in rural areas (14% vs 9%). As for gender, men reported more often knowing a deaf person (15%) than women (6%).

34% of respondents said they knew a person with a physical disability, 12% a person with mental/intellectual disabilities and 5% a person with albinism. It is interesting to look at the differences between deaf and blind. Even though only 5% knew a blind person, 45% of respondents did mention blindness in the prior unaided question about types of disability. Even though double the number of people (10%) know a deaf person, the percentage who mentioned deafness before was lower (34%) than for blindness. This is in line again with deafness as a rather invisible disability, bringing with it the advantages and disadvantages of 'passing' as described above. To phrase the implications of these findings clearly: Deaf people can fly under the radar and thus prevent experiencing negative reactions that a person with disability might have to endure. However, at the same

[318] (Split "Urban" vs "Rural Minus", for description of splits see chapter 3.3)

time not being visible also means that it is much harder to fight for one's rights, public recognition and ressources.

People who live within 1km of a deaf school/unit are slightly more likely to know a deaf person (13%, i.e. 8 out of 60) than a person living further away (9%, i.e. 14 out of 160). As both the total numbers and the differences in percentage are relatively small, these results can also be seen as tendencies and would have to be confirmed in larger studies.

5.1.2. "Viziwi" or "mabubu"? Words used to describe deaf

Of those who mentioned deaf people, the largest part (35 respondents) used the official word "*ki-ziwi*" (deaf) or "*viziwi*" in plural. Others used the term "*asiyesikia*" ("s/he who does not hear/listen"), which is not popular with the deaf anymore, or paraphrases including "*ya masikio*" ("of the ears") such as "disability of the ears" or "problems with the ears". However, 26 respondents also used the derogative term "*bubu*" (roughly: "mute" or "dumb").

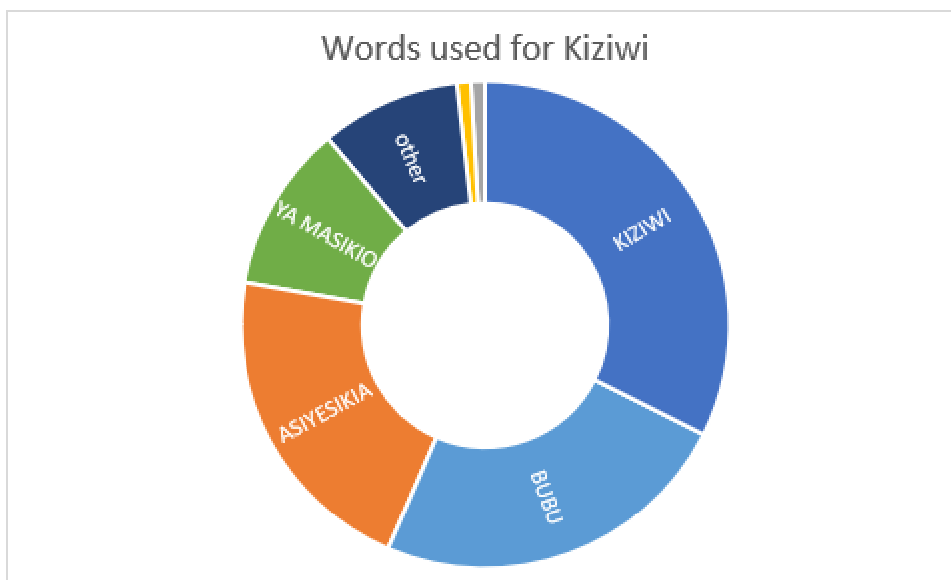


Figure 19: Street Polling: Share of different terms used for "deaf" by respondents

Interestingly, 14 of those 25 respondents used not only "*bubu*", but also mentioned another word, either the official "*kiziwi*" (10) or the descriptive "*asiyesikia*" (4). This underlines the assumption that many respondents in fact think of two different types of disability. In their view, a deaf person, or "*kiziwi*", is someone who cannot hear (but speak with the voice), while a "mute"/"dumb", or "*bubu*", is a person who cannot speak. While some people used "*bubu*" in the sense of "deaf-mute", being possibly somehow aware of the interconnection of not hearing and not easily reproducing speech, others seemed not to see any connection between the hearing ability and the fact that a person does not use the voice, simply labelling them as "*bubu*" in the sense of "dumb"[319].

Male and female respondents were represented almost equally amongst the 25 respondents that used the derogatory word "*bubu*". The urban-rural difference was also not big (11 vs. 14), and the

[319] Like with the English term, the word "*bubu*" carries also a connotation of "being stupid".

age spread normal. So it seems to be an issue that cannot be pinned down to one segment of society. This corresponds with CHAVITA 2018, which found that derogatory terms are also used by high profile officials, reporting that even judicial officers referred to deaf as "'wasiosikia' (cannot hear/listen); 'wagonjwa wa masikio' (ear patients); and, 'mabubu' (dumb)."[320] During my own research, I also met two teachers in rural areas using the term "*bubu*", one at a regular school and one who was the head teacher of a school with a deaf unit.

While most teachers I met at schools with deaf children were aware to only use the politically correct term "*kiziwi*", and to refrain from using "*bubu*", it seems that some teachers make a difference between voicing and non-voicing deaf, as also explained in this quote by a former deaf teacher:

> "You see, there is also a difference between those who are born deaf and do not have a mother tongue, and those who are born hearing and maybe get deaf with maybe 10 years. The [hearing] teachers would make a difference, a deaf that could speak, they would like that, a deaf that signed, you could see, they did not like this that much, there was a difference made there."

In other words: Those who had the ability to 'fit in' a mainstream setting by voicing and reading lips were more popular than those for whom the teachers had to make some kind of effort to accommodate them. This can be seen equivalent to differentiating between "*kiziwi*" for a voicing and "*bubu*" for a non-voicing deaf. In the first case, the deafness is just an issue for the deaf person herself/himself, it is up to her/him to lip-read and to voice, so that the hearing mainstream can continue as usual. In the latter case however, it means that the able-bodied person has to make an effort, such as trying to use gestures, learning sign language or at least using written languages. This differentiation sometimes even stretches into the deaf communities themselves, as chapter 5.7.2. will show.

5.1.3. (Negative) clichés about the deaf

Several experts stated that regular Tanzanians would often mix-up deafness with intellectual disabilities, as shown by the stupidity connotations that come with the term *bubu*. These views could be seen with some of the hearing respondents of the street polling. However, when talking about *kiziwi*, most respondents did express the views that they would be 'fully functional individuals', except for the ability to hear. (see also following chapters).

However, anecdotal evidence shows that even well-meaning people with some contact to deaf people, did not necessarily use *kiziwi* on their own, as one example from the baptising of the child of a deaf couple shows. After the baptism in church, a celebration was underway at the house of a hearing friend of the deaf father:

> A large crowd of deaf people went to the baptising celebration […], a hearing friend of the father has sponsored the food, he referred to the deaf as something like "those who cannot hear so well" or "those who have problems to hear" in Swahili, but he made a great effort that they all could sit in

[320] CHAVITA 2018, 15

> the front rows [to see the interpreter]. Even the mothers of the parents moved to the back for this. After the “meza kuu” [main table] the deaf were the first to be invited to go for the food, [the hearing signing teacher] and I would be treated as part of them. A portion of the deaf arrived late due to the daladala and they stayed in the back. (Field Notes, October 2019)

In his speech, he thus referred to the deaf by pointing out what they do not have (the ability to hear), a definition close to the *deficit model*.[321] Additionally, the deaf in this story are the receivers of charity, a ‘free’ celebration and ‘free food’. While in this concrete case, it might be due to personal friendships and general hospitality, without that context it could be (mis?)interpreted as the cliché of deaf as receivers of alms. This view of deaf people is something that quite a few deaf complained about experiencing, e.g. when asking for employment:

> “I asked for a job, they gave me some sympathy/pity, some money, but they refused to employ a deaf, they say there is no work.”*

Another story told to me by an interpreter was about a deaf person who had an appointment with a doctor, but was sent away when s/he opened the door of the doctor’s office. After intervention of the interpreter, the doctor admitted that s/he thought the deaf person wanted to beg for money. According to the interpreter, the doctor was ashamed and learned his/her lesson. However, it shows how wide-spread the view of deaf (or disabled) people as beggars is, even amongst highly-educated people in social occupations such as medical doctors.

One deaf person told me that hearing people, also in the government, would see the deaf “as animals”*, with those strong words accusing them of dehumanising the deaf. Another deaf person said that hearing people “think that deaf are a bit crazy”*. I have shown before that quite a number of teachers consider deaf generally to be “slow learners”. A hearing foreign person involved with many deaf pointed to infantilization of deaf people:

> “Even adults are considered as children. A 45-year-old deaf woman’s first employer was brought before court for hiring her. They said he was "taking a child away". She had been used by her parents as a house girl basically, doing much more than already usually expected by a daughter.”

Other examples also point to infantilization, or at least to deaf people not being considered to be on the same level as hearing people. One deaf respondent told me that when the relationship with the fathers of her children (one hearing, one deaf) ended, in both cases it were her in-laws who decided what would happen to the children and where they should be raised.[322]

All in all, the situation led me to believe that the view is close to what is called the *welfare model* by Paddy Ladd: well-meaning hearing people making decisions for the deaf who take a role of subjects rather than actors.[323] Some deaf have also accepted this distribution of roles, settling comparably comfortably in inactivity, such as the two respondents who told me that they still did not have a job because their brother/father would not find one for them.

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[321] Cf. chapter 1.5 on these models

[322] It should be noted that this concrete situation might have to do as much with gender as with disability.

[323] Cf. chapter 1.5 as well as LADD 2003, 120ff

Only a minority of hearing people, usually those who had been in touch with deaf people, mentioned positive clichés about deaf people. The most common of these is that deaf are hardworking. Two possible reasons popped up during my research. Some cases were mentioned were only one deaf was working at a certain place, concentrating on work, not engaging in the chit-chat of the hearing colleagues. The latter might not be by choice though, but due to the communication barrier. The second possible reason is that deaf people might feel they have to go the extra mile to prove their worth once they found an occupation, as these quotes might indicate:

> “Maybe the boss will have doubts about a deaf worker, I will have to show him that I can work”*
> “Well, I always work as hard as the hearing colleagues, I cannot sit idle when the boss is passing by.”*

So, ironically, this positive cliché might be based on deaf people trying to overcompensate the negative cliché of people doubting deaf people’s abilities as workers (see also chapter 5.3). I will on purpose not go into a deeper analysis of these statements, as I would have to step in the field of speculation, due to my outsider role and limited secondary information. Still, the short anecdotal evidence just presented serves a purpose: to provide a qualitative backdrop to the quantitative data of the street polling on views on deafness and sign language amongst people in Arusha Region that we will now look at.

5.1.4. An unusual sight? - Emotional responses to signing deaf

Literature reports of negative attitudes towards signing deaf people, and some of my deaf respondents reported being hidden. To not fall into the trap of simply assuming negative attitudes towards PWD in African contexts, as KISANJI 1995 warns against, I made sure to also get some primary data from the broader society on this. The most visible indicator of deafness is sign language. So, what kinds of feelings do people in Arusha associate with deaf people and with sign language? To inquire about this, hearing respondents of the street polling were asked: “How do you feel when you see people on the streets communicating with their hands?”

A deaf person using sign language with another deaf person (or a hearing signer) is an act of communication, and thus in itself neutral. Considering how rare fluent, effortless communication is for a deaf person in Tanzania, as also shown by the statements of my deaf respondents, it indeed is rather positive, often a joyous experience for the deaf person. However, aside from the large part of respondents who stated that this sight was *normal* (58%), the next largest group (40%) said they would feel *sadness* seeing that. This most of the time will probably be connected to pity for the deaf person. They do not see the positive act of communication, but instead see sign language as an indicator of a defect or burden on that person, the fact that they cannot hear. This indicates again views similar to the *deficit model* of mainstream views on deaf people.[324] This can be inter-

[324] Cf. chapter 1.5

preted in such a way that probably 4 out of 10 people in Arusha consider deafness as something to be fixed, not a personal trait to be dealt with by the deaf person and their environment.

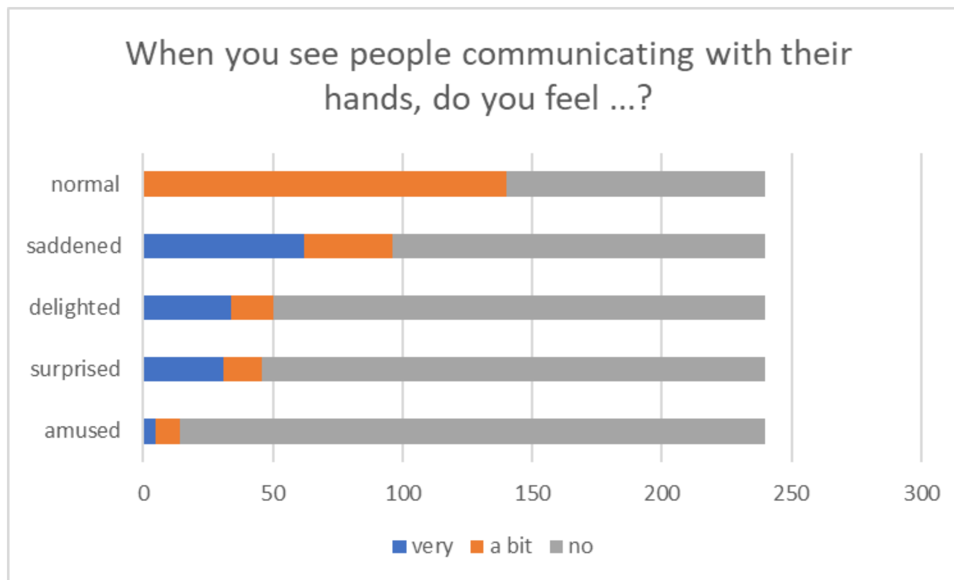


Figure 20: Street polling: Emotional response to seeing people sign
For the option "normal" there was no option to differentiate between "a bit" or "very", thus the orange bar includes any mention of "kawaida" (normal).

About 1 in every 5 respondents stated feeling *happy/delighted* or *astonished/surprised* by seeing people sign. While the later can be read as a general sign of curiosity as not everyone has (already or already often) seen sign language in real life, the first can be seen as a positive sign. It means that one of five respondents in Arusha Region has explicitly recognised the positive and central role that sign language has in many deaf people's lives. So while experts interviewed tend to stress the problems created for deaf people by those ignorant to their needs, it shall be noted that the just mentioned result means that every fifth person in Arusha Region can be seen as a potential ally for deaf people, when approached properly.

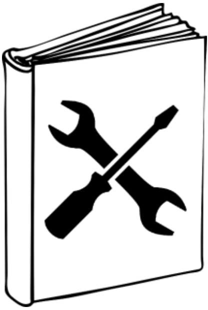
While authors like LEE 2012, as well as many of the experts interviewed, and some of my deaf respondents, report that deaf people are often made fun of, only very few of my hearing respondents (6%) admitted to be amused by the sight of people signing. This might be partly due to socially expected answers. As with all the terms describing emotions, there are also different nuances to the term "checkesha" (~"making one laugh"/"amuse"). Furthermore, during my time in Tanzania, walking with or sitting with deaf people while signing, I never saw anyone mimicking or mocking us.[325] In some cases, people on the street enjoyed exchanging pleasantries with my deaf companions by big gestures, which to me never seemed like a condescending mockery, but an honest approach to communication. The presence of a 'white' foreign person, a *mzungu*, might influence the behaviour of the people, but it could at least be seen as anecdotal evidence for a positive development.

[325] Jessica Lee reported people mocking signed communication during her research about a decade ago.

Interestingly, contrary to expectations and the general urban-rural trend, people in urban areas were more likely to be *amused* (11%) than their rural counterparts (4%), and also more likely to be *astonished* (29% vs. 12%). However, they were less likely to be *saddened* (30%) than people in rural areas (51%). Moreover, town dwellers considering signing more *normal* (63%) than villagers (54%). Thus, while the first two results seem to contradict the assumption raised by experts that the rural population would have a more negative view, the three latter numbers support it. Keeping in mind that a larger share of the urban population could think of deafness, when asked about disabilities, this can be interpreted in such a way that people in the urban areas are indeed more used to encountering deaf people, considering them a small but normal part of the mixture of people in town. This can lead to considering it both, more normal, but also to feeling safer to articulate other emotions, such as amusement. The rural population, less used to the phenomenon, might be more hesitant and more polite. Having had less chance to encounter and reflect on deaf people, the emotion of sadness/pity might seem appropriate to them, as they might perceive deafness first and foremost as the 'lack' of an ability. However, these interpretations are somewhat speculative, as it is outside the scope of this thesis to cover academic results on rural-urban differences in opinions and behaviours of Tanzanians in general.

As for genders, both men and women chose *normal* similarly often. However, men were slightly more likely to be *amused* (8% vs 3%) and *happy/delighted* (24% vs. 18%). Women on the other hand chose the option *saddened* more often (46%) than men (33%). In terms of being astonished, both genders are again on par (19%). So, all in all, gender differences seem to be comparably subtle, with the exception of sadness again. Considering that Tanzanians often showed quite traditional gender roles, it might be possible to interpret this in the way that women in the country are more likely to be raised to have and to show empathy, more willing to show also an emotion that could be considered weak or un-manly, such as sadness/pity. As any analysis of this difference here cannot go beyond these stereotypical gender assumptions, which might very well be inappropriate lenses to look at it, I will refrain from diving deeper into it. Instead, I encourage anyone with a more critical gender focus and experience in Tanzania to make use of my numbers on gender mentioned throughout this chapter.

5.2. Getting education? Official discourse vs. reality



5.2.1. Society's views on deaf as learners

During the street polling, 95% of citizens agreed that deaf should go to school. These results are a stark contrast to how negatively experts and earlier publications described the views of the society, to the stories of families hiding their disabled children or even killing them. My interpretation of this dissonance (between interviews and street polling) is that, additional to a possible yes-bias, our hearing respondents – all of whom had to know Swahili and thus probably have attended some school (see chapter 3.3) – are aware of the general national discourse that every child should go to school, even though in reality regular learners are often prioritised over learners with disability – both by teachers and by their own parents. In other words: It is possible that a family would like to also send their deaf children to school, but first they focus their time and effort on their children without disabilities. Also, it might be possible that indeed some people see schooling disabled children as a waste of resources – as experts claim and low enrolment numbers suggest – but that they provide socially expected answers in line with the national discourse. Both myself and my research assistant, coming from a Tanzanian university, are probably expected to 'approve' such an answer. This would also explain some experiences during street polling, such as one lady in Arusha Town laughing first at the question, before then saying with a smirk: "Yes, let them go to school, the deaf."

However, the hearing respondents had either already reflected on the topic, did so ad hoc or had been confronted with the national narrative that every child has the right to go to school and that parents are obliged to send them there. In line with that, the reasons mostly given were: Deaf have the right to go to school, they need education, they can be taught by "gestures" or "action", there are special schools and teachers for them, and they have the brains for it (see fig. 21). When looking closer at these answers, one can split them into reasons that are circumstantial (existence of schools, teachers, rights, and partly of sign language), i.e. influenced by the environment, and others that are more existential (needing education, having the brain), i.e. due to innate traits of deaf people as human beings.

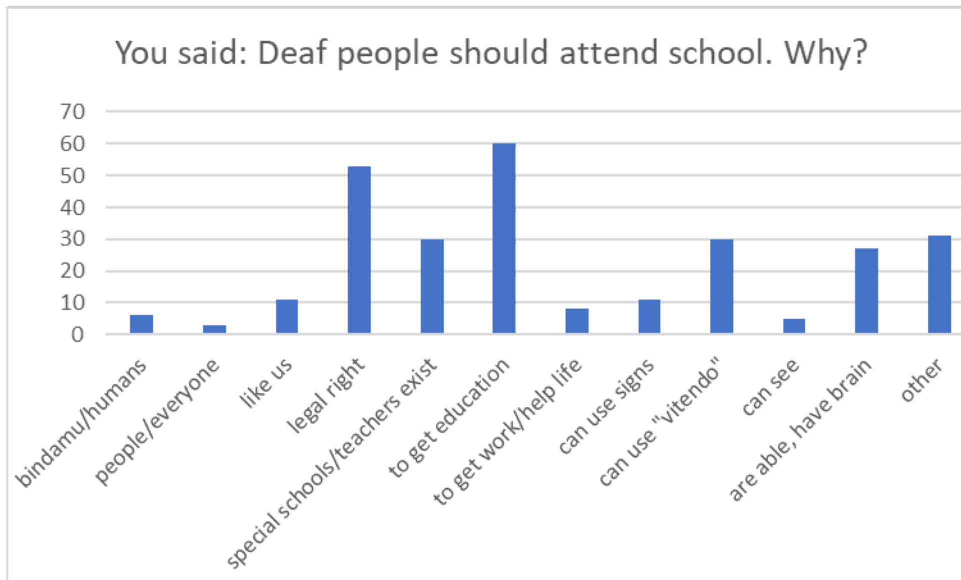


Figure 21: Street Polling: Why should deaf people attend school?
Clustered answers to open question by number of mentions. One statement may feature in more than one cluster.

Only 5% (or 13 respondents) disagreed with the idea that deaf should go to school. 9 of them came from rural areas, 4 from urban. 2 of them lived within 1km of a deaf school, 11 further away. 8 were male and 5 female. 6 respondents were 20 years or younger, the rest more or less evenly distributed up until pension age.

When asked for reasons why deaf should not attend school, some of these respondents just repeated that this person cannot hear. Others explained that they would not understand the teacher: “I don’t see how [they could learn], because they cannot hear what has been said”. They were apparently not aware of the possibility to teach using sign language. One respondent simply said: “They better stay at home”. While those respondents who disagreed with schooling for the deaf gave a relatively positive answer asked whether deaf can work in generally (3.42), they rated many jobs very low (arithmetic mean .1.58).[326]

All in all, 8% (or 20 respondents) disagreed that deaf people were able to continue with higher education such as secondary school or college. This includes the above-mentioned respondents and 7 additional respondents, who accepted that primary education would be good for deaf learners, but secondary either not possible or not useful.

One reply shows that the respondent still assumes that teaching a deaf person is basically showing or acting out a task to then letting the deaf person copy it: “It is difficult to explain complex ideas by action.” Closer to the real experience of deaf learners was another respondent, saying: “The environment there [at secondary] is not good to make them learn”.

The vast majority of 92% respondents however stated that deaf were able to continue with secondary school, mostly providing the same reasons as for primary school. Additionally, a few re-

[326] For details see chapter 5.3 on views about jobs.

spondents pointed out that it is harder finding a job now with only primary education or that their ability to attend a secondary school depends on how they performed in primary school.

These results are in stark contrast to the fact that only between 7% and 9% of school-aged deaf children even attend primary school, as I have shown in chapter 4.2, using both, official numbers from 2016 and my own current numbers. Thus, it can be stated that there is a gap between theoretical openness of the population for schooling deaf children and the implementation thereof.

5.2.2. What to strive for? Vocational training vs. tertiary education

The most current *Basic Educational Statistics Tanzania* report shows that 137 deaf attended vocational training in 2016, which included 13 deaf in Arusha Region. Countrywide, deaf made up 34% of all the PWD attending a VETA.[327]

15 of my 60 deaf respondents had attended a technical secondary school as their highest educational institution, i.e. a school which combines academic subjects with vocational subjects such as carpentry, building or electronics. Another 5 respondents attended some vocational courses as their highest education, either after or instead of (secondary) school. This corresponds with often voiced opinions that deaf would be good at "doing things with their hands".

About half of the deaf respondents gave an (appropriate) answer on the question of what kind of jobs would be good for deaf in general[328], of which again two thirds (i.e. 19 respondents) mentioned some kind of *ufundi* (~craftsmanship) work, either in general, or specifically tailoring, carpentry, car mechanic or similar. Also mentioned at least five times was *biashara* (small business/selling), IT and teaching. A handful of respondents preferred to state that deaf respondents can theoretically do anything and that it depends on the individual, while some also pointed to the situation of many deaf currently being uneducated and thus only able to do simple jobs such as cleaning.

The street polling showed that regular Tanzanians considered the following jobs as best suited for deaf people: painter (4.5 out of 5), cleaner (4.4), farmer (4.3), IT (4.1), writer (3.9), *fundi* (~"craftsperson", 3.7), dancer (3.6) and cook (3.5).[329] This is also somehow reflected in the numbers of current jobs.[330] 18 of the 60 respondents were still in school and thus not working. 7 were unemployed. Of the remaining 35, at least 11 are working in what can be considered *fundi* work. At least 6 are doing *biashara* and cooking, respectively. Numbers for office work (4), teaching & cleaning (3 each) and farming & IT (2 each) are lower. As for painting and dancing, there was one

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[327] URT 2016, 40

[328] Some did not understand the question at all, some would answer with facts about themselves, such as two respondents who said that they personally do not want to work with hearing people, but only with other deaf.

[329] For more details, see chapter 5.3

[330] See chapter 4.5

respondent who had learned fine arts, but currently has no employment, and two respondents who learned to play *ngoma drums*.

So, the common ground that experts, people on the street, deaf respondents and their working realities can agree on is that "*fundi*" work is largely important and suitable for deaf people in Tanzania – considering their general current educational situation as a group.
This leads to a discussion that came up several times during my research: what kind of education would be good for deaf in general, to allow them to find jobs and have a better life. While the higher-educated deaf respondents, who also served as experts for my research, generally stressed the argument as it is also known in the Western discourse, that deaf can do anything, any job, provided that education and job market are supportive, there was an interesting disagreement between two hearing teachers I interviewed separately. Their disagreements are highly important as these notions influence what is called the 'hidden curriculum' of the teachers, what they prioritise and what they neglect, even though formal regulations might say otherwise. Eventually, it might even lead to changes in the formal curriculum for deaf learners.[331] Both teachers, one at a primary and one at secondary school for the deaf, consider themselves strong advocates of the deaf. Both of them even made statements which alludes to the fact that they see themselves as part of '*deaf culture'* as they are using sign language and are interacting with deaf on a daily basis, investing a lot of time and passion. Still, their interpretations of what would be helpful for the deaf differed remarkably.

The primary school teacher insisted that the Tanzanian curriculum would include too many things that would not be helpful in future life, even for regular students, but especially for deaf learners. S/he stated that it was unfair to expect deaf learners to learn the same things in the same time as regular learners. S/he argued that since deaf learners would take longer to learn due to the fact that they have to use three languages at the same time, translating everything from English to Swahili to TSL in their mind, their curriculum should focus only on the necessary:

> "Deaf students don't need a lot of things that confuse them, they need specific objectives [...] Those things they learn are not going to help them for the future. [...] For example history. You have to learn about the past, like Adolf Hitler, whatever. [...] But teach me science. I can know how to prepare a meal, [...] that is my real life for the future. Teach me how to count, so that I can be a business women, so I can exchange money. [...] Deaf need to know different activities that use hands, ICT, computer, [...] the actual things that enable them to survive. Now in deaf culture you teach them about history of 20 years ago, for what? This is not useful for their life. Teach them how to make tea, so they can go home and make tea. Don't teach them about history, those European countries, for what?"

The primary school teacher advocated strongly for deaf learners to focus on vocational training. S/he said s/he would dream of a college for the deaf, which offered certificate, diploma and degree courses and qualified deaf learners directly for the job market – without them having to go through

[331]It is outside the scope of this thesis, to get into the details of the debate about this issue at the crossroads of educational sciences and deaf studies, especially as it is usually discussed in a Western context. However, readers might want to consult the section about the "hidden curriculum" in the education of deaf learners (in the US) in POWER/LEIGH 2011, 35ff

secondary school first. While I never met the two teachers at the same time, it seems likely that there would have been some arguments between them. The secondary school teacher, when talking about society's expectations of deaf learners, criticised:

> "I can say that in Tanzania, … deaf education is still not … given a priority, like those who are blind. Because it is like: 'The deaf, they cannot study, they cannot even reach secondary level, if they are joining secondary level, they end at Form 4.' That is a notion for most of the people, and even [person from CHAVITA] has told us about that. … And the big problem is that they are putting a lot of effort for the deaf to take on some vocational training, carpentry, painting, whatever, they are not giving them support in studies, and see what they need much, because there are three or two groups for them: There are those who are able to study. There are those who are good in those activities like carpentry or whatever. So, parents are taken them much to the second side. 'If I take him to secondary I lose my money, my time', that notion."

Another secondary school teacher, at a different school, chimed in, also supporting the argument for continued academic education of deaf pupils:

> "Parents came here [to secondary school] to take their children [away] for manual education. We said No, we explained to them what they can do. They want to take them away, but they are afraid of the government. They wait for them to fail the exam to take them home, but luckily some perform well, and then the parents thank us that we kept the children here."

While my research indeed shows that a large portion of the deaf interviewed did not make it to secondary school, and those who did mostly only made it to Form 4, the teachers in these quotes show how this notion becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy and the situation is thus re-creating itself. Other teachers, faced with the realities of their deaf students struggling in the academic field, are following the earlier-mentioned notion and see vocational training as the (only) way out.
This notion is one that one of my deaf respondents energetically rejected:

> "So you need to understand, the world is changing and we are on the same level now. And sometimes parents and hearing relatives don't understand that and they hold the deaf back. Even teachers of the deaf they think: Those deaf they just want to be tailors or carpenter. But we can do a lot of other things, and they need to understand that. […] We are not below hearing people, we can do anything. And people say: But what about communication? I reply: I have my phone, I can communicate with you, what is the problem? I can do anything, I am a tour guide, these [deaf] people here have a restaurant, a [deaf] friend of mine in Kenya is a lawyer, we can do it. I get angry when people say we cannot. I had to fight a lot, I was pushed down by hearing people a lot in my live, I had to fight and I did make it."

So while we have seen that the vast majority of people in Arusha Region agreed that deaf children should go to school, and most also agreed that they could attend secondary school, a more qualitative look at the issue shows a variety of opinions of what this education should entail: As for post-primary education, there is a clash of opinions between educators of the deaf, with some arguing for a regular academic career (in secondary school and possibly college), while others argue in favour of a special, reduced curriculum and a focus on manual work (through vocational training). The same is true for the deaf themselves, with some agreeing that education for practical/manual work is appropriate, and others – especially higher-educated – disagreeing. This discussion is one

that Deaf Studies authors POWER/LEIGH 2011, writing about the USA, describe as overcome: "Historically, specialized curricula, particularly at the upper school levels, focused on vocational (typically industrial) rather than on academic objectives. This was particularly true in residential schools for the Deaf up until the last quarter of the twentieth century."[332] The discussion is however far from over in Tanzania, as my data shows.

5.3. How to contribute? Aspirations for work vs. society's expectations

5.3.1. Views within the family

In chapter 4.5 we have seen that a lot of the deaf people in my sample work as craftspeople (e.g. tailor, carpenter), as cooks or are doing small business in a shop or the street. Other qualified occupations include teacher, IT specialist, medical laboratorian and administration. Only 5 work in cleaning or farming, and only 7 stated that they were unemployed. I have shown that in addition to these jobs, deaf people aspire for all kinds of occupations from wedding planner, *pikipiki* driver and tour guide to nurse or doctor. But what do families of the deaf and the wider society see as possible career choices for the deaf?

Since I did not interview parents of deaf learners, deaf and hearing teachers amongst my respondents were a good source for learning about what parents expect and dream for their deaf offspring. They mostly stated that parents often have very modest expectations for their deaf children. And even some of the deaf currently in school themselves questioned whether the current educational system will allow them to get high skill jobs. A primary school teacher gave this example:

> "Many times, [the deaf girl] said: "I want to be a nurse" and I said [happily] "Yes, that is a good plan, a good future, okay, when you finish Standard 7, you have to pass well, and when you reach Secondary you have to take science. When you perform well in science, you can be a doctor or a nurse." [and the girl] said: "Hm, yeah, I would like to be a nurse. But when I go to Secondary, there are no interpreters, they use English and I am not used to English, but Swahili. I think it will be hard for me. I do not know if I will succeed to be a nurse, I am not sure." Her mother said she hopes her daughter will be a nurse once."

The same primary school teacher, when asked whether this support for career dreams by parents is usual or unusual, said:

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[332] POWER/LEIGH 2011, 36

> "Many parents say: He is deaf. So they just bring them to school because of the order of the government to take every child of 7 years of age to school. Parents are afraid of punishment. They bring the child to school and say: 'The government forces me, so go and waste your time there. After school you will only come home and help me cleaning, cooking.'"

Another teacher had a less grim picture, pointing out the recent changes in parents' mindsets, which he argued can only happen by them experiencing real life examples of successful deaf learners – either their own children or those of people in their community:

> "[On] the side of deaf students, a little bit, parents are active now, in a positive way, they are having dreams for their children, because they already have been seeing other deaf students passing national examinations here, and we are conducting graduation, and call parents and community to see that a deaf student can change, can do something like a normal student, [...] so they have the dream that their child can perform in primary level education and join with secondary education, and [even if they do] not perform, but being able to join vocational training, and we have former students who prove that, because they know how to make clothes and to sell, make table matts and decorations and sell them, and they get money. Many deaf who don't get an education, they teach more sign language, they join with missionary organisations, and they go to the community as volunteers and to meet with deaf students and teach them sign language, and religious skills and religious knowledge."

We know that 90% of deaf people are born into hearing families. The anecdotal evidence just presented shows that there are varying degrees of expectations of parents for their deaf children. While being just a short glimpse, it can serve as a qualitative backdrop to the broader quantitative data that will be presented now. Theoretically, any person can be a (future) parent or relative of a deaf child, their neighbour or colleague. Thus, we should look at the views of the broader population as recorded through the street polling, specifically their views about deaf people as workers/employees.

5.3.2. Society's views on deaf as workers

Experts reported a lot of prejudice against deaf people as learners and as workers, as this exemplary quote by a hearing teacher of the deaf shows:

> "I can say, in Tanzania, in their mind, many people think that deaf people cannot do anything. When I talk to different people, they tell me: 'Mh, teacher, nowadays you teach the deaf. How can you teach the deaf?' So I say: 'The leader of the deaf unit at school, he is a deaf teacher'. They wonder, they wonder. We have Pastor [name], a deaf who can preach. They wonder.
> They say: "We know that deaf people are very aggressive, harsh, how can I employ them?" But this anger just comes because they are not understood, because of communication. That is where this prejudice comes from, I had it myself in the past."

The astonishment at the fact that deaf can be taught and that the person wants to engage in that 'tough task' was something several teachers amongst the experts I talked to reported. People in their vicinity questioned whether deaf could be turned into productive members of society. Often some convincing from the side of the teacher was necessary. However, there were also positive examples, as another special education teacher told me:

> "[I called to say] that I have decided to be a specialist teacher for the deaf. [My parents] were happy. They said: Ah, we know, that will be good for you, because since you were a girl you were sometimes pretending to speak with your hands."

Another example was an informal conversation with a person working at a hotel, where I waited for someone. Situations like these helped me getting insights aside from formal interview or questionnaire situations:

> I told her why I am in TZ, and asked her if she knows any deaf person. It took her a little while, and then she remembered that the son of her uncle is deaf. She remembered that he went to secondary until Form 4, but did not recently follow up what the deaf man is doing now. […] When I asked her if she thinks a deaf person could work at the hotel, she said: "Oh, no, how should that work in the hotel, if you cannot communicate, no … well, maybe if it is a job where the deaf is just writing, that could work." A minute later she remembered: "Oh, actually there is a guy who works here, who bring the mosquito nets, he cannot talk, just 'i-i-iii', [then shouting to a colleague inside] hey, say, is the bubu [~mute, i.e. cannot talk] a kiziwi [~ deaf, i.e. cannot hear]? Yes, he is a kiziwi." (Conversation was originally in Swahili). Both she and her colleagues used "bubu" when talking about the young man. (excerpt from fieldnotes, October 2019)

As she asked whether "*bubu ni kiziwi*" (~the mute is deaf), it underlines again that many regular people in the region use those two terms as if they were describing two different groups or categories (see also chapter 5.1). Ironically, she first thought about the difficulties a deaf person could encounter when working, forgetting for a moment that she even knew an example of a working deaf in her very own work environment.

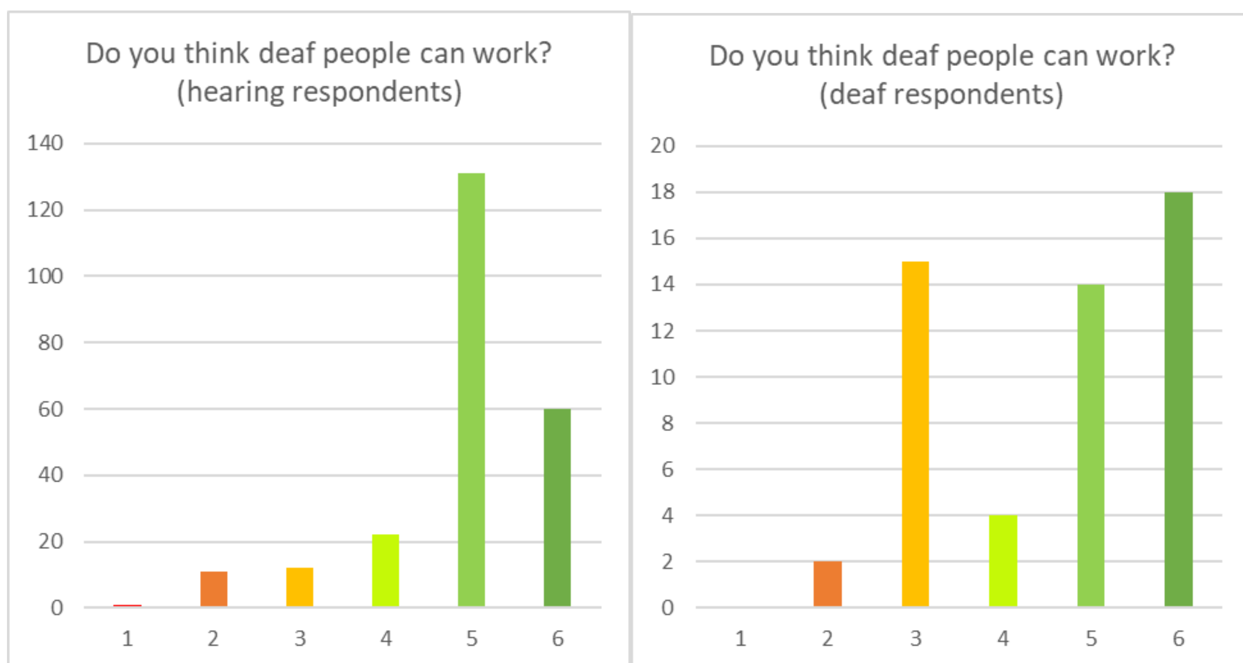


Figure 22: Do you think deaf people can work as well as hearing people? (hearing respondents vs. deaf respondents)

Number of mentions per answer option by hearing people. Number of mentions per answer by the deaf themselves.

Wording of answers for both groups:

1 No, they cannot do anything.	2 No, maybe they can help at home
3 Yes, but just very few, easy tasks	4 Yes, but not everything
5 Yes, just like other people, when they get assistance	6 Yes, just like other people

Since these stories are anecdotal, it makes sense to look at a larger sample of people in Arusha region to learn about their attitude towards the deaf as workers. Thus, we turn to data from the street polling. When presented with 6 options about the ability of deaf people to work, 131 of the 240 hearing respondents in Arusha Region (or 55%) chose “Yes, just like other people, when they get assistance”, and 60 people (or 25%) even “Yes, just like other people”. So, this means that 8 out of 10 people have – at least in theory – a favourable view of deaf people as workers. As this contrasts with experts’ opinions and stories told by deaf respondents, it makes sense to double check this result by providing the hearing respondents with a follow up question about concrete jobs. The issue of socially expected answers (see chapter 5.2.) is also relevant here.

Before going into the details per job, it is interesting to look at how the deaf respondents answered the same question. A notable proportion of them chose “Yes, but just very few, easy tasks” as an answer. So, interestingly, contrary to expectations, the deaf themselves were more likely to give relatively negative answers than the hearing population. When analysing the data in more depth, the difference might be explained by the reasons usually given. While a lot of hearing participants probably answered the question from a purely theoretical point of view, the deaf themselves often factored in current real-life barriers, such as lack of education. Some deaf respondents rather described the unfavourable current reality than imagining a seemingly distant possible future of fairness and equity.

5.3.3. Society’s views on different jobs

We shall now look at hearing people’s more nuanced (and less positive) answers when it comes to concrete jobs. They were asked to rate how well a deaf person could perform in 24 specified jobs. Those ranged from simpler jobs, for which it is assumed that skills and proficiency can be acquired after a short period of instruction (e.g. cleaning) to complex jobs, which generally require a long academic education or longer training on the job (e.g. medical doctor). Generally speaking, the more complex jobs also come with higher prestige and higher payment. The list also included jobs with different degrees of interpersonal communication needed, as it is assumed based on the early interviews and participant observation that respondents will consider jobs with little communication needed as more suitable. Respondents were asked to pick one answer per job on a scale ranging from 5 (“A deaf person can do this very well”) to 0 (“This is impossible for a deaf person”).

The results of this question shall be presented in three different ways (*figure 23, 24 & 25*), to allow for easy access to key findings.

- The first visualisation will show the total numbers of each response per job – sorted by the amounts of “very well” mentions.
- The second visualisation will do the same – but the job will be sorted by amount of “impossible” mentions
- The third visualisation presents the arithmetic mean for each job – sorted from high to low.

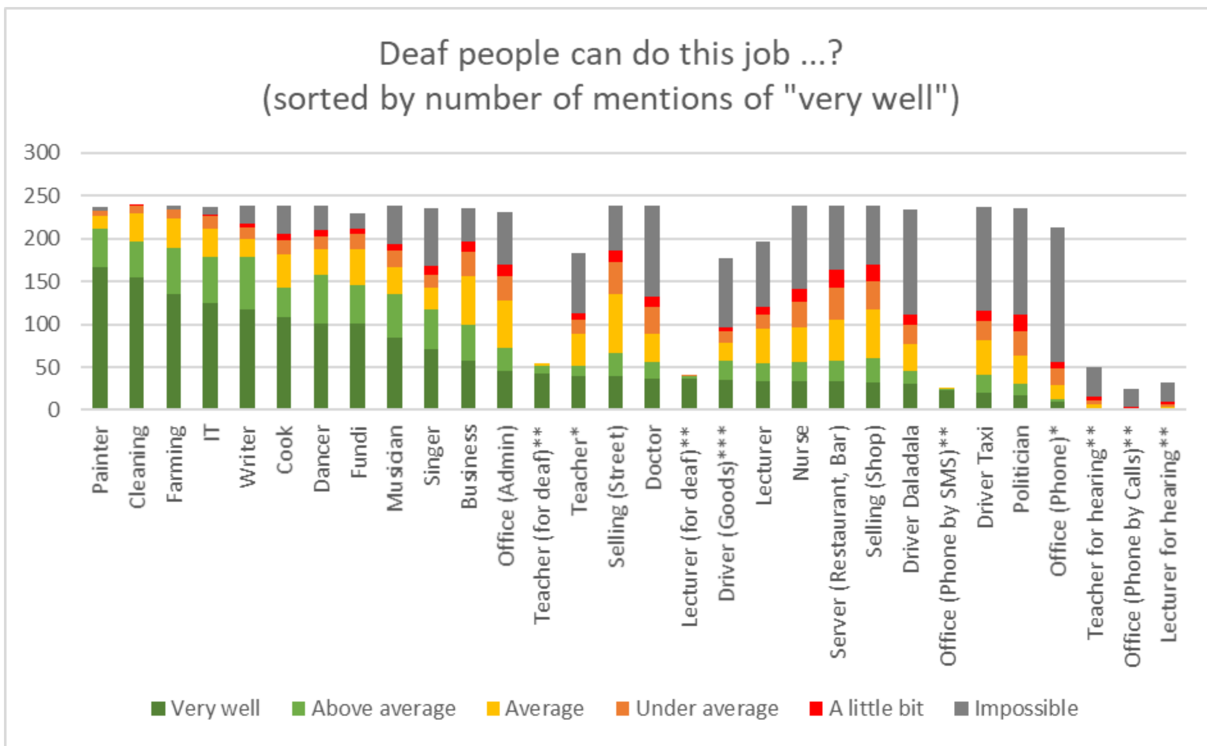


Figure 23: Street Polling: Suitability of jobs for deaf people (sorted by "very well")

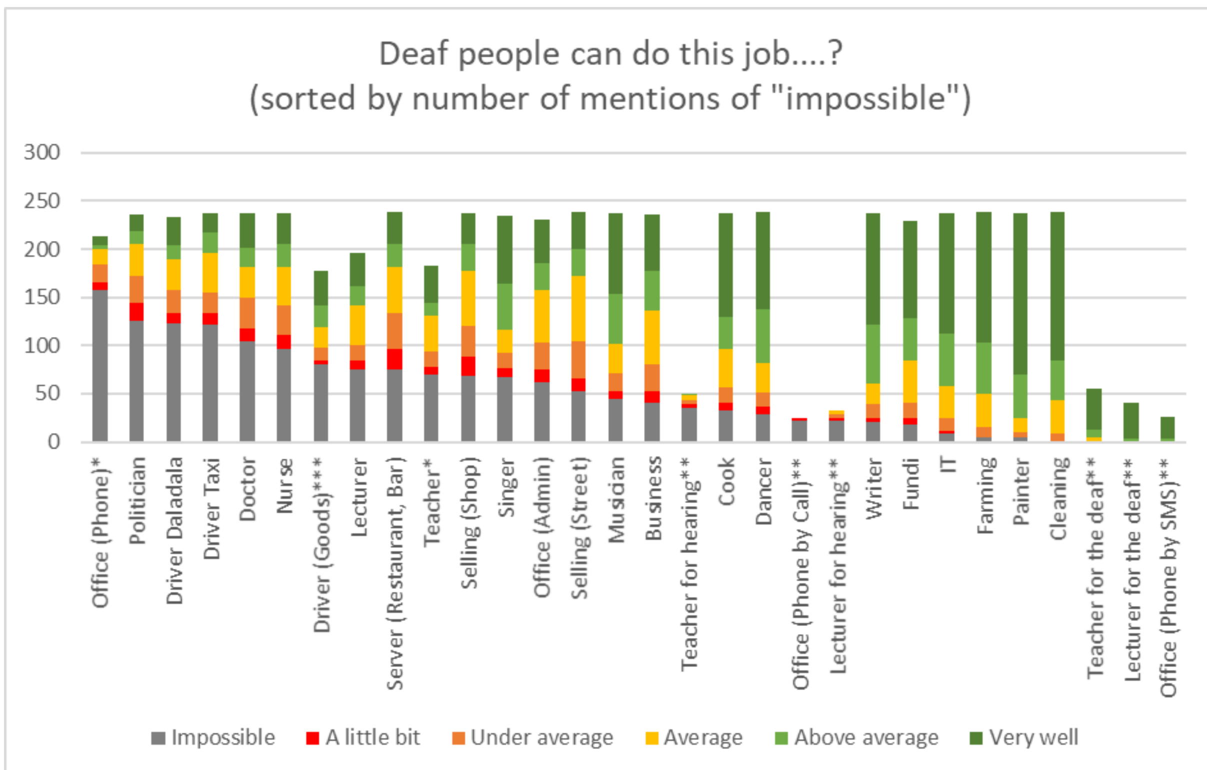


Figure 24: Street Polling: Suitability of jobs for deaf people (sorted by "impossible")

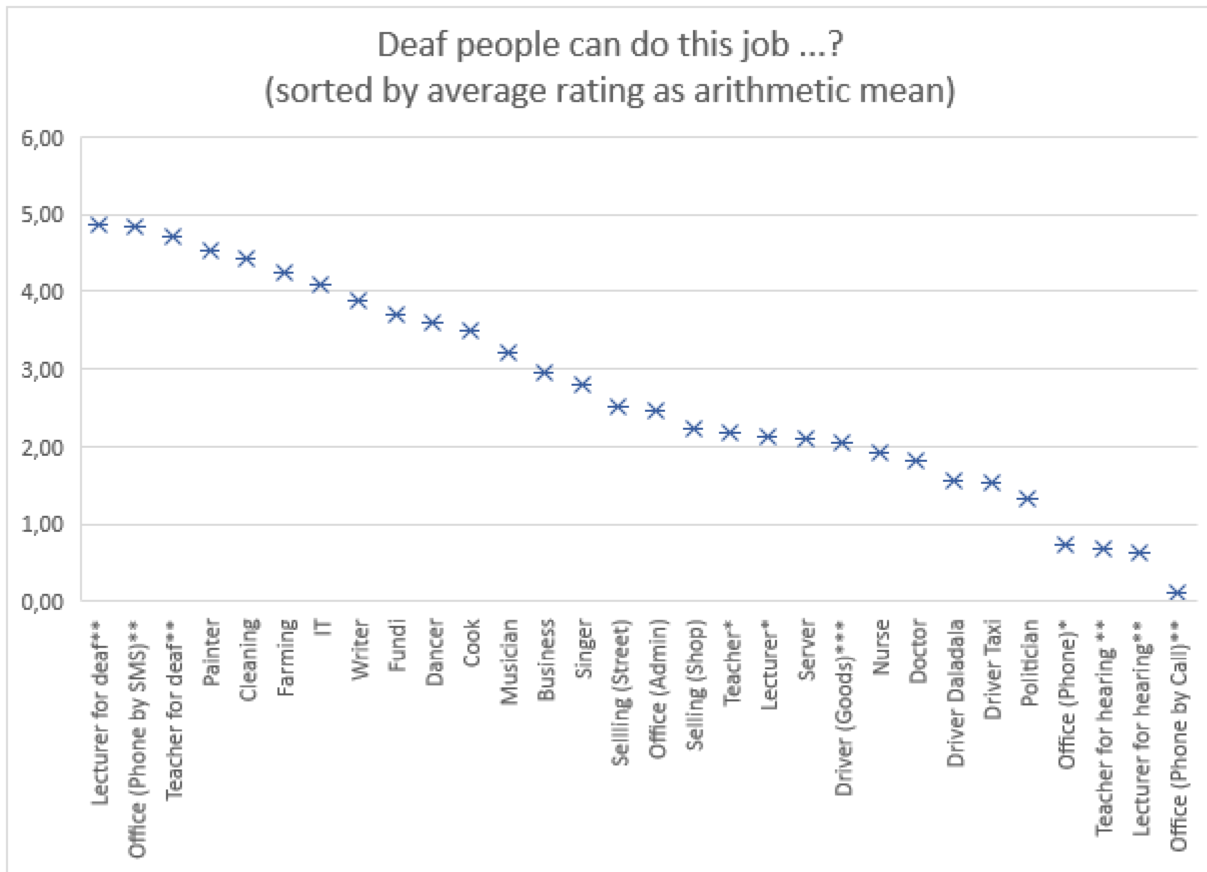


Figure 25: Street Polling: Suitability of jobs for deaf people (sorted by arithmetic mean)

For all three visualisations, please consider the following comments for the jobs marked with asterisks:

(*) These jobs have a slightly smaller number of responses, as some respondents wanted to differentiate their answers, which was then reflected by splitting their answer in two versions of this job. Those two versions can be found here marked with (**)

(***) The job "Driver (Goods)" was added after the first 60 questionnaires had already been filled out, with the purpose of finding out whether people giving negative answers for the jobs of taxi driver and *daladala* driver were due to communication with the customers or due to driving.

These three visualisations show similar trends, which can be displayed by combining their top ranking and lowest ranking jobs (*see figure 26*) – leaving out those jobs marked with two asterisks (**) as they are based on a very low number of responses (see above). We can see that there is a clear congruency for all the positively rated jobs, and a congruency at least between two visualisations when it comes to negatively rated jobs.

	TOP 6 by "very well"	LOWEST 6 by "impossible"	TOP 6 by arithmetic mean
"Good Jobs"	**Painter** **Cleaning** **Farming** **IT** **Writer** **Fundi**	**Cleaning** **Painter** **Farming** **IT** **Fundi** **Writer**	**Painter** **Cleaning** **Farming** **IT** **Writer** **Fundi**
	LOWEST 6 by "very well"	**TOP 6 by "impossible"**	**LOWEST 6 by arithmetic mean**
"Bad Jobs"	**Office (Phone)*** **Politician** **Driver Taxi** **Driver Daladala** Selling Shop Server (Restaurant, Bar)	**Office (Phone)*** **Politician** **Driver Daladala** **Driver Taxi** Doctor Nurse	**Office (Phone)*** **Politician** **Driver Taxi** **Driver Daladala** Doctor Nurse

Figure 26: Street polling: "Good jobs" and "bad jobs" for deaf people

"Good jobs for deaf people"

Deaf are expected to be good painters, which could probably make deaf persons identifying as "people of the eye" (see chapter 1.5) quite happy. In general, all the arts received relatively good rating, including dancer, musician and even singer. As many respondents seemed to differentiate between "*kiziwi*" (deaf) and "*bubu*" ('mute'), some probably did not consider that finding the right pitch as a singer could be very difficult especially for pre-natal deaf or early-deafened people. I do not know of any deaf singer in Tanzania.[333] However, two respondents of my deaf sample were musicians. And dancing deaf could be seen at most social events as well as in social media profiles of deaf people and organisations.

Cleaning and farming are also often mentioned. Respondents often explained that this was due to the fact, that these jobs mainly need "good eyes and strong arms". Not even a single respondent chose the option "impossible" for the job of "cleaning".

The formal translation for IT proved not suitable for the street polling, so when reading the questionnaire out, we would usually add "*kazi ya kompyuta*" (computer work). Many respondents rated this very high, as they often considered this job to be mainly about typing and being able to look at the screen. So, it can be assumed that many respondents could not or did not differentiate be-

[333] In the USA there is e.g. singer-songwriter Mandy Harvey, who went profoundly deaf at age 18. She took part in *America's Got Talent* in her late 20s in 2017.

tween a person who would take notes with a computer or copy texts from handwritten to digital documents and a computer or IT expert able to do programming. Interestingly, though, it would thus seem that the job “office (administration)” should get similarly high ratings, but it did not. Apparently, administration is a seen as a section of work involving a lot of (personal) communication. The job of “writer/book author” did also receive a high rating by many respondents. While there are excellent deaf writers in the world, it seems likely that many of these answers were due to the fact that many respondents once again saw this job mostly in its physical form – bringing letters to a piece of paper or computer. The issue of (late and difficult) acquisition of (written) language and the lack of appropriate education in Tanzania was not usually taken into consideration with reference to this job.
Many respondents also agreed – similar to the experts and many deaf people in my sample – that deaf people would be good at doing *ufundi* work, which can be roughly translated as crafts(wo)manship and includes jobs such as tailor, carpenter, builder, electrician, plumber or car mechanic. Many educational opportunities at vocational training centres also focus on these jobs, with tailoring and carpentry being offered especially often.

“Bad jobs for deaf people”

The lowest rated job is “Office (Customer Service by Phone)”. This question was in fact added as a check whether people did really understand the question and the type of disability involved. In a few cases, this helped to remind respondents that this section of the questionnaire is about deaf people only and sometimes to ‘correct’ prior answers. However, some respondents seemed to also include hard-of-hearing people in the term *viziwi*. This was amongst others shown by them giving intermediate instead of very low ratings for this job, as well as by some later stating that “speaking louder” is a strategy to communicate with the deaf. Quite a few (i.e. 25) respondents however outsmarted my prepared research design. As a phone in Tanzania is usually a mobile phone, they asked to or insisted to give a two-part answer: one for communication by audio call and one for communication by text message/messenger. When they did so, they usually chose the extremes of “impossible” and “very well”, respectively.

Many respondents had a hard time imagining that a deaf person could be politician, as this job was seen basically about communicating permanently with the electorate. Being a deaf politician in Tanzania is certainly a challenge, as a quote by a respondent in CHAVITA 2018 points out:

> “I joined politics in 1992 and became the first CUF member in the region. I climbed in power to become the CUF’s district secretary. I got hearing impairment in 1996. But that did not deter me from participating in political leadership. However, I decided to quit politics in 2001 due to communication challenges. There was no sign language interpreter and, I was supposed to meet a lot of stakeholders as part of my routine work. I tried to contest for councillorship position in 1998 while I was already living with hearing impairment. I did not win the election despite my influence. I ended up as second runner. It was because of the same reasons. Being a deaf needed a lot of energy to pursue voters to understand and vote for you …”[334]

[334] CHAVITA 2018, 28

Next on the list of jobs considered inappropriate for the deaf by the hearing respondents were jobs connected to driving: “Driving *Daladala*” and “Driving Taxi”. Originally, I had chosen those two jobs, as they come with a different way and degree of communication. While a deaf *daladala* driver needs to react fast, he[335] only has to communicate with the *konda*, the conductor, who collects money from the passengers and to whom the passengers shout when they want to drop. The k*onda* could e.g. communicate with the deaf driver by tapping on the shoulder to tell him to stop or similar tactics. With a taxi, the deaf driver would be on his/her own, but also facing only one specific customer, with one specific destination that could be discussed in several ways prior to departure. However, the answers for those two jobs were very negative, and comments sometimes alluded to the fact that this was not due to communication issues, but due to driving itself.[336] So, for the remaining 180 questionnaires, I introduced another job “Driver (Goods)”, which includes truck drivers. When asking about this job, after having asked about the other driving jobs, we added “This is about the act of driving itself.” Still, the difference between drivers of goods (2.04) and drivers of people (1.55 and 1.53) is only about half a category. So, while some respondents considered driving goods acceptable, the large majority still thought that letting a deaf person drive is dangerous or impossible.

The jobs of medical doctor and nurse were also rated low, with many respondents differentiating between the two, but on average the ratings were very similar. Respondents were concerned that a deaf healthcare provider would not be able to understand a patient who came in for treatment. Few respondents considered that there are several tasks to be performed in healthcare, not all of which include permanent personal communication.[337]

Jobs including customer service were also seen as problematic for deaf people. While being a cook was often seen as suitable, being a server was seen as difficult. Tanzania is home to a successful deaf café-restaurant in Iringa, in which customers – including numerous tourists – have to order in sign language or by pointing to the menu. This place, which I was able to visit during the national celebrations for the *2019 Week of the Deaf*, is a popular employer and a meeting point for the deaf. As for Arusha Region, shortly after my arrival a *hoteli* run entirely by deaf women was opened in town, called “*Amani & Upendo*” (Peace and Love). It was more modest than its long-established counterpart in Iringa and customers still had to learn how to communicate with the deaf. Usually those women who could lipread and voice the best, would take the orders.[338]

[335] In 8 months in Tanzania, I did not see a single female *daladala* driver. However, I saw female *kondas* or taxis drivers.

[336] Prejudice about deaf people not being able to drive is not uncommon. In Austria, deaf people are only officially allowed to get a driver’s licence since 1960, in India since 2011. From personal experience I can tell, that even today in Austria, hearing people are sometimes surprised to learn that deaf people drive cars.

[337] While I do not know about deaf doctors or nurses in Tanzania, there were people in my sample who either wanted to or already had studied to be medical laboratorian. One of my respondents stated that s/he would like to be a nurse later. Internationally, there is the Association of Medical Professionals with Hearing Losses (www.amphl.org)

[338] While customers were not especially keen on accommodating the deaf servers by learning sign language, they were quite pragmatic in communication, usually remembering to face them while talking. The most negative view related to this was given to me actually in Dar es Salaam, while sitting with a hearing acquaintance in a *hoteli* and talking about the topic of my research. A man sitting at the next table chimed in to say: “Why would you research on deaf people? You cannot tell them anything.” He continued:

The issue of communication also led to respondents being unsure if deaf were able to sell things on the street or in shops. However, for the later, people often quickly had the idea that transactions can happen by pointing at items and showing numbers with the hand.[339]

I quickly also want to highlight the job of "teacher", which generally received a below-average rating (2.2) and was 'split up' by some respondents into "teacher for the deaf" (with a very positive rating) and "teacher for regular learners" (with a very negative rating). This contrasts with my sample of deaf respondents which includes 9 (former or current, formal or informal) deaf teachers, including one late-deafened official teacher currently teaching a class of regular, hearing learners.

Differences by gender, location, age and knowing deaf people

Sociodemographic data allows for several splits of the street polling data. For details on the splits, please refers to chapter 3.3. First, it can be noted that women have a slightly more positive general view (5.1 out 6) than men (4.7 out of 6) about deaf people working (see prior section). Taking the average of all jobs, the clearest difference can be seen by women being somewhat more positive (2.81 out of 5) than men (2.61) about deaf people's abilities for those 24 jobs. Other differences are even smaller, with younger people of up until 30 years being negligibly more positive (2.77) than those older (2.71). Those 25 respondents who stated to know deaf people created an average rating (2.73) very similar to the overall average of the whole sample (2.71).

In terms of geography, I compared those living in urban areas with those living in rural areas (minus those who lived in urban areas before), with "urban" reaching an average of 2.77 and "rural minus" reaching 2.71. Additionally, those living close to deaf (1km from deaf school) were only slightly more positive (2.75) than others (2.70). However, differences in opinion become somewhat more visible when it came to concrete jobs. Looking at how jobs were rated through the splits, differences are visible. The following tables show the differences in the arithmetic mean of jobs for 'opposing' splits. Only those jobs are shown that have a difference of at least plus/minus 0.33 (on the scale from 0= impossible to 5=very good).

"You cannot even tell them to put this soda bottle here", while contradicting himself by also communicating the exact same request by gestures that anybody, hearing or deaf, would have understood.

[339] In most shops I have visited, you can see all the items available. Seldom products would be in a separate storage room or hidden in closed shelves.

JOBS	FEMALE	MALE	DIFFERENCE
Singer	3.07	2.49	0.58
Fundi	3.94	3.44	0.50
IT	4.31	3.87	0.44
Dancer	3.78	3.37	0.42
Writer	4.10	3.71	0.38
Driver (Goods)***	2.23	1.86	0.36
Cook	3.72	3.37	0.35
Lecturer*	2.28	1.94	0.33

JOBS	URBAN	RURAL MINUS	DIFFERENCE
Driver (Goods)***	3.47	1.63	1.85
Dancer	3.89	3.25	0.64
Office (Admin)	2.73	2.18	0.55
Cook	3.74	3.28	0.46
Teacher for hearing **	*0.90*	*0.56*	*0.34*
Business	3.19	2.85	0.34
Office (Phone)*	0.46	0.81	-0.35
Server	1.78	2.17	-0.39
Singer	2.43	2.92	-0.49

JOBS	30 AND YOUNGER	31 AND OLDER	DIFFERENCE
Sellling (Street)	2.86	2.51	0.35
Selling (Shop)	2.57	2.22	0.35

JOBS	CLOSE TO DEAF	FAR FROM DEAF	DIFFERENCE
Driver (Goods)***	2.64	1.87	0.77
*Lecturer for hearing***	1.00	0.50	0.50
Office (Admin)	2.80	2.36	0.44
Business	3.23	2.84	0.39
Singer	2.52	2.89	-0.37
Politician	1.05	1.42	-0.37
Server	1.75	2.22	-0.47

JOBS	ALL	KNOW DEAF	DIFFERENCE
Singer	2.80	2.17	0.63
*Lecturer for hearing***	0.63	0.00	0.63
Office (Admin)	2.47	2.08	0.39
Driver Daladala	1.55	2.00	-0.45
Selling (Shop)	2.22	2.79	-0.57
Sellling (Street)	2.51	3.29	-0.78
Driver (Goods)***	2.04	3.26	-1.22

Figure 27: Street polling: Split differences for suitability of jobs for deaf people

The largest difference – of nearly two grades – can be seen for the job of driving a car. The rural population (minus those who had before lived in large cities) considered it extremely unlikely that deaf people can drive, while the urban population considered it a relatively good job for the deaf. In terms of gender, female respondents were more positive about deaf people being singers, the important segment of craftsmanship, IT, dancing, writing, driving, cooking and also lecturing
The urban population also considered dancing, office administration work, cooking or being a business (wo)man slightly better suited for the deaf than their rural counterparts. (The results for "lecturer/teacher for hearing" are based on very few responses each).
The rural population however considered it more likely that deaf people would be able to use a phone, which might be due to mixing them with hard-of-hearing. In both areas however, the rating is very low. The rural population considered it more likely that deaf could serve in a *hoteli* or bar and that they could sing.
Differences by age were rare. Those aged 30 and younger only were slightly more positive about deaf people selling in shops or as street vendors.
Comparing those who live close to deaf (i.e. within 1km from a deaf school) and those who do not (i.e. at least 2.5km away), the most visible difference of opinion is again about deaf people being able to drive. Additionally, those close to deaf schools were more positive about deaf people doing administration or business work. They were however more negative about deaf people being singers, politicians and servers.
Those respondents who stated to know a deaf person were a relatively small group (i.e. 25 people out of 240). Comparing them with the overall average, they seem to be slightly more aware about the difficulties of being a singer as a deaf person. They are however more positive about deaf people being vendors. And, circling back to the beginning of this section, they are much more positive about deaf people driving cars.

5.3.4. Society's views on employing a deaf person

79% (i.e. 190 people) of the hearing respondents stated that they could imagine employing a deaf person in their company/shop (if they had one).[340] So, at least in theory, people in Arusha are aware that deaf people can contribute to their business. The reasons they gave were clustered. Note that one response can be part of more than one cluster. Percentages were rounded to full numbers. The most common reasons and explanations given were:

22%	"It depends on their education/skills/qualification"
21%	"It depends on the concrete task/job" (This includes those answers which mentioned specific tasks, saying e.g. "They can do IT" or "They can do manual work")
20%	General statements that deaf can work, ranging from "They just can work" to a few praising statements like "Deaf have wisdom" or "They work hard".
18%	"They are human like us" and related statements, e.g. mentioning rights or that stigmatising is wrong.
13%	"I can direct/teach them (with actions)" and similar statements underlining that the respondent is able to make the deaf person do the job.

Figure 28: Street polling: You said you would employ a deaf person. Why?

[340] In reality however, even though people with disabilities (PWD) make up over 7% of the Tanzanian population, companies fail to meet the official target of 2% PWD workforce in the formal sector, reaching only 0.2% nationwide. Cf. chapter 1.8.

Other types of answers were only mentioned a few times, like 8% who mentioned that it would depend on whether the respondent and the deaf person could communicate with each other.
21% (i.e. 50 people) of all the respondents however said that they could NOT imagine employing a deaf person. Asked why, the following answers (summarised in clusters) were given.

22%	"They cannot hear"
22%	"They cannot communicate with customers"
22%	"They cannot communicate with me/boss/colleagues"
10%	Problems with communication (general)
4%	"I do not know sign language to communicate with them"

Figure 29: Street polling: You said you would not employ a deaf person. Why?

As for the first cluster ("They cannot hear"), many respondents did not elaborate on this, obviously of the opinion that this statement itself should make it clear why a deaf person could not be employed. Others pointed to out that the deaf person could not communicate. Only 2 respondents (or 4%) reversed the blame-game and stated "I do not know sign language to communicate with them". This can be interpreted as a rare example of a person from the mainstream society admitting their own responsibility to make an effort to enable deaf people to 'fit in', or to use a more bi-directional expression, to allow deaf and hearing people to come together and cooperate.

While it would be interesting to contextualise these findings with earlier research, secondary literature screened for this thesis did not explicitly cover questions of aspirations for work or society's views on deaf as workers, except for some anecdotal evidence in LEE 2012 pointing to limited belief in deaf people's ability to excel. Deaf studies in Tanzania would greatly benefit from future studies either bringing together anecdotal evidence from several publications or building on the results I have presented here in a research project solely focussed on the issue of career aspirations of the deaf.

My analysis shows that hearing people in Tanzania have rather positive views on deaf people as workers when it comes to a general question, which might be called the macro level. However, the medium level, i.e. the theoretical consideration about the suitability of a certain job for deaf people, is the one where they are most critical, and where certain jobs are excluded due to lack of knowledge on how a deaf person could achieve this. This gap, my research experience shows, can be closed largely on the micro level, i.e. in the direct interaction with a deaf person performing the concrete jobs. Those hearing respondents who met a working deaf person would often mention that, especially if the job was considered difficult, such as being a teacher. Approaches chosen by schools to showcase successful deaf students (e.g. at graduations) might also be useful in terms of showcasing deaf role models in the economy. This result directly feeds into a notion that LEE 2012 found so compelling that she chose it as the title of her thesis. It quotes a deaf Tanzanian person as saying: "They have to see us."

This sub-chapter shows that those hearing respondents with a negative attitude are aware of the issue of communication as a challenge to work with deaf people. Communication has also been mentioned by deaf respondents as a major challenge. Thus, as the next logical step, we will look at how much the mainstream population knows about deaf people's problems in general.

5.4. Being understood? Views on challenges of deaf people

5.4.1. Views by the deaf themselves

Throughout the earlier chapters we have described challenges of deaf people ranging from communication and education, work, income, environment, exclusion & ridicule to gender-specific problems. While some respondents provided elaborate life stories, they cannot be given sufficient space in this thesis as it is. Instead, to get a broad overview, the problems mentioned by the deaf respondents were clustered and coded as seen underneath.

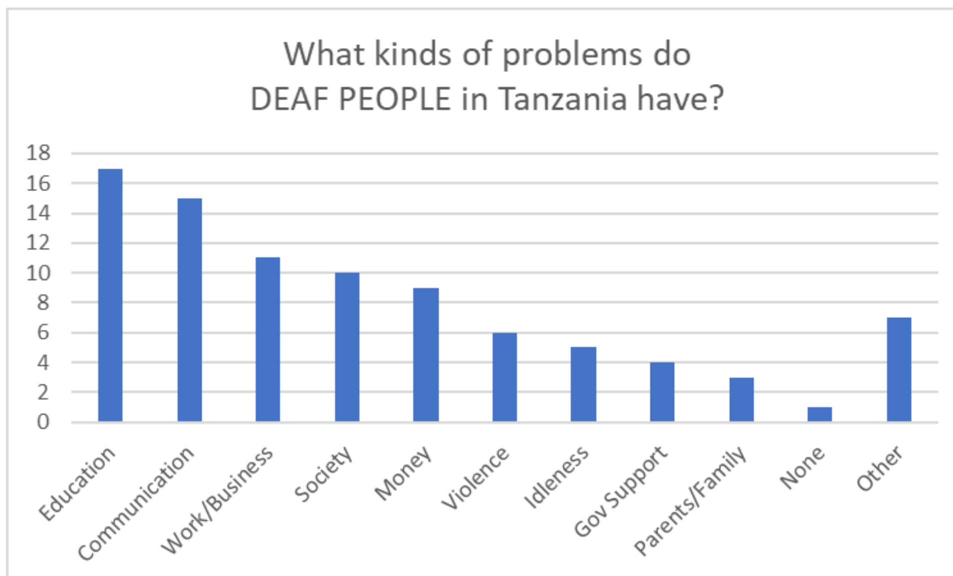


Figure 30: Problems of deaf people in Tanzania, according to deaf respondents
Clustered answers to open question by number of mentions. One statement may feature in more than one cluster.

Speaking for deaf people as a group, most respondents pointed out the problems in education (see chapter 4), communication (see also chapter 5.5), employment (see 5.3) and prejudices within society (see chapter 5.1). When talking about themselves, many focussed on issues that are not unique to deaf people, but common for many Tanzanians such as the issue of money. From former

chapters one could also recognise the topic of idleness, i.e. not being able/allowed to be a productive member of society. Violence, a sensitive topic, was mentioned by two of my 60 respondents, while at least 6 were aware that deaf people are confronted with physical or psychological violence.

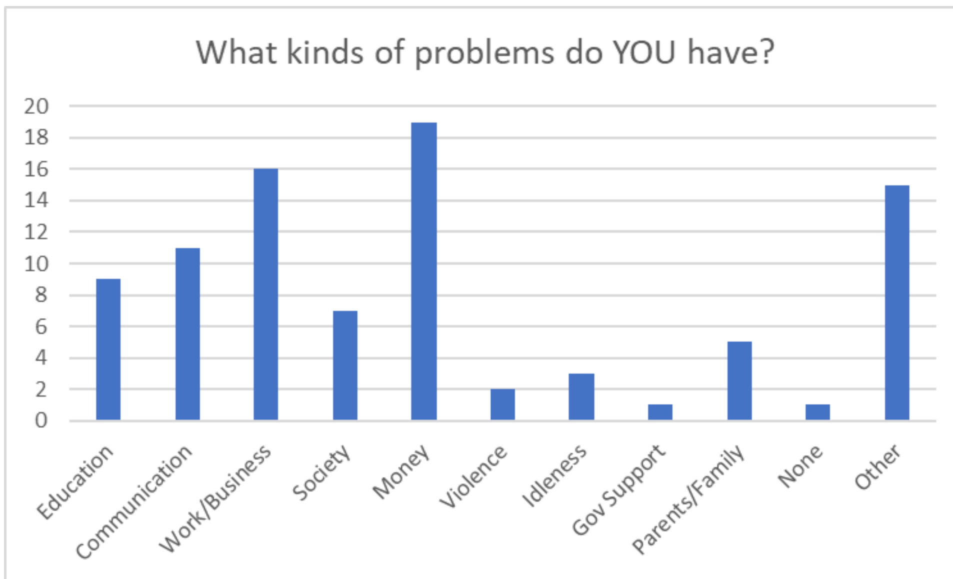


Figure 31: Problems of deaf respondents themselves
Clustered answers to open question by number of mentions. One statement may feature in more than one cluster.

Deaf respondents were also asked to rate their current life and (if possible) the life of deaf people in Tanzania in general. Following up, they have been asked how it has changed over time. In line with the fact that my respondents are a relative elite (because they are educated), in average they rated their own lives somewhat better than that of the average deaf person.

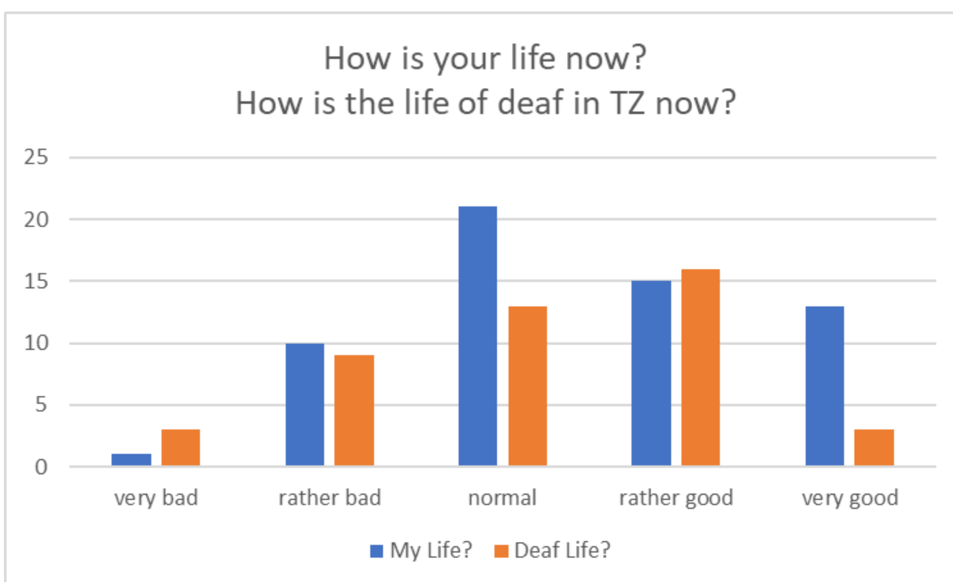


Figure 32: Quality of personal life and life of deaf people now, according to deaf respondents

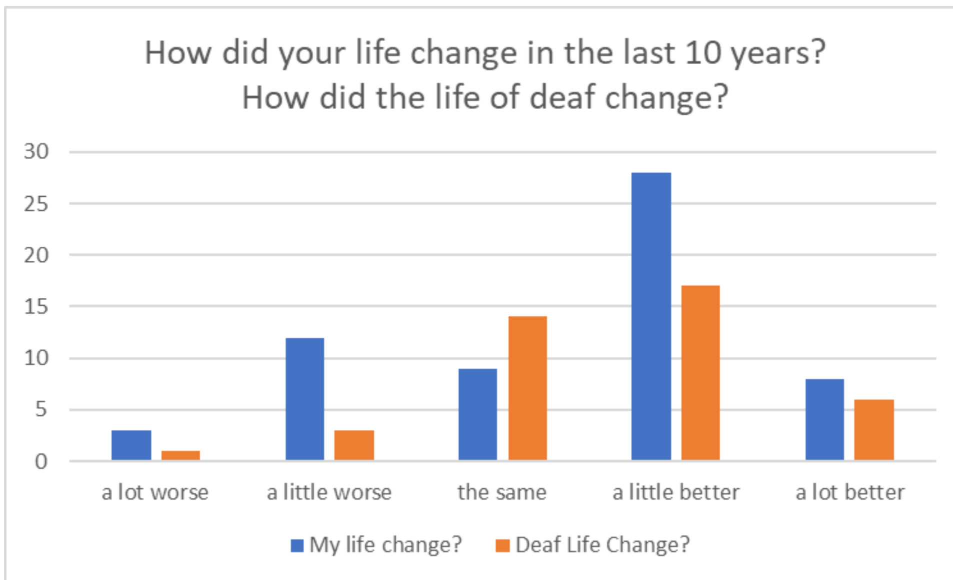


Figure 33: Change of quality of personal life and life of deaf people over the last 10 years, according to deaf respondents

Many also reported a little improvement of their life over the years, which they considered also somewhat true for deaf in general. However, some deaf also said their life has become somewhat worse. Amongst them were several who compared a happy, relatively unworried/light-hearted time at a deaf (unit of a primary) school to the current time involving uncertainties or challenges of work, money and liveliness.

5.4.2. Views by hearing people

Hearing respondents were asked what they think would be "easy" and "hard" for deaf people in general. However, as the answer followed on a question about jobs, most respondents simply repeated job titles, which is why I will not present those results here. However, hearing respondents have also been asked what they think would be challenges that deaf people would encounter explicitly in school or at work. Their answers were clustered for the purpose of this thesis. One statement might be allocated to more than one cluster. Those are the most popular answers:

32% Hearing	24% did not elaborate on how not hearing could be a problem. Additionally, 5% mentioned that they would not hear people (e.g. teachers) and 3% mentioned they could not hear things, like alarms or cars on the way to work/school.
25% Society	This includes statements like "People stigmatise them", "Society does not understand them" or "They are excluded"
20% Communication	While the topic was identified rightly, many respondents saw the problem on the side of the deaf, e.g. saying "They will fail to communicate".
18% Comprehending	Similarly, 15% of respondents made statements like "They fail to understand". Another 3% stated that it is difficult for the deaf to access/get information.
5% Education	This cluster includes general statement like "It is difficult to teach them", "There are not enough schools for them" or "Education is a problem".

Figure 34: Street polling: What challenges do you think deaf people encounter in school and work?

More concrete topics like materials in school, assistive devices, or violence against deaf were only mentioned by a handful of respondents. The largest part of respondents thus gave answers that were not specific to the work/school environment, but more to life in general.

During the interview it was also clear that quite a number of respondents had a hard time finding answers, as they had never contemplated the topic. 5% explicitly answered “I don't know” or did not provide answer. Combined with those 24% who just repeated the obvious fact that “they cannot hear”, this means that 29% of people in Arusha Region have no idea at all what concrete challenges deafness might bring.

Following up on this question, respondents were asked what could be done to alleviate the problems of the deaf (in school and work):

35% Education	One out of each five respondents mentioned that deaf should be educated to solve their problems. Additionally, 9% mentioned that deaf should be send to "deaf schools" or "their schools". (As compared to only 1% or two respondents who were arguing in favour of inclusive schools). Another 5% said there should be (more) special teacher for the deaf. Combined this leads to 35% of all respondents pointing to education as the solution.
17% Effort by Society (Love, Accept, Include)	This includes statements like "Society should love them first", "People should see them as normal people" or "They should not be isolated".
10% Awareness for Society	This includes statements like "Education is needed for the society", "People need to understand that the deaf have the same basic rights as other people" or "All of society should be given education about disability" or "Government should give education to the society so that they can communicate with deaf"
8% - Effort by Society (learn sign language /to communicate)	This includes statements like "People should be taught how to communicate with them", "People should learn sign" or "People should talk with them by action*" *(*many respondents use the words for "actions" and "gestures" more or less interchangeable).*
5% - Effort by Society (teach a deaf)	These respondents pointed out that every person can teach skills to a deaf person, e.g. "Those who know a work e.g. farming, driving or painting, they should teach a deaf person to do it." This also included one statement on conveying knowledge aside from work life: "People need to explain to deaf what is good and is bad".
5% Government	This cluster includes calls for the government to solve the problems, e.g. "Government should give them employment" or "The Ministry of Health should train doctors to better help the deaf" or "Government should give education to the society so that they can communicate with deaf"

Figure 35: Street polling: What do you think can be done to alleviate the problems of deaf people in school and work?

5% mentioned assistive devices. 5% stated they should be given jobs. Some of those mentioned that there should/could be specific places of work for deaf/disabled. Only 2% mentioned giving them money.

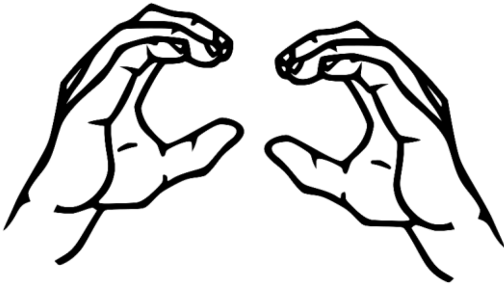
7% mentioned that deaf should be helped somehow, but did not specify how. 12% either said they would not know or did not provide any answer. Summing up, it can be said that 19% of the hearing participants had no concrete idea what would help deaf people overcome challenges. A third of respondents is aware of the key role that better education can play. One out of five is aware that there needs to be an effort by society. One out of ten explicitly mentioned that society needs to be made aware. One out of 20 looks for the government to make this happen and improve the situation of the deaf. Implicitly, calls for better education could also be directed at government (or NGOs).

Regarding the issue of regular members of society making an effort to learn sign language, it is important to remember that even parents of deaf children often decided against learning sign language. One deaf teacher at a deaf unit of a primary school said that only about 5% of the parents made some effort to learn TSL. A hearing teacher reported that parents often stop coming to free TSL classes after one or two times, as they consider their time better spent earning some money to cover their basic needs. A quote by another hearing teacher of the deaf is more optimistic:

> "Society needs to understand that they [i.e. the deaf] have a disability but that as soon as they learn sign language, that disability is off! [...] I want 1 or 2 hours per week to teach students in mainstream classrooms to teach how to communicate with the deaf. [The regular learners at our primary school] are living there [with the deaf] but they do not know anything yet. [If they learn about sign language] I am sure, some of them will become sign language interpreters. I know that. Or, ambassadors, e.g. a police officer or doctor knowing sign language. In the future generation, sign language will expand."

While s/he accepts that this would need commitment by educational officers and government funds, s/he argued that this way also many hearing people will learn to cherish sign language and that TSL could even become a school subject for all Tanzanians. As of now, this is a personal vision, not yet a national plan. So, while such a sign-language-friendly environment sounds attractive, the current situation during my research in 2019 was a different one. Thus, in the next section, we will look at how deaf and hearing people perceived their chances for communication with each other.

5.5. Who to talk to? Communication vs. Isolation



5.5.1. Society's vs. deaf people's views

Asked whether they were personally able to communicate with a deaf person, only 12% of hearing respondents in Arusha Region said "no". 70% stated they could communicate "a bit", and 18% said they could communicate "very well" with a deaf person. Those that answered "Yes, a bit" or "Yes, very well" were then asked to elaborate how they would do that. These are the answers (put in clusters):

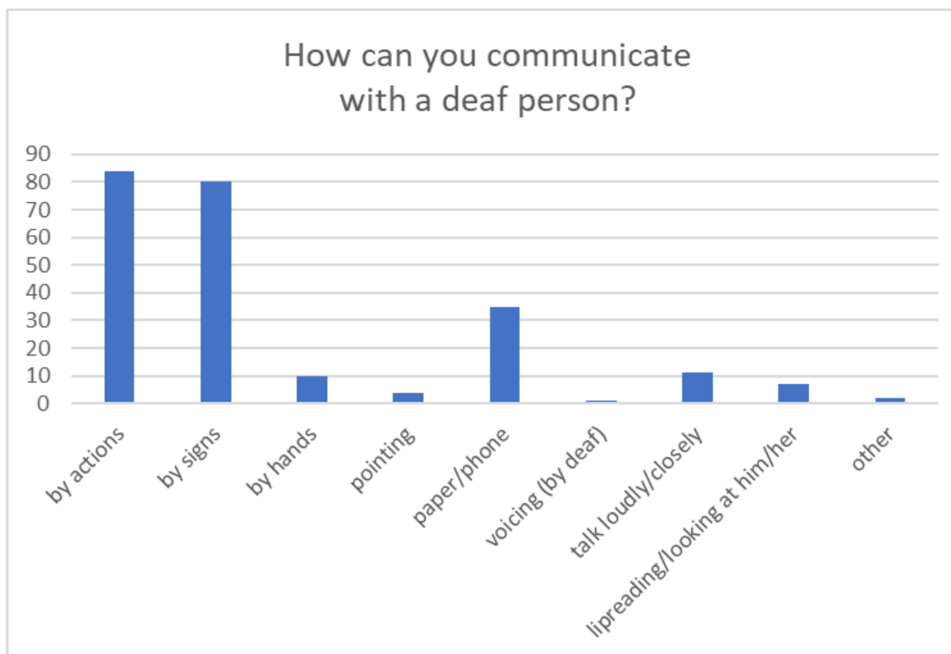


Figure 36: Street polling: How can you communicate with a deaf person?
Clustered answers by numbers of mentions. Note than some people mentioned more than one category.

It is noteworthy that many respondents did not make a clear distinction between "*ishara/alama*" (signs) or "*vitendo*" (actions). All three words were sometimes also used to refer to "gestures". This became also clear in the follow-up questions, when people would be asked about knowing "sign language". When asking this question, we always stressed the word "language", to underline that it is about the proper language, not just any way to make yourself understood. A surprising 69% of respondents claimed to know sign language (59% "a bit" and 10% "very well"). Only 31% stated do not know any sign language. While we tried to phrase the question clearly, there might

have been a misunderstanding. It is also highly possible that many respondents are not aware that there is a difference between “gestures” and “signs”.

How do these assumptions by hearing respondents compare with the experiences of the deaf respondents? Deaf respondents were asked to rate the sign language skills of several groups they interact with. For the regular population, we can look at the numbers for the group of “neighbours”. About half of the deaf respondents stated that their neighbours know no sign language at all (usually signed as *SIFURI*, i.e. ZERO). This contrasts with most hearing respondents stating they would use signs to communicate. A follow-up question looked at how deaf people communicate with different groups. More than half said that communication with neighbours happens by reading lips and voicing. Only a quarter stated that neighbours use gestures. Some more mentioned that written communication by paper or phone is used. Only one single respondent said that some neighbours use signs. However, about 10% of respondents stated that there is in fact no communication at all with neighbours. This means that at least one out of ten deaf is totally isolated from its immediate surrounding. This is especially worrying, as my sample included schooled deaf people only. The situation is likely to be worse for unschooled deaf.

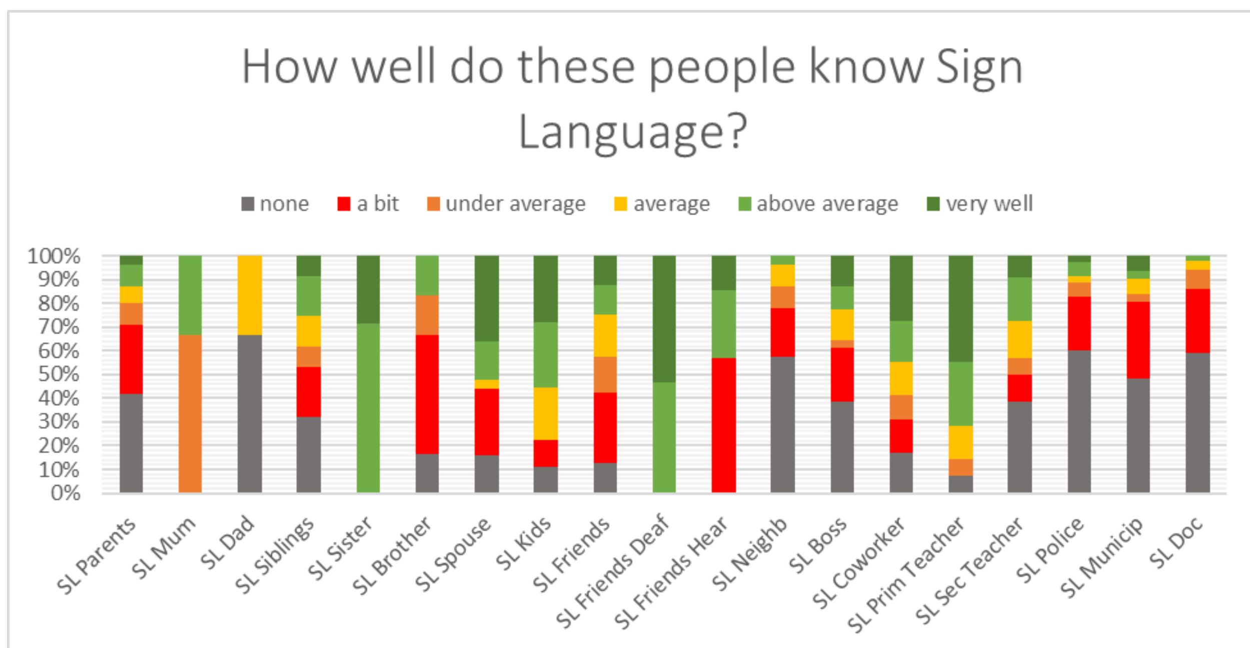


Figure 37: Sign language knowledge of (groups of) people, according to deaf respondents

Note: The following categories have a low number of total responses, as they were “introduced” by some respondents who found the pre-defined categories too broad: Mum & Dad (instead of Parents), Sister & Brother (instead of Siblings), Deaf & Hearing Friend (instead of Friends). As a result, the relative share of these categories has limited significance.

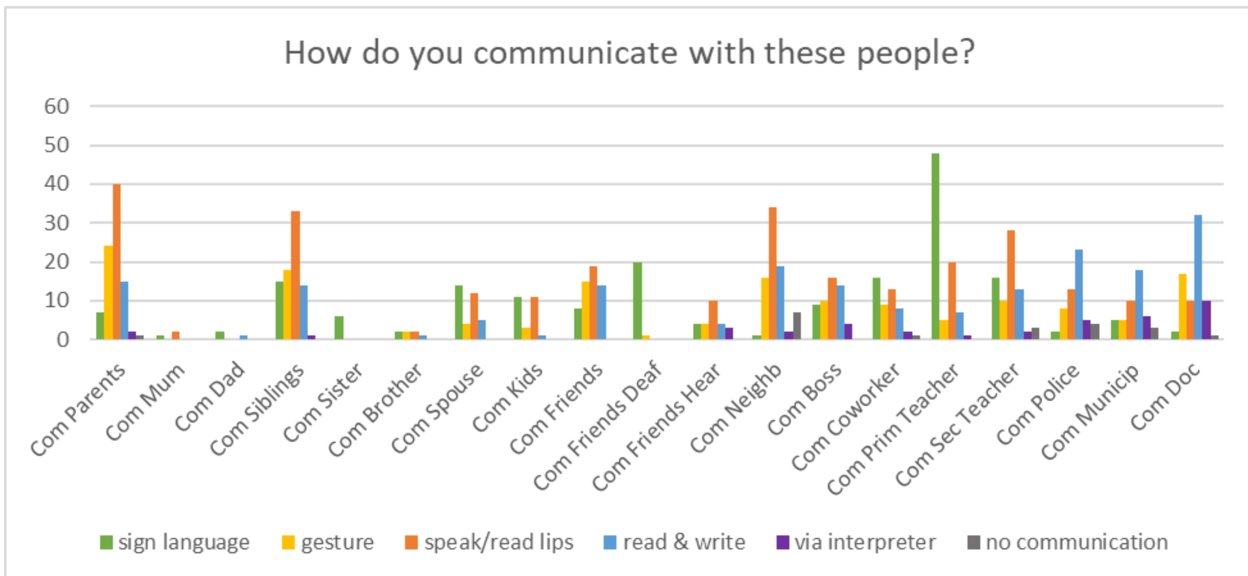


Figure 38: Type of communication used with (groups of) people, according to deaf respondents

Now let us look at the 12% minority of hearing (!) respondents who said they could not communicate with a deaf person. They were asked to explain why they cannot. These are the clustered answers:

Figure 39: Street polling: Why is it you cannot communicate with a deaf person?
Clustered answers by number of mentions.

While most stated to just never having met a deaf person, it is interesting to note, that three respondents stated not knowing sign language, thus admitting their own role in the communication barrier. Four respondents on the other hand saw the disability and thus the communication as an intrinsic problem of the deaf person, simply reiterating that they cannot hear. However, all in all these people are a small minority amongst the full sample of 240 respondents.

Women are more likely to assume that they cannot communicate with a deaf person (15%) than men (8%). Also, women would more readily admit not knowing sign language (37%) than men

(25%). In general, both genders often state knowing "a bit sign language" (women 54%, men 64%) or even knowing "sign language very well" (women 9%, men 11%). This is highly unlikely, and a handful of attempts to sign simple questions or sentences to the respondents never resulted in a response in TSL or a recognisable home sign system. It is quite likely that respondents cannot differentiate between gestures and proper sign language, thus not being aware that sign languages are full languages able to express as much as spoken languages. This assumption or thesis if you will, based on anecdotal evidence, could be confirmed in another research project.

5.5.2. Link between communication & sympathy for different groups

In the questionnaire for the deaf, I did ask to rate (groups of) people by sympathy on a scale from 5 (very good people) to 1 (very bad people).[341] For the same groups I had earlier inquired the level of TSL skills and the usual form of communication with the respondent (sign language, gesture, voicing/lipreading, reading/writing, interpreter or none), as you can see in the section above. After careful considerations, looking for concrete correlations for all groups between these three questions proved questionable for several reasons. First, the number of mentions is often lower than my total deaf sample of 60. Secondly, for some groups a multitude of factors is expected to influence the answer to that question, e.g. issues of custom and respect when it comes to parents, or generally, different sympathy for different jobs (e.g. police vs. medical doctor).

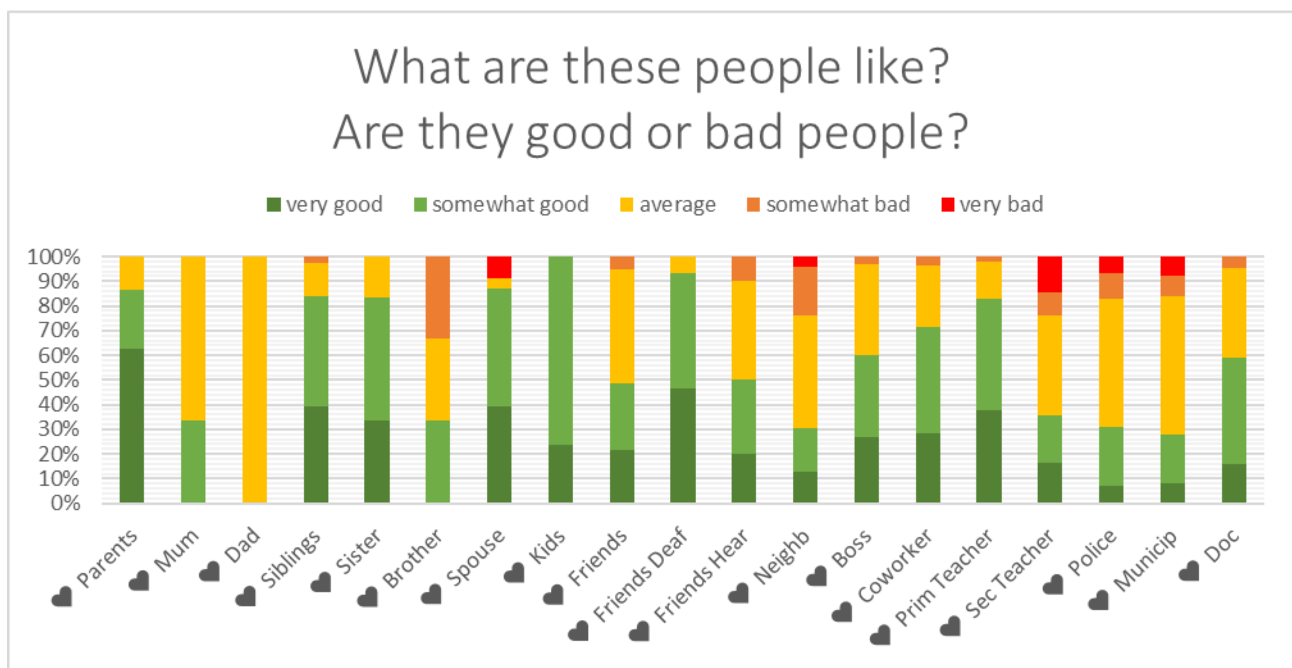


Figure 40: (Groups of) people rated by deaf people
Note: The following categories have a low number of total responses, as they were "introduced" by some respondents who found the pre-defined categories too broad: Mum & Dad (instead of Parents), Sister & Brother (instead of Siblings), Deaf & Hearing Friend (instead of Friends). As a results, the relative share of these categories has limited significance.

[341] I have to disclose that there were slight differences in how respondents understood the question. While a part considered it about their personal sympathy or antipathy for the group/person in question, others also used society's definitions of "good and bad behaviour" to rate groups. Thus, a friend who the deaf respondent likes could also have been rated as "somewhat bad" because he is seen as a 'troublemaker' (*mkorofi*) by society.

However, it is interesting to compare the findings for “Primary School Teachers” and “Secondary School Teachers”. Both groups should theoretically be given the same amount of respect by respondents, i.e. the same amount of ‘polite answers’ vs. ‘honest answers’ is to be expected for both groups. However, it shows that secondary school teachers fare way worse than their counterparts in the primary schools.

Over 70% of respondents rated the TSL skills of their primary school teachers with the two top ratings “very good” or “above average”. Less than 10% rated their former primary teachers as having “no TSL” skills.
However, less than 30% of respondents rated the TSL skills of their secondary school teachers as “very good” or “average”. Half of them rated their former teachers as having “no” or “very little” TSL skills.

This difference is also reflected when respondents were asked whether those people were rather good or rather bad people. Over 70% rated their primary school teachers as “very good” or “rather good” people. Only one respondent rated them as “somewhat bad”.
However, only 31% rated their secondary school teachers the same way. Instead, 24% of respondents rated their secondary school teachers as “rather bad” or “very bad”. That is the highest percentage of negative answers out of all groups. Here, my data can support results by LUZIBILA 2013 who stated, based on questionnaire responses, that deaf learners dislike/hate teachers who do not sign.

Aside from the teachers, there is anecdotal evidence that some respondents would have liked to often differentiate between groups by them knowing or not knowing sign language, or by being deaf or hearing, giving me different ‘ratings’ for deaf or hearing friends, for signing or non-signing siblings etc. While my research design did not permit me to create this many splits, it should at least be noted – in case other researchers attempt larger scale research with a large quantity of deaf respondents, or more in-depth research of individual life stories.

But coming back to our example of teachers: Throughout the interviews, deaf respondents complained strongly that teachers at secondary school would not know sign language (with the exception of *Holy Ghost for the Deaf*, and to a certain degree *Themi Secondary*). Interestingly, on average, they did not complain with the same intensity about their parents, siblings or neighbours not knowing enough sign language – even though they rated the knowledge of these groups also rather low. As a reminder: 71% of parents were rated as having no or very little TSL knowledge.

Thus, it seems that teachers take a central position in the lives of deaf people. Often, they are (together with other deaf students) the ones providing a young deaf learner with the first elaborate language to communicate with. They deliver knowledge to them. They, especially when also deaf, serve as grown up role models to identify with. They are the ones who (try to) convey their morals

and values to the deaf children. In some cases, there might be an emotional bond similar to that between parents and children.[342] That being said, deaf learners might develop higher expectations towards teachers than they have for other groups – due to their positive experience in primary school. When coming to secondary school where teachers cannot communicate with them, and possibly focus more on the majority of hearing students, leaving the deaf learners behind, those expectations are shattered, feelings hurt and a negative attitude developed towards those teachers. Even though the individual teacher might not do those things for bad reasons, but rather due to structural problems at 'inclusive schools' such as lack of teachers, she or he cannot live up to the expectations set by her or his predecessors at deaf units or deaf schools – especially when not learning TSL.

Earlier, I have pointed out that becoming a teacher has been mentioned as a goal by some deaf respondents. While some respondents mentioned the jobs they could imagine doing in the future rather calmly and neutrally, those who chose teacher (for the deaf) usually were quite enthusiastic about it, mentioning that they could help other deaf to be educated. This could also be due to positive experiences with signing hearing teachers and deaf teachers as role models.

5.5.3. "Interpreters" as (involuntary) mediators

Tanzania only started the first university course for TSL interpreters in 2018 at the *University of Dar es Salaam*. Most people officially interpreting so far have been trained on the job and/or in workshops, e.g. by the *Tanzania Association for Sign Language Interpreters* in cooperation with *CHAVITA* and foreign donors. Many people interpreting in Arusha were also (special education) teachers. However, there are also many situations where hearing people are assigned the role of interpreter ad-hoc.

This interpretation does not necessarily have to be from pure TSL to pure Swahili. Some respondents who said that their relatives only know a few gestures or very basic TSL later stated that they would still sometimes use them as interpreters, e.g. at a doctor's. This is probably because communication between such family members still works better than with a stranger, and sometimes because they might have background knowledge.

In the chapters covering school life, we have seen that a common strategy of deaf learners to get access to what is taught, especially at schools without teachers who know TSL, is to teach some sign language to a hearing pupil they befriend and ask them to interpret. While this relationship is crucial to many deaf, the quality of this 'interpretation' can be low at times, and the tasks can keep the hearing pupil themselves from properly following and participating in class.

[342] Cf. field notes quoted in introduction to chapter 4.3.

Even myself, a foreigner with limited TSL and limited Swahili skills, sometimes was given the role of interpreter, which worked fine for simple every day conversations, but proved difficult once I was thrown in at the deep end to interpret spontaneously between a group of deaf people and a local government officer. While all agreed that the conversation would work better with me than without me, I had to spend some time to explain to both side what I can and what I cannot do. A few times, I had to remind them 'not to kill the messenger', when one side was trying to cut me out finishing the interpretation of what had already been said by the other side. After all, interrupting me as 'interpreter' only led to some information being lost, but not really to interrupting the other side.

A hearing foreign person working for *Jehova's Witnesses* told me:

> "Deaf mainly come to us with problems of not having work, in which we cannot directly assist, since we are about spirituality, and also with family problems, there is a lot of fighting, and I get an interpretation role, which I don't like that much. We try not to get involved too much […] The parents, they want us to straighten their children out. Even adult deaf people are sometimes seen as children."

This experience is very similar to that of teachers of the deaf, as already mentioned in chapter 4.2. One teacher for example told me: "And sometimes parents come here and say: 'Madame, please, help me, talk with the boy. Tell him I need one, two, three.'" Sometimes they are also asked to interpret via video calls.

The idealistic scenario in which an interpreter is just a conveyor of a message, seems to be rare, except for speech-type situations such as sermons in church. During the 2019 national celebrations of the *International Week of the Deaf* in Iringa, officers of *CHAVITA* were explaining to deaf and hearing participants alike that an interpreter is "not a helper of the deaf person", but should be a neutral transmitter. Apparently, they see a need to reiterate this every now and then.

During some larger meetings/workshops in Arusha Region, attended by a handful of deaf and one or two interpreters amongst a crowd of hearing people, they often formed some kind of microcosm. I could see and was also told that interpreters sometimes had a hard time due to lack of (established and well-understood) signs for some economic or technological terms. Instead of continuously interpreting and losing the deaf on the way, they sometimes skipped part of the speeches to instead describe certain new concepts in more detail. At times, when the deaf felt exhausted and focussed their attention elsewhere, interpreters ceased to interpret, with the unspoken approval of the deaf. Sometimes a totally different conversation then occurred that had nothing to do with what the rest of the room was discussing – usually without those hearing participants realising. In a way, this can be interpreted as the small signing group creating their own tiny '*deaf space*', amidst a crowd of hearing people. The official setting and the presence of an interpreter normalise the use of sign language. The fact that (probably) none of the surrounding participants understands TSL enables the group to opt-in and opt-out of the official ongoing discussion at any time.

5.6. Where to feel at home? Deaf spaces

5.6.1. Home vs. school

In chapter 4, I have shown amongst others how many deaf struggle with fitting in at home. Parents, either not aware, not willing or not equipped with enough resources and time, rarely made a serious effort to learn the language of the deaf, signing respondents. Often a combination of speech-reading and some gestures was used, which did not allow for complex, meaningful conversations. Some of my respondents admitted that they had been hidden at least at times from outside viewers. In terms of adaptation it was clear that parents usually expected their deaf children to accommodate them by learning to voice and to read lips, not the other way around by parents learning to sign. My respondents, all with at least some primary school education, have the opportunity to opt for the middle ground: reading & writing. However, speaking and lipreading plus some gestures is much more common. One respondent vividly explained how written communication (via the phone) was accepted when she was far away, but considered too cumbersome by her parents when they met in person. One hearing expert told me that usually “the children have to accommodate the parent’s needs, with one exception, that is one woman who is so interested in learning TSL, so I teach her.” One deaf teacher stated that from all parents of the learners of a deaf unit, only two learned some sign language.

Siblings, often younger brothers or sisters, were reported to be more open to learning some sign language. In several cases, deaf respondents reported liking these siblings who knew to sign somewhat more than their other siblings. In one family with several deaf (and also hearing) siblings, the deaf respondents showed a stronger affection for each other than for their hearing brothers/sisters. When the deaf move away for school or work, the sign language skills of family members often decline, which also influences contact and communication.

Deaf respondents and experts reported that deaf children at home are either given a lot of hard work or instead are left on their own, being idle most of the time. While hard work is certainly seen as positive by society, the latter strategy can be interpreted as parents assuming their deaf children to be totally incapable. Their disability is seen as blocking any chance for those children to fit in as a productive member of society, to fulfil expectations of supporting the family through their work. Deaf children already do not have the possibility to learn incidentally by listening in to adults’ con-

versations. With little to no expectations of them, and thus no practical experience, deaf children are confronted with even less input for their intellectual development as a result.

Once deaf children make it to a deaf school or deaf unit at a primary school, they are faced with new expectations. Generally, this is where there are more people who believe in their potential and thus also challenge them to develop – including deaf and hearing signing teachers and staff, such as matrons, patrons or cooks. Several teachers of the deaf told me that learners do not only learn their (first) language, but also basic life skills such as washing clothes, and convey values of the society to them. One hearing teacher told me:

> “I started to volunteer to interpret for the church and assist church people in learning some TSL, since I saw that deaf people lack manners and morals. They don’t even pray before food, they just start chewing.”

Motivated teachers at the two deaf units at primary schools in Arusha Town and the one deaf secondary school in Tengeru stressed the importance of religious input for the deaf learners. While the latter is church-run, the two others rely on the after-hours motivation of some teachers to go to interpret in church. I will go into more details about religion in the following sub-chapter. The role of teachers has been extensively covered in chapter 4. Thus, suffice it to say here that primary schools are usually the first place where deaf learners find well-meaning adults who want to mould them in their own image to allow them to have a successful life in Tanzanian society.
We should remember that both, teachers of the deaf and some deaf respondents themselves have stated that deaf learners prefer to stay (as long as possible) in school when the holidays begin, instead of going home to their parents, where they are at risk of being idle and with few chances of complex, meaningful conversations happening.[343]

One of the most touching examples of how important deaf schools are for the life of deaf people was not told to me in one of my more formal interviews, but in a rather coincidental encounter in a smaller town. This is how I recorded it in my fieldnotes:

> “Met a lady, born in the 1960s, deaf since a few years old. People who led me to her said that she works all the time, cleaning, farming permanently and that she doesn't eat healthy, but she chooses herself to always eat rice. She was never married, they said. Apparently, she has one child which she raised, but which wasn't around at that particular time, and two grandchildren.
> When we arrived, she was cleaning the floor. She didn't really know the signs I knew, her [few] signs seemed unclear to me. The others think she has forgotten it because she is never around other deaf. Communication was hard. I wrote "Shule yako wapi?" [Your school where?] on a piece of paper and she wrote "TABURA", pointing to it and smiling. So, she went to Tabora School for the Deaf, the first deaf school in Tanzania, which was strictly oral.
> She managed to convey to me that she studied until Standard 7, i.e. finished primary school. She then talked a lot with a nearly unintelligible voice, which I could mostly not catch. She gestured or signed. I thought she gestured "Mzungu" a few times in her story, and something about washing. She seemed partly pressured to tell a story, but partly also enjoying it. I understood that she said she doesn't have money often. I gave her my bottle of juice, which she enjoyed to drink.

[343] Cf. chapter 4.2

> The others later told me she said amongst others that she would like to wash/shower, take a bag and then come with me to Tabora. She apparently somehow thought I am a teacher there. The others later told me that sometimes she walked far, and that one time she even took a bus to [next larger town], with the goal to go back to Tabora. All assume that she did that because this school is where she has been happy.” (excerpt field notes, November 2019)

Summing up, one can conclude that in many cases, deaf feel more 'at home' or at least more comfortable at school than at their family’s house. The main reasons are the lack of communication at home, and the chance to interact and acquire all kinds of formal and informal knowledge at school.

5.6.2. Churches & religion

After schools, where deaf pupils as well as deaf teachers and employees and their friends meet, religiously-justified gatherings were the second most important places and spaces for me to find deaf people and to observe aspects of deaf communities. Unlike in Dar es Salaam or Iringa, none of the deaf in Arusha reported taking part in (or watching) specifically deaf sports such as at deaf soccer clubs. Going to church however was popular with a lot of respondents from Arusha Town.

Furthermore, while this evidence is anecdotal, many hearing teachers of the deaf (or teachers of other students with disabilities) I talked to named one or several of the following reasons for becoming a special education teacher:

- seeing a disabled/deaf person not served
- religious reasons
- curiosity (about sign language)

Some teachers were regular teachers before moving on to special education, after having experienced that children with disability were not served properly at schools, and were often side-lined. Even those teachers themselves were not able to help e.g. deaf learners at that point due to lack of adequate training, such as TSL. They then decided to change that.
As I mentioned, Arusha Region is largely Christian, so none of the teachers I talked to were of another religion. Their religious reasons for teaching the deaf encompassed two aspects. First, it is about living the Christian core-value of helping those in need. Here, the deaf are the object of ‘charity’, the receivers of help. Secondly, it is about conveying Christian values, something considered essential for every human being. Thus, this is about forming the deaf (learners) in the image of the religious majority, teaching them the gospel. The deaf are thus allowed to understand Christian teachings to fit into society.
Aside from that, curiosity and similar traits were at work when some hearing teachers encountered deaf people or sign language, either in real life or via media.

One teacher shall be taken as a good example, as her story includes most aspects. The following is a combination of fieldnotes and interview quotes:

> She used to be a regular teacher for several years. She saw sign language interpreters in the news on TV and was curious. One day a friend introduced her to a deaf person in another region. They communicated by writing and the teacher was impressed. She had to convince her husband to get a diploma for Special Education. She quotes the husband as having said: "Why do you want to teach deaf people? You already have a certificate to teach normal students. Deaf people, they can learn? No, they just loiter."
> […]
> She became a teacher and started to volunteer to interpret for the church and assist church people in learning some TSL, since she saw "that deaf people lack manners and morals". […] She also gives TSL courses for functionaries of the church as well as to parents of deaf people. The first are regularly attended, while the latter are not.
> […]
> She also told me that she wants to create a place of deaf to receive "all kinds of information important for the life of the deaf", e.g. by cooperation with police, healthcare, etc, e.g. informing them about HIV/AIDS. She assumed that HIV has spread to several members in the deaf community due to lack of information.

She is not the only teacher who volunteers after schools to interpret in church: Another teacher at a primary school told me that she teaches deaf students on Saturday and Sunday to cook, to clean, about life, sometimes shows a movie and interprets and teaches about church. She said: "Deaf students can be very creative. […] Society started to appreciate, for example at my church they know that deaf can do a choir. They are human beings. We are the same."

In one case, I was able witness a 'religious afternoon class' at a primary school, with about two dozen deaf learners, a hearing interpreter/teacher, a deaf teacher, a pastor and another church functionary. They were teaching Christian issues to the deaf.

> Topic of the day was "What are prayers?" (maombi) and Mathew 7.7. (Ask and you will be given, search and you will find, knock and you will enter), introduced by the church lady in TSL. One could see she is still learning the language. The children were asked to explain what maombi are, they mostly started by explaining how and when to do it (folding hands before eating, folding hands before sleeping). Pastor and [hearing teacher] jumped in to explain several times and give examples. [Hearing teacher] seemed to give the most vivid examples, but only [deaf teacher] explained it simply by saying "Praying is a conversation with god". The others focussed very much on the "asking for" meaning of maombi. Praying without ceasing was encouraged. While I talked to [teacher] that I just want to observe, the pastor did not know and asked me to speak as well. He said the deaf children are so happy to have so many 'teachers' today. Most of the children actually remembered me, so I just repeated that I am here for research about deaf lives and explained my sign name. Since the focus on praying-only was hard for me to accept and since apparently I was seen as also teaching something, I told them: "Praying alone and being lazy doesn't help, you need to pray and learn, or pray and work." The other 'teachers' agreed with me. (Field Notes, October 2019)

Amongst the children was one girl with a hijab. A teacher confirmed that she was indeed Muslim. She nevertheless participated actively in this class which seemed to me quite specifically Christian.

No respondent could tell me about Muslim services specifically for the deaf. One deaf Muslim man told me: "At the Mosque there is no interpreting service. But there is a group of three deaf, we usu-

ally meet after Mosque to piga stories."*[344] Thus, they are probably attending a service without really grasping what is discussed by the imam – simply because it is socially expected and because it allows them to meet afterwards to chat.

Early during my research, I got touch with the *Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania* (ELCT[345]) in Arusha city centre, in which a service was interpreted into TSL every Sunday morning. However, I nearly overlooked another important place where deaf people gathered: the 'Kingdom Hall' of Jehovah's Witnesses a few kilometres from Arusha city centre.

Both places acted definitely as what LEE 2012 would call "temporary deaf spaces"[346], as some excerpts from my fieldnotes show. At least 17 of my 60 respondents either stated to be Lutheran or explicitly mentioned the Swahili abbreviation of the ELCT church. The TSL-interpreted service was started in May 2018 on the initiative of the main interpreter, who is also a teacher. The service is supposed to start each Sunday at 9am. As several (regular) services were scheduled each day, and some took a bit longer, the deaf would usually gather outside, waiting and exchanging news, until they were allowed in. This is what I recorded at one service:

> About 15 deaf people, the interpreter, three interpreters-in-training who interpreted the easier or less important parts. Anything said and also the songs were interpreted. The deaf did not donate for the new church building ("This looks expensive, who will pay that?"), but they were enthusiastic about the merchandise, a cup which goes from plain black to showing the picture of the planned church once it is filled with hot water. Most deaf did donate for the general collection [offering of money], which is done in a procession of all attendants. Hard to opt-out. […] The church did provide statistics which part of the church donated how much [, also on a screen]. Pressure.[…] Deaf people usually arrived prior to the service and stayed longer afterwards to chat with each other and exchange news. […]
> [When a baptising took place, the experienced interpreter] did interpret for the parents, a young female interpreter-in-training was interpreting for the others at this time. (excerpt from field notes, October 2019)

Many actors here were the same I had also met at the religious afternoon class described above. So there seem to be some ties between this protestant church and one of the deaf units in town. During the service, sermons, songs and announcements were translated to TSL, but sometimes one could see that it was hard for the interpreters to follow the speed of the speaker, and as a result they resorted to *Signed Swahili* at times. A screen was used to display information, song numbers or bible sections. A handful of the deaf read along while watching the signed interpretation. In some cases, the interpreter double-checked with the deaf (who sat in the first few rows on the left side) whether they understood a certain concept. I attended three of the interpreted Sunday services. Once, the pastor explicitly pointed out the deaf and the work done by the interpreters. The majority of congregants were hearing, at least ten times more than the deaf.

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[344] „piga stories" can be roughly translated with "chatting".
[345] Kanisa la Kiinjili la Kilutheri Tanzania (KKKT) in Swahili.
[346] For the concept of deaf spaces, cf. chapter 2.5 or LEE 2012, 171ff

Through one of my respondents, I heard more about the second religious place in Arusha Town, the ‘Kingdom Hall’ of *Jehova’s Witnesses*. *Jehovah's Witnesses* (JW) are a Christian Adventist group which originated in the 19th century in the USA, with a centralist organisation and strict behavioural rules. “Witnesses believe that they are living in the last days, and they look forward to the imminent establishment of God’s kingdom on earth, which will be headed by Christ and jointly administered by 144,000 human corulers [...] The Witnesses’ distrust of contemporary institutions extends to other religious denominations, from which they remain separate. They disavow terms such as minister and church. The leaders of some mainstream Christian churches have denounced the Witnesses for doctrinal deviation (especially their non-Trinitarian teachings) and have condemned them as a “cult.””[347] As I only visited JW in Arusha late during my research, I did not gather any information about the relation between them and other religious organisations in the region. Following, I will only describe and analyse deaf people’s integration in JW Arusha. Same as with other religious, governmental or private organisations, this does not mean that I either endorse or reject it.

Two people told me that JW started formal deaf-group activities in Arusha in 2009. Earlier, in 2000-2003 a foreign hearing member had been interpreting, she told me, using signs she had acquired from the deaf she was interpreting for. While she was quite sensible not to bring ASL influence with her, she admitted that this might not have been fully successful. For other signs, she argued that the standard TSL sign does not fit the believes of the JW (such as signing “bible” as “book with cross” or “roho” (ghost, soul) with a gesture indicating the soul leaving the body through the mouth). She stated that in the past, there had been JW Volunteers from the US, Finland, Spain, Netherlands, with some people having had prior experience in Suriname Sign Language. This might have led to some linguistic influences also.

Prior to talking to her, I visited two JW services, with 30-40 attendants each. One time I was early, so I could see that 5-10 of them arrived about an hour to half an hour before service started, in order to chat. Unlike at the Protestant church, these services on Sunday and Wednesday are explicitly for deaf people. Everything is signed, no voice is used by those presenting. While the language used in general was TSL, I could see influences of other sign languages, e.g. ASL signs for “day”, “learn” or “tree” which I had not seen anywhere else in Arusha. The language used was very “conceptual”, as a foreign JW member called it, meaning it was quite poetic, semi-transparent signing following the logic of a visual language rather than that of spoken Swahili. This should make it easier to understand for the deaf. The service was a lot more interactive, several people were presenting, partly in the form of little ‘plays’ or ‘conversations on stage’. One main instrument used was a question-and-answer session after each new topic, to make sure that everyone understood in accordance with the doctrine. The ‘pastor’ seemed to know all participants sign names, as he used them to call them up. Many would raise their hand and eagerly and enthusiastically provide answers. Even children of single digit age stood up to reply. A camera would film the person sign-

[347] BRITANNICA 2020b

ing and a screen at the front would show them, so nobody would have to turn around. The screen was also used to show other content, such as a film explaining how to donate to JW regularly through an online service. After the film, there was also a question-and-answer to make sure all people understood how to send money to the organisation.

Several sign language songs were presented on the screen and all participants signed along. The songs used a lot of facial expression and acting-it-out, not following spoken-language grammar, and was thus, I assume, very accessible to deaf worshipers. I later learned from the foreign JW member that those songs were indeed in Angolan Sign Language, but they were chosen because they were so 'conceptual'. She also told me that JW have a studio in town with multiple screens to allow for professional recording of signed songs in TSL: Wherever the filmed person looks while singing, they can see the template on one of the screens; quite an elaborate system as I could tell from a picture.

All in all, the place felt like the 'most deaf space' I had encountered during my visit to Tanzania – with the exception of the national celebrations of the *Week of the Deaf* in Iringa a few months earlier. This is mostly due to the fact that TSL was clearly the language of the place during the deaf services, as my field notes can illustrate:

> Some people appeared to be hearing, judging from how they signed and very slightly voiced [while signing], but no one really used voice or stopped signing, except for two people sitting in the back […] Rarely one could hear a child, but most of the children were (also) signing, I couldn't easily tell if they are hearing, except for one kid which eventually was bored and talked a bit by voice. Language of the venue was clearly TSL. When talking to a lady who was hearing, […], we found out we're both hearing but neither side switched to spoken Swahili or spoken English, TSL was quite clearly preferred. Even when she shortly switched to Kiswahili for a few words with another hearing person, she quickly switched back to TSL in our conversation. […] People hung around the building [after service, until we were friendly but determined asked to leave], then groups continued talking in front of the hall for a while, not only because of the visitor, but also just to catch up. (excerpt from field notes, November 2019)

As I did not have the time to include a large number of those deaf attending in my formal questionnaire-based interviews[348], I had about a dozen short conversations, mostly asking: Do your parents know sign language? Why/how did you come here? Are your other family members also JW?

Here are some of the statements, based on notes I took during the meeting or directly afterwards:

> "My parents are Christian, they died now. I went to church, but then I never understood anything, so a Mzungu took me here to JW, and I was so happy, there was so much signing, so much exchange and so many deaf people, I come now regularly twice a week. At my work they know I need to be here in time, so if I have a customer on Wednesday, they know I will go here and finish the next day."*

[348] 4 out of my 60 deaf respondents stated to be Jehova's Witnesses

> "I have been Roman Catholic, my parents died, the Catholic Church helped, but I did not understand what happened in church, I moved to several places, after years I found JW. Now I am teaching SL and bible studies. They moved me to Arusha."*

Several people made it clear that attending church had not made a lot of sense to them in the past, but that they often felt like they were missing out on something – which is not surprising given the fact religion plays a big part in Tanzanian everyday life, with churches, mosques and temples basically everywhere in town. Religious knowledge is thus something attractive to acquire to be able to be a member of society 'like everyone else'. JW seem to be especially good in leveraging sign language to offer deaf people this benefit. The deaf changing their religion apparently does not go down well with some parents, as these two statements by two male young deaf show:

> "My parents are at another Christian church, I found JW, my parents did not want me to go here, but I insisted."*

> "My parents are Christian, but I go here to JW without telling them, I keep it a secret for now, I want to learn more about the bible."*

So basically all the deaf I talked to were 'first generation converts' if you will. Only three mentioned a family member sharing their religion. One lady said her family members are of other denominations, except for her mum, who is also JW. The other one explained that in her case being convinced took a bit longer, but that again sign language was instrumental:

> "I was Lutheran, but I didn't like it. I went to the church and I also went to JW because my (hearing) sister went there, but I didn't like it at first. She explained things to me in sign language, and later I went to JW again and they have a lot of things in SL and also I read the bible and understood more and more. Then I made the decision to become JW. I don't like that at the Lutherans the deaf are separated, they don't work together, here at JW there is nice cooperation."

JW, even though at odds with other Christian denominations, is in its core still a Christian religion. The draw of fully signed services and the experience of a temporary deaf space however is not limited to deaf from Christian households, as this short life story shows:

> Young man […], failed in Form 5, went to work, said he was fired at work […], because some other worker blamed his mistakes on him. He was born into a Muslim family, but left them to live with another Muslim family. Those new parents knew sign language, but live far away, so now he lives with a deaf friend with whom he went to [primary school] with. He went to Mosque, but there was no interpreter, then to KKKT [ELCT] but there was no interpreter [then], and finally JW. He said amazed: 'There I could finally learn more things, even a mzungu interpreter is there.' (excerpt from field notes, November 2019)

He is not the only case of a Muslim converting to Jehovah's Witnesses. A young woman told me:

> "I was Muslim, but just my mother and a sister and I changed to JW. I didn't like the fasting all day of the Muslims. I also tried and looked at Lutherans, they had a bit of interpreting, but I liked JW more, there is more for me here."*

These conversions are especially interesting, as strict interpretations of both Islam and JW mean that their respective members usually do not like individuals leaving their religious community. This is another reason why I decided not to provide any quotes of deaf people with their name.

Summing up, both religious houses and services I visited form some part of temporary deaf space. Deaf in Arusha use it to learn about religion, but also to exchange about a lot of other issues, as this is a rare chance to come together. This is in line with results from Dar es Salaam by LEE 2012 who reported that religious services in sign language form *temporary deaf spaces*. While in the case of my visits, especially at JW, many respondents stressed religious regions, Jessica Lee reported that non-religious information was most sought after:

> "Representatives from [deaf organisations] spread news like recruitment for programs with the vocational training programs run by the government (VETA), encourage people to enroll in the recently established savings and loan scheme for deaf people, warn people of recent crimes, and announce births. When the announcement portion of the service begins neighbors elbow their fellow congregants awake from their mid-service slumber to ensure that no one misses the valuable information."[349]

5.6.3. Other temporary and permanent deaf spaces

There are three major categories of places that I did only encounter a few times during my research, but which might also qualify as *deaf spaces*. As mentioned in chapter 5.5.3, I have seen a few instances where a group of deaf attendees and interpreters created their own temporary small *deaf space* at a conference or workshop – amidst a crowd of hearing people. This might be an interesting addition to observations by LEE 2012, who mainly described workshops held exclusively for deaf people as *temporary deaf spaces*.[350]

Likely candidates for *(permanent) deaf spaces* are also the work spaces I have mentioned before, which employ several deaf people at once: a crafts workshop producing all kinds of goods for tourists, a textile company and a hotel. Additionally, the recently created *hoteli* (small restaurant) run by half a dozen deaf women, even though largely catering to hearing patrons, seemed to gain some traction as a place for deaf people to meet. A few times, a deaf person, when meeting another deaf person on the street, would approach him/her and lead him/her to the *hoteli*. I made two short visits to the crafts workshop, which employed 13 deaf people at that time, and I spend a considerable amount of time at the deaf *hoteli*, but I do not have more than anecdotal evidence that these places might qualify as relatively permanent *deaf spaces*.

The third type of spaces I did not look into in detail yet were living areas of the deaf. Most respondents told me that their neighbours did not know sign language. However, at least in one case when

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[349] LEE 2012, 131f
[350] Cf. LEE 2012, 187ff

visiting a home in Arusha Town, my deaf hosts told me about a handful of other deaf living comparably close by. Also, we bumped into one person who knew some basic signs on the way. While this area seems to me to be far from the "shared signing community" that LEE 2012 has identified in another large town of Tanzania[351], it might be the closest thing to it. Even if not, the example definitely shows that deaf people take note when other deaf live in their surrounding and get in touch with them.

[351] She anonymised all place names, calling the place by the pseudonym "Mnazi". Cf. LEE 2012, 190. While I do not want destroy this anonymity she deemed necessary, I can unveil that it is not in Arusha Region.

5.7. With whom to belong? Approaching "deaf community/ies" in Arusha & Tanzania

5.7.1. Friends within and outside deaf groups

Asked who they are friends with, no deaf respondent stated only having hearing friends. A minority of 14 respondents stated having mostly hearing friends. Reasons given were usually either that there would be many hearing people and few deaf people around, or that hearing people can be helpful, as they are a source for information and knowledge.

About half of the respondents stated having only or mostly deaf friends. Reasons given were often about easier communication (through sign language) and about 'being understood' through shared experiences.

Amongst the 17 respondents who stated that their friends were basically half-half, some were eager to underline that they can function well 'in both worlds', by signing and by voicing/lipreading.

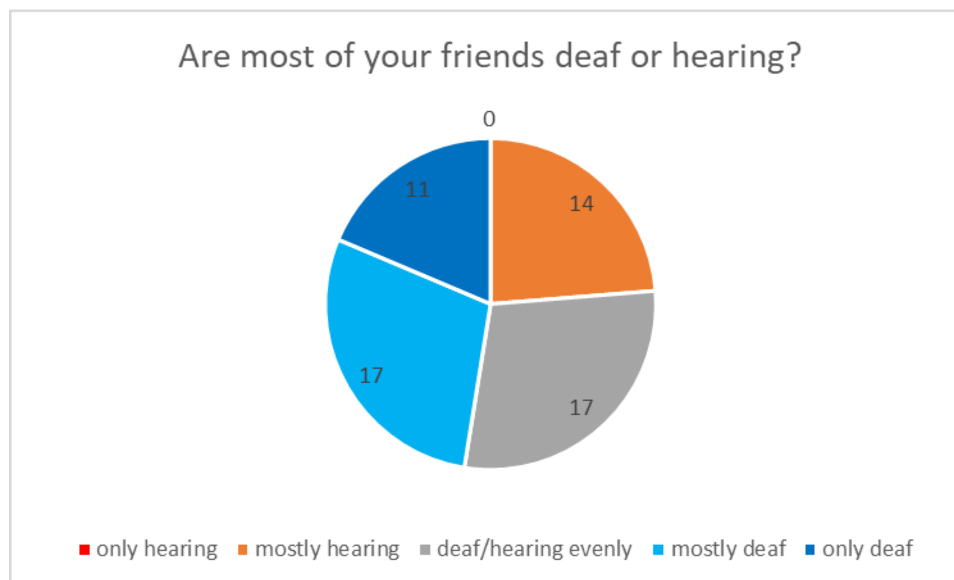

Figure 41: Deaf respondents: Are most of your friends deaf or hearing?
Number of mentions

So, while in an ideal world, any deaf person would be able to choose her/his friends freely amongst both deaf and hearing people, in reality there seems to be a tendency to choose deaf people. The reasons are partly pragmatic and partly emotional. On the other hand, those who state having more hearing friends largely name pragmatic reasons only. This can be interpreted as deaf people feeling more connected to other deaf people than mainstream society. However, this connection is not always there, as this quote shows:

"I actually don't have deaf friends and I don't have hearing friends. I mainly am just having normal conversations with the deaf, but then sometimes they talk bad about myself, and I find out. That is why I withdrew from the deaf community. So I mainly go to work [with other deaf people] and then I just come home."*

5.7.2. Help & harm within and outside deaf groups

Amongst others in chapter 5.4, we have looked at challenges and problems of deaf people in Arusha Region. In terms of being part of society, of fitting in, we should also look at who usually helps them. The answers were clustered as shown in figure 42 underneath.

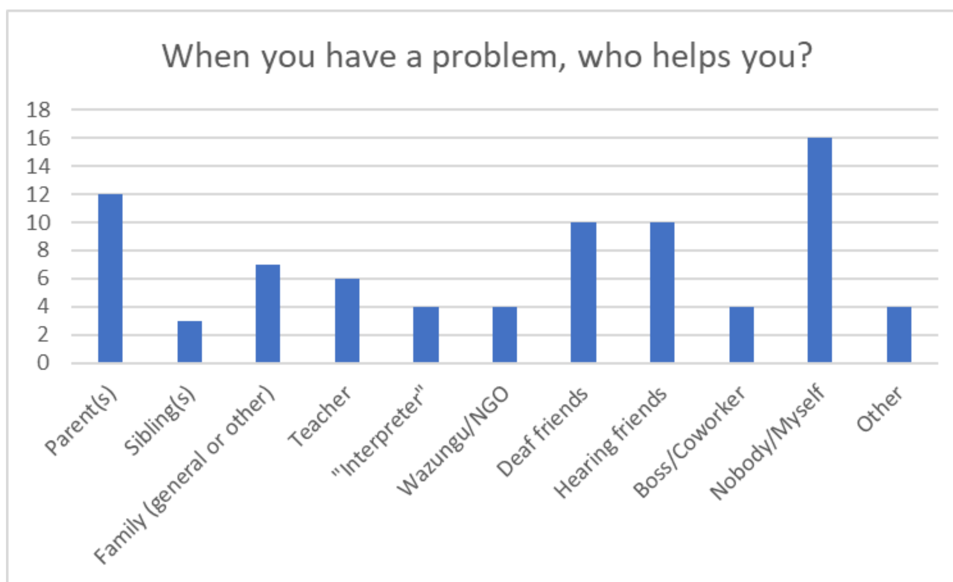

Figure 42: Deaf respondents: When you have a problem, who helps you?
Note: Several deaf respondents used "interpreter" as a term for any hearing person who could sign.

Some quotes shall help to better understand the background of these grouped answers:

"My family suppresses me, my family did not help me, but my deaf friends. In general, my friends help me with problems, deaf and hearing."*
"The deaf community comes to help me, with comments and opinions."*
"The deaf did not help me at all, it was the hearing ones who helped me."* [S/he said that without me having asked to differentiate between deaf and hearing]
"Usually my parents with a little money. Or my friends. [Follow up: deaf or hearing?] My hearing friends, because the deaf themselves have little money."*
"Interpreters, if a communication problem. A bit my friends and parents. Mostly hearing friends, because they get information easily, know much, can communicate easily."*
"Myself, other don't help."*
"I don't like to ask for help, there is no compassion."*

Even though we have seen that communication with the family is often rudimentary, family members are still the largest source for support cited by my deaf respondents (24 mentions).[352] Friends (deaf and hearing on par) follow as sources of support. The quotes above show that some respondents automatically grouped their friends in deaf and hearing, while others only did so when explicitly asked. Interestingly, even though many respondents spoke very fondly of their (primary

[352] It shall be noted that at least some respondents apparently view "help" mainly as tangible help, e.g. giving money or food.

school) teachers, teachers were only mentioned rarely as current support, similarly often as co-workers or people of NGOs, the latter often described as "*wazungu*" ('white people').
It is striking that 16 out of my 60 respondents stated that they are indeed helped by nobody. While some said that with a certain aura of pride on self-sufficiency, most of these 16 were rather sad about this situation. A handful of them also clearly expected a certain group or person close to them (e.g. 'the deaf' or 'my brother') to help them, who in their view failed to fulfil that obligation.

While some deaf thus apparently saw the responsibility to keep them afloat with others, some of those deaf who are working saw help in the form of charity/handout as unfitting. One independent deaf craftsman phrased it this way:

> "Deaf often do not have work, they do not have houses, development is bad. In the last 10 years it got better for the hearing ones, they were building houses, but there was no improvement for the deaf. For example, there was one deaf, whose father and mother died, and s/he was all alone, so the deaf said: Let us find a mzungu who will pay for her/him. But I think it is not good to always go around and begging for help. What we need is development, but this development does not come around."*

While many deaf seemed to have rather low expectations regarding regular people such as neighbours, three groups can be identified who are seen by many deaf as those who should support them – and are thus prone to disappointing in reality:

1) Family: The common assumption that family members should support each other and be close to each other is also known to deaf people in Arusha. However, in reality lack of communication often inhibits this.
2) Teachers: Primary school teachers are often the first people that young deaf children have more complex and meaningful conversations with, in a way they become surrogate parents. Secondary school teachers, often incapable of TSL, are at risk of failing to live up to these expectations.
3) Deaf community: Ideally, it is a place where one can ask for help and is (at least linguistically) understood. Shared experiences and a sense of togetherness is part of that. As with any other small community, internal tensions can inhibit this.

20 out of my 60 respondents were in a relationship or married when I interviewed them. About half of them was married to a deaf and half to a hearing person. While this might seem like a balanced ratio, one should note that there are just a lot more hearing people around. So, if all things were equal, the majority of respondents should be married to a hearing person. However, there seems to be a tendency for deaf-deaf relationships. When having a coffee with deaf men at a street corner, I was told a story underlining this:

> "One deaf man said: Hearing-deaf partnerships are no good, they suppress the deaf, they just sit there and don't look at you when you want to talk to them. Look at him, he married a hearing lady, she was not good, she suppressed him. Then she was pregnant, and after 2 months suddenly she was not pregnant anymore. So maybe she talked to her parents to get a medicine to get rid of the child, but she did not talk to him. He did not know she did an abortion.

> Me, myself, when my heart was still free, I usually quickly asked if they are willing to learn sign language. If they were not, if they did not like to sign, I sent them away, I sent them away. Now I am happily married to a deaf woman." (Excerpt from field notes, November 2019)

The story was confirmed by the other deaf man listening in, nodding strongly and sometimes adding details. Some deaf women in other situations have also told me that they would prefer a deaf husband. 7 of those 9 deaf persons in a relationship with a hearing person stated that their partners know "very little" or "no" sign language. Only one stated that their spouse knows TSL "very well".

There was no difference in sympathy ratings given about spouses: In both groups, spouses were rated as "very good people" or "good people", which might be a socially expected answer.

In other situations, it often seemed as if deaf people were especially shocked by a deaf person 'hurting' or 'not supporting' another deaf person, since this kind of behaviour is more commonly associated with hearing people. This could be seen when I was told that a deaf father refused to support the child he had with a deaf woman. The sentiment was: One would expect that from a hearing Casanova, but from a deaf man?

A similar notion can be seen in a statement by a deaf expert depicting deaf perpetrators as somewhat less harmful, lacking awareness, while hearing perpetrators would be committing the worse deeds, acting in full awareness of their actions:

> "There is a gender difference in the problem of deaf people. Deaf men lack gender awareness. Many deaf women are suppressed, often by deaf men. But also, they are sexually harassed, and that often by hearing men. For example, if a young deaf girl is hidden at home, which in itself is not a good thing, because she is hidden at home by her parents, and then an intruder can come and have sexual intercourse with her. Also, very often if deaf women are pregnant, the fathers would say it would not be their child or they would not support the child at all."*

The deaf world in Arusha Region is certainly not uniform. Looking into all the confrontational lines within (!) the group(s) of deaf people would be worthy of a research project in its own right and would for sure be a delicate endeavour.[353] However, some issues arose during interviews and conversations and should at least be noted here. Deaf respondents often drew on examples from both inside Arusha region and other parts of Tanzania.

Firstly, a handful of them claimed that there were some deaf officials in organisations who would only be interested in their personal gain and even allured to embezzlement, especially of 'spontaneous' donations by foreign individuals.[354]

Secondly, some stated that a divide between voicing and none-voicing deaf existed, with the voicing ones having the upper hand and dominating positions in organisations.

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[353] LEE 2012 partly covered this with a focus on Dar es Salaam based organisations

[354] While I had no way of confirming or refuting this, I did realise that money seemed to be a sensitive issue. Some deaf who climbed the social ladder and found a good job with an NGO or company, often reliant on foreign money, or in some cases the government, were reluctant to state how much they earned. As this question of my questionnaire was explicitly marked as voluntary, I decided to exclude it from the formal results. However, it will not surprise that there seems to be a mentionable range from basically no income, through irregular income that barely covers necessities, to a regular one that allows to consider building a home.

The third issue is a more light-hearted one that could be observed when deaf people from different areas met: The teasing discussion on which one is the 'right' sign for a certain term, with each person or group insisting on their sign.[355]

5.7.3. "Deafness" and "deaf culture" in Arusha/Tanzania

As described in chapter 2.5, LEE 2012 argues that deaf people in Tanzania mostly do not share the 'Western' concept of a deaf culture. However, my results and experiences in Arusha Region definitely allure to a special bond that exists between deaf people there.

LEE noted that in Tanzania there is little interest in deaf people from other countries. However, some deaf respondents enthusiastically told me about deaf *mzungu* friends they made. One young deaf man told me how he likes to watch people using ASL, saying: "They are signing so fast, that is amazing"*. One person works as tour guide for foreign deaf people and knows how to sign several languages. He stated that hearing Tanzanians would often not understand his ambitions, while deaf *wazungu* would understand and support him. Some of the deaf boys at the secondary school asked me several times if I could put them in touch with deaf people from my home country.[356] Deaf people at the Jehova's Witness asked me about deaf people in other countries[357], pleased by similarities and amused by differences. One of them asked me how deaf people in Austria meet. When I explained that there are deaf clubs, but that deaf nowadays would also often simply arrange to meet each other via text messages, s/he started to explain what s/he seemed to see the typical way for deaf Tanzanians to meet:

> "Well, you know here not everyone has a phone. We walk until we bump into another deaf, and then we walk together until we meet another deaf, and then the three of us walk together, so by the time we arrive here we are maybe a group. Or after work at [crafts workshop], we don't take the daladala, we walk and we exchange stories, stories, stories. [happy]"* (quote from fieldnotes, November 2019)

At another day, I actually was invited on one of those long walks, where deaf started at their work place, and were then strolling along a large road, quickly splitting up in gendered groups to chat ('*piga stories*'). The men told me that they sometimes stop along the way to buy a coffee, and showed me the place. The vendor and some of the other regular customers seemed to know some basic signs/gestures and were sharing some jokes with the deaf men, although their gestures/signs were probably not enough for complex stories.

Talking of stories: Several times, deaf people used to tell stories in which a person was just called "a deaf", even though the story did not necessarily have any specific connection to deafness. I know this from conversations within the deaf community in Austria. It is similar to Afro-Americans

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[355] On the politics and issues of power involved in the standardisation of TSL, cf. LEE 2012, 119ff

[356] A few times however, deaf people asked me to confirm that there are actually deaf people in my country. (A similar experience is described in LEE 2012, 147). The question seemed to be rooted in a medical model on deafness (see chapter 1.5) and a strong believe that 'America' or 'Europe' have powerful medicine and machines that basically cure any illness or 'fix' any disability.

[357] One person literally translated signed: "Deaf bongo here, deaf bongo in Europe, how are they different?"

who might tell a story about “this black dude”, even though the story itself at first sight had nothing to do with ethnicity or ‘race’. In a way “*kiziwi*” (“deaf person”) becomes a main trait to describe a person, as it happens in other cases with ‘race’ (see above), nationalities (“A German, a Briton and a Frenchman walk into a bar…”) or ethnic groups/‘tribes’ (“There is a Maasai selling this at the corner.”, “Tyrolians are just like that.”)
So, while Jessica Lee said she had to rethink her expectations of finding a “deaf community” with a specific “deaf culture”[358], and concluded that it does not exist in Tanzania, I interpret it slightly differently. It is very possible that being ‘*Kiziwi*’ is seen as much as a ‘culture’ as being ‘*Mchagga*’, ‘*Mhehe*’ or ‘*Mpare*’. However, taking specifically Tanzanian views into account, we need to consider that there is a strong drive to identify first and foremost as ‘Tanzanian’ rather than a member of one of the 120 linguistic groups or ‘tribes’. Compared to other African countries, Tanzania has been quite successful in nurturing this national identity – not least because of the shared language of Kiswahili, which does not smack of colonialism like the other linguae francae such as French, Portuguese or English.

Not all of my deaf respondents could answer the question about their ‘tribe’. While a small number of late-deafened respondents had basic skills in a ‘tribal’ language, none of them mentioned a special connection to members of this language group compared to other Tanzanians. However, quite a few stories about bonds with deaf people were cited.

While it would need more extensive research to confirm, I consider it quite likely that the two major categories of identity for educated, signing deaf people in the region are “Tanzanian” and “deaf”. Even categories such as occupation (“student”, “*fundi*”) or gender seemed to feature more prominently than the ‘tribe’ of their birth family.

However, I have to admit that no deaf respondent in Arusha said explicitly that they would see ‘viziwi’ as equivalent to a tribe. Ironically, it was two hearing signers (from Dar es Salaam), an interpreter and a teacher, who were maybe most adamant about ‘deaf culture’, and considered themselves ‘deaf’. In an informal conversation, the interpreter told me:

> “You know, sometimes people ask me what tribe I am. I tell them, I am deaf. Because what is a tribe about? It is about the language you use, right? I use Tanzanian Sign Language, I communicate with my people in TSL. So I am deaf.” (field notes, September 2019)

The teacher, who I gotten to known as passionately about improving education for deaf children, argued similarly. This self-definition of people who are neither biologically deaf nor CODA could be seen to be offensive in some deaf communities in the West. However, LEE 2012 already noted that the boundaries of the deaf group(s) in Tanzania seem to be more open for (hearing) newcomers.[359]

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[358] Prior to publishing her PhD (LEE 2012), she already publicly reflected on this in a journal article (LEE 2010).
[359] Cf. LEE 2012, 216

Like her, I was warmly welcomed by deaf people wherever I met them. Being able to sign Tanzanian Sign Language and to text in Swahili, even though both at intermediate levels, opened many doors to me. Deaf respondents quickly opened up, never doubting my well-meaning. In contrast, hearing respondents during the street polling were sometimes suspicious of my research at first. I had to argue to earn their trust and while I did succeed in most cases, I didn't in all of them. The deaf however, upon seeing me signing, simply took a leap of faith and gave me the benefit of the doubt.

So, while I do not know about any formal organisations of hearing signers aside from the *National Sign Language Interpreters Association* and a CODA Organisation founded in Dar es Salaam in late 2019, hearing people seem to be easily accepted into the 'deaf Tanzanian community'.

Often, I was called 'an interpreter' because I was able to both sign and hear/speak. Many deaf did not differentiate between a person who is a professional interpreter, a teacher who also interprets or any other person communicating bimodally. I attended several events and visited homes, where I was treated as a good guest. I am aware, that some of this could also be due to my status as a foreign researcher, and that my judgement might be clouded by my own 'romanticised' ideas of a deaf community, but I felt welcomed as 'one of them'.

One short conversation, which happened (in TSL of course) at the end of an interview with a young deaf man in a smaller town, can underline that aside from the medical view of deaf as 'not hearing', there is also a cultural view of 'deaf' as a culture of signers:

> Young deaf man: "I really enjoyed meeting you, I like to meet deaf people so much!"
> Me: "Ehm, thanks. But I am hearing. You remember, I told you I am hearing?"
> Young deaf man: "Ah, well, hearing, deaf, it is about sign language, that is deaf, cooperation between deaf and hearing in sign language, that is deaf."

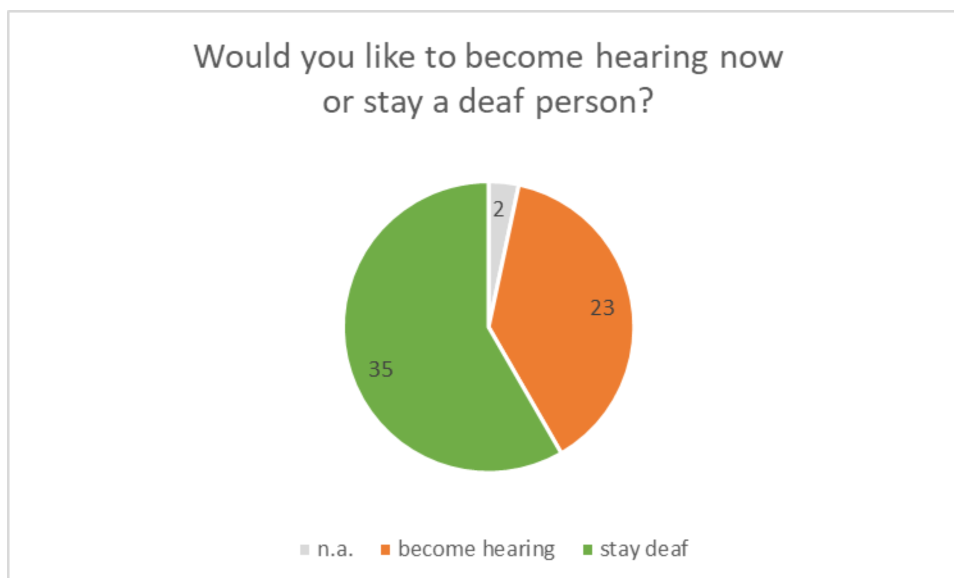

Figure 43: Deaf respondents: Would you like to become hearing now or stay a deaf person?
Number of mentions

The two final questions of my questionnaire for deaf people were an attempt to ask about deaf identity without using these exact words. Basically, I asked how comfortable respondents were as a deaf person and if they would prefer to be hearing. In a first question, I created the theoretical scenario that a medicine or device could make them hearing. I had to be conscious about underlining that this is not reality, to prevent expectations that this would happen soon or that I could provide such an aid.

Being a question that required quite some abstract thinking, it was difficult for many respondents and usually took some explanation, repetition and time to consider. While the results (see figure 43) are not a clear indicator for 'deaf pride', they can be interpreted that for the majority of respondents being deaf forms a part of their identity. Some examples for those answers are:

> "I like to be deaf, God gave me deafness, that's it."*
> "God gave me deafness. I am deaf, that's it. I want to stay this way. Also such a machine could later bring problems or pain, no, I will stay deaf."*
> "I would like to stay deaf, stay with all of my friends"*
> "Absolutely not, I don't want to be hearing, I am deaf, I want to stay deaf."*
> "My mum gave me a hearing aid, I hear a bit with it, but I use/have it at home. I don't like hearing so much, I like signing."*
> "Communication with deaf or people like you is easy if people learn to sign."*
> "No, I want to stay deaf. For example, there was one mzungu who got the head cut open for a CI and now s/he is mentally handicapped."*

So, we see that reasons given includes the trust in god's will/destiny, deaf networks, appreciation of sign language, and negative experiences or expectations about technological interventions. Some respondents were quite adamant when stating that they are just deaf, and that this is who they are, with no explanation needed, which suggests that being deaf forms an integral part of their identity.

One situation that had the strongest 'deaf pride' vibes was this one: When one deaf woman told me with confidence: "It is just a fact, I will stay deaf until I die.", one of her deaf siblings who saw her giving that answer, and who I had already interviewed, was super happy about that answer. The sibling was celebrating it visibly, signing: "Look, I told you so. We are deaf.".
This did not happen in an urban environment, but still there was somewhat of a deaf community around those three deaf siblings, as they could refer me to a handful of other deaf.

However, there were also those deaf who said they would like to hear, saying e.g.:

> "It is about ideas and information. If you are hearing, you can sit with the hearing, talk and get their information. If you are deaf, you are pushed aside from that."*
> "Me personally, I would like to hear, because talking [voicing] is so hard for deaf, it's so hard."*
> "Because talking with signs makes your arms tired, speaking with the mouth seems so easy."*
> "Because if I walk, I can be hit by a car because I don't hear."*

Some respondents added conditions to my hypothetical scenario:

> "Yes, but just a drug or a hearing aid, I don't want to cut my scull open for a machine."*
> "If it would be tuned right for me, since now I cannot understand speech. Because it is so hard to get news/information as a deaf person. If there is no interpreter around, there will be misunderstandings and mistakes."*

Quick and easy access to information, knowledge and communication was mentioned very often. Other reasons were not given that often. Being hit by a car for example was rather something hearing people assumed to be a problem for deaf people (as mentioned during the street polling) than something deaf people themselves mentioned as one. At least one respondent mentioned peer pressure to 'be normal', to 'fit in', basing her/his answer on external views: "Many hearing friends say: I would like to be cured if I were deaf. And they are most of my friends, the deaf are few."*

As mentioned before, two respondents who were (very-)late-deafened sometimes differentiated between 'the deaf' and themselves during the interview, which – together with their limited TSL skills – would indicate that they prefer to stay part of the mainstream.

The follow-up question was even more complex, as it included imagining 'changing the past' or 'time travel' to erase deafness from their life. In many cases I struggled to explain and in over a third of them I failed. However, looking at those 39 who were eventually able to provide an answer, only 9 would be willing to change the past to that of a hearing person, at the cost of losing their experiences and e.g. the friends they made at deaf schools. They gave answers ranging from a cautious: "Yes, I want, yes, but it is hard to say why."* to a convinced "I would like that a lot! I would have lived well, had a happy marriage with a hearing person, would have learned so well, until university!"*

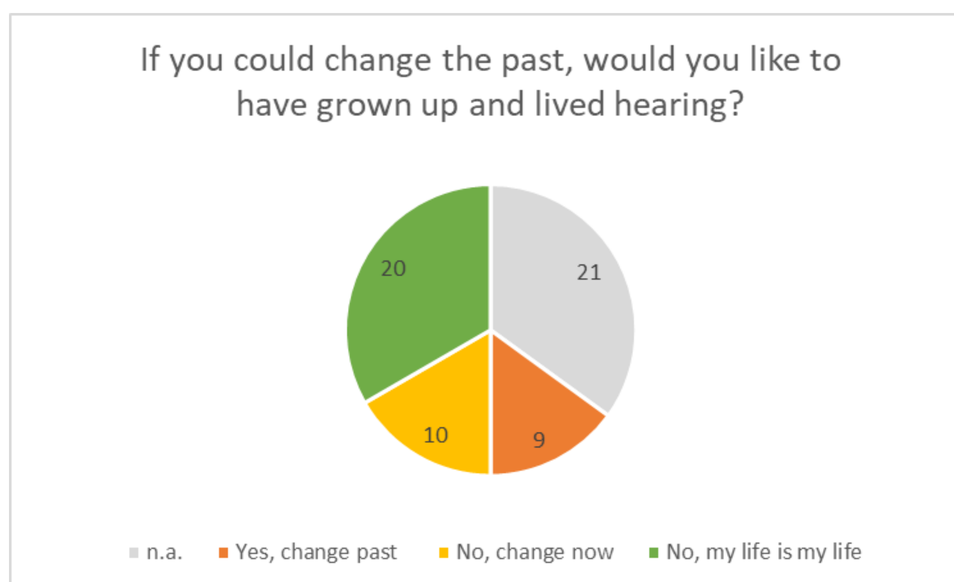

Figure 44: Deaf respondents: If you could change the past, would you like to have grown up and lived hearing?
Number of mentions

On the other hand some respondents, in their way, pointed out that the possible advantages of having lived as a hearing person do not outweigh the risks of a butterfly effect, saying "I would not

know what would happen in my life with this one change."* or pointing out their deaf partner who they might have not met then. Some also mentioned god's will again.

At least one respondent tried to outsmart me and my question, by creating a scenario that would allow them to have entered the hearing world without losing the deaf world:

> "I would be with disabled and deaf people anyway, since I learned how to teach them and about their character. If I would hear again now, I would like to become an interpreter to connect the deaf with other people."*

This statement is one of a multitude of data points indicating that deaf people in Arusha Region feel a special bond with those inside their deaf community/communities. Based on all the results presented in this sub-chapter, I argue that deafness is indeed a strong category of identity for the schooled deaf in my sample, stronger at least than the ethnicity (or 'tribe' as many Tanzanians call it) they were born into. I argue that this is due to the shared language of the deaf. It might not be that visible to visitors, but in line with the tendency of people in the country to identify as Tanzanians first and only secondarily through their language group, it seems likely that "Tanzanian" and "deaf/signing" are the major categories of identity for the majority of my sample.

However, I concur with LEE 2012 that the boundaries of this deaf community, these deaf communities are more permeable than in some Western countries, and that hearing people are easily granted access when they are able to use TSL. So, all in all, the community is partly built on shared experiences (as a deaf person) and partly on the common mode of interaction, i.e. signed language.

That is not to mean that all deaf people in Arusha Region identify strongly as deaf, as some examples of late-deafened respondents show. It also does not mean that deaf people necessarily cut all their ties with their hearing, non-signing family members. Neither does it mean that the postulated deaf community is a monolith or that the *deaf spaces* identified in chapter 5.6 all are a 'happy place' for all deaf in the region. This can be seen when looking at the answers of the deaf to the question of who would usually support them: Family members as well as (deaf and hearing) friends were often mentioned. 27% however reported to be not supported by anyone, having to rely on themselves only. This indicates that about a quarter of deaf people feel neither supported by mainstream society (such as their hearing family or the government) nor by the deaf group(s) around them.

6. Conclusion

Questionnaire-based interviews with 60 adult schooled deaf people and street polling of 240 inhabitants at 12 locations of Arusha Region were the main tools to gather data for this exploratory research. Together with expert interviews, participant observation and literature review they served to illuminate issues around the major research question (RQ)

> How do deaf people in Arusha Region navigate the multilingual education system and how do they then decide and manage to 'fit into' mainstream society or *deaf spaces*, as defined by Jessica Lee?

which for operationalisation was broken down into these five guiding questions (GQ):

1. What is the path of deaf people in Arusha Region through the education system like?
2. How do and did deaf people tackle challenges of multilingualism and other problems?
3. How and where do deaf people in Arusha Region 'fit into' society; in the eyes of the mainstream society, as inquired by street polling, and in their own opinion, as inquired by questionnaire-based interviews?
4. What can be found out about 'deaf spaces' and 'deaf community' in Arusha Region, and how does it relate to findings by LEE 2012?
5. What topics relevant to the deaf in Arusha Region are underreported in research, as evident by comparing issues raised during fieldwork and existing secondary literature?

Due to the largely exploratory approach of this thesis, aspects related to all these questions were found throughout the chapters presenting the results. Largely however, GQ 1 and 2 have been covered in the chronologically organised chapter 4. As for GQ 3 and 4, they were mostly dealt with in chapter 5. The last GQ is a cross cutting one that is reflected in all of my new findings as well as in the prospects for future research to be presented here.

6.1. <u>Key findings & conclusions per guiding question</u>

GQ1: What is the path of deaf people in Arusha through the education system like?

The educational path of deaf children has been shown to be a difficult one. Many do not make it to school. I have shown that only between 7 and 9 per cent of the roughly 2,600 school-aged deaf children in Arusha Region are currently attending a primary school with deaf unit. Arusha Region has 1 private secondary school for deaf boys and 10 units for the deaf at primary schools. While one rather well-equipped urban unit has a long waiting list, rural units (which often lack resources and partly TSL-competent teachers) do not fill all the spots, as deaf children live too far away and no boarding is available. Parents are said to not sending deaf children to school due to negative believes about deaf people and financial considerations. Primary school is free in Tanzania, but transport, boarding and similar costs have to be covered by parents.

Those deaf who do arrive at school, do so usually without any formal language, and usually later than their hearing peers. None of my 60 respondents learned Tanzanian Sign Language at home. 71% of their parents still do not know any sign language. Younger siblings are more likely to know some TSL. 82% of deaf respondents learned TSL at school, from teachers and other pupils. Most of them have attended a deaf unit or deaf school and described the experience of learning TSL as a liberating and very positive one. The chance to communicate easily with fellow deaf students and acquire knowledge from signing (hearing and deaf) teachers was such a positive experience that it outweighed any negative aspects of primary school for most of my respondents. Some respondents failed the primary school leaving exam of Standard 7.

Those who passed and continued with secondary school were usually confronted with a world void of any sign language (with the exception of my respondents currently still attending the aforementioned deaf school and one specific inclusive school in Arusha Town). Even when several deaf learners were present and the school was formally deemed 'inclusive', teachers would not know any sign language and usually also be unwilling to invest extra time in the deaf learners, my respondents report. Additionally, the switch of the official language of instruction from Swahili to English was a major burden for my respondents. While most claimed to have quite good TSL skills and acceptable Swahili skills, they rated their English skills very low. About a third stated they can only read "a bit" of English or "none at all". As for lip-reading, which they relied on in this oralist environment, roughly 3 out of every 4 respondents chose "a bit" or "none". Thus, secondary school becomes a major stumbling stone. The main reasons for leaving school were usually failed national exams after Form 2 or Form 4. Only two respondents dropped out for non-academic reasons, i.e. pregnancy. All in all, most respondents considered their time at secondary school as a time to "endure" only, usually connecting only negative emotions with it.

My sample also included deaf respondents who went to college/university. This is still very rare. The experience in tertiary education depends largely on whether the respondents went to a regular university/college or whether they went to one of the three universities I identified as offering special services for the deaf: UDSM, DUCE & SEKOMU. Here, deaf are supported with prepared hand-outs, note taking, and most importantly, with TSL interpretation. Still, the number of hearing-impaired students at these institutions is only between 0.07% and 0.9%, even though 1.9% of the population have a hearing disability. None of these three is located in Arusha Region. At regular colleges, the experience is described as similarly challenging to that at secondary school.

GQ2: How do and did deaf people in Arusha tackle challenges of multilingualism and other problems?

At primary school, deaf learners got used to TSL, usually combined with lip-reading some Swahili. At secondary school deaf learners had to deal with English as the language of instruction (which is

harder to lip-read for them) with no signed communication at all. Thus, the biggest challenge was not so much a multilingual situation alone, but the fact that their *primary* language was suddenly erased from the equation. These were my deaf respondents' most common reactions for dealing with this situation:

- strong resignation and (temporary or permanent) escaping
- mild resignation and self-education (or cramping) by reading only
- asking (teachers or) pupils for help after class
- teaching pupils basic TSL to 'turn them into interpreters'
- asking head teachers (without success) for interpreters or TSL-competent teachers

As for escaping, some students reporting leaving the school premises at times without permission, as they felt that they were wasting their time just sitting in class without understanding anything. I have been also told about students who completely fled a pseudo-inclusive school, two of them subsequently managed to get accepted at the above-mentioned deaf school for boys.

The two most effective of the strategies for achieving academic success were turning a hearing peer into an 'interpreter' and self-study. Still, the quality of this 'interpreting' was usually low and depending on the good-will and energy of the hearing pupil. This experience led to deaf people applying this strategy also in other areas of their life: any hearing person with (even a basic) understanding of sign language would be considered an 'interpreter', at times also turned into a mediator. Hearing teachers of the deaf e.g. often reported having to convey information between hearing parents and deaf learners, sometimes being pushed in the role of a mediator.

Strategies by the deaf at (regular) tertiary institutions were similar to those at secondary school. Most of the time, they had to resort to self-study, some managed to 'create' their own interpreters. In the case of small groups, some lecturers would sometimes be willing to take time after class one-on-one, to at least allow for close-up lip-reading. Applying for an interpreter through university or the educational officers (i.e. the government) was not successful. Only one deaf respondent managed to get an interpreter throughout her/his studies, by successfully applying for support from a foreign NGO.

Generally, deaf turn to family members or friends for support. Deaf and hearing friends were mentioned similarly often. However, the kind of support differs. Family members are often mentioned in relation to financial or other tangible support. Hearing friends take on the role of 'interpreter' or of source of information. Deaf friends were usually mentioned when it came to exchanging ideas and experiences. However, 27% stated that they would not be supported by anyone and thus had to rely on their own determination only to solve their problems.

GQ3: How and where do deaf people in Arusha Region 'fit into' society; in the eyes of the mainstream society, as inquired by street polling, and in their own opinion, as inquired by questionnaire-based interviews?

For society to have any opinion about or expectations towards a group, first its existence has to be acknowledged. When asked about types of disabilities during the street polling, most people (91%) were able to name physical disabilities (e.g. of arms or legs), 45% visual impairment, 42% mental/intellectual impairment. Deaf or hard-of-hearing people were only mentioned by every third participant (34%). This feeds into the notion of deafness being an *invisible disability*, allowing deaf people to '*pass*' for hearing, to 'fit in' in many situations to avoid troubles.

There is a variety of views on deaf people in mainstream society. Anecdotal evidence points to views fitting to the *deficit model* or *welfare model* as described by Deaf Studies author Paddy Ladd. This means that deaf people are defined mainly as *lacking* something and *as in need of help or charity* by well-meaning able-bodied people. Respondents stated that sometimes people would rather give them alms than a job. Even service providers such as doctors would sometimes automatically assume that people with disabilities are beggars. In line with this, I found that 40% of people in Arusha feel *sad* when seeing people use sign language, pointing to feelings of pity. However, 58% also classified such a sight as *normal*. And – the most encouraging result – one out of each five respondents feel *delighted/happy* when seeing people use sign language. This indicates that they are probably aware that communication is something positive for deaf people.

The street polling has shown that the most common term used for a deaf person was the official "*kiziwi*", however followed by the derogatory "*bubu*", which roughly translates to "mute" or "dumb". Some respondents referred to both terms, indicating that they saw it as two types or varieties of disability, usually using "*kiziwi*" for voicing deaf and "*bubu*" for non-voicing deaf. Thus, it seems that efforts by deaf people's organisations and NGOs to make the term "*kiziwi*" known were apparently successful, but this does not mean that the term "*bubu*" disappeared. It merely changed nuances of its meaning.

Hearing people in Arusha Region who answered the questions of the street polling, gave overwhelmingly rather positive answers about deaf people: 95% of people in Arusha Region agree that deaf children should go to school, 92% say they can go to secondary school as well. 79% said they could imagine employing a deaf person. 70% said they could communicate with a deaf person, 69% even claimed to know a bit or a lot sign language.

The deaf people I have interviewed had a very different story to tell. Only a minority are able to attend school. Many reported struggling to find employment (or customers). More than half of them reported that their neighbours did not understand any sign language. Only 20% could report "under average", "average" or "above average" sign language knowledge of neighbours. This is in line with

my own experience during the street polling, when I at times attempted to use basic TSL on those who had just stated knowing sign language. None of them were able to reply in TSL or any recognisable signing system.

Usually, outside of school and the deaf community, deaf people were expected by everyone to read lips and – if possible – voice, including their relatives. Even communication in writing was often seen as to cumbersome by hearing people. Deaf people were expected to accommodate the hearing majority, not the other way around. It was their task to make sure that they 'fit in'. However, as deaf people cannot just decide to be hearing again, they are bound to fail more often than not, which leads amongst others to at least one out of every ten deaf respondents therefore choosing to not have any kind of communication with their (mostly hearing) neighbours.

So, we see many dissonances, starting with the fact that so many hearing people claim to know sign language. My interpretation of this dissonance is that, most people in Arusha Region do not differentiate between actions/gestures and a fully-fledged sign language. However, their generally positive answers to the above-mentioned questions can be interpreted as a good sign: It shows at the very least that people in the region are aware of the national narrative that all children, irrespective of (dis)ability or other factors, should attend school. They are also aware, that generally all Tanzanians are supposed to contribute to the society by working. 20% are even aware that efforts by mainstream society are needed to enable deaf people to do this. Still, there is a gap between public opinion and implementation in real life.

This gap can be partly explained with the limited knowledge of regular Tanzanians of how working with a deaf person could look like. This becomes evident when comparing which jobs are considered (un)suitable for deaf people by the mainstream with what jobs deaf people actually do and aspire to. Hearing people usually mentioned jobs positively that require only "good arms and legs" and possibly "a good brain", such as painting, cleaning, farming, IT, writing and *ufundi* (crafts). The latter, my sample of deaf people shows, is indeed popular with many deaf at present. However, deaf also aspire to jobs that are considered unsuitable by the mainstream, such as nurse, doctor or *pikipiki* driver. Some jobs rated as rather not well-suited by the hearing respondents were jobs that my deaf respondents already worked in, such as being a teacher (both for deaf and hearing pupils), serving in a restaurant, selling food or working in administration in an office. Hearing people usually objected to deaf people doing jobs that required interpersonal communication as well as jobs including steering vehicles.

Those amongst my deaf respondents who had managed to pass higher education and/or be successful at work, either employed or independent, usually had stories to tell about fighting to reach their position. Those fights, e.g. when about demanding interpreters, were not always successful. Going the extra mile to convince others of their worth by showing what they could do in person was

a common story. So, a mix of stamina, determination and endurance eventually enabled them to achieve some of their goals, even if these goals do not fit the expectations of their environment.

Even though deaf respondents mostly agreed that it is hard to find a job for deaf people in Tanzania, they were not static once they had found an occupation. Several reported moving between occupations. Some switched from being employed to 'being their own boss' and doing independent work or small trade. Those who actively quit a job, usually gave one or several of three reasons: low salary, overly hard work and/or not being treated the same way as hearing colleagues.

While regular hearing people in Arusha Region in average might be doubtful about deaf people taking on certain occupations, they generally showed at least a theoretical openness towards deaf people. This is a basis that can be built upon. Deaf who are successful in school and work can contribute to enhancing these mindsets even further. At present, many deaf still try to 'pass', to endure their fate, to fly under the radar. More visibility, as already practiced by some of my respondents, might be an extra effort, but could eventually lead to more awareness within the mainstream and thus to better opportunities for all deaf in the region.

There are aspects of fitting into society aside from school and work. In this regard, one should mention some quite motivated hearing people, mostly teachers or religious functionaries, who are working towards allowing deaf people to 'fit into Tanzanian society' by teaching them 'manners' and religious doctrine. While it is generally laudable to allow deaf people to also learn about these issues, it shall also be noted that these 'lessons' of course also come with a certain expectation of conformity. As of now, the existence of these religious places is largely a positive aspect of deaf life in Arusha region, as it allows deaf people to meet, freely use sign language and exchange ideas, as results for GQ4 will show.

GQ4: What can be found out about 'deaf spaces' and 'deaf community' in Arusha Region, and how does it relate to findings by LEE 2012?

Jessica Lee in LEE 2012, focussing mostly on Dar es Salaam and another anonymised city (which is not Arusha), identified deaf schools, companies employing a large number of deaf people and offices of deaf people's organisations as *permanent deaf spaces*. Furthermore, she described *temporary deaf spaces* at deaf clubs, sports games, religious worship and workshops/seminars for deaf people. My own research in Arusha Region could clearly confirm deaf schools/deaf units and houses of religious worship as *deaf spaces*.

Schools with longer established deaf units are amongst the *permanent deaf spaces* in Arusha Region. Some learners therefore prefer to stay at school rather than going home, where communication will be limited. Some of the teachers and employees at deaf units are deaf themselves, and adult deaf people do also use schools as meeting points. Additionally, two other places in Arusha

Town clearly qualify as *temporary deaf spaces*: the TSL-interpreted Sunday mass at the Lutheran (ELCT) church and the biweekly services at the kingdom hall of Jehovah's Witnesses (JW), which are held completely in sign language. The fact that TSL turns into the language, or at least one of the languages of the venue during these times, attracts deaf people very much. Several reported to have converted as these places allow them to access information about god in sign language. In a very religious country like Tanzania, this knowledge can be essential to feeling part of the bigger picture. Additionally, these places are also used to meet other deaf people and chat and exchange extensively about all kinds of worldly topics.

Furthermore, there is some evidence for *deaf spaces* at certain companies employing a larger number of deaf people, including a deaf-run small restaurant, as well as at workshops/seminars with TSL interpretation. Unlike in the cities described by Jessica Lee, the local office of the deaf organisation seemed not to be of great relevance to deaf people, but instead more of a formal address. A deaf unit at a primary school where some of their functionaries were employed took this place. Furthermore, I could not identify sports activities or clubs explicitly for deaf people in Arusha Region.

The majority of the 60 deaf respondents I interviewed and the additional deaf people I met at a variety of places and times, showed a great appreciation for any chance to communicate in sign language. They inquired about deaf people abroad. About half of them stated to have only or mostly deaf friends. Out of those who are in a relationship, about half chose a deaf partner, even though theoretically there would be more hearing potential partners around. Several had strong opinions about deaf being good, and hearing being bad spouses. 35 out of 60 deaf people would choose to stay deaf, even if they were given the chance to become hearing now. Reasons given included trust in god's plan, deaf networks and the love for sign language.

Many deaf referred to any hearing person with signing skills as an 'interpreter'. At least one deaf respondent even included signing hearing people in her/his definition of 'deaf people', pointing to the shared language. All in all, access for signing hearing people to deaf groups was rather cherished than discouraged. This can be seen as a difference to some Western deaf communities. Still, I argue that a large part of the schooled, signing deaf in Arusha Region feel a connection to a deaf community. This community is certainly not a monolith, as is the case with any community, but it is based on a shared language and shared experiences. I argue that being 'deaf' (and thus signing) is one of the major categories of identity of the deaf in my sample. In a country where being Tanzanian is usually put above membership to a certain linguistic or ethnic group (or 'tribe' as many Tanzanians call it), being 'deaf' could very well take on the position of this secondary 'tribal' category of belonging.

6.2. Prospects for future research

The last of my research questions was a cross-cutting one:

GQ5: What topics relevant to the deaf in Arusha Region are underreported in research, as evident by comparing issues raised during fieldwork and existing secondary literature?

I have already mentioned a number of new findings in the chapters presenting the findings as well as in the short overview on results for the first four questions. Here, I wish to explicitly point out those areas that I consider especially suited or relevant for future research.

First of all, I want to encourage researchers to follow in the methodological footsteps of researchers such as Jessica Lee, who was one of the first researchers aiming to enable deaf people to speak for themselves and in their own language (i.e. Tanzanian Sign Language, its varieties, and – if possible – even home sign system). This is what I also aimed for and this is what will also be needed much more in the future. While the literature review shows that a handful of master's graduates and some more recent NGO publications also tried to go this direction, the largest part of literature is still very much based on other stakeholders talking *about* the deaf, instead of on direct interaction between the deaf and the researcher. Furthermore, most secondary literature identified took an Education Science approach, and thus looked at deaf people mainly as learners to be schooled, less as complex individuals. Approaches from other fields should thus be encouraged.

Throughout my thesis, one will be able to find small clues for possible research, such as when one of my respondents stated that teachers at *Tabora School for the Deaf*, deeply oralist up until very recently, still possessed passive sign language knowledge. While signing by the students was punished, teachers learned to understand some signs to be able to know what the students were signing – and to also be able to punish them for what they signed, s/he claims. Digging deeper might lead to interesting findings about the role of manual communication in an oralist environment, with 'eyewitnesses' being still a lot younger than those in many Western countries. Some of the larger issues of interest shall be pointed out now.

The early years of my deaf respondents at home were not the main focus of my research and probably also a delicate issue. However, as none of them learned sign language at home, communication with family members must have been very limited. At primary school however, the deaf then had the chance for complex communication in TSL with teachers and other learners. Deaf people in Tanzania are therefore a very interesting example for researchers who would want to look at how emotional bonds form with vs. without a shared formal language, i.e. here with parents vs. with teachers.

As for education and work life, I found a discussion going on between teachers of the deaf, whether deaf should continue with a regular academic career, i.e. secondary school and potentially college, or whether they should be given a special, reduced curriculum with a focus on vocational training. Both sides claimed to be talking in the name and for the best of their respective students. Future research could look into what kind of (academic or work) career students currently still in school aspire to and how these aspirations might be influenced by the beliefs of their teachers about a 'suitable' way forward for the deaf.

Since I identified two religious houses in Arusha, a Lutheran church and a Kingdom Hall of Jehovah's Witnesses, as being major meetings points for deaf people or *deaf spaces*, it would be interesting to look into the roles these institutions (and possibly others) play in the life of deaf people and how they influence their worshippers.

Research on internal dynamics of deaf groups could not only shed more light on the question of deaf community/deaf communities in the region, it could also help to identify power relations and possible conflicts. While this would probably be a delicate and long-term endeavour, it could provide valuable insights about 'minorities within the minority'.

At times during my research, respondents would point out specific dangers to vulnerable deaf, such as rape of deaf girls, mistreatment of deaf children at home, or lack of knowledge of infectious diseases. Academically and socially, cautious research on these topics, ideally coupled with professional follow-up by service providers such as NGOs or government agencies, might be advised.

Many deaf were also willing to provide me with extensive life stories, which helped me to understand their self-positioning in society. I am sure that these stories and respondents would also be a great source for more extensive, personal examination of issues of identity and the deaf experience in Tanzania. This could also contribute to the discussion on the self-definitions of deaf communities/groups.

While the review of secondary literature has shown that there is quite a number of works that look at deaf people in schools from an Education Science perspective, it also became apparent that there is a need for works that contribute to the issue from a broader perspective, which this thesis does by weaving Deaf Studies approaches into African Studies. Both these fields generally aim at considering power imbalances and giving a voice to the people they are researching on. Thus, I hope that this thesis can somehow contribute to more research by Tanzanians, by deaf people, and specifically by deaf Tanzanians, which eventually might establish the cross-cutting field of Tanzanian Deaf Studies. I also invite researchers from African Studies and Deaf Studies to see how my findings match theories and research from their respective fields of expertise.

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APPENDIX

Appendix I: Deaf people survey

(The original layout had more space for the researcher to write down answers. Shortened here to save space.)

Sehemu hii ijazwe na mtafiti:
1. Date (Tarehe): _________________ 2. Interviewer (Mtafiti): ______________
3. Assistant (Msaidizi): ____________ 4. Location (Mahali): ________________
Questions / Maswali:
5. Jina: __________ *(Note: Data will be anonymised. Your name will not be published)*
(Kumbuka: Taarifa zote utakazotupatia zitabaki kuwa siri na jina lako hatuta litangaza)
6. [ ] Male/mwanaume [ ] Female/mwanamke [ ] No answer/hakuna jibu
7. Where do you live? / Unaishi wapi?: ________________________________
8. Where were you born? / Umezaliwa wapi?: ________________________________
9. When were you born? / Umezaliwa lini? ________________________________
10. Years of age / Umri: ________________________________
11. Religion / Dini: ________________________________
12. Ethnicity / Kabila: ________________________________
13. Current Work /(Unafanya kazi gani kwa sasa?): ________________________
14. When did you become deaf? / Lini ulipata Uziwi?________________________
15. Why did you become deaf? / Kwanini ulipata Ukiziwi?________________________

FAMILY/FAMILIA:
17. Do you have deaf family members? (Familia yangu: Je una ndugu Kiziwi, kwa mfano mama, baba, kaka au dada?)
(if YES) Who and how many? (Kama ndiyo, unaweza kutaja ni nani na wangapi?)
____
18. Are you married or do you have a boyfriend/girlfriend? (Je umeoa au umeolewa ama una mchumba au upo kwenye mahusiano?)
[ ] YES, married. (Ndiyo, nimeoa/nimeolewa)
[ ] Yes, boyfriend/girlfriend. (Ndiyo, nina mchumba/mahusiano) [ ] NO (Hapana)
(if YES):
[ ] deaf partner (Mwenza wangu pia ni Kiziwi)
[ ] hearing partner (Mwenza wangu sio Kiziwi)

19. Do you meet other deaf people? (Je, huwa unakutana na Viziwi wengine?)
[ ] YES, every day (Ndiyo, kila siku)
[ ] YES, every week (Ndiyo, kila wiki)
[ ] YES, every month (Ndiyo, kila mwezi)
[ ] YES, but only rarely (Ndiyo, lakini mara chache) [ ] NO (Hapana)

20. Are most of your friends deaf or hearing? (Je, marafiki zako wengi ni viziwi au ni wanaosikia?)
[ ] All deaf (Wote ni viziwi)
[ ] Mostly deaf (Wengi wao ni viziwi)
[ ] Equal (deaf + hearing)(Viziwi na Wanaosikia wapo kwa idadi sawa)
[ ] Mostly hearing (Wengi wao ni wanaosikia)
[ ] Only hearing (Wote ni wanaosikia).
a. Why? (Je, unaweza kueleza ni kwa sababu gani?)
____

SCHOOL / SHULE
24. Have you been to school? (Je umepata elimu?) [ ] YES (Ndiyo) [ ]NO (Hapana)
(If YES:) (kama ndiyo)

i. Did you attend the following types of schools? (Je, ulifikia ngazi hizi za elimu?)

() Primary School (shule ya msingi)

() Secondary School (elimu ya sekondari)

() O-Level

() A-Level

() with vocational part? "Technical Secondary" (sekondari ya ufundi)

() Vocational Training / VETA (mafunzo ya ufundi)

() University/College (chou kikuu/chuo cha kati)

() Certificate (ngazi ya cheti) () Diploma (ngazi za diploma/stashahada)

() Bachelor Degree (Shahada) () Master Degree (Shahada ya uzamili)

() PhD (Shahada ya Uzamivu)

ii. Your primary school, what kind of school was it? Choose one.
(Shule ya msingi yako ilikuwa ya aina gani? (chagua moja)

[ ] A deaf school (Shule ya Viziwi)

[ ] A deaf unit at a normal school (Kitengo ya viziwi katika shule ya kawaida)

[ ] A deaf unit at an inclusive school (Kitengo cha Viziwi katika shule jumuishi)

[ ] An inclusive school (shule jumuishi)

[ ] A regular/normal school (shule ya kawaida)

Where? (Wapi?) ____

Arusha Region (Mkoa wa Arusha) [] Yes/Ndio [] NO/Hapana

Which languages did your teachers use to teach you? (sign, spoken, mix …?) (Ni lugha gani walimu wako walikua wakiitumia kukufundishia? (alama, ya kuongea, mchanganyiko) …?)

____

iv. Your secondary school, what kind of school was it? Choose one.
(Shule ya sekondari yako imekuwa ya aina gani? (chagua moja)

[ ] A deaf school (Shule ya viziwi)

[ ] A deaf unit at a normal school (Kitengo ya viziwi katika shule ya kawaida)

[ ] A deaf unit at an inclusive school (Kitengo viziwi katika shule jumuishi)

[ ] An inclusive school (shule jumuishi)

[ ] A regular/normal school (shule ya kawaida)

Where? (Wapi?) ____

Arusha Region (Mkoa wa Arusha) [] Yes/Ndio [] NO/Hapana

Which languages did your teachers use to teach you? (sign, spoken, mix …?) (Ni lugha gani walimu wako walikua wakiitumia kukufundishia? (alama, ya kuongea, mchanganyiko) …?)

____

v. When did you start and finish school? (Ni lini ulianza shule na lini ulimaliza shule?)
Start: (kuanza) ____
Finish:(kumaliza) ____

v. Where did you go for vocational training/to college/to university? Which course?
(Wapi ulisomeamafunzo ya ufundi/chuo cha kati/chuo kikuu? Na kozi gani?)
____ Mkoa wa Arusha? [] Yes [] NO
Course (kozi): ____

vi. What did you like about School? What did you not like about School? (Ni kitu gani ulikipenda kuhusu shule yako? Ni kitu gani hukupendelea kuhusu shule yako?)
Like/Kupenda: ____
Dislike/Kutopenda: ____

vii. What did you do to tackle the things you disliked? What did you do to solve the problems? (Ulifanya nini kuondokana na vitu ambavyo hukuvipenda? Ulichukua hatua gani kutatua matatizo hayo?)

____

b. (if: NO, I did not go to school) (kama: Hapana, sikwenda shule)
i. Why didn't you go to school? (Kwanini hukwenda shule?) __________________
ii. What did you do instead? (Badala yake ulifanya nini?_____________________

25. Would you have liked to study longer? What level would you have liked to reach? (This means: How long? Until …) (Ungependa kusoma zaidi? Ni kiwago gani cha elimu ungependa kufika? Maana: Unapendelea kuendelea mbele…?)

() Primary School (elimu ya msingi)
() Secondary School (elimu ya sekondari)
() O-Level
() A-Level
() with vocational part? "Technical Secondary" (sekondari ya ufundi)
() Vocational Training / VETA (mafunzo ya ufundi)
() University/College (chou kikuu/chuo cha kati)
() Certificate (ngazi ya cheti) () Diploma (ngazi za diploma/stashahada)
() Bachelor Degree (Shahada) () Master Degree (Shahada ya uzamili)
() PhD (Shahada ya Uzamivu)

26. Why did you not continue school? What problems were there?
(Kwanini hukuendelea na shule? Matatizo gani yalikuwepo?)
____

27. Do you want to continue to study in the future? (Unayo nia ya kuendelea na shule kwa baadae?)
[ ] YES [ ]NO Why? (Kwanini?)___________________

WORK/KAZI:

30. This is about deaf people and work in general: Do you think deaf people can work like hearing people? (Pick one of the following answers)
(Hii ni kuhusu namna ya watu viziwi wanavyofanya kazi kwa ujumla: Je, viziwi wanaweza kufanya kazi kama wanaosikia?)

1) No, they cannot do anything. (Hapana, hawawezi kufanya chochote.)
2) No, maybe they can help at home. (Hapana, labda wanaweza saidia kazi za nyumbani.)
3) Yes, but just very few, easy tasks. (Ndiyo, ingawa ni kwa uchache, kazi rahisi.)
4) Yes, but not everything. (Ndiyo, ingawa si kilakitu.)
5) Yes, just like other people, when they get assistance. (Ndiyo, kama watu wengine, endapo watapatiwa msaada.)
6) Yes, just like other people. (Ndiyo, kama watu wengine.)

Why? Kwa nini? ____

31. This is about you: Do you enjoy your work?
(Ni swali kuhusu wewe: Je, unafurahia kazi yako?) [ ] YES [ ] NO
Why? (Kwa nini?) ____

32. How much money do you make for a day/week/month of work?
(Unapata kiasi gani cha fedha kwa siku/wiki/hata mwezi?)
______________ TZS per day/kwa siku
OR ______________ TZS per week/kwa wiki
OR ______________ TZS per month/kwa mwezi

33. What work have you done in the past? (Ulikuwa mfanya kazi gani hapo awali?) ______

34. What work would you like to do in the future?
(Ni kazi gani ungependelea kufanya hapo baadae? ________________

35. Would you currently like a job / another job? (Unapenda kazi kwa sasa/ kazi nyingine?) [] Yes (Ndiyo)
[] No (Hapana)

35a (If YES:)What do you do to find a job or a better job?
(Kama Ndiyo) Unafanya nini kwa sasa kupata kazi nyingine au kazi bora?)

() nothing at the moment (sifanyi kitu kwa sasa)
() talk to friends/family about it (kuzungumza na marafiki/familia kuhusu hilo)
() talk to deaf associations about it (kuzungumza na umoja wa chama cha viziwi)
() go to employers (shops/factories) and ask (kwenda kuuliza kwa waajili (duka/ kiwanda))
() send a letter to employers to ask for a job (kutuma barua kwa waajili kuomba kazi)
() do volunteer work (unpaid) (kujitolea bila malipo)

() continue education: (kuendelea na elimu) ___________________
() other (Kitu kingine)_______________

36. Is it hard finding a job for you? Why? (Je, ni ngumu kwako kupata kazi? Kwa nini?)
____

37. What is hard about finding a job for deaf people here? (Ni ngumu kiasi gani kupata kazi kwa kiziwi hapa?) ____

38. What do you think are good jobs for deaf people? (Unafikiri ni kazi gani nzuri kwa Viziwi?)
____

COMMUNICATION/MAWASILIANO
40. Do you know any Sign Language? / Unajua Lugha ya Alama?
[ ] YES (Ndiyo) [ ]NO (Hapana)
a. (YES) where did you learn it? / Ulisoma wapi? ____________
b. When did you start to learn it? / Ulianza kusoma lini?____________
c. When do you use sign language? / Unatumia lugha ya alama wakati gani …?
( ) every day / kila siku
( ) when I am with deaf people / pale niwapo na viziwi
( ) with my family / na familia yangu
( ) at work / kazini
( ) at school /shuleni
( ) other/mahali pengine: __________________________

41. Do you know the standard Tanzanian Sign Language (TSL)? How well? Choose one answer each: (Unajua Lugha ya Alama ya Tanzania sanifu? Ni kwakiasi gani? Chagua jibu moja)

	☺ ++ Excellent / Kwa usanifu wa juu sana)	+ Above average / Juu ya Kiwango	Average / Kiwan-go sahihi)	- Below Average /Chini ya kiwango	☹ -- Very Poor */ Kwa ki-wango hafifu sana*	✕ NOTHING / Sijui kabisa
TSL Signing myself (Kujiongoza mwenyewe)						
TSL Understanding signs of **deaf** people from this region (Kuelewa lugha la alama kutoka kwa viziwi walipo katika mkoa huu)						
TSL Understanding signs by **deaf** Tanzanians from other regions (Kuelewa lugha ya alama kutoka kwa viziwi waliopo mikoa mingine)						
TSL Understanding signs by **hearing** Tanzani-ans from your region (e.g. teachers) (Kuelewa lugha ya alama kutoka kwa watanzania						

wanaosikia kutoka kwenye mkoa wako) (Mfano walimu)						
TSL Understanding signs by **hearing** Tanzanians from other regions (e.g. teachers from another region, e.g. Dar es Salaam) Kuelewa lugha ya alama kutoka kwa watanzania wanaosikia kutoka kwenye mikoa mingine) (Mfano walimu kutoka mkoa mwingine kama Dar es Salaam)						

42. Is it easier for you to understand the TSL signing by people from some region rather than another? (Je, ni rahisi kwako kuelewa lugha ya alama kutoka kwa watu wa mikoa fulani kuliko mingine?)
Regions easy to understand (Mikoa ambayo ni rahisi kueleweka): _______________
Regions difficult to understand (Mikoa ambayo ni ngumu kueleweka): ___________

43. What is easy about the language TSL? (Ni kitu gani kirahisi kutoka lugha ya TSL?) What is difficult about the language TSL? (Ni kitu gani kigumu kutoka lugha ya TSL?)
Easy (Kirahisi): _____________________________
Difficult (Kigumu): __________________________

44. Do you know Swahili? How well? Choose one answer each:
Unajua Kiswahili? Ni kwa kiasi gani? Chagua jibu moja:

	☺ ++ Excellent (Kwa usanifu wa juu sana)	+ Above average (Juu ya Kiwango)	Average (Kiwango sahihi)	- Below Average (Chini ya kiwango)	☹ -- Very Poor *(kwa usanifu hafifu sana)*	✕ NOTHING (Sijui kabisa)
Kiswahili Reading (Kusoma)						
Kiswahili Writing (Kuandika)						
Kiswahili Voicing/ Speech / (Kutumia sauti)						
Kiswahili Lipreading/ Speechreading (Kusoma midomo au kuangalia midomo)						

45. What is easy about the language Kiswahili? (Ni kitu gani kirahisi katika lugha ya Kiswahili?) What is difficult about the language Kiswahili? (Ni kitu gani kigumu katika lugha ya Kiswahili)
Easy (Kirahisi): _____________________________
Difficult (Kigumu): ____________________________

46. Do you know English? (Unajua lugha ya Kingereza?) How well? (Kwa kiasi gani)
Choose one answer each: (Chagua jibu moja katika kila kipengele)

	☺ ++ Excellent (Kwa usanifu wa juu sana)	+ Above average (Juu ya Kiwango)	Average (Kiwango sahihi)	- Below Average (Chini ya kiwango)	☹ -- Very Poor *(kwa usanifu hafifu sana)*	✕ NOTHING (Sijui kabisa)
Kingereza Reading (Kusoma)						
Kingereza Writing (Kuandika)						
Kingereza Voicing/ Speech (Kutumia sauti)						
Kingereza Lipreading/ Spechreading (Kusoma midomo au kuangalia midomo)						

47. What is easy about the language English? (Ni kitu gani kirahisi katika lugha ya kingereza) What is difficult about the language English? (Ni kitu gani kigumu katika lugha ya kingereza)
Easy (Kirahisi): ____________________________
Difficult (Kigumu): ____________________________

48. Do you understand another spoken language, e.g. 'tribal language'? (Je, unaweza kuelewa lugha ya sauti nyingine, kama lugha ya kabila?) [ ] Yes (Ndiyo) [ ] No (Hapani)
Which? (Lugha ya kabila gani?) ____________

49. Do you understand another signed language, e.g. ASL, KSL, USL …? (Je unaweza kuelewa lugha ya alama nyingine, kama ASL, KSL, USL?) [ ] Yes (Ndiyo) [ ] No (Hapana)
Which? (Lugha gani?) ____________

50. Do the following people know proper sign language? Choose one answer per line:
Je, watu hawa wanajua lugha ya alama sanifu? Chagua jibu moja kwa kipengele

	☺ ++ Excellent Kwa usanifu wa juu	+ Above average Juu ya kiwango	Average Kwa kiwango sahihi	- Below Average Kiwango cha chini	☹ -- Very Poor Kwa kiwango hafifu sana	✕ NOTHING Hawajui kabisa
My Parents / Wazazi wangu						
My Siblings / Kaka na dada zangu						
My Spouse / Mwenza wangu						
My Children / Watoto wangu						
My Friends / Marafiki zangu						

My Neighbours / Maji-rani zangu						
My Boss / Bosi wangu						
My Coworkers / Wafanyakazi wenzangu						
My Teachers Primary (Walimu wangu wa Shule ya Msingi)						
My Teachers Second-ary (Walimu wangu wa Shule ya Sekondari)						
Police (Askari)						
Municipality (Manispaa)						
Doctor (Daktari)						

51. How do you communicate with these people?
(Ni kwanamna ipi unaweza kuwasiliana na hawa watu?)

	Proper Sign Language (Lugha ya Alama sani-fu)	Gesture (Lugha ya mwili, ishara rahisi)	Speaking/ Lipreading (Sauti & Kuangalia mdomo)	Read & Write (Kusoma & Kuandika)	Interpreter (Kutumia mkalimani)	× No Commu-nication (Hakuna mawasiliano)
/// Categories of people same as in question 50 ///						

52. What are these people like? Are they good or bad people? Choose one answer:
(Je hawa watu wakoje? Je ni wema au wabaya?)

	☺ ++ Very good peo-ple (Watu wazuri sana)	+ Rather good people (Watu wazuri kidogo)	Normal people (Watu wa kawaida/ kiwango)	- Rather bad peo-ple (Watu wabaya kidogo)	☹ -- Very bad people (Watu wabaya sana)	× I do not know any (Sifahamu lolote)
/// Categories of people same as in question 50 ///						

53. Your life right now is…? / Maisha yako sasa ni …?
(Je, unaweza kueleza hali yako kimaisha kwa sasa)

☺ ++ Very good Nzuri sana)	+ Rather Good (Nzuri kidogo)	Normal (Kiwango)	- Rather Bad (Mbaya kidogo)	☹ -- Very Bad (Mbaya sana)
[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

54. In general, the lives of deaf people in Tanzania currently are…?
(Kwa ujumla, hali ya maisha ya viziwi katika Tanzania sasa ni …?)

☺ ++ Very good (Nzuri sana) []	+ Rather Good (Nzuri kiasi) []	Normal (Kiwango) []	- Rather Bad (Mbaya kiasi) []	☹ -- Very Bad (Mbaya sana) []

55. If you compare today with ten years ago: Did **your** life get better, stay the same or get worse? (Unapolinganisha leo na miaka kumi iliyopita: Maisha **yako** sasa ni bora zaidi, yako vilevile au mbaya zaidi?)

☺ ++ A lot better (Bora zaidi sana) []	+ A little better (Bora kiasi) []	Stayed the same (Vilevile) []	- A little worse (Mbaya kiasi) []	☹ -- A lot worse (Mbaya zaidi sana) []

56. If you compare today with ten years ago: Did the life of deaf people in Tanzania get better, stay the same or get worse? (Unapolinganisha leo na miaka kumi iliyopita: Maisha **ya viziwi wa Tanzania** sasa ni bora zaidi, yako vilevile au mbaya zaidi?)

☺ ++ A lot better (Bora zaidi sana) []	+ A little better (Bora kiasi) []	Stayed the same (Vilevile) []	- A little worse (Mbaya kiasi) []	☹ -- A lot worse (Mbaya zaidi sana) []

57. What kinds of problems do **deaf people** have today? (Ni changamoto gani huwakumba viziwi kwa sasa?)

____

58. What kinds of problems do **you** have today? (Ni changamoto gani hukumbana nazo sasa?)

____

59. When you have a problem, what do **you** do to solve it? (Unapokumbana na changamoto ni namna gani huisuluhisha?)

____

60. When you have problems, who helps you? (Unapokumbana na changamoto ni nani huwa anakupa msaada?)

____

61. What can deaf people do especially good? (Ni kitu gani ambacho viziwi wanaweza kukifanya vizuri haswa?)

____

62. For this question you need to imagine something. This is not reality, but a theory. Imagine there would be a way now to make you hear, a ‘cure’ or a ‘machine’: Would you like to become hearing **now** or stay a deaf person? Why?

(Katika swali hili unahitajika kutengeneze picha ya kitu fulani, kutaswira. Hii si halisi, ila ni kifikra. Fikiri kuna njia itakayo kufanya usikie, kama dawa au mashine: Ungependa uwe na uwezo wa kusikia sasa au uendelee kuwa na hali ya ukiziwi. Kwanini?

____

63. Imagine something else: Imagine you could change the past. If you could change the past and **be cured as a baby** and you could grow up as a hearing person. You would not have gone to a deaf school/deaf unit/special school, you probably would not have learned TSL. Would you prefer that life as a hearing person?

(Fikiri kitu hiki rahisi: Fikiri unaweza kubadilisha yaliyopita. Kama unaweza kubadilisha yaliyopita na kurudishwa katika hali ya utoto na ukakua kama mtu unaesikia. Hutaenda kwenye shule ya viziwi/kitengo ya viziwi/shule maalum,, Yamkini hukusoma Lugha ya alama ya Tanzania. Je unapendelea hayo maisha ya mtu anayesikia?

[] Yes (Ndiyo)
[] No, but like to be 'cured' now. (Hapana, lakini ningependa kutibiwa sasa)
[] No, my life is my life.(Hapana, maisha yangu ni maisha yangu)

Why? (Je, unaweza kueleza sababu?)
____

(The original layout had more space for the researcher to write down answers. Shortened here to save space.)

Appendix II: Hearing people questionnaire (street polling)

(English translation with comments. Data was gathered with Swahili version, see underneath.)

Data to be filled out by interviewer:
1. Date: ________________________________ 2. Interviewer: _____________________
3. Assistant: ____________________________ 4. Location: _____________________
a) Urban, within 1km of deaf school/deaf centre
b) Urban, at least 2,5km away from deaf school
c) Rural, within 1km of deaf school/deaf centre
d) Rural, at least 2,5km away from deaf school

Disability Questions:
6. Do you know what disabilities means? () YES () NO
7. Which types of disabilities do you know about? (Do not read the options to the respondent. Circle the term they have used or add it.)
() blind ("Asiyeona", "Kipofu", „ya macho", _________________)
() deaf ("Kiziwi", "Asiyesikia", "Likiziwi", „deaf & dumb", „bubu", „ya masikio", ____)
() mental disabilities (e.g. autism) ("Mwenye ugonjwa wa akili", "Kichaa", ______)
() physical disabilities ("Mlemavu", "Kilema", "ya viongo", "viwete", "ya miguu", "ya mikono", "ya mwili", ____________________)
() albinism ("Albino", "Zeruzeru", "ya ngozi", _________________)
() Other: ________________

8. Do you know any person with disability personally?
() NO
() YES, _____________________ (TYPE OF DISABILITY)

9. Deaf people are those people who cannot hear. Do you think deaf people should go to school? Why? Why Not?
() NO () YES ___________________________________

10. Do you think deaf people should continue school with secondary and maybe university? Why? Why not?
() NO () YES ___________________________________

11. Do you think other people with disabilities should go to school? Why? Why Not?
() NO () YES ___________________________________

12. Do you think other people with disabilities should continue school with secondary and maybe university? Why? Why not?
() NO () YES ___________________________________

13. We are talking about deaf people again. Do you think deaf people can work?
a) No, they cannot do anything.
b) No, maybe they can help at home
c) Yes, but just very few, easy tasks
d) Yes, but not everything
e) Yes, just like other people, when they get assistance
f) Yes, just like other people

14. What kind of work do you think is a good job for a deaf person?

	☺ ++ Deaf can do very well	+ Deaf can do rather well	Deaf can do inter-mediate	- Deaf can do a little	☹ -- Deaf can do very little bit	✕ IMPOSSIBLE for deaf people
Cleaning						
Farming						
Selling (street)						
Selling (shop)						
Fundi						
Office (telephone)*						
Office (administration)						
IT (Computer)						
Teacher**						
University lecturer/ professor**						
Business Management						
Politician						
Cook (Restaurant/Bar)						
Waiter (Restaurant/Bar)						
Nurse						
Medical Doctor						

Daladala Driver						
Taxi Driver						
Artist (Painter)						
Artist (Singer)						
Artist (Musician)						
Artist (Dancer)						
Artist (Author)						
Driver (Goods)***						

**Some respondents have smartly differentiated in SMS vs CALL*
*** Some respondents have smartly differentiated DEAF vs REGULAR SCHOOLS*
****Added only after the first 60 respondents to check if about driving or communication*

15. What do you think deaf people can do well? What do you think they cannot do well?
Good: ___________ Not good: __________

16. Have you ever worked with a person with disability?
a) No b) Yes, with a deaf / hard-of-hearing person
c) Yes, with a person with another disability

17. What was it like working with that person? ____

18. Would you employ a deaf person in your company?
[ ] YES Why? __________________ [ ] NO Why Not?______________________________

19. What problems do you think deaf people have in school and in work? ___________________

20. What can be done to solve these problems of deaf people? __________________________

21. Are you able to communicate with a deaf person?
() YES () YES, A BIT () NO
If Yes: How? _______________ If No: Why not?_______________________________

22. Do you know Sign Language? () YES () YES, A BIT () NO

23. What do you think/feel if you see people communication with their hands?

() inachekesha sana	() inachekesha kidogo	(~ very/a little amused)
() inashangaza sana	() inashangaza kidogo	(~ very/a little astonished)
() inafurahisha sana	() inafurahisha kidogo	(~ very/a little happy)
() inasikitisha sana	() inasikitisha kidogo	(~ very/a little sad)
() ni kawaida		(~ normal)

Personal Questions (optional, but recommended):
30. Gender () male () female () n.a.
31. Age
() under 11 () 11-15 () 16-20 () 21-25 () 26-30 () 31-35 () 36-40
() 41-45 () 46-50 () 51-55 () 56-60 () 61-65 () 66-70 () over 70
32. Where did you live? a) all my life here b) here, and also in other villages
c) here, and also in other towns d) here, and also in big cities (e.g. Dar es Salaam)
33. Do you want to mention anything else? ____________________________

(The original layout had more space for the researcher to write down answers. Shortened here to save space.)

Dodoso kuhusu ulemavu (Street Polling) **No. _ _ _**

Sehemu hii ijazwe na mtafiti: *1. Tarehe: ______________________________*
2. Mtafiti: _________________________ *3. Msaidizi: ______________________*

4. Mahali: ___________________
a) Mjini, Umbali wa Kilomita moja kutoka shule ya / kituo cha viziwi
b) Mjini, mengine
c) Kijijini, Umbali wa Kilomita moja kutoka shule ya / kituo cha viziwi
d) Kijijini, mengine

Maswali kuhusu ulemavu:

6. Je, unafahamu maana ya neno „ulemavu“? () NDIYO () HAPANA

7. Je, unafahamu aina gani za ulemavu? (*Usitaje aina zilizo orodheshwa, bali zungusha aina ya u-lemavu kama ilivyotajwa na mhojiwa*)
() blind (“Asiyeona”, “Kipofu”, „ya macho“, _________________)
() deaf (“Kiziwi”, “Asiyesikia”, “Likiziwi”, „deaf & dumb“, „bubu“, „ya masikio“, __________________________)
() mental disabilities (e.g. autism) (“Mwenye ugonjwa wa akili”, “Kichaa”, ________)
() physical disabilities (“Mlemavu”, “Kilema”, “ya viongo”, “viwete”, “ya miguu”, “ya mikono”, “ya mwili”, ____________________)
() albinism (“Albino”, “Zeruzeru”, “ya ngozi”, _________________)
() Aina nyingine: ________________

8. Je, unamfahamu kwa ukaribu mtu mwenye ulemavu?
() HAPANA
() NDIYO, _____________________

9. Viziwi ni watu wasio na uwezo wa kusikia, Je kwa mtazamo wako, ni sawa kwa viziwi kwenda shule?
() HAPANA () NDIYO

Unaweza eleza sababu:______________________________

10. Je, viziwi wanaweza kuendelea na masomo ya sekondari au ya elimu ya juu?
() HAPANA () NDIYO

Unaweza eleza sababu:______________________________

11. Je, kwa mtazamo wako, ni sawa kwa watu wengine wenye ulemavu kwenda shule?
() HAPANA () NDIYO

Unaweza eleza sababu:______________________________

12. Je, watu wengine wenye ulemavu wanaweza kuendelea na masomo ya sekondari au ya elimu ya juu?
() HAPANA () NDIYO

Unaweza eleza sababu:______________________________

13. Ni kuhusu viziwi tena, Je, viziwi wanaweza kufanya kazi?
   a) Hapana, hawawezi kufanya chochote.
   b) Hapana, labda wanaweza saidia kazi za nyumbani.
   c) Ndiyo, ingawa ni kwa uchache, kazi rahisi.
   d) Ndiyo, ingawa si kilakitu.
   e) Ndiyo, kama watu wengine, endapo watapatiwa msaada.
   f) Ndiyo, kama watu wengine.

14. Je kwa mtazamo wako, ni kazi gani hufaa kwa kiziwi?

	☺ ++ Kiziwi anaweza vizuri sana	+ Kiziwi anaweza vizuri	Kiziwi anaweza kiwango	- Kiziwi anaweza kidogo	☹ -- Kiziwi anaweza kidogo sana	✗ Kiziwi hawezi kabisa
Usafi						
Kilimo						
Kuuza mitaani						
Kuuza duka						
Fundi						
Ofisini (na kupiga simu)						
Ofisini (utawala)						
Teknolojia za kiufundi (Kompyuta)						
Ualimu (Shule)						
Uhadhiri (Chuo)						
Usimamizi wa biashara kubwa						
Mwanasiasa						
Upishi (Mgahawani/Baa)						
Mhudumu (Mgahawani/Baa)						
Muuguzi/Nurse						
Daktari						
Dereva wa daladala						
Dereva wa teksi						
Dereva (gari mizigo)						
Usanii (Kuchora)						
Usanii (Kuimba)						
Usanii (Kupiga Vyombo vya Muziki						
Usanii (Kucheza/ Dance)						
Usanii (Mwandishi)						

15. Je, unadhani ni kitu gani viziwi wanaweza kufanya kwa usahihi? Na ni kitu gani ambacho si rahisi kwa viziwi kufanya kwa usahihi?

Kwa usahihi: ____

Si kwa usahihi: ____

16. Je, umewahi kufanya kazi na mtu mwenye ulemavu?
a) Hapana
b) Ndiyo, na kiziwi
c) Ndiyo, na mtu mwenye ulemavu mwingine

17. Je unaweza kuelezea kufanya kazi na mtu mwenye ulemavu kulikua kwa namna gani?

____

18. Je, unaweza kumuajiri mtu mwenye ukiziwi katika kampuni yako?

Kama ni () ndiyo, unaweza kueleza sababu?___________________________________

Kama () hapana, unaweza kueleza sababu?____________________________________

19. Je, kwa mtazamo wako ni changamoto gani zinaweza kuwakumba viziwi shuleni au kazini?

____

20. Je, unadhani nini kinaweza kufanyika kusuluhisha changamoto zinazowakumba viziwi?

____

21. Je unaweza kuwasiliana na kiziwi?
() NDIYO () NDIYO, kidogo () HAPANA

Kama ndiyo: Kwa namna gani? ____

Kama hapana: ni kwa sababu gani? ______________________________________

22. Je unafahamu lugha ya alama?
() NDIYO () NDIYO, kidogo () HAPANA

23. Je, unapoona watu wanawasiliana kwa kutumia alama/mikono …?
() inachekesha sana () inachekesha kidogo
() inashangaza sana () inashangaza kidogo
() inafurahisha sana () inafurahisha kidogo
() inasikitisha sana () inasikitisha kidogo
() ni kawaida

Maswali kuhusu taarifa binafsi (Siyo lazima, lakini yanapendekezwa):

30. Jinsia

() Me/Male () Ke/Female () n.a.

31. Umri (Miaka)

() Chini ya 11

() 11-15 () 16-20

() 21-25 () 26-30

() 31-35 () 36-40

() 41-45 () 46-50

() 51-55 () 56-60

() 61-65 () 66-70

() Juu ya 70

32. Je, umewahi kuishi maeneno gani?

a) Hapa tu

b) Hapa na vijiji vingine pia

c) Hapa na miji mingine pia

d) Hapa na miji mikubwa pia (kwa mfano Dar es Salaam)

33. Asante sana. Tumemaliza sasa. Je, ungependa kutaja kitu kingine?

____

____

Appendix III: Deaf schools and deaf units in Arusha and Tanzania

PRIMARY & SECONDARY SPECIAL EDUCATION SCHOOLS FOR THE DEAF (Cf. LEE 2012 & NAMIREMBE 2019 & OWN RESEARCH)

REGION	DISTRICT	SHULE	SINCE YEAR	PRIMARY / SECONDARY	BOARDING / DAY SCHOOL MALE/ FEMALE
ARUSHA	MERU DC	HOLY GHOST FOR THE DEAF	2018	SECONDARY	BOARDING, MALE
DAR ES SALAAM	ILALA	BUGURUNI PRIMARY SCHOOL	1974	PRIMARY	BOARDING, BOTH
DODOMA	DODOMA	DODOMA VIZIWI	1994	PRIMARY	BOARDING, BOTH
	DODOMA	KIGWE PRIMARY	?	PRIMARY	BOARDING, BOTH
IRINGA	IRINGA MC	MTWIWILA PRIMARY SCHOOL	1993	PRIMARY	BOARDING, BOTH
KAGERA	BUKOBA MC	MUGEZA PRIMARY SCHOOL	1981	PRIMARY	BOARDING, BOTH
KILIMANJARO	MWANGA	MWANGA PRIMARY SCHOOL	1981	PRIMARY	BOARDING, BOTH
	MOSHI RURAL	NJIA PANDA PRIMARY SCHOOL*	2007	PRIMARY	BOARDING, BOTH
MANYARA	MBULU	DONGOBESHI PRIMARY SCHOOL	2007	PRIMARY	DAY, BOTH
NJOMBE	NJOMBE MC	NJOMBE VIZIWI	1994 & 2000	PRIMARY & SECONDARY	BOARDING, BOTH
RUVUMA	SONGEA MC	ST. VINCENT (RUHUIKO)	1984	PRIMARY	BOARDING, BOTH
SINGIDA	SINGIDA MC	TUMAINI PRIMARY SCHOOL	2004	PRIMARY	BOARDING, BOTH
TABORA	TABORA MC	TABORA VIZIWI	1963	PRIMARY	BOARDING, BOTH

*Njia Panda was grouped as a special school by NAMIREMBE 2019, but as a unit by TIE 2019. For the upcoming calculations it will be treated as a special school.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS WITH DEAF STUDENTS IN MAINLAND TZ (Cf. TIE 2019 & OWN RESEARCH)

REGION	DISTRICT	SCHOOL	GENDER	BOARDING / DAY SCHOOL	O-LEVEL/ A- LEVEL
ARUSHA	LONGIDO	LONGIDO**	MALE	BOARDING	O
ARUSHA	MONDULI	MAKUYUNI LOWASA***	BOTH	BOARDING	?
DAR ES SALAAM	ILALA	BENJAMIN MKAPA	BOTH	DAY SCHOOL	O & A
IRINGA	IRINGA MC	IRINGA GIRLS	FEMALE	BOARDING	O & A
	MUFINDI	MALANGALI	MALE	BOARDING	O
KAGERA	BUKOBA MC	RUGAMBWA	FEMALE	BOARDING	O
KILIMANJARO	MOSHI MC	MOSHI UFUNDI	MALE	BOARDING	O & A
MOROGORO	MOROGORO MC	MOROGORO	FEMALE	BOARDING	O & A
	MASASI	NDWIKA	FEMALE	BOARDING	O
MTWARA	MTWARA MC	MTWARA	FEMALE	BOARDING	O
MWANZA	NYAMAGANA	MKOLANI	FEMALE	BOARDING	O
		BWIRU GIRLS	FEMALE	BOARDING	O
NJOME	NJOMBE	KKKT NJOMBE	BOTH	BOARDING	O
TANGA	TANGA CC	TANGA UFUNDI	MALE	BOARDING	O & A
	MUHEZA	MLINGANO	FEMALE	BOARDING	O
	TANGA CC	MARAMBA JKT	MALE	BOARDING	O & A
TABORA	TABORA MC	KAZIMA	BOTH	BOARDING	O
MANYARA	HANANG	BALANGDALALU	FEMALE	BOARDING	O
MARA	MUSOMALo	MUSOMA UFUNDI	MALE	BOARDING	O

**Comment: Longido: deaf attending not confirmed by local experts, not visited

***Comment: Makuyuni: either only one or no Special Education Teache

PRIMARY SCHOOLS WITH UNITS FOR THE DEAF

IN ARUSHA (DETAILS) & MAINLAND TANZANIA (OVERVIEW)

(based on data of TIE 2019)

REGION	DISTRICT	SCHOOL	UNIT / SPECIAL SCHOOL	BOARDING / DAY SCHOOL
ARUSHA	MERU DC	LEGANGA	UNIT	DAY SCHOOL
ARUSHA	MERU DC	CHEMCHEM	UNIT	DAY SCHOOL
ARUSHA	MERU DC	OLKUNG'WADO	UNIT	DAY SCHOOL
ARUSHA	MERU DC	PATANDI	UNIT	BOARDING
ARUSHA	MERU DC	SINAI	UNIT	DAY SCHOOL
ARUSHA	ARUSHA DC	ILBORU	UNIT	DAY SCHOOL & BOARD-
~~ARUSHA~~	~~ARUSHA DC~~	~~NGARAMTONI*~~	~~UNIT*~~	~~DAY SCHOOL*~~
ARUSHA	NGORONGORO	ENDULEN	UNIT	BOARDING
ARUSHA	KARATU	GANAKO	UNIT	DAY SCHOOL
ARUSHA	JIJI LA ARUSHA	MERU	UNIT	DAY SCHOOL
ARUSHA	MONDULI	ENGARUKA JUU - VIZIWI	UNIT	DAY SCHOOL
ARUSHA COM-	6 Units (Day School)	+ 3 Units (Boarding)	= 9 Units (Total)	
DAR ES SA-	9 Units (Day School)		= 9 Units (Total)	
DODOMA		1 Unit (Boarding)	= 1 Unit (Total)	
GEITA	21 Units (Day School)		= 21 Units (Total)	
IRINGA		2 Units (Boarding)	= 2 Units (Total)	
KAGERA	11 Units (Day School)		= 9 Units (Total)	
KATAVI	2 Units (Day School)	+ 1 Unit (Boarding)	= 3 Units (Total)	
KIGOMA	9 Units (Day School)	+ 1 Unit (Boarding)	= 10 Units (Total)	
KILIMANJARO	3 Units (Day School)	+ 2 Units (Boarding)	= 5 Units (Total)	
LINDI	6 Units (Day School)		= 6 Units (Total)	
MANYARA	10 Units (Day School)	+ 1 Unit (Boarding)	= 11 Units (Total)	
MARA	19 Units (Day School)		= 19 Units (Total)	
MBEYA	15 Units (Day School)	+ 1 Unit (Boarding)	= 16 Units (Total)	
MOROGORO	16 Units (Day School)	+ 1 Unit (Boarding)	= 17 Units (Total)	
MTWARA	1 Unit (Day School)	+ 1 Unit (Boarding)	= 2 Units (Total)	
MWANZA	15 Units (Day School)	+ 3 Units (Boarding)	= 18 Units (Total)	
NJOMBE	1 Unit (Day School)	+ 2 Units (Boarding)	= 3 Units (Total)	
PWANI	13 Units (Day School)		= 13 Units (Total)	
RUKWA	12 Units (Day School)		= 12 Units (Total)	
RUVUMA	6 Units (Day School)	+ 1 Unit (Boarding)	= 7 Units (Total)	
SHINYANGA	12 Units (Day School)	+ 1 Unit (Boarding)	= 13 Units (Total)	
SIMIYU	8 Units (Day School)		= 8 Units (Total)	
SINGIDA	3 Units (Day School)	+ 1 Unit (Boarding)	= 4 Units (Total)	
SONGWE	3 Units (Day School)		= 3 Units (Total)	
TABORA	10 Units (Day School)		= 10 Units (Total)	
TANGA	3 Units (Day School)		= 3 Units (Total)	
SUM	*TANZANIA MAINLAND HAS 236 UNITS (214 DAY SCHOOLS & 22 BOARDING SCHOOLS)*			

PRIMARY SCHOOLS UNITS FOR THE DEAF vs. POPULATION
(OWN CALCULATIONS BASED ON TIE 2019 & 2012 POPULATION CENSUS)

	% area	% population (2012)	% of deaf unit equivalents (2019)	% points difference unit eqivalents - population	deaf units (2019)	deaf schools (2019)	unit equivalents (deaf school counting as 2 units)
Arusha Region	4,2%	3,9%	4,3%	0,4%	9	1	11
Dar es Salaam Region	0,2%	10,0%	4,3%	-5,7%	9	1	11
Dodoma Region	4,7%	4,8%	1,2%	-3,6%	1	1	3
Geita Region	2,3%	4,0%	8,1%	4,2%	21		21
Iringa Region	4,0%	2,2%	1,6%	-0,6%	2	1	4
Kagera Region	2,8%	5,6%	5,0%	-0,6%	11	1	13
Katavi Region	5,2%	1,3%	1,2%	-0,1%	3		3
Kigoma Region	4,2%	4,9%	3,9%	-1,0%	10		10
Kilimanjaro Region	1,5%	3,8%	2,7%	-1,0%	5	1	7
Lindi Region	7,4%	2,0%	2,3%	0,3%	6		6
Manyara Region	5,0%	3,3%	5,0%	1,8%	11	1	13
Mara Region	2,5%	4,0%	7,4%	3,4%	19		19
Mbeya Region	4,1%	3,9%	6,2%	2,3%	16		16
Morogoro Region	8,0%	5,1%	6,6%	1,5%	17		17
Mtwara Region	1,9%	2,9%	0,8%	-2,1%	2		2
Mwanza Region	1,1%	6,4%	7,0%	0,6%	18		18
Njombe Region	2,4%	1,6%	1,9%	0,3%	3	1	5
Pwani Region	3,7%	2,5%	5,0%	2,5%	13		13
Rukwa Region	2,6%	2,3%	4,7%	2,3%	12		12
Ruvuma Region	7,2%	3,2%	3,5%	0,3%	7	1	9
Shinyanga Region	2,1%	3,5%	5,0%	1,5%	13		13
Simiyu Region	2,8%	3,6%	3,1%	-0,5%	8		8
Singida Region	5,6%	3,1%	2,3%	-0,8%	4	1	6
Songwe Region	3,1%	2,3%	1,2%	-1,1%	3		3
Tabora Region	8,6%	5,3%	4,7%	-0,6%	10	1	12
Tanga Region	3,0%	4,7%	1,2%	-3,5%	3		3
MAINLAND TANZANIA	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	0,0%	236	11	258

ENGLISH LANGUAGE ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to provide an academic inquiry into how deaf people in Arusha Region, Tanzania, navigate the multilingual education system and how they then decide and manage to ‘fit into’ mainstream society or *deaf spaces*, as defined by Jessica Lee. Data were gathered mainly through questionnaire-based interviews (mostly in Tanzanian Sign Language, TSL) with 60 adult schooled deaf people and street polling of 240 inhabitants (in Swahili) at 12 locations of Arusha Region. Additional methods used for this exploratory research were expert interviews, participant observation and literature review.

A comparison of secondary literature and own research results highlights topics that are important to deaf people, but have so far been under-represented in research done in Tanzania. It shows that while there is a number of (mostly unpublished) academic works on deaf people as learners, there is very limited research on other aspects of deaf life, such as work, family or identity. An exception is Jessica Lee's ethnographic PhD entitled *They have to see us* from 2012, which amongst others describes *deaf spaces* and discusses identity of deaf people in Tanzania.

In line with earlier research, this master’s thesis shows that the educational path of deaf children in Tanzania is a difficult one. Most of them only learn their first language, TSL, when enrolling at a primary school with a deaf unit. They usually remember the time at this 'deaf school' very fondly due to the possibility to interact and learn in sign language. As family members usually do not know sign language, emotional bonds with (signing) teachers and learners are formed and primary school is often preferred over home. Secondary school, on the other hand, is mostly remembered as a time to endure by the deaf respondents, as there was usually no sign language used, and the written/spoken language of instruction shifted from Swahili to English. Deaf respondents usually dealt with this situation by resignation, escaping, self-education by reading only, asking (teachers or) pupils for help after class, teaching hearing pupils basic TSL to ‘turn them into interpreters’ or asking head teachers (usually without success) for interpreters or TSL-competent teachers.

Deafness is less visible and therefore less on able-bodied people's minds when thinking about disability. Hearing people mostly use the official term *kiziwi* for a deaf person or the derogatory *bubu* (~dumb), the latter especially for non-voicing deaf. The research showed that hearing people in the region are generally in favour of deaf people being schooled and being employed. However, they have doubts about deaf as workers when it comes to more complex jobs or jobs that include interpersonal communication, even though those jobs are already pursued by deaf respondents, e.g. teaching or waiting tables. Deaf respondents do not only aspire for *ufundi* (crafts) work, but also for jobs such as medical doctor, independent salesperson, journalist or *pikipiki* driver. Many hearing people state to be willing and able to communicate with deaf people, but are usually not aware of the difference between gestures and sign language. Deaf respondents usually reported very little communication with hearing people outside their immediate circles, such as neighbours.

The research could confirm deaf schools/deaf units and houses of religious worship as *deaf spaces* in Arusha Region. It also found evidence for *deaf spaces* at workplaces, homes and seminars. Findings indicate that deaf respondents mostly enjoy living in *deaf communities* and that being *deaf* is a major category of identity for a lot of them. Unlike in some Western *Deaf communities*, signing hearing people are granted easy access to the networks of deaf people in Arusha Region.

DEUTSCHSPRACHIGE ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Diese Masterarbeit beleuchtet die Frage, wie gehörlose Menschen in Arusha Region, Tansania, durch das mehrsprachige Bildungssystem navigieren und wie sie sich dann entscheiden und es schaffen sich entweder in die Mainstream-Gesellschaft oder in *deaf spaces* (wie von Jessica Lee beschrieben) ‚einzugliedern'. Daten wurden hauptsächlich erhoben durch fragebögenbasierte Interviews (hauptsächlich in Tanzanian Sign Language, TSL) mit 60 erwachsenen Gehörlosen, die zur Schule gegangen waren/gehen, sowie durch eine Straßenbefragung von 240 Hörenden (in Swahili) an 12 Orten in Arusha Region. Zusätzlich genutzt wurden für diese explorative Forschungsarbeit Expert_innen-Interviews, teilnehmende Beobachtung und Literaturrecherche.

Ein Vergleich der Themen der Sekundärliteratur und der Themen die während der eigenen Forschung aufgebracht wurden zeigt, dass einige Bereiche bisher wenig beforscht wurden. Während es eine Reihe von (meist unveröffentlichten) bildungswissenschaftlichen Werken über Gehörlose als Lernende gibt, wurden andere Lebensbereiche, wie z.B. Arbeit, Familie oder Identität kaum abgedeckt. Eine Ausnahme bildet die ethnographische Doktorarbeit von Jessica Lee mit dem Titel *They have to see us* aus dem Jahr 2012, welche unter anderem *deaf spaces* in Tansania beschreibt und Fragen von Identität von gehörlosen Personen im Land thematisiert.

Übereinstimmend mit früherer Forschung zeigt die vorliegende Masterarbeit, dass der Bildungsweg für gehörlose Kinder in Tansania ein schwieriger ist. Die meisten lernen ihre Erstsprache, TSL, erst wenn sie an einer Volksschule mit Deaf Unit eingeschrieben werden. Meist erinnern sie sich sehr positiv an die Zeit an dieser ‚Gehörlosen-Schule', vor allem wegen der Möglichkeit in Gebärdensprache zu interagieren und zu lernen. Da ihre Familienmitglieder oft keine Gebärdensprache beherrschen, werden emotionale Verbindungen mit (gebärdenden) Lehrenden und Lernenden geknüpft und die Grundschule oft dem Elternhaus vorgezogen. Die weiterführende Schule hingegen ist üblicherweise eine Zeit, die es ‚zu ertragen' gilt. Dort wird keine Gebärdensprache genutzt und die schriftliche/mündliche Unterrichtssprache wechselt von Swahili zu Englisch. Damit gingen die gehörlosen Befragten zumeist wie folgt um: Resignation, Flucht, Selbststudium durch Lesen, nach der Stunde (Lehrende oder) Lernende um Hilfe bitten, hörenden Lernenden etwas TSL beibringen um sie ‚zu Dolmetscher_innen zu machen' oder Schulleiter_innen (erfolglos) um Dolmetscher_innen oder gebärdensprachkompetente Lehrer_innen bitten.

Gehörlosigkeit ist weniger sichtbar und wird deshalb von Menschen ohne Behinderung seltener ungestützt genannt, wenn es um Behinderung geht. Hörende nutzen meistens den offiziellen Ausdruck *kiziwi* für eine gehörlose Person, aber auch den herabwürdigenden Ausdruck *bubu* (~stumm/dumm) vor allem für Gehörlose, die nicht mit Stimme sprechen. Die Forschung zeigt, dass hörende Menschen in der Region generell dafür sind, dass Gehörlose zur Schule gehen und Arbeitsplätze erhalten. Allerdings haben sie Zweifel bezüglich Gehörlosen als Arbeitskräfte sofern es um komplexere Jobs geht oder um Jobs, welche interpersonelle Kommunikation verlangen, auch wenn diese Jobs bereits von gehörlosen Respondent_innen ausgeübt werden, wie z.B. Lehrer_in oder Kellner_in. Gehörlose streben nicht nur Tätigkeiten im Handwerk (*ufundi*) an, sondern

auch Berufe wie Ärzt_in, selbstständige_r Kauffrau_mann, Journalist_in oder *Pikipiki*-Fahrer_in. Viele Hörende geben an, willens und fähig zu sein, mit Gehörlosen zu kommunizieren, sind sich aber meist nicht bewusst, dass es einen Unterschied zwischen Gesten und Gebärdensprache gibt. Gehörlose Befragte berichten zumeist von sehr wenig Kommunikation mit hörenden Personen außerhalb ihres engsten Kreises, wie z.B. Nachbar_innen.

Gehörlosen-Schulen und Deaf Units sowie Gottesdienste konnten eindeutig als *deaf spaces* in Arusha Region identifiziert werden. Es gibt zudem Hinweise auf *deaf spaces* an Arbeitsplätzen, in privaten Haushalten und bei Seminaren. Die Ergebnisse legen nahe, dass die gehörlosen Befragten es hauptsächlich genießen in *deaf communities* zu leben, sowie dass *deaf* eine zentrale Identitätskategorie für sie ist. Im Gegensatz zu manchen ‚westlichen' *Deaf communities* erhalten gebärdende hörende Personen relativ einfach Zugang zu den Netzwerken gehörloser Menschen in Arusha Region.